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Kenya Europeans Memorandum on Indians.

1. (c) Under Lord Milner's policy two Indian representatives were to be elected on a communal franchise, but as that policy was rejected by the Indians no steps have been taken to alter the instruments of Government which still provide for nominated Indian members.

(d) The reference is of course to the reservation of Agricultural land in the Highlands for Europeans. The principle that Indians must be admitted to townships in the Highlands was definitely laid down in 1907.

(e) The principle of racial segregation was emphasised by Professor Simpson in his 1914 report. The report was not published, but the policy governing the alienation of town lands has generally been influenced by the report, and, in particular, the policy of refusing permission to Indians to acquire land in the portions of townships destined under the Simpson Scheme to be reserved for Europeans (and vice versa) has been in force some years. But the definite marking-out of reserves in townships was not announced until the end of 1918 and the announcement has, in a large measure, led to the subsequent agitation.

2. The statement in the first paragraph is strong, but there is no doubt some measure of justification for it. That is to say, the liberal.

liberal policy adopted in India undoubtedly brought into contrast the conditions in Kenya and led the India Office to attach greater importance, from the point of unrest in India, to the removal of disabilities in East Africa than was probably justified. It is extremely doubtful whether, even if East Africa was presented to India, the position of affairs in India would be simplified in the slightest degree.

As regards the second paragraph the Indians maintain that they refrained from agitation during the War out of loyalty and desire not to embarrass the Government. It is certainly true that the agitation did not attain serious proportions until after the Armistice. On the other hand, the statement at the end of the paragraph that the Europeans accepted Lord Milner's policy without controversy is correct. The Governor used his influence with the Europeans to induce them to abstain from controversy which might prejudice the acceptance of Lord Milner's policy by the Indians. It has always to be remembered that, owing to this, the Indians obtained several months' start in the acute stage of the agitation which followed.

3. It is probably correct that the Indian movement is due to a comparatively small body of men

man who may fairly be described as agitators. The bulk of the Indians are little affected, except when they are summoned together for mass meetings. It is, however, not accurate to describe the claim for absolute equality as a new one after Lord Milner's policy had been announced. Equal rights had been a cardinal point of the Indian programme from the beginning of the agitation.

4. The facts stated as to the War services of local Indians are no doubt correct. The contrast with the War record of the native tribes is just. The question whether the Europeans gain by contrasting Indians and natives is another matter.

5. There is no reason to doubt the statement that the general Indian population of Kenya is of a low class both in social position and in character. On the other hand, the Kenya Europeans tend to obscure the fact that a number of Indians in the country are not of this type, and when they say that it is proposed to bestow equal franchise rights on the low class Indians, they mis-represent at all events the policy which has been outlined by the Secretary of State.

6. We are hardly concerned with the question of disloyalty and sedition in India. At the present moment Mr. Gandhi is a little under a cloud.

7. It was inevitable that agitation in

Kenya should assume the prestige of association with Mr. Gandhi, but no doubt such association actually exists. The weapon of non-co-operation has on occasion been used in Kenya and Uganda but with wonderfully little result. As regards the reference to negro sympathies, this is a matter which comes up more directly under later paragraphs.

8. Mr. Churchill's outline of policy makes it clear that the admission of Indians to equal rights in Kenya depends on the attainment of a certain standard which, for simplicity, is proposed to be based on an educational qualification. As regards the claim that neither race, colour nor creed should be a bar to the attainment of the very highest post - this is more than a Utopian ideal. It is the ultimate ideal at which tropical administration must aim if it is to be worth while. The idea that the coloured races of the Empire are to be Gibeonites for all time is a policy of despair. But for present practical working it is not contemplated to flood the higher appointments of the public service either with Indians or Africans. So long as these appointments are filled by selection, the best men will be chosen.

9. The Europeans ignore the fact that for an indefinite time the elected representatives, whether European or Indian will not be responsible for the Government of the country. That responsibility will be retained by the Secretary of State and under him

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will be assumed by an elected Council.

It is difficult to see how far to go in making the European argument for the benefit of the native. There is a large body of opinion here which would ridicule the idea of the Kenya European taking any interest whatever in the native except as regards the amount of tax he can get out of him. European sympathy with the intellectual development of the native is rarely articulate, except when it is a question of countering Indian demands. The reference to the native leader in the last paragraph gives the wrong impression that there has been anything beyond the merest sprinkling of native trading in Kenya.

11. (i) The confirmation by the Imperial Conference of 1921 of the principle that an Overseas community should control the composition of its population was coupled with a definite statement of the right to citizenship of Indians lawfully domiciled. Further, the reference to the right of a community to determine the composition of its own population begs the question as to the European community only one of the three communities in Kenya.

(ii) Segregation in commercial areas has already been given up by the Medical Advisers of the Kenya Government.

12. It is no doubt true that most Indians

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have no wish to live among Europeans, and that their claim that there should be no restriction is based on principle, or probably also on the ground that if the restriction goes the further restriction on ownership of property will necessarily go too. At the same time, there are no doubt many Indians in Kenya who have so far adopted European ways of life that they would rather live among the Europeans than among their compatriots, and would probably not in practice be a serious nuisance to their European neighbours.

With regard to the reference to mixed schools this difficulty is certain to arise whether there is residential segregation or not. The real preventive is to give sufficiently good educational facilities in Indian schools, which would probably be preferred by most Indian parents.

The reference to Professor Simpson's report is accurate and in its general outlines his policy of segregation was maintained here until the local Government (as observed above) gave away the principle.

13. As regards European occupation of the Highlands, it is possible to argue as to the exact sanctity of the pledge referred to, but there is no doubt that a very large number of the European settlers would not have gone to Kenya if they had had in front of them the prospect of Indian neighbours. They have gone there to establish European homes for themselves and their children after them. In this matter the India Office have recognised the difficulty of departing from the policy of giving grants of agricultural land in the Highlands

Highlands to Europeans only. But press for the principle of free transfer of land already granted, it being left to the solidarity of European public opinion to prevent transfers to Indians actually taking place. This way out will not help us, for the simple reason that the European settlers in financial difficulties would rather have an Indian buyer than none at all, and that if a European settler is leaving the country he will not be dissuaded by any previous compact with his European neighbours from disposing of his land to an Indian.

The last words of the paragraph are probably not intended to convey the impression that the ex-service settlers were definitely told that the Highlands were reserved for Europeans. If the words mean that ex-service settlers were attracted to Kenya because of the European reservation, they are no doubt true.

14. The Europeans have only themselves to thank for the fact that the Asiatics have taken to enlisting the sympathies of natives in their cause. Much of the bitterness of the present agitation is due to the onslaught on the Kenya Indians contained in the report of the Economic Commission of 1918, in which particular stress was laid on the antagonism of interest between Indians and natives and the thoroughly bad influence of the former

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on the latter. It was inevitable that as a result the Indians should take pains to produce evidence that the natives were well disposed to them and appreciated their presence.

15. We have confirmation from the Governor of the view expressed that the evidence referred to was concocted. No doubt feeling varies in different parts of the Colony, and natives are alive to the fact that their facilities for buying and to some extent for selling are dependent on the presence of the Indian trader. At the same time, Sir E. Northey has definitely stated in conversation that, even in parts of the Colony where native chiefs are progressive and enlightened, the lives of the Indians would not be worth much if it were not for the presence of the British Administration.

16. It is certainly true that the Indian does not keep his money in Kenya. The real remedy for this, consistent with retaining the European reservation of the highlands, is to encourage in every way possible the immigration of agricultural Indians. With few exceptions, the Indian who makes money in East Africa has no incentive to become a farmer, but would readily become a land-owner if there were tenants available. The fact remains that the agricultural Indian does not go to Kenya, and when the question of an Indian agricultural settlement in Tanganyika was considered by Sir G. Robertson during his visit to the Colony on behalf of the Government of India, he definitely rejected the idea because the country in

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his opinion would not be suitable for the Indian peasant.

17. The reference to the views of the Christian Missionaries on the general characteristics of the local Indian is correct. In fact, we knew ten years ago of their strong opinion of the bad influence of the Indian on the natives of the country.

I am not an authority on Indian religions and cannot express any opinion on the reference to their immoral tendencies, but this passage surely ignores the fact that one-half of the Indians in Kenya are Moslems and are presumably not liable to the charges made. We have Professor Simpson's corroboration of the statement that plague in East Africa is in most cases directly traceable to the Indians.

19. (there is no 18). This paragraph may influence public opinion in this country, but it is liable to attack on the ground already mentioned (that the European settler in Kenya has not shown much appreciation of his responsibility as a trustee for the native), and it ignores the fact that the administration of a British trusteeship for the native will for an indefinite time rest not with the European settler or with the Indian resident in Kenya, but with the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

20. Australia, New Zealand and Canada all

accepted

accepted at the Imperial Conference the resolution already mentioned as to admitting to the rights of citizenship the Indians lawfully domiciled in British dominions. South Africa was the only dissentient.

21. The answer to the first question is that the matter does not arise. With regard to the second, the reality of the danger is open to doubt. In any case, the fact is ignored that, under the Secretary of State's outline of policy, future Indian immigration would be carefully limited. With regard to the third question, while one has every sympathy with the point of view of the European farmer, it would be more to the point to have indicated precisely the practical disadvantages which would arise from having an Indian neighbour with a home probably rarely less than two miles from that of the European.



**Enclosures of**

Alfred Parsons

MEMORANDUM  
ON THE CASE  
AGAINST THE CLAIMS  
of  
INDIANS IN KENYA

## 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, was 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 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 has, in accordance with 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 malcontents, directed by the secessionist 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 European, 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. Even 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 forces 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 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

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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 seditious 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 widespread and dangerous organisation, who were only watching for an opportunity to overthrow the Government and the whole Civil Administration. He appealed 40 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 successfully 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

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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 secessionist 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 widespread and dangerous organisation, who were only watching for an opportunity violently to overthrow the Government and the whole Civil Administration. He appealed 40 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 successfully 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.

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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 our best wishes 400,000,000 negroes, through its 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.

9. In the streets 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 shown 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 outnumbered 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 on a matter what safeguards be desired. 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 a 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 on the matter.

10. A further aspect of the question of unrestricted immigration is its economic effect on the interests 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 an 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 reasons, 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 right 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.
- (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 areas is fraught with the gravest 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 "catch-cry." 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 amongst 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 it 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 Wakikuyu had called a meeting of his sub-chiefs and headmen and all influential Kikuyus, at which Thuku's resolutions were discussed 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 in-

stances 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 stabilised while the Indian rupee has been of fluctuating value, the Colony has lost an enormous sum of money by the straggling of rupees 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 a 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. Buckitt, 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 pro-



bably 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 honours 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 Christianity 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.

21. 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) DELAMÈRE

On behalf of the Convention  
of Associations of Kenya,  
(Signed) C. KENNETH ARCHER,  
Chairman.