

1924

KENYA

C.O.  
7296  
14 FEB 24

NAME  
Palau H.  
H.S.

DATE  
12th Feb, 1924

OR CIRCULATION

Mr.  
Mr.  
Mr.  
Ass. U.S. of S.

Indians in Kenya

Perm. U.S. of S.

Submits memo.

Part U.S. of S.

Secretary of State

Previous Paper

MINUTES 12 Feb 24

9.6  
7212

(1) When - on Wednesday - I was asked Mr. Hankinson to acknowledge this in the first instance, I had not noticed the passage A, which contains a miscription to which Lord Olivier has drawn attention. I have endeavored to explain it in a separate minute on Lord Olivier's letter.

(2) At the end of the letter, it is suggested that the franchise Ord<sup>ce</sup> should either be disallowed or suspended. The despatch notifying her disallowance has gone by the cable mail.

As the Indians have, by law - Co. of

Sub. 13th Feb 1924  
Ans. 19th

S.P.K.

Subsequent Paper

74002

creation, suspended the  
ord & so far as they are  
concerned, the result of  
the hearing is altogether  
good and may be to deprive  
the Editor of the elective  
privilege that they have  
been promised. I see no  
reason for this.

To dissolve the ord & by  
telegram would be better than  
the White Paper. If it were  
the Gov. of India or the S.O.  
have suggested that the  
ord & should be held up  
for the Committee. Abhor  
from any suggestion of  
"surrender to European  
violence" and a step  
would have a very bad  
effect in Hongkong and  
would be strongly resented  
here. It would be a surrender  
to European cooperation.

(3). I hope that it may not

Some may have  
inquired as to the  
ord & so on.

be necessary at this stage to  
350  
comment on the rest of the  
letter. I hope shortly to be able  
to send on a letter to Hongkong,  
but I suggest that for the  
present the S. M. case may well  
take his stand on the two points  
he has already made: that he  
does not at present intend to  
support the White Paper, and that  
he will listen to anything the  
Committee may wish to say.

I have ventured to put up  
a draft for comment on these lines.

W. L. S. 18/12/1912

J. J. R.  
18/12/1912

R.  
18/12

CONFIDENTIAL

265, Strand, W.C.2.,

February 12th, 1924.

Dear Mr. *Thomas,*

When I had the pleasure of meeting you last Wednesday, I had hoped that there would be an opportunity for me to discuss with you the Indian question in Kenya, but I soon appreciated that pressure upon your time would not permit of this. You were, however, good enough to say that you would allow me to submit a memorandum on my views, which would receive your consideration, and I accordingly submit respectfully the following observations.

2. Before proceeding to discuss the White Paper itself, I would like to clear up a misunderstanding of some importance. I gathered from our conversation that you had received the impression that, in his Bombay speech, after his return to India from the Imperial Conference, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had made somewhat larger claims on behalf of India, in respect of what had been achieved regarding Kenya, than the circumstances warranted, and I replied that, knowing how the various stages of the negotiations on this subject had developed, and being familiar with Sir Tej Bahadur's point of view, I was sure that you were under a misapprehension as to the facts. From your remarks and those of Lord Olivier, whom I had previously seen, I gathered that the view held at the Colonial Office is that the Committee to be appointed, under the authority of the Imperial Conference proceedings, by the Government of India would have no power to bring under review the general subject of Kenya, including what are described as the final

Cabinet decisions contained in the White Paper (Cmd. 1922), but that its scope would be restricted to an examination of the new draft Immigration Bill, together with such other matters as have not been concluded by the White Paper decisions. This view, if I have correctly stated it, appears to me to be fundamentally wrong.

3. I was one of the small group of intimate friends with whom Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was in close consultation at every stage of the proceedings of the Imperial Conference. I well remember his alarm and distress, after the meeting on October 29th, when the Duke of Devonshire definitely excluded Kenya from the scope of the inquiry by the Committee. It was at this stage that Sir Tej Bahadur began to consider whether any useful purpose could be served by his remaining a member of the Conference which he had attended, against the desire and advice of some of his closest political friends and colleagues, mainly in order to bring up for reconsideration the Kenya decisions of the then Government. In his opening speech, on October 24th, he had said:- "My countrymen expect me, and my Government expects me, and I am bound by all considerations of honour and duty, to put you in full possession of the sentiments of my countrymen and of my Government in regard to your decision. They have received that decision with the utmost possible dismay..... We were not fighting for little things; we were fighting for a big principle. I know and I feel, and my countrymen feel, and my Government feels that a serious blunder has been made.... I know also that British statesmanship is wise, and whenever a thing goes wrong it begins to think, and I honestly believe that it will soon recognise the mistake which it has made. Let me

tell you, on behalf of my countrymen, that neither my country nor the Government which I have the honour to represent will accept this decision as final. Indeed, there is nothing final in politics, and I want His Majesty's Government to recognise that position and to indicate, if possible, that they do not look upon that question in the light in which I have just presented it....While, on domestic questions of Indian politics we, like most of you, have our differences of parties, groups and interests, yet, upon this question which concerns the honour of our nationals in Kenya, and the honour of our nationals overseas, there is no difference between us, from the Viceroy downwards."

4. Sir Tej Bahadur's disappointment was natural, having regard to the purpose that he intended to be served by the proposed Committee. The Imperial Conference of 1921, upon the proposal of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri, representing India, had recognised "that there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire. The conference accordingly is of opinion that in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised". The burden of Sir Tej Bahadur's remarks was that virtually nothing had been done to implement the resolution of the 1921 Conference, but that, on the contrary, His Majesty's Government, who were parties to acceptance of the principle of the resolution, had departed from it, both in the letter and the spirit, in the White Paper decisions.

5. He accordingly made it a positive condition that his

further participation in the proceedings of the Conference depended upon the inclusion of the whole Kenya question within the scope of the Committee's inquiry. After the Duke's speech, on October 29th, Sir Tej Bahadur made the position quite clear personally to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Peel, and the Prime Minister, and to Sir James Masterton-Smith, through the intermediary of his Private Secretary, Prof. Rushbrook-Williams. The next two days were spent in finding a formula which would enable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to feel that he could honourably continue to participate in the Conference.

6. As a result of the negotiations that took place between October 29th and October 31st, the Duke agreed to remove a passage in his speech in which he had definitely excluded Kenya from the scope of the Committee, and the formula, read by the Prime Minister on October 31st, was devised. The formula contains the following significant passage :-

"Further, while welcoming the proposal, the Duke of Devonshire reminded the Conference that His Majesty's Government had recently come to certain decisions as to Kenya, which represented in their considered view the very best that could be done in all the circumstances. While he saw no prospect of these decisions being modified he would give careful attention to such representations as the Committee appointed by the Government of India might desire to make to him

"Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, while taking note of the above statement of the Duke, desired to make plain that the recent Kenya decisions could not be accepted as final by the people of India".

7. Sir Tej. Bahadur accepted this formula only after the most anxious consideration and the closest consultation with his friends, and his acceptance was conditional, further, upon his making the concluding speech in these proceedings along the lines that he indicated in advance to the Duke. In his concluding remarks, therefore, he said, inter alia, :- "To me, as an Indian, it is, of course, disappointing that the Duke, speaking last Monday, saw no prospect of modifying the Kenya decisions, which, as I have already made clear, can never be accepted in India. But his agreement with the principles of my scheme, and his consent to give careful attention to such representations as the Committee may lay before him, inspires me with the hope that the door is not barred, and that the Colonial Office may be shown the way to an acceptable solution. I shall recommend those with whom I have any influence, both in India and elsewhere, to work through this Committee to obtain an amelioration of such conditions as they and every Indian regard as incompatible with our national dignity and with our position as equal subjects in the Empire of our common Sovereign".

8. It is quite clear from the foregoing that Sir Tej Bahadur intended, and that the Duke understood him to mean, that the whole Kenya question should come up for investigation by the Government of India Committee, and that the Committee should be free to make such representations as it deemed were called for, to the Duke, who, without binding himself in any way to modify the White Paper decisions, undertook unequivocally to give them his careful consideration. It is equally clear that the formula did not limit the Committee's powers of representation to the immigration bill contemplated in the

White Paper or to those matters upon which decisions had not been reached. In point of fact, Sir Tej Bahadur writes to me, in a letter dated the 3rd January, 1924 :-

"As regards Kenya, the Colonial Office, I have reasons to believe, are creating difficulties, as they think that independently of the arrangements arrived at between them and me they were and are at liberty to implement the Kenya decisions of July last. Literally, they are correct, because it was no part of the arrangement that they should stay their hands pending the appointment of the Committee. But the important point to note is that when that scheme of mine was under discussion and right up to the time of the Conference accepting my proposals, I knew nothing about the Immigration Bill. It was on my return to India that I came to know of it. I have pointed this out to the Viceroy."

9. Having regard however, to the view to the contrary apparently held by your official advisers, I thought it my duty to send the following telegram, on the 7th instant, to Sir Tej Bahadur, in order to remove what might very well prove to be a dangerous misconception as to the scope of the Committee, and to make it clear to you that he had not, in his Bombay speech, gone beyond his authority, in the light of the Conference proceedings and their necessary and logical implications:-

(COPY of CABLEGRAM to Sir T.B.Sapru, Allahabad, from H. S. L. Polak, 265, Strand, London, W.C.2.  
Sent February 7th, 1924)

URGENT INFORMED HIGHEST AUTHORITY VIEW COLONIAL OFFICE IS COMMITTEES SCOPE DOESNT INCLUDE INVESTIGATIONS GENERAL KENYA QUESTION OR WHITE PAPER DECISIONS BUT ONLY IMMIGRATION OTHER MATTERS NOT DEFINITELY DECIDED WHITE PAPER STOP REQUEST YOUR IMMEDIATE AUTHORITY STATE IN HIGHEST QUARTERS IT WAS ONLY ON

DISTINCT UNDERSTANDING COMMITTEE TO HAVE FULL SCOPE IN LIGHT APPLICATION PRINCIPLE EQUAL CITIZENSHIP TO EXAMINE MAKE REPRESENTATIONS WHOLE KENYA QUESTION INCLUDING WHITE PAPER DECISIONS YOU CONSENTED REMAIN CONFERENCE AND THIS AGREEMENT IN SPITE DEVONSHIRES EARLIER REFUSAL CLEARLY EMBODIED BALOWINS FORMAL STATEMENT CONFERENCE STOP YOU MAY MAKE FULLEST CONFIDENTIAL USE. -- KALOPH.

To this telegram I received, on the 9th instant, the following reply, which speaks for itself :-

(COPY of CABLEGRAM to Hy.S.L.Polak, London, from Sir T.B.Sapru Sent February 8th, 1924)

YOU ARE RIGHT SARMA OFFICIALLY STATED COUNCIL STATE COMMITTEE WILL INCLUDE FRANCHISE I INSISTED COLONIAL OFFICE GIVING FULL CONSIDERATION REPRESENTATIONS BY COMMITTEE ON ENTIRE POSITION - SAPRU.

Sir Tej Bahadur's reference to "Sarma" appears to relate to the following extract from a Reuter telegram from Delhi, dated the 7th instant :-

"Mr. Sethna, unofficial member for Bombay (in the Council of State), who had tabled a resolution voting the postponement of the Kenya Immigration Bill, raised the question of the franchise in respect to which he complained that the new Colonial Secretary had stated that the Settlement was final. Sir B. Sarma assured him that the Committee would inquire into the franchise question, with a view to the modification of the Franchise Bill, and Mr. Sethna thereupon did not move his resolution".

It would appear that my contention is supported by the view taken by the Government of India.

10. I now come to the White Paper itself. AS I said to you on

Wednesday, in your declaration that you were determined to maintain the principle of a trusteeship for the African natives, which should be supreme over the interests of the European settlers in Kenya, on the one hand, and those of the Indian settlers, on the other, you would have the moral support of the Kenya Indians and of the Indian People, and, in particular, that of Mr. Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and others who have special knowledge of the conditions in Kenya, such as Mr. C. F. Andrews and myself. Our complaint would be, not that the doctrine of native trusteeship has been at length, and tardily recognised by His Majesty's Government, but that, the pretence has been made that, in any *degree* at all, the Kenya Indian community has participated in the gradual degradation of the status of the African native in this Colony (by contrast with his position in Uganda and West Africa, where he is a peasant proprietor), in legislation and administrative practice, in which the Indians have had no share and for which they decline to accept responsibility, to that of a black proletarian. There is hardly an appropriate occasion when native interests have not been advocated publicly and enthusiastically by the Indian intelligentsia of the Colony, who have invariably constituted themselves the advocates, especially in the Legislature, of the rights of the non-white peoples of the Colony without distinction. It was the Kenya Indians who first maintained that native <sup>African</sup> interests should be paramount <sup>over</sup> ~~with~~ those of the immigrant communities.

11. It ought, however, to be clearly understood that, whilst the White Paper nominally lays down this principle, no responsible person in India believes that this was the major

consideration upon which the decisions of the late Government depended, or that, save in one important particular, they, in fact, either do or were intended, to operate in support of the doctrine of native trusteeship on the part of His Majesty's Government. That exception is the declaration that the grant of responsible self-government is "out of the question within any period of time which need now be taken into consideration" This view has always been held by the Kenya Indian community, who did not join in the demand, in 1919, for elective institutions. It was actually put forward by me, I believe in answer to a question by Mr. Ormsby-Gore, in evidence given before the Joint Standing Committee Parliament on Indian Affairs. Although Lord Milner did not intend that the grant of the franchise to the white settlers should be regarded as leading to responsible self-government, it was so regarded, by the Europeans and, with some appreciation of its logical consequences, by Mr. Churchill, whose remarks, at the Kenya Colony dinner, early in 1922, strongly encouraged the aspiration of the white settlers to convert the franchise and the non-official minority of elected white members of the Legislature into a constitution having all the elements of responsible self-government in which the non-whites should have no share. Indeed, in spite of the policy laid down in the White Paper, it is difficult, in the light of past history and tradition, to see how it is to be given adequate effect to so long as the elective principle in the Legislative Council is retained. I would only add here that the grant of electoral rights to white settlers was naturally held to warrant the demand of the Kenya Indians for equal treatment in a Crown Colony under direct Downing Street administration. Had the

franchise not been granted to the Europeans, the Indians would have restricted their claim to a nomination of members to the Legislative Council equal to the number of nominated non-official white members, always with an over-riding official majority.

12. It is the universal opinion, in Indian political circles in India and Kenya, that the real policy underlying the White Paper decisions, which, otherwise than as the above-mentioned exception contemplates, dealt not with questions directly or even indirectly affecting native interests, but with the regulation of the relations inter se of the two immigrant communities, the larger in numbers and the earlier in advent, the Indians, and the smaller and later, the Europeans, was to establish the permanent advantage of the latter and the corresponding disadvantage of the former.

13. I trust I shall not be misunderstood if I say frankly that the most bitter feeling has been aroused in India, where the White Paper is regarded as an elaborate camouflage. It is held that it embodies a policy that does not conform to the principle of equal citizenship for Indians overseas, decided upon at the 1921 Imperial Conference, to which the Imperial Government was a party, but, on the contrary, sets up a dual standard of citizenship, a superior one confined to the white subjects of the Crown, and an inferior one which alone is to be applied to the non-white subjects; it violates the many pledges given to India and to Indians by the Imperial Government from time to time, whilst amplifying and extending pledges made at a later date to Europeans; it emphasises the

subordinate character of the Government of India (referred to in such disparaging terms by Lord Curzon at the time of Mr. Montagu's resignation on the question of the Treaty of Sevres), in one of the few matters in which that Government is recognised to have specially sought to act as a national Government might do; it overthrows the Wood-Winterton Agreement reached by the Colonial and India Offices after long negotiations, and accepted by the Government of India and the Kenya Indian community as a basis for a settlement, for the time being, of the main heads of controversy between the European and the Indian community; its basis, its origin, and its purpose are definitely racial; it excludes Indian/ British and protected subjects from privileges which are granted readily to aliens and even, it may be, to ex-enemies; and it was extorted from His Majesty's Government by threats of armed rebellion on the part of the white population. Indians declare in fine that, under the cloak of protecting native African interests, His Majesty's late Government last July, in the dispute between the white and the Indian community, deliberately sacrificed Indian interests and subordinated them to those of their opponents upon purely racial considerations.

14. The White Paper gives six principal points at issue between the two communities, namely, representation on the Legislative Council, representation on the Executive Council, representation on the Municipal Councils, segregation, reservation of agricultural lands in the Highlands for Europeans, and immigration. Except, possibly, as to the last, none of these was in any way related to any question of native rights. Substantially, they were all aspects of segregation or racial differentiation. Four of them have, both in fact and in form, been decided against the Indians, one has been decided against them in fact, though not in form, whilst two are decided in their favour. Of these two, segregation in urban areas had already been dropped as impossible, whilst segregation in residential areas has also been dropped as unnecessary for the purpose sought to be served. This, therefore, is no gain to the Indians. They had already secured representation on the Executive Council. The preservation of that right, therefore, was no gain, for it had not, of late, been seriously challenged by the white settlers.

15. The Indians had asked for a common, as against a communal franchise, both for the Legislature and the Municipal Councils. The proposal of the Europeans was to segregate them in the exercise of the franchise, as they had sought to segregate them physically. It was not that they did not consider Indians qualified to exercise a vote. They were quite aware that they did so well and intelligently in India and in many of the overseas territories. But they refused to "degrade" themselves by going to a coloured man for a vote or to allow a coloured man to ask them for their vote on his own behalf. In 1919, when elective institutions were first introduced in Kenya, only two votes, one official and one non-official, could be secured for a proposal that at least Indians with

university or professional qualifications should be enfranchised on equal terms with the white settlers. The pretext advanced, on the present occasion, was that the Indians would, in course of time, outvote the white settler vote, which it was assumed must always predominate. Throughout the controversy, it was concealed from the British public that, in moments of emergency, the white official majority in the Legislative Council could always be relied upon to protect the interests of the white settlers, as it has never been exercised for the protection of Indian interests against the encroachments of the white settlers. Indeed, it was publicly laid down by the Governor more than once within the last five years that European interests must prevail over Indian.

16. What, however are the facts? The Indians had agreed that the entire existing electoral roll, containing virtually the entire adult white British population, should remain undisturbed; that a franchise qualification should be fixed that would exclude from the voters' roll hardly a single adult white British subject in the future; that the qualification should be so high as to disqualify, at the beginning, nine-tenths of the Indian population, leaving it to individual Indians thereafter to acquire the necessary qualification, if they so chose; and that the electoral areas should be so arranged as to ensure a reservation of seats in areas where voters of a particular community predominated. Even Mr. Churchill, who could hardly be cited by the white settlers as an unfriendly witness to their cause, had recommended this arrangement for acceptance by them. They ignominiously rejected it, on purely racial grounds. The British Government decided, in the face of this intransigent attitude, in favour of a communal franchise, though it is thoroughly undemocratic.

and permanently dissociates each community from responsibility for the welfare of any other community or that of the Colony as a whole; instead of the common franchise that had formed the most salient feature of the Wood-Winterton Agreement, to which both Imperial Departments were committed; chiefly upon the consideration that the communal franchise would prevent racial friction and would best serve the interests of all concerned. In fact, the Indian community has been yet further embittered against the white settlers and estranged from the local Government, which is regarded by them as thoroughly partisan. They have refused to participate in the passing of the Franchise Bill through the Legislative Council, and they have since withdrawn their nominated members of the Council, and also the Indian non-official member of the Executive Council, on the ground that, a racial policy, the responsibility for which they will not share, having been adopted by His Majesty's Government, in violation of all public pledges of equal treatment by the latter, the retention of their representatives can serve no useful purpose.

17. It has been urged that, as the communal franchise exists in India, Kenya Indians ought not to object to it in Kenya. There is, however, a fundamental difference. The communal franchise in India has not a racial basis. It is intended to serve the purpose of protecting the interests of an electoral minority. There is a Mahomedan communal franchise, as there is a Sikh; but there is no Mahomedan race or Sikh race. The Bengali Mahomedans are as much Bengalis by race as the Bengali Hindus, whilst the Mahomedans of Madras are of different race from those of Bengal. In Kenya, the very purpose of the communal franchise is to create racial differentiation in the electoral system, as part of the general policy advocated by the white extremists of racial

segregation. The electoral minority in Kenya would, for many years, be the Indians, who do not desire this special "protection". The alternative of a reservation of seats upon a common electoral roll was deliberately rejected by His Majesty's Government, without a trial, though it would have afforded ample protection to the white settlers, whatever the future might have had in store for them. No white candidate need canvass the votes of the Indian electors, nor need a white voter cast a vote for an Indian candidate, if he does not choose to do so. Why, however, establish a legal prohibition? Why erect a race and colour-bar?

16. The net result of the July decisions has been to cast a racial stigma upon Indians, no matter what their qualifications. For the first time in the history of the Crown Colonies and the Dependencies governed from the Colonial Office, racial differentiation has been adopted as a major policy. Though there is a provision, in the new Ceylon Constitution for the election of two Indian representatives on a communal basis, this is in addition to the right of the Indian minority to exercise their franchise upon a common electoral roll. It was designed to give them a special member-strength in the Legislative Council proportionate to their importance as a communal element in the population of Ceylon. In British Guiana, Jamaica, and Mauritius, whites and non-whites vote on a common electoral roll. In the new self-governing Colony of Southern Rhodesia a similar provision exists. Even in the Cape Province of the Union of South Africa, there is a common franchise. In Kenya alone, where Indians were prior immigrants, which, so far as it is not native African, is an Indian Colony, which His Majesty's Government were well aware was regarded by all India as a test-case of British sincerity in implementing and applying

the principle of the Imperial Conference resolution of 1921, it has been decided to treat His Majesty's Indian subjects as worthy only of second-class citizenship, on racial grounds, upon the demand of, coupled with threats of armed revolt by, the white settlers. The case of Fiji remains to be decided. The white settlers there, having sought the economic ruin of the Indian population, have already taken their cue from Kenya, which, like the Indians, though for quite different reasons, they regard as a test case. Almost certainly, unless a change of policy occurs on the part of His Majesty's Government, a communal franchise will be decided upon, whilst the rights of the non-white peoples in those British territories where they at present enjoy the common franchise, have been very seriously threatened. An attempt was only recently made in Mauritius, to secure an alteration of the franchise to a communal basis.

19. Not only in this way have Indian rights been subordinated to European. Besides the all-white official majority, the non-white official minority has, by the act of the late Government, been established at a permanent strength superior to that of all the non-white members of the Legislative Council combined, so that, by no possibility, in the event of a racial controversy, can the non-whites hope to secure justice, where they do not happen to be African natives, on whose behalf the local Administration are now, it is presumed, instructed to cast their vote, and to this over-whelming proportion of white members, a European missionary is to be added to represent native interests. Even if he should adequately fulfil his function, the recent attitude of the Kenya missionaries, with their knowledge of the treatment of the African native in the past by the European immigrants, in siding unfairly with them against the Indians in a controversy in which native interests had been dragged in for the sole purpose of

bolstering up the white settlers' otherwise poor case and diverting attention from their disloyal and violent activities, has convinced the Indians that the missionary member will probably cast an additional white political vote in a matter where there is a real or an apparent conflict of communal interests. The Indian community has, therefore, in rejecting the Franchise Bill, refused to assist in the preparation of a voters' roll on a communal basis, which would commit them to acceptance of the principal of racial differentiation and impose upon them a subordinate status. Since the question of representation on Municipal Councils has likewise been settled by the late Government upon a communal basis, the Indians have refused payment of the rates voted by a Council in Nairobi in which they have no adequate or effective representation upon terms of self-respect. No Indian leader, either in Kenya or in India, would venture to recommend acceptance of the communal franchise, knowing it to symbolise the colour-bar, and the existing hostility will continue until its complete withdrawal.

20. The White Paper states that "the policy of the reservation of the Highlands for Europeans was definitely laid down by the Earl of Elgin, when Secretary of State for the Colonies". The form of this statement is erroneous, nor is the fact alleged admitted by the Indian community. The Highlands area has never been and is not even now closed to Indians. What has happened is that they are, by a statutory veto invariably exercised by the Governor upon instructions from the Colonial Office, prohibited from becoming the legal owners of agricultural lands in the Highlands. They carry on their trade without restrictions upon farms in the Highlands, but they cannot, even if they so desire, purchase and work farms there.

21. The story of the Highlands needs a little elucidation. It has already been pointed out that the Indians were prior

immigrants into what is now called Kenya. They were settled at the coast for generations before a white man ever went there. When the British Protectorate was established, solely through their influence with the local rulers, as was stated in evidence before the Sanderson Inter-departmental Committee on Indian Emigration to the Crown Colonies, in 1909, by the late Sir John Kirk, at one time British Consul-General at Zanzibar, with a unique knowledge of the history of events, they were invited to extend their trading operations into the interior. They did so, and, as Mr. John Ainsworth, late Chief Native Commissioner of Kenya, has testified, they introduced currency. It was Indian currency, which was altered about two years ago in order to give a financial advantage to the white settlers. An Indian form of administration was set up. Indian laws were introduced, and the Indian codes are still the chief features of the statute-book of the Colony. British goods were first carried into the interior by Indian traders, and the seeds of material civilisation were thus sown by them in a barbarous land. When the Uganda Railway was built, Indian labourers (owing to the complete absence of reliable and trained native labour) and Indian overseers and entrepreneurs, were invited to undertake the task. The major part of the staff of the Railway is still Indian. It is in evidence that one of the main inducements to the British Chambers of Commerce to recommend to the British Government the use of Imperial funds for the construction of the line, was that the interior of the country could thus be opened up for settlement by the surplus population of India, and it was upon this inducement that large numbers of Indians, with the assurance of the protection and freedom which they had been taught to associate with the flag that they had been instrumental in hoisting over the new Protectorate, immigrated into the interior and under-

took so large a share in the pioneer work of development, long before most of the present white settlers had even heard of the country, with which Indian commercial enterprise had been linked up for at least four centuries.

22. After the Uganda Railway had been built, the Highlands became easy of access to Europeans, who found there a congenial climate within the tropics, though it is still an open question whether white men can really settle there permanently. Mr. Churchill, who has had personal experience of the Colony, and has, in his book, "My African Journey", paid an eloquent tribute to the pioneer work of the Indian immigrants, has expressed the strongest doubts on this point, which is of vital importance. The white immigrants came at first largely from South Africa, by way of German East Africa, whither they had fled to escape from British rule, and they brought with them the bitter colour prejudice that is prevalent in most parts of the Union. They brought strong pressure upon the local Administration to urge the Colonial Office that agricultural lands in the Highlands should not be granted by the Government to non-whites. They succeeded in obtaining from Lord Elgin a ruling that, for undefined "reasons of administrative convenience", grants of Crown lands should not be made to Indians, but Lord Elgin, at the same time, expressly declared that the British Government would not impose any legal restrictions upon any section of the community. The local Administration read into this ruling an authority to prevent not only the issue of original Crown Grants in the Highlands to Indians, but also to prohibit the acquisition of such lands subsequently from a white grantee or his successor in title, as an ordinary commercial transaction. It is highly probably that, had

a test case been brought in the local Courts at any time up to 1915, such administrative action would not have been upheld. In that year, for the first time, contrary to Lord Elgin's express declaration, statutory effect to the Governor's customary veto upon land transfers throughout the Protectorate between parties of different races was given by an Ordinance assented to by Lord Harcourt. This occurred during the War, when the Indians were being terrorised under Martial Law and had virtually been ordered not to take part in any political activities, and without their having had any opportunities of placing their case properly before the Colonial Office. The White Paper decision is that this veto should stand. The pledge, as it has been called, to the Europeans has been not only implemented, but extended and amplified far beyond Lord Elgin's declared intention. The prior and contemporaneous pledges given to the Indians have been flagrantly broken. A restricted market has been forced upon a number of white settlers who, not having been able to make good, and being unable to find suitable white purchasers, are deprived of a sale that they would willingly make to equally willing Indian purchasers. The Indian community has no desire to re-open the question of original Crown Grants in the Highlands, but demands the abolition of the Governor's peremptory veto in ordinary commercial transactions relating to the purchase and sale of agricultural lands. If, as is alleged, there are few Indians desirous of purchasing such lands in the Highlands, there will be no disturbance of existing conditions. If there are no European sellers - and no European is under any obligation to sell to an Indian - the matter solves itself.

23. The Indians have refused to accept the Government's suggestion to set aside an area for their exclusive occupation in similar manner, first, because they regard it as an unworthy bribe, secondly, because they consider that, by accepting the proposal, they would be adopting the very principle of racial segregation against which they have unceasingly protested; and thirdly, because the Highlands decision and all that it connotes adds to the areas of the Empire in which Indians are debarred from exercising the elementary rights of equal citizenship. The disability is especially resented, since it is imposed upon them, not in a temperate self-governing Dominion, to which they are already forbidden access but which is free to white persons, but in a tropical Colony, under direct Downing Street rule, where native African rights are in no way infringed, and where they were prior immigrants and earlier pioneers, under express promise of equal treatment and opportunities.

24. In 1918, a partisan local Economic Commission of Enquiry into post-war development issued a report which, after making disparaging reference to the Kenya Indians (who were not represented upon the Commission and had given no evidence before it), passages subsequently repudiated by Lord Milner on behalf of His Majesty's Government, proceeded to advocate strict control of future immigration from India. This demand, Lord Milner, in 1919, refused to entertain. From then onwards, it became the settled and avowed policy of the white settlers to exclude further Indian immigration, and to make the situation for the resident Indians so uncomfortable as to induce them to leave the country. It was the story of South Africa, but without the justification that South Africa might plead, all over again. The European

Convention of Associations, in order to influence public opinion in this country, circulated widely, in a memorandum, the very passages, charging Indians with having brought about the moral and economic degradation of the African population, which Lord Milner had, when they were formally brought to his notice, officially repudiated. The white settlers were in fact not prepared to contemplate the idea of a coloured community demanding a share with them in the citizenship rights which they had so long, with the encouragement of the local Administration, been accustomed to regard as their racial privilege, Indians were, and have always been, denied the right to share the responsibility of defence, and their repeated demand to do so has been rejected. It is a matter of common knowledge that the white settlers were afraid that the Indian claim for equal treatment and equal opportunity would later be strengthened by a similar demand from the African natives, whom they have always looked upon as and sought to make mere proletarians. The sympathy naturally extended by the Indian leaders to native aspirations, to be something better than this in their own country, was looked upon as dangerous to white settler supremacy. Indians have no doubt that this is the real motive underlying the <sup>disingenuous</sup> allegation that they are an economic danger to the African natives, that figures so largely, since 1919, in the anti-Indian campaign.

25. In the Wood-Winterton Agreement, an announcement was to be made that in present circumstances no change was contemplated in the existing immigration regulations. This decision was reached, apparently, without reference to any question of native economic development, though the matter

had undoubtedly been under the consideration of the Colonial Office, but solely on the question of the relations of the white and Indian communities inter se. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, however, added a note on the subject as follows:-

"Throughout discussions with (the) India Office, I have made it plain that my view is unchanged as to immigration control, and that if the danger ever arises of a large influx of Indians I hold myself entirely free to take action which may be necessary. In view of the figures which you have supplied as to the influx and efflux of Indians in 1921-22, I have not felt it necessary to insist on any alteration of the laws at present."

Upon receipt of this message, the Governor (who, at a public meeting of the European Convention of Associations, known as the "White Man's Parliament", had announced that he was unable to take part in politics, but that his audience would understand him when he said that he was a South African, meaning thereby that his sympathies were pro-white in a conflict between them and the Indians, and who appears to share the South African view on Asiatic exclusion) promptly sent up untested figures to show that a larger influx of Indians was indicated for 1922-23. The fact is, as the Government of India has pointed out to the Secretary of State for India, who has passed them on to the Colonial Office, the figures for the last five or six years show that there is practically a balance between the Indian immigrants and emigrants. The immigrant figures are swollen by the return of Indians formerly resident in Kenya and by transmigrants to Uganda,

Northern Tanganyika, and Belgian Congo, who use the port of Mombasa. On the official figures, therefore, there is no justification for further restrictions on Indian immigration, whatever may be the pretext. Nevertheless, an Immigration Bill was recently drafted and sent to the Colonial Office for approval of such a drastic nature that your predecessor was obliged to reject it, and I understand that it has now been sent back to Kenya for redrafting.

26. The White Paper, whilst deciding against racial legislation on immigration, suggests that, in the interests of the African natives, restrictions may be imposed upon those classes of immigrants likely to come into economic competition with them to their disadvantage. This does not refer, as might be expected, to the white immigrants, who have despoiled the natives of their lands and forced upon them legislation designed to supply the white estate-owner with a large native labour-supply unorganized for self-protection, but to the Indian artisans, clerks and traders. The Indian labourer does not go to Kenya, as is falsely alleged. The average of the Indian population of Kenya, since it includes so small a proportion of the "Coolie" element, is officially admitted to be higher than in India itself. And just as there is almost no unskilled Indian labour in Kenya, so, in view of the fact that in a tropical colony no white man will undertake manual labour alongside of coloured workers, there are virtually no white workers, in that sense of the term. Indeed, the general characteristic of the white population of Kenya is that it is preponderantly aristocratic, and it had been the settled policy of the leaders of the white

community, so far as possible, to keep it so. They have therefore discouraged immigration by the type of white worker that goes freely to the self-governing Dominions and to America.

27. It is alleged, and it was tacitly assumed by His Majesty's late Government, that the presence of the Indian trader, artisan, and clerk, who comprises the great bulk of the Indian population, has been to the economic detriment of the African native population. The evidence of this, if any, was taken in secret and has never been open to competent cross-examination. In any event, it is strenuously contested by the Indian community, who demand an impartial inquiry before any decisions that may affect the centuries-old connexion with India are taken. The facts are very different. The Indian trader has provided the African natives, at a cheap price, with the articles of commerce required by civilized peoples. The evidence gathered by Mr. C. F. Andrews from independent sources and his own personal observation and inquiry, has never been seriously challenged. Even Dr. Arthur, the missionary who came here last year with a strong anti-Indian bias, has admitted that "Indians, who are numerous, are chiefly the small traders of the country, having brought to the natives cheap goods, such as cloth, blankets, beads, tea, sugar, lamps, and the like. They have purchased from the natives surplus stocks of food crops, such as maize, beans, millet, and so forth. This undoubtedly has been of great help to the African natives". - *The Graphic*, May 19, 1923.

28. The Uganda Railway had to be built with Indian labour because no unskilled African labour was then available. It is run to-day largely with skilled Indian

labour and Indian clerical staff because the Administration has egregiously failed in its duty to train the native inhabitants of the country to perform the share of constructive development of the Colony's resources that should normally be theirs. To-day, there are considerable numbers of semi-skilled natives, who owe such technical knowledge as they have acquired almost entirely to the direct or indirect teaching of the Indian artisan and craftsman, whose patience, diligence, and simplicity of method are of the highest value in native development. The enclosed pamphlets, which include the careful study made by Mr. Andrews make this quite clear. The evidence is wholly from non-Indian sources.

29. The present pretence is that the influx of the Indian artisan, small trader, and clerk prevent suitable opportunities for the employment of the African natives. It is singular that this "discovery" which seems to account for the drastic nature of the rejected draft Immigration Bill, that would have resulted, if enacted, in virtually closing the door against all Indian immigration, whilst leaving white immigration virtually uncontrolled, should have been made at the very moment when there is a grave political controversy between the white and Indian communities on the question of the franchise, since it is from the very classes sought to be excluded that the bulk of Indian voters would come. It is significant that the white settlers, before they would even talk about the Wood-Winterton agreement, demanded an Asiatics Exclusion Bill, without reference at all to the native question, and that Lord Delamere, their protagonist, only recently, in the

Legislative Council, sought to make the passage of the Franchise Bill, though giving only a communal franchise and a ridiculously small representation to Indians, contingent upon the passing of the Immigration Bill that has now been rejected by His Majesty's Government.

30. As a matter of fact, in dismissing Indians wholesale from railway and other government employment, the local Administration is replacing them, not, as would be supposed, by natives, but as a rule by more expensive whites and mixed-raced immigrants specially imported from the Seychelles. There is nothing and there never has been anything, except sheer disinclination on the part of the local Administration under powerful white settler pressure, to prevent the encouragement of technical training of the African natives for skilled or semi-skilled work or clerical pursuits, independently altogether of Indian training. If they are so trained, they will inevitably underlive the Indians, whose standards of life are necessarily higher in a foreign country, and because of the simpler standards of the natives. Accordingly the economic problem will solve itself. If the Indian trader, clerk or artisan finds that he cannot compete on equal terms with the native, he will certainly not wish to enter the country and the surplus Indians of these classes will automatically leave it. There is obviously, therefore, no necessity for an immigration bill for the purpose of further restricting or controlling specially Indian immigration. It may well be, however, that a general inquiry into the whole Kenya problem, administrative and otherwise, may be of great value in the framing of future policy, and in this inquiry the economic effects upon the Colony of immigration generally

would be examined. That would, however, be a matter for an independent and impartial commission, whose members were not committed to racial or anti-Indian views and had no interests in the Colony, directly or indirectly.

31. To sum up, India feels a sense of the deepest resentment at what all classes of politicians unite in regarding as a fraud of the gravest character that has been perpetrated upon her in the matter of the Kenya decisions of the late Cabinet. It must be within your knowledge, as it is within that of other eminent members of your Party, that nothing has so deeply exasperated Indian sentiment as the treatment of Indian nationals overseas. Lord Peel, at the last Imperial Conference, voiced this sentiment in language that drew the admiration of his Indian colleagues. Until the Kenya question became acute, the trouble had been one affecting the Indian residents of the self-governing Dominions, especially South Africa. In all these cases, the Imperial Government in explaining their inability to intervene constitutionally, did nothing to satisfy Indian opinion, which has always regarded the problem as outside the sphere of the purely internal policy of the Dominions, affecting, as it does, more than three quarters of the Empire's population, as well as influencing foreign relations. But the Imperial Government invariably accompanied its explanation with an expression of regret and sympathy, which did something to mitigate the intensity of Indian dissatisfaction, at any rate as regards the Imperial Government's attitude. The Kenya question however, has changed all this. Instead of ranging herself on the side of India and those self-governing Dominions which promised redress to India in

matters of citizenship rights, Great Britain, having solemnly pledged herself to, likewise, took the part of South Africa, by adopting the policy of racial differentiation that is having such tremendous reactions in India on Imperial relations. I quote the following extract from the latest issue of the "Servant of India" (January 24th), an organ, not of the Indian extremists, but of the Liberal Constitutional Party, that has throughout sought to give adequate effect to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, whatever their criticism of those Reforms might be. I may add that the writer is one of the best-known and most responsible among the elder Indian Statesmen:-

"While the three Dominions concerned have merely deferred action, to an undue extent though it may be, the British Government, which was also a party to the resolution of 1921, has in respect of Kenya flagrantly repudiated it. There is not even the excuse of a superior authority like Parliament having refused to ratify it. The British Cabinet itself has gone clean back on a resolution to which a Prime Minister, a Foreign Secretary, a Colonial Secretary, an Indian Secretary and several other Cabinet Ministers were parties. A very vital blow has been struck at the unity of the Empire. The shame of it burns us here. It should burn the people of Great Britain even more. If it does not, the meaning is that the corruption is too far gone".

32. Immediately after the Kenya decisions were known, Mr. Sastri, on behalf of the delegation that he headed, placed himself in communication with the present Prime Minister, in view of the disastrous effects upon public confidence in India in the good faith and intentions of the Government and people of this country. It was as a result of this communication that Colonel Wedgwood, speaking

with the full authority of the Parliamentary Labour Party, made a notable declaration in the debate in the House of Commons on the Colonial Office Estimates, during which Mr. Ormsby-Gore had referred to the White Paper policy, published the day before. Having narrated the course of events, and laid stress upon the surrender of the Cabinet to threats of force on the part of the white settlers, the probability of which had been before the Colonial Office for at least two years, but with no serious attempt by the Department over which you now preside to take the most elementary precautions - everyone in India knows the reason - Colonel Wedgwood made the following solemn statement:-

"Cannot hon. Members see what this means? Do they not see it is a slap in the eye, after the declaration of the Imperial Conference two years ago, after everything that was said by hon. Members, by Prime Ministers, and ex-Prime Ministers, about equal rights within the British nation, that they do this, and that they do it because they are afraid of 9,000 settlers? Good heavens, it is not only that henceforth you set up two different categories of British citizens. That is bad enough, but you do it because you are afraid. Is there a corner in India where they will not know why the British Empire assented to this unjust settlement? There will be people in India who will not be sad about this settlement. It will be a tragedy to many of our friends, but do not forget that no people will rejoice more in this settlement than the enemies of England. That is what this Government has done. It is not easy, when a step like this has once been taken, ever to put it right, but I am certain the party I have the honour to speak for tonight, when their turn comes, will do their best. I cannot say more about that, because heaven knows what the repercussion of this will be

before that time. But we will do our best to establish justice and fairplay throughout the British Empire and put an end to what is ruining our chance of real peace and development".

33. That statement is regarded in India as a pledge formally made, with the present Prime Minister's knowledge and consent, on behalf of the Party to which you belong. It was made when it was not expected that the advent of your Party to Office would be so speedy. It is all the more binding upon the present Government that they should lose no time in implementing it. The Prime Minister's words in his recent message to India have been anxiously examined. The following passage has a singular bearing upon the Kenya situation:-

"No party in Britain will be cowed by threats of force or of policies designed to bring Government to a standstill." The Kenya Indian community have not threatened to resort to force or to bring the Kenya Administration to a standstill. In the very nature of things, that is impossible. But the white settlers not merely threatened to resort to force if the Wood-Winterton Agreement were put into operation; they went so far as to make arrangements to paralyse the Administration. As Colonel Wedgwood pointed out, there were threats of secession from the British Empire. "Plans were got out to kidnap the Governor - why, I could never make out - plans were got out to replace all the Government Officials, and appeals were made to South Africa". What all India will now be asking is whether the Prime Minister's warning applies only to the non-white peoples of the Empire. If not, India will require some practical evidence that the injury done to right and to the people of India because of the "surrender to force" shall be undone at the

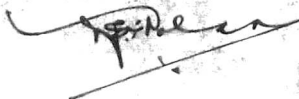
earliest possible moment. In the course of your remarks to the Empire Press representatives that met you on January 29, you said: "I know that if you have got to do something it is much better to do it because it is the right thing to do rather than to do it when you are compelled to do it by force, because the appetite invariably grows by what it is fed on... I intend to approach all these problems from that standpoint. If it is right it will be done; if it is wrong it will not be done, and no force will compel me to alter it." These words have already been transmitted to India, where the leaders of public opinion, in the light of past events, will narrowly watch the manner and extent to which effect is given to them in the matter of Kenya.

34. India will not ask and does not ask that anything done legitimately in the genuine interests of African native trusteeship shall be undone. On the contrary, the feeling is general that those interests have been far too long neglected by His Majesty's Government. But the improper use of the doctrine to maintain those parts of the White Paper policy that have no reference whatever to native interests, save in a contingency that shows no likelihood of occurrence, but were agreed upon by the late Cabinet in order to bolster up a fraudulent claim to racial preference and privilege on the part of the white community would, I fear, do irreparable injury to any prospect of restoring Indian confidence in British good faith. If the Labour Party is untrue to its pledged word, to whom else can India now turn? What would immediately satisfy India would be the issue of prompt instructions that nothing further was to be done to carry out the White Paper policy affecting the relations of the immigrant communities, pending the report of the Committee now being appointed by the Government of India. The critical

matter at the moment is the Franchise Bill. If it has not already received the Royal Assent, I earnestly beg you not to advise the giving of the Assent. If it should have already been given, I venture to urge that the measure should not be put into operation and that any proclamation ordering elections under it should be withdrawn without delay.

35. In conclusion, I have to express regret that this memorandum should have extended to such length. My excuse must lie in the urgency of the matter and the vital character of the principles involved.

Yours sincerely,



Enclosures of

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THE  
REAL KENYA QUESTION

A FEW FACTS



ISSUED BY THE INDIANS OVERSEAS ASSOCIATION,

47/48, Danes Inn House, 265, Strand, W.C.2.

## THE KENYA QUESTION.

Report of Select Committee, House of Commons, on Aboriginal Races, 1887.

The settlers in almost every Colony having either disputes to adjust with the native or claims to urge against him, the representative body is virtually a party, and therefore ought not to be the judge in such controversies.

Rt. Hon. W. S. CHURCHILL (then Secretary of State for the Colonies) at the Imperial Conference, June 22, 1921.

In regard to the question raised by Mr. Sastri on the problem of the status of Indians in some Crown Colonies and to a certain extent in South Africa, Mr. Churchill said that the British Empire could have only one ideal on this matter, namely, that there should be no barrier of race, colour, or creed preventing any man by merit from reaching any station if he were fitted therefor. He was unable to adopt any lesser statement of principle in regard to the Crown Colonies.

From the *Kenya Observer* (a European-owned and edited newspaper published at Nairobi), March 3, 1923.

In the past the native has been neglected in this Colony, he has been alternately abused and exploited, made use of as a chattel or condemned as worthless, useless and idle. More recently the trend of events has had the effect of awakening the conscience of the European, and as a result there has been much talk of the need of uplifting the native. But it is greatly to be feared that this change has not had its origin in any sense of altruism, so much as in the fact that the object of our solerude was found more useful as an asset and could be used as a pawn in the political schemes of the day.

From HENRY S. L. POLAK, Hon. Secretary, Indiana Overseas Association.

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Native interests are not paramount with the white settlers in Kenya—omitting the missionary element—and . . . hitherto the official policy has not been to administer Kenya primarily as a native trust. If a change of attitude and policy is now contemplated, no section of the population will welcome it more warmly than the Indians, whose friendly relations with the natives long antedate the advent of the white settlers.

The Indian settlers have quite recently declared that, in their opinion, native interests should override all others, and that, as among immigrants there should be no preference or privilege given to any community. They have, in fact, accepted provisionally a settlement giving to the white settlers a majority of the minority of elective seats in the Legislature, contenting themselves for many years to come with a minority of that minority

From Prof. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, University of Edinburgh.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

A strong case has been made by the Rev. Dr. Arthur on behalf of the African population in favour of the restriction of Indian immigration into Kenya and the refusal to resident Indians of the franchise on the same terms as it is accorded to British settlers. On the other hand, it is obvious that to accept this position is definitely to deny racial equality even within that part of the Empire which is controlled by his Majesty's Government, and to undermine the foundation of equity on which alone the relations of India and the United Kingdom can be securely based.

It seems, however, that Dr. Arthur's principles point to a result which he has not fully appreciated. If, as is just, the interest of the African population should be the determining motive in British policy, it seems clearly to follow that to British immigration, no less than Indian, strict bounds should be set, and that it should be made absolutely clear that the policy of the local Government and its legislation shall remain under Imperial control until the Africans themselves, at some distant time, come to be able to take effective part in their own government. That the Indian settler desires to exploit the native race may be admitted, but the same contention applies equally to the British; all experience, notably in South Africa, establishes that to create a dominant white population is inconsistent with normal native development.

From the point of view of Imperial relations, the one effective solution of the difficulty in Kenya is to recognise that neither British nor Indian settlers should be considered as primary elements, but that the territory should be preserved for African development.

From W. MCGREGOR ROSS, M.Inst.C.E. (for eighteen years, the Director of Public Works in Kenya).

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

The letter from the Archbishop of Nairobi appearing in your issue of the 13th inst. is one which, in the absence of comment, would be liable to mislead your readers: It is necessary for all who are seriously interested in the future welfare of Kenya Colony to distinguish, at the present time, between cold statements of fact and heated imaginings as to future possible, or impossible, happenings.

The Archbishop's quotation of an Indian resolution of March 3rd is correct. Your Nairobi Correspondent, who has been giving information from both sides to the dispute with commendable impartiality, points out, with greater fairness (*The Times*, January 27th) that "this decision has been taken on account of the unreasoning attitude of the Europeans and their hints of direct action." He had earlier reported (*The Times*, February 3rd):—"The Indians authorize me to state that they have no desire now or in the future to control the administration, and are willing to give any

*vledge or agree to any safeguards which will meet the fears of the Europeans. The Europeans are unwilling to discuss the proposal.*" The moderate Indians (*The Times*, January 27th) had previously put upon a scheme to Government providing for a "fixed number of representatives of each community (eleven Europeans and five Indians), this being deemed to meet the European fear of being outvoted." (The Indians are wrong.)

The requirement of the moment, and until the projected Conference takes place in London next month, is other language, tending to play game on both sides. Talk about the "spread of Indian civilisation, methods of government, religion, and all they stand for" throughout our East and West African and other Colonies and Dependencies is utterly untrue, wise nor dignified.

The facts of the case are that "the unofficial members of the Legislative Council are there in a purely advisory capacity." (The Secretary of State in Hansard, Vol. 126, No. 48, p. 956.) In excess of the elected members and the present four nominated Indian members, there is a Government majority of European senior officials. The whole is advisory to the Executive of Government, nominated by the Crown, and consisting of a majority of European heads of Government Departments and a minority of two unofficial Europeans and one Indian, selected by the Governor. The Governor is locally, in point of fact, an autocrat, and can disregard the advice of his Executive Council. He is answerable only to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whose regard he is. This being the case, what becomes of the Archbishop's statement that the granting of even the demands of the extreme Indians, which, it may be supposed, are not likely to be either persisted in or conceded means "nothing less than the end over the Colony, with its three million natives, to India?"

From Mr. W. J. MONSON (late Assistant Chief Secretary, Kenya Colony).

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

In the correspondence which has appeared recently regarding the present problem in Kenya there has, I think, been a tendency to avoid the discussion of one of the most vital points at issue.

That point is, briefly, whether the government of the Colony is to remain in the hands of the Governor and the Executive Council, working with an official majority under the general control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies who is ultimately responsible, through the House of Commons, for the British nation; or whether the government is to be placed in the hands of the European community in Kenya, as it is at present. Their feeling in the matter is quite understandable, and their aspirations towards self-government perfectly natural, but it remains open to doubt whether, as a body, they are as yet either numerous enough or sufficiently experienced in a political sense to be safely entrusted with the responsibility of administering an immense territory containing tens of thousands of Indians and hundreds of thousands of Africans.

This doubt, I make bold to assert, is shared by the two last-named. The Indian is able to give expression to his alarm; the African is present almost inarticulate. In the interests of both it would, I believe, be wise to make it clear that no radical change in the constitution of the Colony will be contemplated for some time to come, and that the policy of the country will not, as a matter of course, be dictated by the vote, even the unanimous vote, of the elected European members of the Legislative Council.



that an immediate enfranchisement of the African peoples would be a dangerous experiment. But the logic of all things is that Kenya is not ripe now, and will not be for a long time to come, for democracy or representative government, and that the political control and responsibility must for an indefinite period remain in the hands of the Imperial Government.

The present controversy is itself the strongest evidence that when three racially distinct communities at different stages of civilisation and with very different political ideals and traditions live side by side there is need of some impartial outside body to hold the scales even and see that justice is done to all.

If this principle—that the interests of the native population are paramount, and that the responsibility for the administration of the territory must remain in the hands of the Imperial Government acting as trustees for these peoples—were clearly laid down and honestly accepted by all parties, a solution satisfactory to India, though still beset with great difficulty, would, in our judgment, be much easier to reach.

But together with safeguards for the retention of political control in the hands of the Imperial Government and for dealing with any menace to the welfare of the native inhabitants, whose interests is paramount, it is essential that every effort should be made to reach a solution which will be fair and just to the Indians and will not wound their self-respect. We realise the difficulties involved. Seldom in the history of our Empire has there emerged a problem larger, more baffling, or fraught with more far-reaching issues. It will demand for its solution all the statesmanship, large-mindedness, power of understanding, and breadth of sympathy which we possess.

How the principles of justice and fair consideration for all classes of his Majesty's subjects are to be applied to the intricate and perplexing problems of Kenya can be determined only by those on whom lies the immediate responsibility for decision. We are convinced, however, that only a solution that is clearly disinterested and dictated primarily by considerations of justice and humanity can prevent a disastrous estrangement between India and Great Britain.

From Mr JOHN AINSWORTH (late Chief Native Commissioner, Kenya Colony).

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

In dealing with the present controversy in Kenya Colony numerous statements have from time to time referred to the supposed claim made by Indians that, amongst other things, they aim at obtaining administrative control of the native population in the colony. The discussion in the connection would appear to have arisen as a result of statements, made by those opposed to the Indian demands for a common franchise, that the demands included a right to share in the administration of the tribes. I believe, however, that no such idea has ever been entertained by responsible Indians, and, indeed, their leaders have frequently refuted such statements. The implication is, however, that somewhere behind the various arguments one party or the other has in view the control of the native reserves.

From the commencement of this controversy a great deal as regards intentions, as well as considerable error regarding the position and responsibilities of members elected to the Legislative Council of the Colony has been read into the arguments of both sides, resulting in a somewhat confused understanding as to what the respective parties have in view.

Regarding the repeated assurances of solicitude regard for the native people, I for one am extremely pleased to note the present interest in this connection, which is all for the future good of the tribes. Notwithstanding such assurances, however, whatever the constitution of non-native parties in Kenya—whether the future brings self-government or not—there should be no question of the natives being subjected to the vagaries of local politics. Their proper guardian is the British Government, and that guardianship should continue until such time as they are in a position to understand that is best for themselves.

The great majority of the Kenya natives are illiterate. Their successful administration requires that their various requirements should be understood, and their confidence and respect retained. Officers in charge of the tribes must be sympathetic, yet strict, and whole-hearted in their work, and should be absolutely unconnected with, and independent of, any and all influences of local political parties. All this, however, does not necessarily infer that the natives should not be subjected to a broad policy of getting them to understand that active co-operation with their neighbours is an essential if the country generally is to progress. Whatever, therefore, may be decided as regards the present dispute, the natives should be left out of the business. Our work is to make the African economically progressive, to advance him in the service of self-government, and train him to become a good and useful citizen. All this can best be done if the tribesmen are kept outside the sphere of local political influences.

Mr. C. F. ANDREWS.

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

The Kenya Indian Delegation have requested me to correct on their behalf certain important points in Lord Cranworth's courteous letter.

The Milner proposals of 1921 were not acceptable either to the Government of India or to the Kenya Indian community because they were based throughout on the principle of racial segregation. This segregation was to be carried out as completely as possible in agricultural, commercial, and township residential areas. Segregation was also to be effected even in the franchise. The Indian community were not to be allowed to share a common franchise with the Europeans, on an education and property basis (as they do in the Cape Province, Rhodesia, and elsewhere), but were to be allowed only two seats in a Council of thirty members on a separate segregation as inconsistent with India's status as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. This position, taken up by the Indian Government in 1919, has been further strengthened by the resolution passed at the Imperial Conference of July, 1921, which recognises that there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire. The Conference accordingly is of the opinion that, in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth, it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised.

Mr. Winston Churchill, who represented the Colonial Office at that Conference, signed this resolution. If it be argued that this resolution referred directly to the self-governing Dominions, it surely ought to state that, *a fortiori*, it also goes for the Colonies as well. It is the assertion of a great principle, on which India's place in the British Commonwealth

of Nations, for the future, entirely depends. If there were to be any franchise at all the dignity of Indian citizenship, referred to in this resolution, could hardly be met by such a meagre franchise as that proposed by Lord Milner. The more recent Wood-Winterton Agreement appears to recognize this fact.

But the Indian position, as given in the signed memorandum of the Kenya Indian delegates, goes far beyond this question of equal franchise with the European.

We think it safest and best (they assert), in the present circumstances, that neither the Indian nor the European settler should have the control of native affairs, and that the legislative power should be taken out of their hands and kept in the hands of the Imperial Government till a time in the future when the African native is sufficiently advanced in intelligence and education to manage his own affairs and rule over his own country. This is our present judgment, and we are prepared to abide by it.

May I be permitted to emphasize the fact that in this declaration of the Kenya Indian Delegation lies the key to the whole Indian position?

Dr. JOHN W. ARTHUR, Head of the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu, Kenya Colony, in *The Graphic* (May 19, 1923).

Indians, who are numerous are chiefly the small traders of the country, having brought to the natives cheap goods, such as cloth, blankets, beads, tea, sugar, lamps, and the like. They have purchased from the natives surplus stocks of food crops, such as maize, beans, millet, and so forth. This undoubtedly has been of great help to the African natives.

From *The Nation and the Athenaeum* (May 20, 1923).

Most people whose reading of the daily paper is moderately intensive must now know that there is a Kenya question. The headline which gives them this information, usually runs "Indians in Kenya," and on the surface it would appear that the question is concerned with the claims and relations of the Indians and white settlers in the territory which, until lately, was known as British East Africa. Whether the Indians should be given the franchise on an equality with the settlers, whether Indian immigration should be restricted, whether the highlands should be reserved for white men—these are the particular points which are at the moment being fought over by rival deputations to the Colonial Office; and the principle involved appears therefore to be that of racial equality within the British Empire. That principle is involved, and it is an important one, but behind it, and behind the complicated dispute between the Indians and settlers, a struggle is proceeding over a question and a principle of still greater importance. The real Kenya question is concerned with the future government of those African territories which are now administered as Crown Colonies of Protectorates, and therefore with the whole future of the British Empire in Africa. Are these territories to be administered by the Imperial Government as a "sacred trust of civilisation" until such time as their African inhabitants may become capable of self-government, or are they to be handed over to the absolute rule of a handful of British settlers, planters, and traders whose interest is

the territories is confined to economic exploitation? That is the real question which is now being fought over, and within a few weeks must be settled, in the Colonial Office.

To prove this statement it is necessary briefly to set out the facts which have led up to the present crisis. The population of Kenya consists of about 3,000,000 Africans, about 25,000 Indians, and about 10,000 white men. The government of the country has hitherto been the ordinary type of Crown Colony administration, i.e., the white settlers elected representatives to the Legislative Council, but the Governor had an official majority on the Council, and so ultimate authority remained with him, and through him with the Colonial Office and the Imperial Government. The Kenya administration has always been extraordinarily complacent to the settlers. All the best land in the hills has been either sold to them or given on lease for 999 years at very low prices. Africans who inconveniently occupied African land in desirable situations were removed and relegated to less fertile reserves. When the Africans refused to come and work for very low wages for the settlers, the Government yielded to the settlers' repeated demands, and administrative pressure was applied in various ways to "induce" the Africans to supply cheap labour.

But for some time past the settlers have been dissatisfied with the position. There has been a widespread demand among them for

#### MORE DIRECT COMPULSION UPON THE AFRICAN

to supply labour, a compulsion to be applied either by law or by cutting down the reserves and increasing the taxation of natives. It became obvious that neither the local Government nor the Colonial Office could possibly grant these demands in face of the opposition in this country. Immediately there arose among the white settlers great opposition to the existing form of government, continual criticism of the "official majority" on the Council, and a demand for responsible government. Responsible government means, of course, in this case, that the administration shall be responsible to an elected majority on the Legislative Council, but here the elected representatives shall be elected by, and shall represent, only the 10,000 white settlers out of a population of between three and four millions. In other parts of Africa similar demands have been made and granted, with the inevitable result that the native population and its land have been handed over to the exploitation of a handful of white masters. But in this case another factor existed and stood between the very vocal settler and the inarticulate African—25,000 Indians. If there was to be a franchise, and an elected majority, and responsible government, what about the Indians and racial equality within the Empire? The question was promptly asked by the Indians and by India, which is no longer inarticulate. It received a very prompt answer from the settlers. "This is a white man's country," they said. "A deceased Secretary of State for the Colonies pledged the British Empire that no land between the Kenya highlands should ever be sold to a brown or a black man. Those highlands must be reserved for white men. The immigration of Indians must be stopped. Indians now in Kenya must be segregated. The franchise must not be given to Indians, because, if it is, the government of Kenya will be in the hands of Indians, and we shall be handing over the natives of Africa to Asians and to Muhammadans, and betraying our sacred trust of Christianity and civilisation." And if we are not allowed to perform that sacred trust, if the Imperial Government attempts to give the franchise to Indians, they will take to arms and impose our will by force."

So issue was joined between the white settler and the Indian. The controversy here turns upon the Indian demand that they be given the

franchise on the same terms as the settlers with a common register, and that no new restrictions be introduced with regard to immigration. Towards the end of last year a compromise was worked out in London but, when it was referred to Kenya, it was rejected absolutely by the settlers.

WHO THREATEN FORCE

If their full terms are not satisfied. Meanwhile, they called to their aid the usual weapons of propaganda. It has been represented that, if the Indian claims with regard to the franchise and immigration be conceded, will mean that Kenya and its three million native inhabitants will be handed over to the government of Indian immigrants, for they already outnumber the white men by over two to one. So the settler made his first appearance before the British public dressed in a white sheet, with a cross on his breast, supported or half supported by a Bishop, and claiming to be the knight-errant of the liberties and happiness of three million Africans.

Unfortunately this beautiful, but imaginary vision of Lord Delamere and Mr. Croghan has now evaporated. The representatives of the Indians have explicitly stated that they consider it vital that the official majority should be retained in the Legislative Council, thus assuring to the Government the power of outvoting legislation adversely affecting the natives, until the natives themselves are able to undertake responsible government. That they have no desire whatever to take any part in the direct administration of native affairs, which should be left entirely in the hands of the Colonial officials. This statement of the Indian deputations disposes of the settlers' case against the Indians. The Indians are certainly no more to be trusted than the white settlers with absolute power over the natives, but they are claiming no such power. It is the settlers' fault for "responsible government," for the handing over of Kenya to the absolute rule of a few thousand white men, which, in fact, has forced the Indian to claim the vote for himself and thereby to become the defender of the native. There should be only one answer from the Imperial Government to the two parties in this dispute, namely, that the control of the government of Kenya cannot be entrusted, either in whole or in part, to 10,000 white men or 25,000 Indians, but must remain for the present in the hands of the Colonial Office and the Imperial Government, and that representative institutions should be so framed as to give a voice not only to white men and Indians but to Africans as well.

The real Kenya question is, as the above facts show, an extremely important one. It will probably mark a turning point in the history of British rule in Africa. If the settlers' demands are granted it will mean that the disastrous precedents of Natal and Rhodesia are to be extended to all British Africa and that territories and their inhabitants are to be handed over to the absolute rule of tiny white oligarchies in the name of democracy and "responsible government." On the other hand, if the Imperial Government takes the right line and maintains it firmly, it will establish the principle that in all African territories under the Colonial Office the interests of the African inhabitants are the primary concern of the Government, that the doctrines of "responsible government" are for the time being inapplicable, and that immigrants, whether Asiatic or European, will be treated on a basis of complete equality, with protection for their economic interests in so far as they do not conflict with those of the native populations.

From "A CORRESPONDENT" in *The Observer* (May 20, 1923).

Those who are familiar with recent events recognise that the Kenya issue is not merely the future of Kenya, but the fundamental principle of the British Empire. It is not perhaps generally realised that two conflicting theories of Empire have for some time past been almost imperceptibly developing. On the one hand, there is the old Victorian conception that the Empire exists for the common good of all its subjects, of whatever race or colour, and more especially for the uplifting of backward peoples. It is the conception which more recently has been embodied in the mandates of the League of Nations. It is the conception which has admitted the right of India to equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

On the other hand, there are those who would consolidate the white peoples of the Empire as a ruling caste, who regard colonies and dependentencies as the *prælia populi Anglici*. At the Imperial Conference of 1921 the issue was raised in concrete and critical form by the representatives of India. India admitted the right of such Dominion to control the constitution of its own population by restrictions on immigration; but moved that the solidarity of the Empire required that Indians lawfully domiciled in other parts of the Empire should be admitted to full rights of citizenship. The broader and more liberal conception of Empire then prevailed; with one significant dissentient, South Africa. It is the practical application of this resolution which has now led to the Kenya crisis.

A WORLD PROBLEM.

The domination of colour—the colour bar, as it is called in South Africa, where the old Grandwater of the Transvaal ordains that "there shall be no equality between white and black in Church or State"—is repugnant to the Englishman in England. But in countries where colour is a stark reality, it requires vision, detachment, even self-sacrifice, to maintain the traditional British outlook. In such countries every white man is personally involved in the great world-problem, which seems likely to dominate coming generations—the future relations of the white and the coloured races. He is conscious everywhere that the coloured peoples are becoming resentful of white supremacy, white tutelage, even white help and guidance. Is conflict inevitable, or is a peaceable readjustment possible? There are many white men in such circumstances who believe that conflict is inevitable. It is this belief which inspires organisations so diverse as the South African League in South Africa and the resurgent Ku Klux Klan in America. And it should be recognised that many white settlers in Kenya honestly regard themselves as an outpost of European civilisation against the threatened onrush of colour. There are other motives, no doubt, more selfish or more petty. But it would be a grave error to underestimate the determination of those European settlers in Kenya who, in their threat of resistance to His Majesty's Government, believe that they are saving the Empire in spite of itself.

THE PART OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

But the garrison of an outpost can seldom see things in true perspective. Its position "on the spot" does not entitle it to dictate the strategy of the high command. Others, perhaps, can see more clearly the part which the British Empire is called upon to play. There are men—not only Englishmen—who have devoted themselves to this world-problem, and believe that cleavage on racial lines is not inevitable, and that the Empire's

composite character itself offers hope of salvation from racial conflict, not only for the Empire, but also, by the Empire's example, for the world outside. We are an Empire of many races and many colours. A heavy responsibility lies on us to find a solution which the world can follow. If indeed, as the Kenya settlers would have us believe, the only solution within the Empire is the assertion of white supremacy by force, then world-conflict can scarcely be avoided. But humanity demands another way than this.

The underlying principle of the resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1921 was that each community or member of the British Commonwealth should be free to develop in its own lines; but that all British subjects, wherever lawfully domiciled within the Empire, should be equal British citizens; intermigration might be restricted, but rights of citizenship should not be denied in their new homes to those who were allowed to enter; the intermingling of different civilisations might be prevented, but intercourse, mutual understanding, and respect should be encouraged. The essence of this agreement was the racial equality of each member of the Commonwealth. On this basis, it was hoped, the Empire would develop, in the several security and mutual recognition of its parts, not merely as a Commonwealth of white peoples, but as a Commonwealth or partnership of races. For such a partnership the African races, as well as the European and the Asiatic, must be regarded as eligible.

#### APPLICATION TO KENYA

This principle is now to be applied to Kenya, as a community of the British Commonwealth, should be free to develop on its own lines. But who are the community, the people of Kenya? Not the 10,000 whites, not the 20,000 Indians whose dispute now threatens the solidarity of the Empire. The people of Kenya are the two and a half million Africans, over whose bodies Europeans and Indians alike are fighting. For there should be no illusion. Recently, indeed, the struggle has been transfigured, so to speak, into a conflict on which the future of the Empire may depend, a conflict for racial supremacy on the one side and for racial equality on the other. But in its elements the struggle is economic, for the exploitation of the native African peoples. The European farmers want cheap labour. The Indian shopkeepers want customers.

The Kenya question, in so far as it is a dispute between European and Indian settlers, should be reduced to its true proportions. The real problem is the future of the millions of Africans, not only in Kenya, but also in the other East African territories, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Nyasaland, for whose welfare the British Government is, and will continue to be, responsible. It is unthinkable that the government of these territories should be surrendered to a handful of settlers, whether Europeans or Indian. It is in accordance with the terms of the resolution of 1921 that both these immigrant communities in Kenya, being lawfully domiciled in the country, should enjoy equal opportunity of citizenship; that is, that those individuals who are duly qualified, irrespective of race, should be represented in the Legislative Council. But the council should continue, as at present, to contain a majority of members representing neither of these communities, but consisting of officials controlled by the Executive Government, whose primary duty it is to protect native African interests. In this way the East African natives, under the guidance of the British Government, will be free to develop on their own lines until they are able to take their place in the British Commonwealth of races.

From Mr. F. B. PEARCE, C.M.G., lately British Resident of Zanzibar, to Mr. U. F. ANDREWS.

The first element of progress, in dealing with the raw savage, is to gain his confidence by means of trade and barter. Here the presence of the Indian is invaluable. The native is not frightened of him, as he is of the European; and the Indian pushes out in the back regions, where no white man could go. The native comes along with a few eggs, a lump of bees' wax and other produce, and sits down to bargain with the Indian. They go on bargaining, sometimes for hours—the European could never stand it!—and at last the native goes away, contented with a bit of Manchester cotton cloth, and the Indian takes the eggs to the nearest market. There could not be a better go-between for such a useful purpose of exchange.

From Sir H. H. JOHNSTONE, (*The Times*, August, 1922.)

The participation of Indians of all classes with us in the conquest from the slave traders, the survey, the opening up, the discoveries of botany and zoology of East Africa, from Abyssinia and Zanzibar down to Natal, has been too noteworthy to be overlooked by the Europeans immigrants into the British possession so ridiculously misnamed "Kenya." The British white men have been the leaders in East African enterprise, and they have been loyally backed up, laboured for, fought for, by thousands of black men. But the intermediary rôle played by the Indian, spy, non-commissioned officer, surveyor, clerk, surgeon, botanical collector, trader and horticulturist, in all East Africa, from the Zambesi to Somaliland, has been too important and loyal to be overlooked in the caliginous way characteristic of the thousand recent white settlers in the highland of Mount Kenya. The injustice of their attitude, the excess of their abuses, reveals me, who strove before they were born, to open up East Africa to knowledge by the help of Indian troops, Indian doctors and Indian clerks.

Letter from SANDBACH BAKER, Esq. (Pioneer British settler in British East Africa), to A. M. JEEVANJEE, Esq.

I think you should try to inform Lord Milner that when the Uganda Railway was made, the principal idea of this was, that it would create in East Africa a very fine country for the surplus populations from the congested districts of India. May I tell you why I know this?

When the Government was approached to make the railway they were rather reluctant to do so on account of the cost, so Sir F. Freagard General McDonald, and Mr. Gerald Portal were asked to see

- The Manchester Chamber of Commerce,
- The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce,
- The Glasgow Chamber of Commerce,
- The Birmingham Chamber of Commerce.

They came to Manchester first, Mr. Arthur Hutton, Chairman of the Cotton Growers Association, and myself, as representing the Chamber,

were deputed to meet them at the Queen's Hotel, Manchester, at dinner. This resulted in recommending the Government to make the railway almost solely on account of releasing the congested districts of India, otherwise it would not have been proposed by us. Liverpool, Glasgow, and Birmingham Chambers said the same.

British East Africa was at that time under the Foreign Office.

Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL (when Under-Secretary for the Colonies) in "My African Journey."

"How stands the claim of the British Indian? His rights as a human being, his rights as a British subject, are equally engaged. It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African countries. It is the Indian trader who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than anyone else developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication.

"Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of good faith? Most of all, we ask, is such a policy possible to the Government which bears away over three hundred millions of our Indian Empire?"



# INDIANS ABROAD.

BULLETIN No. 2.

*February, 1923.*

KENYA.

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The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association,  
NICOL ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

**NOTE.**

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The present number embodies the European case against the Indian settlers in Kenya as formulated by Lord Delamere, the leader of the European settlers, and an examination of the Economic Argument by Mr. C. F. Andrews—both reprinted from a pamphlet published by the latter on the occasion of his visit to Kenya in 1921. The Association considers it its duty to put on record in this place its grateful acknowledgment of the selfless services of Mr. Andrews in the cause of Indians abroad.

The next number will record the progress and the present aspect of the situation.

*Bombay, the 7th March, 1923.*

# INDIANS ABROAD.

Bulletin No. 2.

February 1923.

Kenya.

## THE EUROPEAN CASE EXAMINED\*.

### I. LORD DELAMERE'S MEMORANDUM ON THE CASE AGAINST THE CLAIMS OF INDIANS IN KENYA.

The purpose of this Memorandum is to give to the British Public an idea of the true position of the Europeans and indigenous inhabitants of this Colony, and of the menace to their national and economic existence, if equal status with British-born subjects be granted to the Indian residents in the Colony, or if any recession from the policy embodied in the five Principles set out in Paragraph II. below be granted to the Indian community.

1. At present the relation of European and Asiatic in the Colony is as follows:—

- (a) The population, according to the Census taken in June of this year, 9,651 Europeans and 22,822 Indians. The natives number some two and a half to three millions.
- (b) The responsible offices in all Government Departments are held by Europeans, Indians being employed merely in the lower grades of the service.
- (c) The Legislature consists of a majority of European Officials, who are, through the Governor, under the direction of the Colonial Office, eleven elected European representatives, two Indian representatives (elected on a communal franchise) and one nominated Arab representative. The Indian section of the community has not, however, availed itself of the right of election, so that to-day the composition of the Council

\* Extracts from "The Indian Question in East Africa" by C. F. Andrews.

is, with the exception of the Arab member, entirely European. The interests of the natives are safeguarded by the appointment to the Council of the Chief Native Commissioner.

- (d) A certain portion of the Highlands of Kenya, as, in accordance with the directions from the Home Government, since 1906, been reserved for European occupation.
- (e) A principle of residential segregation between the various races, European, African and Asiatic has obtained for many years.
- (f) Immigration, except in the case of criminals and indigents, is unrestricted.
- (g) The Indian Community mainly follows three paths of activity—shop-keeping, artisan and clerical employment.

2. Lately, the growing disloyalty in India, largely, it is believed, the outcome of mismanagement of Indian affairs, has caused the India Office to consider the possibility of throwing Kenya as a sop to India.

The movement started during the war, when practically the whole European population was on active service, and was supported by local Indian agitation, with the result that the subject in all its bearings was considered by Lord Milner, late Colonial Secretary, who, in August 1920, published a Despatch, enunciating a Policy, which, though they were by no means satisfied, the Europeans nevertheless tacitly accepted as a temporary compromise in order to avoid discord at a critical time.

The following points of the "Milner Policy," as embodied in the Despatch, are now objected to by a section of the Indian Community:—

- (a) The recognition of the right of occupation of the reserved portion of the Highlands by Europeans to the exclusion of Asiatics.
- (b) The upholding of the principle of segregation.
- (c) The limitation of the right of Indian representation on the Legislative Council to two members elected on a communal franchise.

3. However, the Indian agitators (for the demand for equal status does not proceed from the masses of the local population

but from a small party of malecontents, directed by the additionist party in India) were by no means satisfied and now, with a change in the person of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and under continual pressure from India and the India Office, the subject has suddenly become acute, for the Indian claims are now for absolute equality with the Europeans, as a step to complete supremacy.

In detail these are:—

- (a) The right to hold any position, however eminent, in the Civil Service and local Military Forces.
- (b) The right to equal representation with the European on the Legislative Council on a common franchise.
- (c) The right to acquire land in the hitherto reserved portion of the Highlands.
- (d) The abolition of the principle of segregation.
- (e) The right to penetrate the country in unrestricted numbers.

4. The above claims are advanced on the grounds (*inter alia*) (1) that the Indians are British subjects and (2) of the Indian war services.

Without wishing to disparage the achievements of the fighting races of India, under the leadership of English officers, it should be pointed out that the war record of the local Indians is not one of which they can well be proud. The adult male Indian population of Kenya, Zanzibar, Uganda and Tanganyika during the war is believed to have been about 20,000, and of these 1,383 became members of the Forces. Of this number, only 376 were combatants, the remainder being employed as clerks, transport drivers and sweepers (scavengers). The large majority of the 1,383 Indians who served were automatically absorbed into the Forces by reason of the Department in which they were employed; (e.g., the Uganda Railway) being made subject to Martial Law.

The casualties suffered by local Indians were:—

Killed	...	...	...	...	nil.
Died of Wounds	...	...	...	...	nil.
Wounded	...	...	...	...	nil.
Executed for Treachery	...	...	...	...	5.

(the death sentence in 3 other cases being commuted).

The local Indian during the war was notorious for his efforts to avoid military service.

Further, it is a significant fact that of the large number of British Indian traders in German East Africa while the campaign was in progress practically none were interned by the Germans.

The advocates of equal rights for Indians in Kenya claim them as an act of Justice to those Indians who are already resident here. There is a feeling amongst the European colonists that the illuminating figures quoted above hardly justify this claim.

The war record of the native tribes presents a contrast. The total who served, either as combatants with the King's African Rifles, or in the Labour or Transport Corps or as Carriers was upwards of 600,000, of whom it is believed at least 10 per cent. were killed or perished under the rigours of the campaign.

5. The British Public is, in the main, unaware of the state of affairs in India at the present time. In England the general conception of the Indian is the cultured cosmopolitan gentleman or the splendid fighting man, both of which types are the poles apart from the political agitator class which is stirring up sedition in India at the present time and which is now seeking equal rights in Kenya. They are also entirely different from the illiterate, ignorant small trader and artisan who form the bulk of the Indian population of Kenya, and upon whom it is proposed to bestow equal franchise rights with the European colonist. That many local Indians do not even understand the meaning of an elective franchise, or what it involves, is made evident from Indian meetings recently held in Nairobi.

6. Disloyalty and sedition are rampant in India and the position is so grave that European women and children are being warned to consider the advisability of leaving the country. Indeed, the seditionist movement has recently developed into open rebellion, and the Moplah rising is merely symptomatic of conditions throughout a great part of India. That this is so is evidenced by the speech of Lord Willingdon, Governor of Madras, in the Madras Legislature early in September, in which he stated that the religious fanaticism of the Moplahs was an instrument used by the leaders of a wide-spread and dangerous organisation, who were only watching for an opportunity violently to overthrow the Government and the whole Civil Administration. He appealed to members of the Legislature to encourage the people to resist an intolerable terrorism which was the very antithesis of liberty. The leaders of the movement, at whose head is Mahatma Gandhi, are openly disloyal and have in the past been convicted or interned as such. The movement, before it reached the stage of rebellion, was carried to such a pitch that the Gandhi party suc-

cessfully organised a boycott of the Duke of Connaught's tour through India, an action which a local Indian agitator, M. A. Desai, has approved on political grounds.

7. The agitation in Kenya is definitely identified with Gandhism by the above and by the admission of the local leaders. As further evidence, two illustrations are selected at random. (i.) In July of this year a hat belonging to Gandhi was auctioned at a mass meeting of Indians in Nairobi for a large sum amidst scenes of enthusiasm. (At this Meeting, it may be mentioned, Mangal Dass, one of the Indian leaders, stated in English, "When we get self-Government in India, we too can bring our cannons and rifles and fight for our rights in this Colony.") (ii.) The local Indian paper, the organ of the party, voices its approval of the following telegram from one Marcus Garvey, President of the International Congress of Negroes at New York to Gandhi "Accept best wishes 400,000,000 negroes, through us their representatives, for the speedy emancipation of India from the thralldom of foreign oppression. You may depend on us for whatever help we can give."

8. The present Secretary of State for the Colonies has enunciated the doctrine that all British subjects are to be equal in His Majesty's Dominions and that neither race, colour nor creed shall be a bar to the attainment of the very highest position.

As an ideal suited to some future Utopia this may be admirable, but it has not been proved to be a practical policy to-day, and where Eastern civilisations are concerned which have not yet attained the political development of the Western world its introduction into Imperial politics will merely advance the day when the West will have to reckon with these civilisations. Such a proposition in India itself is acknowledged by General Smuts to be "One of the greatest problems in the world to-day." To force such a gigantic experiment upon primitive races, who are slowly emerging from slavery and barbarism and need helpful direction and discipline to raise them from the depths of ignorance and superstition would be nothing short of disastrous.

In the stress of the period following the war, and at a time when Indian aspirations were within the bounds of reason, the British Europeans of the Colony tacitly accepted the "Milner Policy" as a temporary expedient at the specific request of the Government on the distinct understanding that no further concessions to Indians were contemplated. That policy was then recognised as the "irreducible minimum consistent with the bare political existence of the European and native communities."

But the direction which Indian agitation has since taken has shewn the extreme danger to the welfare of the native races, to the European administration, and to the larger Imperial issue of British rule in Africa, of conceding the principle of unrestricted immigration and an elective franchise to a people who have openly avowed a connection with the seditious movement in British India, and who now demand an equal voice with the European in the Legislative and Executive control of the Colony.

The grant of elective franchise, coupled with unrestricted immigration, to a race which already outnumber the European population by more than 2 to 1 and in a country in which, in Mr. Churchill's words, "The European has not the power to constitute a white proletariat," must ultimately give them a controlling influence in the Government of the Colony no matter what safeguards be devised. The inevitable final step will be the virtual evacuation of the Colony by its European population, since the two civilisations, from every point of view, are so opposed that a mixed community of the two races is impossible.

What the effect of the government controlled by Asiatics and the consequent infusion of Eastern laws and influences, moral, physical and intellectual, would be on the indigenous peoples is sufficiently indicated in the expressed opinions of the representatives of the Church, Missionary bodies and medical faculty quoted in para. 17 below, and in the emphatic protest of the natives themselves as expressed at meetings held in various parts of the Colony. Nor can anyone with the smallest acquaintance with the native of Africa entertain a moment's doubt of the matter.

10. A further aspect of the question of unrestricted immigration is its economic effect on the interest of the native. The bulk of Indian immigrants to Kenya consists of artisans, clerks and small traders.

With regard to the first 2 classes, Indians in this respect have hitherto been and to some extent still are economic necessity, but with the intellectual development of the native, the latter is gradually being educated to take the place of the Indian. If the Colony is to continue to be flooded with Indians, not only is the prospect of the native in his condition of inferior intellectual powers competing with the more advanced Asiatic naturally hopeless, and all incentive to his progress removed, but the Indian will, as he does already, oppose every artificial obstacle in his power to that advancement.

As to the small Indian trader, he has already practically eliminated the native trader from his rightful position in the commercial life of the Colony.

11. For the above reason, the British European community is now definitely of opinion that the "Milner Policy," acquiesced in under abnormal circumstances and in a spirit of moderation and concession which has been grossly abused by the Indian agitators, is inadequate for the protection of themselves and of the indigenous population. They, therefore, now insist that the ultimate Asiatic policy of the Colony must include the principles which they have for long past maintained as essential to the development of Kenya and to the maintenance of Imperial integrity; principles which the Convention of Associations of Kenya affirmed in June, 1919, and, in re-affirming in 1921, digested into the following 5 cardinal points:—

- (i) Strictly controlled immigration at present with a view to ultimate prohibition, consistently with the principle enunciated in 1917, and confirmed in 1921, by the Imperial Conference, of the inherent rights of every community within the Empire to determine the composition of its own population.
- (ii) Two nominated and not elected Indian members of the Legislative Council.
- (iii) Segregation in residential areas, and, where practicable, in commercial areas also.
- (iv) No alienation to Asiatics of land in the Highland area.
- (v) Full recognition of existing Asiatic property rights.

12. As regards segregation. A people which has elevated caste into a religion and carried the principle of exclusiveness to the extreme pitch can hardly be taken seriously in their objections to segregation. In fact the leaders of the local Indian agitation have boasted that Indians have no wish to live amongst Europeans and that they claim to be entitled to live where they choose on principle only.

The dangers of non-segregation of an Oriental race in a European community are mainly on sanitary and moral grounds.

The views of the bulk of the local Indians on sanitation and hygiene are worse than primitive and, particularly in a tropical country, their proximity to European residential area is fraught with the greatest danger to the latter community. From the moral aspect, the breaking down of the barrier of segregation will inevitably lead to the establishment of mixed schools, with the undesirable consequence of English children sitting alongside Indian children who are in all probability married and initiated into the mysteries of sex.

The Europeans of Kenya cannot agree to face dangers of such magnitude for the sake of redressing a grievance which is purely artificial and in fact a mere political "catchery." In this connection, it may be pointed out that the principle of segregation was strongly insisted on by Professor Simpson, who visited Kenya officially in 1913 for the purpose of advising Government on this subject. Not only did he advise, on social and sanitary grounds, the segregation of the communities, but he advocated the establishment of reserves or neutral zones between European and Asiatic residential areas as a further safeguard against the intermingling of the races.

13. To permit Asiatic settlement in the area reserved for European occupation will be for Government to break a solemn pledge given to the European colonists of Kenya—given originally by Lord Elgin, and deliberately renewed last year by Lord Milner. This pledge is consonant with justice, in that the Indian, at a time when the economic possibilities of the country were entirely unknown, refused with few exceptions, to avail himself of offers of settlement in the Highland areas, because he was incapable of being a pioneer. On the faith of this pledge our homes have been built, our farms developed, our children educated to take our place in course of time. The pioneers and colonists of many years' standing, who have opened up the path for Indian penetration, will suffer and, in addition, the hundreds of ex-service men who were invited to settle in the Colony after the late war and who, throughout the country, have voiced the view that one of the inducements to settlement in Kenya was that they would be making their homes among their own kind under British Administration.

14. One regrettable feature of the Indian campaign in Kenya is that they are engaged in stirring up disaffection among the native tribes. Acting under cabled instructions from one of the Indian leaders, the majority of Indian traders and shop-keepers are engaged in poisoning the minds of the native against the British Administration. This is by no means a difficult matter in the distant native Reserves where contact between the native and European is infrequent.

15. In consequence of advice from England that the well-being of the native races is the Indian's weakest political plank and requires artificial support, the local Indians have endeavoured to put a complexion on the relation of the Indian and native, which in fact does not bear. Shortly after the public statement of their policy by the English community, a number of resolutions was passed at a meeting of natives in Nairobi to the effect that the presence of Indians in the Colony was not inimical to native

interests: that, next to the Missionaries, Indians were the natives' best friends; and urging the Government to confer the franchise upon all educated British subjects in the Colony.

To anyone who knows the contempt and distrust with which the Indian is regarded by the native, it was at once apparent that the resolutions had been "inspired" by Indian influence, and within a few days this was definitely proved to be the case. It appeared that the native meeting had been called at the instance of an educated Kikuyu, one Harry Thuku, the Secretary of the Kikuyu Association, and, incidentally, an ex-convict for the crime of forgery. Several days prior to the meeting, Thuku and one or two of his native associates were entertained to tea by certain of the Indian agitators and under the promise of a free trip to India for Thuku and his friends, the text of the resolutions and cable reporting them was drafted by Indians then present.

These resolutions were at once cabled to the English Press, but within a fortnight the paramount Chief of the Wa-Kikuyu had called a meeting of his sub-chiefs and headmen and all influential Kikuyus, at which Thuku's resolutions were disowned and repudiated and Thuku himself dismissed from his position as Secretary of the Association. Several other meetings of natives have been held since in other parts of the Colony and all have, without exception, been opposed to the idea of any elevation of the Indian to a responsible position in the government of the Colony.

The above has been dealt with in detail, as the original resolutions passed at Thuku's meeting appeared in the English Press, while their exposure, though cabled home by the European community at the time, does not appear to have been accorded similar publicity.

16. Although the Indian trader undoubtedly fills a niche in the commercial life of the colony, yet the results of his trade are but of transitory benefit to the country. In but few instances does the Indian settle permanently in Kenya, and the consequence is that instead of reinvesting his profits locally he remits them to India. He has every opportunity of investing his profits in the immense areas in the country which are open for Asiatic occupation, but in very few instances he avails himself of such opportunity.

In times of depression, the Indian bankruptcies are out of all proportion to those of other communities.

During the last 18 months, since the currency of this country has been established while the Indian rupee has been of fluctuating value, the Colony has lost an enormous sum of money by the smuggling of rupee into the country by Indians.

17. There is no room for doubt that the Church and Missionary Societies take the view that the grant of rights to India which would lead to her ultimate supremacy would sound the death-knell of native advancement.

The Bishop of Mombasa, speaking on the native aspect of the question at the Mass Meeting in Nairobi, as one who had spent many years in India and had made Indian friends there, stated that "it would be fatal to give India the Government here when our native races were beginning to realise that they had a future before them."

Canon Burns, one of the oldest and best-known Missionaries in the Colony, in the course of a speech at the same meeting, after referring to the wholesale cheating of the natives by Indians and of the utter disregard of the Indian for the uplifting or advancement of the Native, gave it as his opinion that if the proposed concession to Indians were carried into effect, the progress of the native would be put back 50 years. It would be the most disastrous thing that could happen from the native point of view, and if it happened, he doubted whether he could continue his work in Kenya.

The medical faculty has been equally emphatic in its condemnation of any change of status which would have the effect of placing the Indian in any position where he could influence the native. Dr. Burkitt, the senior private medical practitioner in the Colony, who for many years was a medical officer in India, in dealing with the subject, said:—"I say as a medical man who has been up against all this, that no sanitation or hygiene can be carried out in the face of the abominable religious customs of Indians and judging by what I myself have seen of them, I say unhesitatingly that they are much more degrading and debasing than anything I have seen or heard of amongst the Natives of this country. Venereal disease, in peoples following such debasing religious customs, I need hardly say, is rampant, more rampant probably than anywhere else. The statistics, as far as they can be taken in Bombay City this year, and as given in last month's British Medical Journal, exceed anything yet known. The same may be said of bestial sexual offences, also generated by these religions and which are almost unknown among primitive peoples. With regard to plague, our greatest disease danger in this country, I have not the remotest hesitation in saying that its incidence in this country is due to the insanitary customs of our Indian compatriots."

19. And there is the wider aspect. Our concern for our home in Kenya and the well-being of the native people does not blind us to the fact that the danger to the Empire and to Chris-

tianity is greater. If the East is permitted to penetrate Africa and the Trusteeship of the vast native population be transferred to other and alien hands, then gone is the dream of a series of Christian African States, created and linked together by the genius of British colonisation.

20. Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa have all closed the door to Indian immigration—all have seen the danger. To those on the spot the menace is apparent, to those at home it is vague and indefinite. For this reason we desire investigation here.

To sum up:—

Is England to be marked with the stain of betraying the African native to Eastern rule?

Is the young growth of Christianity and Western civilization to be supplanted by Eastern creeds and superstitions?

Is the pioneer and the man who, in the words of the Colonial Secretary, "is up against the wilderness" once again, in spite of solemn pledges, to be the sport of political opportunism?

On behalf of the Unofficial  
Members of the Legislative  
Council of Kenya,

(Signed) DELAMERE.

On behalf of the Convention  
of Associations of Kenya,  
(Signed)

C. KENNETH ARCHER,  
*Chairman*

## II. THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENT.

EXAMINED BY MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

It is stated again and again, in important documents published in East Africa, that the Indian is actually retarding the economic progress of the African native; that he has taken out of the African's own hands the chief opportunities for self-advancement in industry and trade. It is pointed out that, on the Western coast of Africa, where there are no Indian artisans or traders, the Africans have learnt to undertake skilled work for themselves, under European guidance and supervision. But in East Africa, where there are many Indians, who are cleverer than the African natives, the Indian comes in at all points between the European and the African. He is thus, as belonging to a "more crafty race" (to

quote the Economic Commission Report), in a position of vantage and is able to keep all the trade and industry in his own hands and permanently to depress the African.

The European, it is said, in order to suit his own convenience, at the moment, employs the Indian who is on the spot, instead of instructing the African. But if the Indian were out of the way, the European would be obliged, either to employ the native, or else to undertake the work himself.

It is further argued that the Indian is a poor craftsman and a poor mechanic. He is also said to be untrustworthy in business. His influence over the native is bad. If the African came directly under the influence of the European, it would be better for all concerned, and things would rapidly improve.

For these and many other reasons, it is argued, the employment of Indians in East Africa has been a mistake. It would have been much better never to have brought them out at all. In South Africa, this mistake has been discovered in time. It must be put right in other parts of Africa also. No more Indians must be allowed: they must be excluded all along the coast. East Africa must fall into line with her sister colonies in the South. Just as South Africa has shut the front door against the Indians, so East Africa must shut the back door.

It may be well, at this point, to recall the exact words of the Economic Commission Report. They run as follow:—

"The African is not strong enough anywhere to stand against the competition of the more crafty race. So long as that race is organised to keep him in servitude by shouldering him out of all posts which lie in the path of advancement, he must be content to be a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water. . . . On purely economic grounds we submit that the admission of the Indian into East Africa was a cardinal error of policy. It involved the economic stagnation of the African over a large tract of Africa and the consequent retardation of progress for the sake of what promised to be but a temporary convenience. In our view the error ought gradually, but without any unnecessary delay, to be rectified by similar means to those by which the same error is being rectified in Natal."

The Report again speaks of the presence of the Indian as depriving the African of "all incentives to ambition and opportunities of advancement."

It is significant that the Convention of Associations "Petition re: Indians" contains, not once only, but many times over, phrases

that are identical with those of the Economic Commission Report. For instance, one of the main heads of indictment reads as follows:—

"Whereas Indian competition deprives the African of all incentives to ambition and opportunities of advancement."

As the Convention of Associations "Petition re: Indians" was published some months before the Economic Commission Report, it seems probable that the non-official members of the Commission, such as Major Grogan and Lord Delamere, not only won over to their own side on the Indian Question the Chairman and the other official members of the Commission, but also obtained leave to draft, in a great measure, the "Indian" sections of the Report. In this matter, if one may judge by internal evidence, official opinion has been led by non-official opinion and not *vice versa*. It is true that Colonel Amery, on behalf of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, has denied in the House of Commons any Government responsibility for the findings of the Economic Commission. This denial, however, must not be taken as closing the whole question. In spite of Colonel Amery's words, the main conclusions of the Report are likely to influence the administration. Then, at some later date, when the pressure of non-official opinion in East Africa gathers weight and a convenient opportunity presents itself, legislation may be hurried through. The Indians have no safeguard whatever at the present time.

The situation now brought about in East Africa by the union of prominent officials and non-officials in a clearly defined policy of ultimate Indian exclusion is one of the most sinister signs of the times. The people at home in India would be very foolish indeed, if they were lulled to sleep by Colonel Amery's assurance in the House of Commons. It was negative not positive, and such negative answers are not seldom explained away, when overwhelming pressure is brought to bear from the other side.

The Economic Commissioners themselves were all of them Europeans. There was as I have already related, not a single Indian Commissioner appointed; no Indian evidence was taken. It is therefore hardly to be wondered at, if there is no mention whatever in the Report concerning the exploitation of the East African natives by the Europeans. Yet this question should have been taken up first of all by an independent Economic Commission dealing with East Africa.

For one of the tasks that humanity is called upon to accomplish in the present generation is the long neglected duty of

affording to the African natives some remission from the continual exploiting of their country, in European interests, which has followed European conquest. In no rhetorical phrases, but in literal fact, the African has only too often been made "a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water." Through three centuries of slavery and through one century of many varied forms of forced labour, the European has made use of his possessions in Africa in order to make money quickly. He has first taken possession of African lands and then employed every effort in order to compel the African to work on those lands for his master's profit.

All this kind of thing was regarded with complacency and even with approval in past generations, when glory was attached to ruthless military conquest and barbaric spoliation. But it cannot possibly be regarded thus to-day, after the professions that have been made during the late war, unless, God forbid, we are to go back to those old ideas again. The whole ethics and underlying principles of "conquests" and "empires" and "possessions" have been changed. The vocabulary of the human race does not stand where it was. We have gained a new outlook. Our perspective now is different.

It is doubtful if, in the long run, the exploiting of Central and South America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has been more fundamentally destructive of freedom in the countries affected than this age-long European exploitation of Africa. The events which have taken place on the Belgian Congo; among the Hereros in the South West; in Angola on the Portuguese cocoa plantations and in the recruiting of native labour, far and wide, for the Rand mines,—to mention typical examples from different European races,—have only been the natural sequence of a long series of earlier exploitations which go back to the old slave raiding days.

The conscience of the human race will not endure much longer these wrongs which have been committed by European soldiers and settlers, by European mine owners, and by European trading companies.

I do not for one moment wish to suggest that this is the sole record of European conquest in Africa, that would be a wholly one-sided impression. There is a noble record of heroism and self-sacrifice, of honest work and devotion to duty, among administrators, missionaries, and many others, which has gone far to redeem much that is altogether "of the earth, earthy." There has also been the marvellous application of modern science to the problems of mechanical transport leading to their solution; the opening up of great highways of communication, from one end of

Africa to the other; the stamping out of the indescribable horrors and devilries of sheer naked savagery; the practical abolition of head-hunting and slave-raiding; the combating of disease in forms akin to acutest torture both in man and beast; the lessening of the long-drawn agonies of pain by modern surgery, medicine and science; and the all too slow, but still perceptible spread of education, raising man above the level of the beast. All this must be taken into account, and much more also which can never be recorded.

I have seen the African in his raw and savage state,—the state wherein cannibalism was practised as a matter of course. I have no illusions, therefore, about the kind of existence which used often to be led before the European intervened.

But, in the same way, I have no illusions about the consequences which follow, when the domestic and tribal life is ruthlessly broken into pieces by unscrupulous recruiting for the purposes of labour. I have seen the effects of such labour recruiting in India itself, and among the Indian labourers who have induced to go out to the colonies under the Indenture System. We speak to-day with loathing of the evils of the factory system of labour in England, in the early Nineteenth Century, but historians at some future date are not unlike to speak with equal condemnation of certain forms of labour traffic in our own days.

To show that these evils are not of the past merely, but of the present, a quotation may be given from a writer, who states that he has had more than half a generation's intimate experience among the Kikuyu tribes of British East Africa, and has seen, year by year, the deterioration which has taken place. He calls himself by a *nom de plume*, Fulani bin Fulani, contributing his article to the "International Review of Missions." He is not, however, a missionary, but probably, if a guess may be ventured, a medical officer in the service of East Africa Protectorate Government. He writes as follows:—

"There is no surer sign of social disintegration than for the marriage tie to become unstable among the mass of the people. In the mixture of men of different tribes in European employment in British East Africa the customary union is by the month. The African men and women arrange such unions by themselves,—the woman receiving clothing, food and money, (part of which is often sent to her family), and serving her master at bed and board. These unions may last indefinitely for months and years. They do not exist among ordinary temporary labourers. These need their money for the tax. For them there exists an immense class of prostitutes, a totally new feature in African life. But most of

the men, who have taken more or less permanently to wage-earning under Europeans, have women of their own. Their industrial life being precarious, their liabilities to their women are correspondingly restricted. They have no wives, as they have no homes. They get their wages at the end of the month, they change their master at the end of the month, to travel for days, perhaps, to other masters, and so they marry for a month. These unions have no sanction in native law, or in our own. As is inevitable, children are rare, diseases are common. But such unions are not felt to be disgraceful, as by many prostitution is still felt to be. *The system fits the life.* The State may some day awaken to the fact, that it is manufacturing disease faster than any conceivable means of prevention can overtake it."

"And so they marry for a month." "The system fits the life." I have underlined these two sentences, because the writer, in the remainder of his article, makes it perfectly clear that this corruption which has defiled the very fountain head of African native life, has been caused by the unscrupulous recruiting for the larger European estates, which must, whatever happens, take their full toll of "labour." *The system fits the life.*

Up to the present time, in East Africa, the worst stage of all, that of the great limited liability companies, — has not been reached as a whole. There is nothing in British East Africa as yet at all comparable with the wholesale recruiting of native labour for the mining companies on the Rand. The individual owner, who lives upon his own estate, may be expected to take some personal care of the human beings who come directly under his supervision. In his case, there will be little acts of kindness here and there. But I have seen too much, in different parts of the world, of what happens under the profiteering government of large companies, to have much faith in human kindness under "company" regime. It will be a bad day for the East African native, when land speculation and the demands of modern capital bring the individual farms which now exist into large landed estates, run by directors, in a foreign country, as absentee landlords, with the amount of yearly dividend as their only vital interest. Yet it can hardly be doubted that, as things are now tending, this day is rapidly approaching.

The Europeans have, therefore, first to clear their own character of exploiting the African and keeping him in servitude and making him a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, and they will find it extremely difficult to do so.

Many of them, such as Major Grogan himself in his book entitled "From the Cape to Cairo," written when he was younger,

are frankly outspoken in declaring their aims and objects. "We have stolen," he writes, "the African's lands. Now we must steal his limbs." The same writer looks forward, in the future, to "the division of society into two strata, of which the lower (i. e. the African) does the menial work and draws sufficient of the proceeds to meet all the simple wants; while the upper (i. e. the European) organises, directs and takes all the surplus produce" (the italics are mine). Compulsion is his only weapon. "Short of compulsion," he writes, "direct or indirect, the main mass of Africa's inhabitants will never take part in the development of their country. We can never develop their country without their co-operation, (sic) because where negroes are, white men will not do manual work. And the negroes will not disappear, as have savages of other lands."

It would be difficult to express in cruder terms the policy of perpetual subjection of the African native. One may surely demand of Europeans such as these, that they should turn their attention to their own shortcomings in dealing with the African, and judge the Indians by the same standard which they apply to themselves.

While I have thus felt it necessary to bring forward quite plainly and bluntly this claim against the European, — insisting that he should not play the hypocrite by charging others with the very evils of which he is guilty of himself. — I do not wish in any way to shirk the main issue, on the Indian question, which the Commissioners have brought forward. If it could be proved, that, entirely apart from the conduct of the Europeans, Indians also themselves, by occupying posts of vantage, had reduced the Africans to merely servile positions in their own country, then I, for my part, as far as lay in my power, most strongly and strenuously would advise the Indian people, to do their utmost to stop their fellow country-men from going out to East Africa at all. The last thing that I should wish would be, that India should take any share in the general European scramble to get rich at the native African's expense.

But after taking all the pains and care I could, to find out the actual facts, by examining reliable European witnesses, and by obtaining at first hand from Africans themselves (e. g. in Uganda) their own opinions about the situation, I have no hesitation in saying that I am confident, that the charge brought forward against the Indian by the Economic Commissioners is substantially unfair. On the evidence which I have received I am convinced that the very opposite is the case. It has become clear to me beyond dispute that the Indians as well as the Europeans have done much to help forward the development of Africa.

I do not wish to imply that the Indian's record, with regard to exploitation, has not been fraught with evil. He has followed the fashion of seeking for large profits, instead of being content with moderate returns. He has often cheated the African mercilessly. But this is entirely different from the charge of the Economic Commissioners, that he has kept the native in servitude as a "mere hewer of wood and drawer of water." It is that, which, on the evidence, I now regard as entirely unproved.

Put briefly, the situation in East Africa and Central Africa appears to be this. The advance already made in bringing the native forward out of the state of raw savagery (scarcely above the animal level, in a great number of instances) has been due to two causes, which have both been working together. There has been, first of all, the initiative and supervision of the European, whose scientific and practical ability and higher educational training have made him usually take the lead. The European has also had overwhelming force at his disposal, in the face of which any violence on the part of the savage could easily be held in check. This force has frequently been ruthlessly used, and its ruthlessness should never be condoned or excused. At the same time, it appears to me obvious, after what I have seen, that the interior of Africa could hardly have been opened up without having force in the background; and the very fact, that it was there, has put an end to head-hunting, cannibalism, and intertribe tribal fighting.

Secondly, the Indian had been, even before the arrival of European, in close contact with the African native along the coast and to a much lesser degree in the interior. He had met the native in trade and barter and had performed in doing so a civilizing work. Since the arrival of the European, the Indian has pressed forward into the interior far more than before, often advancing into malaria-stricken districts where no European could possibly settle. Wherever the Indian has gone, his association with the African has been far more intimate than that of the European. The latter cannot undertake sustained manual labour in the tropics. Therefore, the actual daily apprenticeship of the Africans has been carried forward to a successful issue by the Indian artisans and mechanics. They have trained more African workmen than all the industrial and technical schools put together. Indian traders have also carried forward successfully the same kind of apprenticeship in other necessary directions, initiating the natives into the mysteries of trade and barter and the value of money.

I have been able to obtain the opinions of many of the largest European employers of native labour in East and Central Africa. It was a striking fact to me that nearly every one of them took

practically the same general view of the situation as that which I have outlined above. I was told by the men on the spot who were responsible for the work being done, that without the presence of the Indian as an intermediary, such rapid progress would have been absolutely impossible.

These men, with whom I talked, were practical men, not theorists. They had borne the burden and heat of the day, through long years of practical experience; in railway construction, railway workshops, harbour works, municipal works, district administration and in the management of large estates. They told me that, for the most part, their skilled African labourers had been trained by the Indians. They told me also the interesting fact, that, whenever the African native attained efficient skill in manual work, he got the job as a matter of course in preference to the Indian. The reason was quite simple. The African was always economically cheaper, because there was no expensive passage to and from India to be paid for.

I now give typical instances taken from my notes. While I was passing down the coast of Africa, on board ship, I found that two of my fellow passengers at the same table were European mechanical engineers. I put to them the question, whether East Africa could have progressed so fast in works of railway and other mechanical construction without the Indian. They both answered "No." The present rate of progress, they said, would have been impossible. Furthermore, to exclude the Indian to-day, would be to delay things almost indefinitely. On another occasion, I was asking the manager of a large workshop the same question. I mentioned to him the argument derived from West Africa, where no Indians had helped in the development of the country and things had yet gone forward.

"Yes," he said, "it may be that in West Africa they got forward without the Indians. But *how many centuries* did they take to do it?"

I have constantly carried about with me, while on my journeys, a copy of a Final Report of the Economic Commission, and I have shown it to European employers of labour asking them to read the Indian sections. The drafters of these sections would not have felt complimented by some of the remarks that were passed upon their performance.

I have been often told by practical men,—and from what I have seen with my own eyes, I can well understand it,—that the one main difficulty, at the present time, is not to exclude the Indians, but rather to get out a sufficient number of Indian arti-

ans, in order to press forward the important work which is being held up for lack of workmen. The one great trouble is, that owing to the reconstruction which has to be undertaken all over the world after the great war, every country, including India, wants its own mechanics and artisans at home and cannot spare them abroad.

"What on earth are these settlers crying for?" said a manager to me. "It's new roads, new railways,—something new every time. And how do they expect us to get through their work with raw natives? We want more Indians, not less,—that's my opinion."

I gathered also from these same employers of labour that it was absurd to talk about the Indian retarding the native labourer and keeping him in servitude and reducing him to economic stagnation.

"Why!" said one employer to me, "who is going to get the native over the first stage? Will the European take his coat off and teach the native how to handle a saw, or oil a machine, or turn a screw? You must always remember, that, when we came, the native was a raw savage. He has to be got out of that savage state, and he can only do it by imitation."

I asked specially the question, whether trade jealousy came in among the Indians to prevent the Africans from learning the peculiar secrets of skilled work. I was told that such instances of keeping out the African were very rare indeed. They never finally succeeded. The boycott would break down. The European would step in to prevent it. Besides, no skilled mechanic ever lost his job through teaching another. The demand for skilled workmen went far beyond the supply. It was altogether a mistake in East Africa to think that the amount of work to be done was limited. It was unlimited, because the opening up of the whole country, and of Central Africa also, had only just begun. The Indian artisan, who would do steady and regular work, and had the intelligence to train the native under him, was in great demand and could always earn money.

A somewhat common complaint among the European employers was that the Indian's work was of an inferior quality, and that since the war it had greatly deteriorated. The Indian was therefore teaching the African to use his tools badly. As this is a technical point, it is of course impossible for me to pronounce any opinion on the subject, but the complaint itself was fairly widespread.

On the other hand, it should be mentioned that some employers have told me that they have had Indian skilled workmen who, for steadiness and cleverness of hand, were the equals of any skilled Europeans.

I was told, also, on good authority, and over a wide area, that the African was able to learn his job more quickly from an Indian than from a European. The reason for this was, that the Indian, though very careless about the way he learnt the language, had a peculiar gift of getting on with the native and making him understand quickly what he wanted to be done. He had also more patience with the native than the European.

There was a considerable amount of evidence given to me by those, on whose word I could thoroughly rely, that an immense amount of petty thieving was rife among the African natives, and that the lower classes among the Indians had often encouraged this and either bought or received the stolen goods. As the police in East Africa are naturally still somewhat new to their work and inefficient, these thefts have been difficult to check. The natives pilfered from the Indian merchants and shopkeepers as well as from Europeans. That the lower classes among the Indians aid and abet these crimes is due in some measure to the wholly unrestricted Indian immigration which has been allowed in the past. Europeans, entering East Africa, have been obliged to produce £50 in cash or securities before landing, and there is a general desire that this security should be made higher. It is clear that some raising of the security for Indian immigration is desirable. The good name of Indian is involved in the class of immigrants who come over.

Certain larger and more general facts came before me for consideration, as I journeyed into the interior or down the African coast. These appear to me, on the whole, to add greatly to the strength of the local evidence which I have already given. I would mention them in order as follows:—

I. The people of Uganda, who are the most intelligent, enlightened, and progressive Africans, whom I met on my tour, are already in favour of the retention of Indians in their country. They would have been the very first to cry out against any invasion of their rights and privileges, but they have found out by their own experience that Indians materially help them, and for this reason wish them to remain.

While I was in Uganda, Sir Apolo Kagwa, the Prime Minister, invited me to be present at a Council of the Ruling Chiefs called the "Lukiko." The President, at my request, put the question whether they desired the Indians to remain in their country. The answer was "Yes."

Before I left Uganda, Sir Apolo Kagwa and the Baganda Chief Justice handed me a document signed by themselves, on behalf of the "Lukiko," stating that the Baganda desired the Indians to remain because they did good to the country. They also wished more Indians to come out.

I shall not forget one incident which occurred during the session of the Council on the Indian question. The Chief Justice, in a very humorous way, spoke one sentence which caused great amusement. I was told by the interpreter that he had said, —

"If the Indians were to leave our country, we should soon have to begin wearing bark-cloth again."

Perhaps the most interesting piece of evidence which I obtained in Uganda was from the young Baganda leaders. These young Bagandas are nationalists to a man. They are intensely eager to keep their country free from all outside interference. They would personally, also, be more likely to come into competition with the Indians than any one else, because they are all English educated. They asked me to meet them apart, without any of their elders being present, and I readily consented. They understood my own position as one who desired to sympathise with their national aspirations, and it was for this reason that they had invited me to meet them. When we were seated together, I asked them at once, if they wished the Indians to remain in their country. They were quite unanimous in their answer, "Yes." It came spontaneously, and I am certain that it expressed their inner mind.

This immediate answer of the young Bagandas was most striking. They were very thoughtful men and remarkably intelligent. One of the young Bagandas said to me at the end of my visit, "We shall look more and more to India, in the future, to help us." I believe that his expectation will be realised.

II. When I went from British East Africa to Zanzibar, I found there a contented Indian community. It seemed to me, also, that the status of the African native was higher there than anywhere else along the coast. The long Arab occupation of the Island may possibly account for this in part, but I cannot help thinking that the Indians also have been a civilising element.

The relief was very great indeed when I came from the midst of the strained racial relations at Nairobi into the calm and natural social atmosphere at Zanzibar. In Zanzibar there seems to be no racial conflict at all. Life is urbane and peaceful and full of human courtesy, not artificial and clamorous and violently controversial.

On both occasions, while visiting the island, I was fortunate enough to see the Resident and to be able to discuss with him the Indian question. He told me that there was no Indian problem at all in Zanzibar and he hoped there never would be any such problem. The Indians fulfilled their own part in the community, and no one wished to turn them out.

The Resident told me, also, that he had been for over sixteen years in Nyassaland and more than once had acted as Governor. He gave me full permission to state his opinion, that the Indians had played a useful part in Africa by opening up and developing the country through trade and industry. He had always encouraged their coming, because he had found that they helped the native forward and brought him into touch with the Europeans.

A very simple illustration that he used remained in my mind and appealed to me. It seemed to be the root of the matter.

"The first element," he said, "of progress, in dealing with the raw savage, is to gain his confidence by means of trade and barter. Here the presence of the Indian is invaluable. The native is not frightened of him, as he is of the European, and the Indian pushes out in the back regions, where no white man could go. The native comes along with a few eggs, a lump of bees' wax and other produce and sits down to bargain with the Indian. They go on bargaining, sometimes for hours,—the European could never stand it!—and at last the native goes away contented with a bit of Manchester cotton cloth, and the Indian takes the eggs to the nearest market. There could not be a better go-between for such a useful purpose of exchange."

I had many other testimonies concerning the way in which the presence of the Indian had helped the Nyassaland Administration. I had planned to go there as well as to Rhodesia in order to see things with my own eyes. But my plans fell through.

III. A third fact, which seemed to me to strengthen the argument in favour of the Indian in East Africa, had been the verdict of the German Royal Commission with regard to what is now called the Tanganyika Territory, and was then called German East-Africa. There were no German obligations towards the Indians, as holding any prominent part in their Empire: they were aliens and foreigners. The Commission which came out from Berlin was for economic purposes. It was sent to gather evidence as to the utility, or otherwise, of the Indians in the development of the colonies. The Commission, after a very thorough enquiry, decided in the Indians' favour.

I notice how the East Africa Commissioners suggest that all this was mere camouflage, and that it was really undertaken for political reasons. This seems to me to be a gratuitous supposition. If Indians were desirable for political reasons, the obvious thing would have been to have made no fuss about them, and to let them go on coming to German East Africa as they had done before. The Commission seems rather to point to that scientific thoroughness in their colonial work, which has been acknowledged by leading colonial experts all over the world.

If this is the true explanation, then, as an impartial testimony to the value of Indian settlement, the findings of the Commission are noteworthy.

IV. The Portuguese have had a larger experience on the East Coast of Africa than either the Germans or the British. For at least a hundred years, if not much longer, they have allowed Indians freely to reside in their Mozambique territory, at the different ports of Beira, Mozambique, Lorenzo Marques. Indians have also settled in the interior, where they have been allowed to buy land quite freely.

It has been quite easy for me to find out, on my visit to the different ports, and especially during a somewhat long stay in Beira and on a journey inland, the conditions under which the Indians live in Portuguese East Africa. The Indians have told me, that they have been everywhere welcomed with equal treatment and courtesy and kindness. They speak very highly indeed concerning the freedom under which they live and the absence of racial prejudice among the Portuguese themselves. They receive everywhere gentlemanly treatment.

I went also to call on Portuguese officials, bank managers, merchants and others, and obtained all the evidence that I could from that side. I found it was uniformly favourable to Indians. The Portuguese not only expressed a liking for the Indians, as a sober, industrious, law-abiding people, who never gave any trouble; they also stated positively that their presence was valuable to the country and to the African native. In more than one instance the direct answer was given to me, "We could not get on without them."

V. I passed on from Portuguese East Africa to Rhodesia. At Umfali, the border town, I was met by the Indian community. The European Mayor, the Magistrate, and the local bank manager accompanied them, and they expressed to me their satisfaction at having Indians in their township. In the Indian address of welcome, it was stated explicitly, that, in Rhodesia, Indians were

treated well and had no grievances to bring forward. The one thing that they most desired was education for their young children. I found not only the Administration, but also individual Europeans, eager to help the Indian community in this direction.

Indians have a free right of entry into Rhodesia on a very simple educational test. No Indian woman accompanied by a relative is asked to pass any test at all. On enquiring from Indians themselves, I found that this educational test was fairly and impartially administered; and it speaks well for the immigration office staff, that no single complaint of unfairness was brought before me.

In accordance with Cecil Rhodes' maxim of "the franchise for every civilised man," the vote has been given to those Indians who have reached a certain standard.

I had many opportunities of meeting my fellow countrymen in Rhodesia and of discussing frankly the Indian question with them. It was a very great pleasure to find that the Indians were welcomed and that there was no movement on foot for their restriction. Every one seemed quite satisfied with the present arrangement, which goes back, in its origin, I was told, to Cecil Rhodes himself and to the following out of principles he laid down concerning the rights of citizenship, from the Cape to the Zambesi River.

What was of even more importance to notice than the legal status was the kindly feeling between the European and Indian communities. From the Administrator downwards, it appeared to me that there was a general desire to make the Indian a welcome citizen. The Indians, as might have been expected, have at once responded to the amenities. In every address that was presented to me, they emphasised the fact that they were well treated and had no grievances to bring forward.

VI. The difference from this attitude on reaching the Transvaal was very marked. The racial antagonism has come there to a head. The Transvaal to-day is the storm centre of the Indian question in South Africa.

From the point of view of the present enquiry it is not necessary to discuss fully the Transvaal situation, but one fact is worthy of careful notice. The economic argument, which is used against the Indian, in the Transvaal and South Africa generally, is not the same as that which is used by the Economic Commissioners in East Africa. In the Transvaal, the argument has been that the Indian competes with and takes away the trade from the European. In East Africa the argument has been that the Indian competes with and keeps in

servitude, the African. The point is so important, that it may be worth while to quote the passage from the East African Commission Report. "Even in the minor spheres (of trade)," the Report runs, "the European (if the Indian would submit to the civil, moral and commercial obligations, common in European society) has nothing to fear from Indian competition—the contrary theory, which formerly found favour in local Government circles, having been completely exploded by the history of the last thirteen years."

Thus the ground on which the hostile party in the Transvaal base their economic argument against the Indian is repudiated in East Africa and *vice versa*.

VII. No one can pass through the Orange Free State and then come into Natal without noting at once the difference in cultivation. It may be rightly argued that the Boer administration in the Free State is more backward and the soil in part less fertile. But making allowance for both these differences credit must be given to the fact that Natal had Indian cultivators and artisans all these past sixty years and the Orange Free State has had none.

What is of even more importance to this argument,—it can be shown that in Natal where there is a greater number of Indians than in any other part of Africa, the progress of the African natives had been more rapid than in the Free State. So far has the African been removed from economic servitude, that his wages have risen much higher in Natal than in the Orange Free State where there are no Indians at all. So far is the African in Natal to-day from the position of a "mere hewer of wood and drawer of water" to the Indian, that he has actually surpassed the Indian in the average of the monthly wage; and the Africans' wages are rising while the Indians' wages are declining. I am taking count of the latest statistics from the Official Year Book of the South African Union, published by the Director of Statistics.

VIII. I have seen the treatment of the African native in the Orange Free State. I believe I am right in saying that the African of the Free State has no right to own land and no civil status at all. He must belong to one of the European masters, who have taken possession of all the soil. If ever there existed a class of people, who, by their very principles and traditions, were determined to keep the African in servitude, the back-veldt Boers of South Africa are such. Their religion itself appears to sanction this attitude. Yet these very back-veldt farmers were given special privileges for settlement in East Africa and were allowed

to hold land in the upland areas which has been withheld from Indians. The Europeans in East Africa know perfectly well the principles and traditions of these Boer settlers. Why, then, was there no protest against their admission, if it was sincerely desired to protect the African native?

IX. In the Cape Colony for many years past, Indians, along with "coloured" people and African natives, have been allowed the franchise on the two qualifications of (i) having property valued at £75 and (ii) being sufficiently literate to sign their names and write their addresses and occupations in English.

It was of great interest to me in the Cape Colony to find how entirely the Indian question has passed into the background. This is in a very great measure due to the rights of citizenship having been granted. The number of Indians is not large. They are contented with their present position and desire no alteration. With regard to the African natives, there has been no economic depression of any kind which can be traced to the presence of the Indians. Depression has come entirely from the European trades' unions, which still insist on certain classes of skilled work, (which the Africans are quite capable of doing) being reserved for the European workmen. The African native is artificially prevented by the strictest trades' union rules of the "colour bar," from rising in his trade. Every effort has been made by liberal statesmen and by liberal labour leaders, to break that colour bar, but without avail.

I will give one instance, which was vouched for,—there are probably hundreds of a similar nature. A certain type of blasting in the mines has been reserved for European workmen. But the European is allowed to employ a Kaffir, on a mere pretence, to do the actual work, while he looks on and directs and draws a high monthly wage. This insistence on the colour bar reduces the intelligent and highly skilled African workman to economic servitude.

There was one striking fact, which told in a positive direction in favour of the Indians. Dr. Abdurrahman, a leading member of the Indian community, has done more than any person in South Africa to uphold the cause of the African natives, and to raise their social and political status. He has represented them for many years in the Cape Provincial Parliament and Council, and, if ever the racial barrier is removed from the South African Union Parliament, he will be the first to represent them there also. The native and coloured population at the Cape trust him more than any living man, and he has been their champion all his life. This fact will be difficult to fit in with the theory of the Economic

Commissioners, that Indians retard the progress of the African native and keep them in an economic servitude as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water.

I have now gone through, at length, the different heads of evidence which I have gathered while travelling up and down Africa. Looking back over the whole field, there is very little indeed that bears out the contention of the East African Commissioners against the Indians. On the other hand, there appears to me overwhelming evidence which tells in the Indians' favour.

The longer I have studied the main question on a wide scale, the more clearly I have seen that there is a fundamental fallacy underlying the whole position of the East African Commissioners. It is the same as the fallacy that sometimes obsesses the working man both in Europe and Australia, where he thinks that the amount of work to be done is limited and that there is only just enough to go round. The working man does not see that new work is always being created, and that work done leads on to other work. Similarly the Economic Commissioners in East Africa seem to regard the whole amount of skilled work in the country as strictly limited. They appear to assume that every Indian occupying a skilled post is keeping an African out. But the truth of the matter is the reverse. Since the work to be done in East Africa is practically unlimited, each new piece of work done opens up much more work that cries out for workers. New work, new posts, come as it were, tumbling over one another, each asking for more workers.

A mere handful of Indians, (to quote the Economic Commissioners' own figures) in a country almost entirely undeveloped and of enormous area, cannot possibly fill up every vacancy. Whenever one Indian is doing skilled work, many African natives are bound to be employed as assistants. Out of these assistants, who have watched the Indian at work, there are certain to be some who are more handy with their tools than others. These Africans will be put on to do higher grades of work, as soon as they are ready for it; and everything will be done to advance them, because they are economically cheaper. By the very nature and character of his work and occupation in East Africa, the Indian cannot be exclusive or restrictive. He cannot keep the African out, even if he wished to do so.

If indeed it could be proved that the yearly Indian immigration into East Africa was overwhelming in numbers; if it could be proved, that all the new posts (as they became vacant) were filled up with new Indian recruits from India, and no room was left for the skilled African; if it could be proved that the African labourer,

working side by side with the Indian as an assistant, did not make progress, then there might be good reason to accept the economic argument of the Commissioners against the Indians.

But as we have seen, over and over again, not one of these points can be proved. Instead of Indians swarming into Africa, more Indians have been going out recently than those coming in, the Indian population is declining. Instead of there being no room left for the skilled African workmen, such skilled Africans are being taken on to higher jobs for economic reasons, as quickly as possible; instead of the African not making progress, under the apprenticeship of the Indian, he has been advancing with extraordinary rapidity.

This then appears to be the conclusion of the matter. The comparatively small number of Indians, who have gone out to East Africa, have, for the most part, done useful necessary work. They have never as yet emigrated in such numbers as to swamp the progress of the African native. Their presence, if the country is to advance, is still urgently required.

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Downing Street,

19 February, 1924.

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DRAFT.

H.S.L. Polak, Esq.

Ans - 9048

Dear Mr. Polak,

I have read your letter of the 12th of February, and I will bear in mind what you say, but I do not propose to reply ~~to~~ in detail. The Committee from India will be here before long and I shall wait and see what they say.

MINUTE.

Mr. Astorley 18/2

Mr.

Mr.

Mr C. Davis.

Sir G. Grindle.

Mr H. Ross. 18/2/24

Mr J. Masterton Smith.

X Lord Bunsell Mr

X Mr. Gromby-Gore

X Mr Thomas

X Duke of Devonshire.

Two points, however, require

notice. The first arises out of the second paragraph of your letter and is of some importance.

I may say at once that since the close of the Imperial Conference the view held in the Colonial Office has been quite clear: the Committee, when it comes, will be free to make representations on any question relating to Indians in Kenya, and, in

the

the meantime, the Secretary of State is free, in regard to any question, to take steps for carrying out the decisions in the White Paper. There was some misunderstanding with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapre<sup>u</sup> on the latter point, and words have been used in discussion here suggesting that Sir Tej had <sup>u</sup>supposed that the process of implementing the decision would apply only to those questions on which the White Paper contained in itself the terms of final settlement, and not to immigration. It is clear from your letter that that was in fact Sir Tej's impression.

<sup>As</sup> If <sup>As</sup> may come about that these words, used to illustrate Sir Tej's position in this matter of implementing, have been taken to apply to the entirely different matters of the scope of the Committee's representations. On that point I am glad to have the opportunity of making it clear that

there

there are no limitations.

The other point is as to the franchise. The Governor has already been told that the Ordinance will not be disallowed, and I am not prepared, by sending over-riding instructions, to disfranchise the Arabs and any Indians who may not have joined in the non-co-operative movement.

DRAFT.

MINUTE.

- Mr.
- Mr.
- Mr.
- Sir C. Davis.
- Sir G. Grindle.
- Sir H. Ross.
- Sir J. Masterton Smith.
- Mr. Ormaby-Gore.
- Duke of Devonshire.

(Sd) J. H. T.