

**'NO INDIAN
NEED APPLY'
EAST AFRICA POLICY OF
EXCLUSION.
MR. CHURCHILL
SUGGESTS WHAT MAY
BE A SOLUTION.**

The questions raised in the interview we printed yesterday with Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee are of importance, not only to the British Empire, but to the whole world.

Are the brown and yellow races of Asia, swarming as they do in their own countries, to be denied access to the empty places of the earth, which are crying out for population? On the other hand, can the white races live and thrive beside those which are brown or yellow?

This is one of the great problems which confront the administration of an Empire like ours. Indeed, an official at the Colonial Office yesterday told our representative who went to seek information as to the statements made by Mr. Jeevanjee, that it was by far the most difficult problem of all, and that it was every day becoming more acute. Trouble has long been brewing in the East Africa Protectorate. In August 1907 the Land Board of the Protectorate recommended that Indian immigration be discouraged as much as possible, and that no Government land be allotted to Indians. This resolution was transmitted to Lord Elgin by Mr. Montgomery, the Commissioner of Lands, but in doing so the Commissioner felt it to be his duty to point out several facts to the Colonial Secretary:—

- (a) Indians have been in the country for many generations, and came long before the Europeans.
- (b) The Uganda railway (the greatest factor in the development of the country) was made by Indian labour. But for such labour it would never have been constructed at all.
- (c) Most of the trading wealth of the country is in the hands of the Indians.
- (d) Finally, Indians are British subjects.

Lord Elgin's views on the matter were laid down in a dispatch sent to the Governor on March 19, 1908:—

With regard to the granting of land to Indians, it is not consonant with the views of his Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community, but as a matter of administrative convenience, grants should not be made to Indians in the upland areas.

COLOUR THE DOMINANT QUESTION.

Mr. Winston Churchill, when Under Secretary for the Colonies, paid a visit to the East Africa Protectorate, and was brought into immediate contact with this great problem. He refers to it in the book which he wrote describing his experiences in that country. "Colour is already the dominant question at Nairobi," says Mr. Churchill. "We mean to make East Africa a white man's country," cries in strident tones the Colonists' Association on every occasion.

"It is the brown man who is the rival," Mr. Churchill goes on. The middle stage in the economic system must provide white society with the means of earning—as professional men, as planters, merchants, traders, farmers, bankers, overseers, contractors, builders, engineers, accountants, clerks—a living for themselves and their families. To quote Mr. Churchill:—

Here strikes in the Asiatic. In every single employment of his class, his power of subsisting upon a few shillings a month, his industry, his thrift, his sharp business aptitudes give him the economic superiority; and if the economic superiority is to be the final rule—as it never has been and never will be in the history of the world—there is not a single employment of this middle class from which he will not to a very large extent clear the white man, as surely and as remorselessly as the brown rat extirpated the black from British soil.

This, says Mr. Churchill, is the nightmare which haunts the white population of Africa. He goes on to deal with the other side:—

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 sway over three hundred millions of our Indian Empire?

WHAT MR. CHURCHILL PROPOSES.

And is it, after all, beyond our reach to provide, if not a perfect, at any rate a practical answer? There ought to be no insuperable difficulty, in the present state of political knowledge and social organisation, in assigning different spheres to the external activity of different races. The great Powers have partitioned Africa territorially. Is it beyond the wit of man to divide it economically? The co-operation of many kinds of men is needed for the cultivation of such a roble estate. Is it impossible to regulate in full and intricate detail the conditions under which that co-operation shall take place? Here white men can live and thrive; there they cannot. Here is a task for one; there is opportunity for another. The world is big enough. There is plenty of room for all. Why cannot we settle it fairly?

At the Colonial Office yesterday our representative was informed that the ordinances complained of by Mr. Jeevanjee were issued by the local authorities, but that nothing was known of them in Downing-street. The policy with regard to the selling and leasing of land was laid down by Lord Elgin in the dispatch which is quoted above.

At the same time, it was admitted at the Colonial Office that the uplands between Mombasa and Port Florence were to be reserved for white settlers. This area was, it was mentioned, about 4,000 square miles in extent. Here no land was to be sold or leased to Indians.

With reference to the conditions mentioned in the notice of sale of town lots in Nairobi, it was stated that the municipal authorities desired to keep the houses of the white residents away from those of the Indian residents on the ground of danger from plague.

"But," said the Colonial Office official, "we cannot speak with any certainty on these matters. They are in the hands of the Governor of the Protectorate, and if Mr. Jeevanjee will put his complaints in writing, we will send them out to the Governor at once, who will attend to them."

Seen by our representative in the afternoon, Mr. Jeevanjee said he had already, three weeks ago, laid his complaints before the Colonial Office. Dealing with the replies made to our representative, he took the case of the notice of the sale of plots in the Sixth Avenue, Nairobi. One of the conditions of sale ran:—

Any plot sold shall not be used as a place of residence for Asiatics or natives who are not domestic servants in the employ of the lessee.

"You are told," said Mr. Jeevanjee, "that Asiatics are not to be permitted to live beside Europeans. Why, these very plots which are offered in Sixth Avenue are surrounded by my land on every side, on which Indians live already."

"PUSHING US OUT."

"I am afraid this explanation will not do," he went on. "A deliberate policy of pushing us out of the country is being pursued. Let me give you one or two incidents which force me to believe this. Some time ago I applied for the lease of land at Port Florence for the purpose of starting a sugar plantation. This place is altogether unfitted as a residence for Europeans, but I could have employed many hundreds of Indians, brought trade to the country, and freight to the railway. Yet my application was refused."

"Again, a young friend of mine—an Englishman—wanted to start an artificial manure factory, for which there is a great opening in the Protectorate. I explained to him that if I found him the capital he would be prejudiced under the present state of affairs. So he tried to get it elsewhere, but failed."

"Then he came to me again, and I promised to finance him. The authorities objected to the factory being put up in Nairobi on hygienic grounds. I happened to have some land at Mombasa, three miles from the town, and with no dwellings near it. But the authorities would not allow us to build."

"Why?"

"Because I am an Indian. I can conceive no other reason."

It may be mentioned that when Mr. Winston Churchill was at Nairobi the only house in which he could be entertained was one belonging to Mr. Jeevanjee.

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IMPERIALISM ON TRIAL.

Indian immigration is a test question for Imperialism, and the remarkable statements made by Mr. Jeevanjee in our columns ought to direct attention to one of its most important aspects. We talk proudly of the British Empire as free and tolerant; it suggests to many minds the generous ideas of equal rights and opportunities, of laws which give to all the King's subjects, whatever may be their race, colour or creed, the same impartial protection. The actual facts are very different. The Indian subjects of the Crown are not free to go where they please within the Empire; from many British Dominions they are excluded; in others they are subject to many disabilities and indignities. A regulation in the East African Protectorate, which Mr. Jeevanjee quotes, puts one such case in a striking form:—

Plots may only be leased by persons of European origin.

Foreigners may take up leases in this British Crown Colony. A German, a Greek, a Levantine, an Italian is free to settle on the land. A subject of King George, if he be of Indian origin, is debarred. Such is Imperialism in practice.

We put the position thus sharply because it is well that the facts should be looked fairly in the face. It is, however, no less important that the point of view which governs such a regulation as this should be fairly considered. First, a distinction must be drawn between self-governing Dominions and Crown Colonies. The former are free to frame their own policy, and to make their own regulations. The Imperial Government cannot in practice require them to subordinate local considerations to Imperial. The policy of a "White Australia" and of a White and Black South Africa is fixed, and no representations made elsewhere will alter it.

This policy embodies, moreover, an ideal with which it is impossible not to sympathise. It may be quite true that Asiatic immigrants are disliked as much for their virtues as for their defects. Mr. Gladstone in a famous speech, defending Chinese labour, maintained that it was the industry, the thrift, the economic virtue of the coolies that caused their immigration to be resented. Similarly Mr. Churchill, in the case of East Africa, has pointed out that it is the "economic superiority" of the Indian immigrant that causes him to be regarded with suspicion and dread. All this may be true; but the white men on the spot maintain that "economic superiority" means a lower, or at any rate a different, standard of life and civilisation. It is at any rate an intelligible, and not an unworthy, ideal to desire that British territories, suitable for settlement as white men's lands, should be preserved for what we mean by white civilisation. And, again, in the case of territories where coloured labour is a necessity, and where there is already an indigenous coloured population, it is an intelligible idea that the intrusion on any extensive scale of other coloured immigration should be prevented. Such are the ideas which govern the policy of Australia and South Africa.

We now come to the Crown Colonies. The case here is different, because the Imperial Government retains direct control or responsibility; but it should be remembered that Crown Colony government is often only a half-way house towards self-government, and that the Imperial Government cannot wholly disregard the views and aspirations of the white settlers. This seems to be the attitude of the Colonial Office towards the question of Indian immigration in British East Africa. We may quote what Colonel Seely said some months ago in a speech to the Liberal Colonial Club:—

East Africa which had a high table land with a climate more or less like that of the temperate zone could never be a purely white man's country, for it had a great indigenous coloured population. They must simply wait and see whether the ideal of a mainly white country was going to be realised. If it was, they must do nothing to thwart it.

They certainly are doing nothing to thwart that ideal in East Africa. Whether the ideal be feasible or not, the Colonial Office, if they allow the recent regulations cited by Mr. Jeevanjee to stand, will pledge themselves to violent measures for restricting Indian rights.

The case of the Indian settlers in British East Africa is immensely strong. As was pointed out in the report of Lord Sanderson's Committee, emigration to the coast districts of the Protectorate from India has existed for several hundred years. As for the present British Protectorate, it is in large measure the creation of Indian immigrants. It was Indian soldiery that played a principal part in conquering and pacifying the country. It is the Indian trader who has developed it. It was Indian labour that built the railway. It is the Indian banker who has found the capital for agriculture, trade, and industry. "Drive away the Indians," said Sir John Kirk, "and you may shut up the Protectorate, I think." In view of such facts, it is difficult not to regard the policy indicated by Mr. Jeevanjee both as inexpedient, and also as unfair and inconsistent with sound Imperialism.

The larger Imperial question presses for some solution. India is the seat of a teeming population. Indian merchants and capitalists, like Mr. Jeevanjee, are full of enterprise. Other Dominions of the British Crown need coloured labour and enterprise for their development. Interchange of human beings is, as Colonel Seely has said, one of the things necessary to the continued existence and development of the British Empire. Are we for ever to debar the Indian from playing his part in this interchange? Is Imperialism to mean that the door is to be bolted and barred throughout the Empire to the surplus population and enterprise of the King's Indian subjects? Let full weight be given to the "white" ideals which have been described above, and a solution should still be possible. We indicated it the other day in writing on the new steamship service to East Africa. It is to be found in Mr. Churchill's idea of "economic partition." There are vast areas in British Africa which can never be white men's lands, which will probably never be developed at all on those lines. Might not some such areas be set apart for Indian immigration, wherein Indian colonists could settle without the imposition of any disabilities or invidious restrictions, and without incurring any suspicion or dislike?