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NOTE ON EMIGRATION

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EAST INDIES TO JAMAICA.

BY

SURGEON-MAJOR D. W. D. COMINS,

LATELY ON SPECIAL DUTY IN BRITISH AND FOREIGN COLONIES AND IN THE NETHERLANDS.

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JAMAICA.

Jaymaca, the Land of Streams.

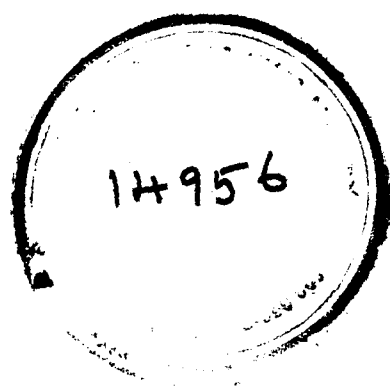
THE following remarks by Washington Eves, Esq., Honorary Commissioner at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, will give a general idea of the history and position of this Colony so far as it has been affected by immigration:—

The position of Jamaica may be viewed in many aspects. Formerly it was almost entirely a Sugar colony. It was not one of the "plantations" which the enterprise of the Elizabethan period brought into existence, although the English Board of Trade and Plantations had for many years to do with its civil affairs before the present Colonial Department was established. It was a military conquest of the Cromwellian period. But its special value consists in its being an agricultural country, with a soil richly responsive to any amount of capital and labour brought to bear upon it. The sugar crop is immensely less than it was in the old times of West Indian Nawabs, who made such a figure in English society at the beginning of the present century. One hundred years ago the production of sugar in Jamaica was 75,000 tons, and in the first twenty-five years of the present century even more than this was annually produced. In recent times, and indeed for many years past, the sugar production has not exceeded 30,000 tons, and upon the average has not reached that quantity. Other industries have, however, grown up, not exactly in substitution of sugar, but rather supplementary to it. Fruit is becoming a very important article of export. The relative importance of the different industries to the general well-being of the Colony has long been a matter of anxious discussion. And this question becomes more difficult to answer when we remember that for every ton of sugar less grown in Jamaica from the cane an additional ton is grown in Germany from the beet. And further while I am no advocate for reliance upon a single industry, and while I think that the policy of carrying all the eggs in one basket is a very foolish one, I believe the maintenance of the sugar industry is of exceptional importance to a West Indian Colony. It requires, for instance, large capital. It provides regular work and wages to the labouring population; and to a population like that of Jamaica, where the smaller industries in any district might at any time fail, the opportunity of earning wages on a Sugar estate is not to be despised. A fruit crop might be withered by drought or destroyed by hurricane; but a Sugar estate, to be kept in cultivation, must always go on—planting, weeding, cutting, grinding, boiling, and any further stages of manufacture. There must be always some employment for the skilled artisan or the field labourer, and wages must be paid, whatever the outturn of the crop or the course of the market. To allow an industry like this to dwindle and decay is surely a short-sighted policy in the interest of the Island population. People talk glibly about the survival of the fittest and the inexorable laws of supply and demand (a phrase the unthinking and superficial use of which has done more mischief during the last 100 years than any other bare formula, stripped of surrounding circumstance or local conditions), but it is not yet proved that German beet is the fittest, and is therefore entitled to survive.

The future of the sugar industry is dependent upon various proceedings. The Home Government have much to answer for in the past, and much to do in the future. There is no question of the reality of the effect of the foreign bounty system upon the British Sugar Colonies. This system has been allowed by the British Government to exist up to the present time. Not only Jamaica, not only the West Indies generally and British Guiana, but all the Sugar Colonies of the Empire are feeling the brunt of this unfair competition. Queensland, Fiji, South Africa, Mauritius, and, indeed, every country where the cane is naturally grown and sugar made, are vitally interested in this question, including, it may be said, even such specially-advantaged industries, by protection, partially forced labour or otherwise as Cuba, Porto Rico, Brazil, and, it may be added, Java. But people ask, what is the bounty, and how does it arise? A duty is put on the weight of roots, according to a probable yield of a certain quantity of manufactured sugar from that weight of roots. But if the Government say that one ton of sugar can be made from eleven tons of roots, and the manufacturer only uses nine tons, it is clear that sugar made from two tons in every eleven tons of roots escapes duty if it goes into home consumption, and receives drawback of duty it had never paid if it is exported. This is the simple explanation of the enormous loss accruing to the German Treasury in relation to the sugar duties. What this loss is in the different countries is shown in the following figures, based on a calculation made by the *Deutsche Zuckerindustrie* of the loss to Continental revenues from Sugar Bounties: France, £3,280,000; Austria, £1,036,667; Holland, £309,655; Germany, £1,886,690; Belgium, £813,000. Total £7,326,012 (or, excluding Russia, about an average of £3-10 per ton on the beetroot production).

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proportion of mass immigrants
passive resistance

Now the above figures afford a startling view of the extent to which the sugar industry of the Continent is fostered and protected. How is it possible to withstand such a competition? The bounty system stimulates production to such an extent that the depression of price is considerably more than the actual amount of the bounty given; but whatever the price of the Foreign sugar always has the advantage of the margin, say, of £2 or £3 per ton, afforded by the premium paid by the Treasuries of the respective countries. Is the general depression of price, then, anything to be wondered at? If the Foreign Nations, as some tell us, are cutting their own throats by such a system, is it at all satisfactory or agreeable that they should cut our throat first? Having performed the latter operation, the former might not become necessary, because, if foreign sugar-makers can destroy competition, they will have everything their own way, and be enabled to charge anything they pleased for their produce. Even with a revival of high prices, a cane sugar estate could not be re-established in a day.

The importance of the fruit trade cannot be overrated. The value of this export was greater than any other in 1886, when there was a very short sugar crop. The United States is naturally the great market for this produce, and but for the Florida orange a still larger quantity of Jamaica fruit would be consumed there. The experiment of bringing the fruit to England has also been sufficiently successful to warrant its being continued upon a larger commercial scale. But, of course, a great deal depends upon the particular condition of the fruit, especially as to ripeness, at the time of its being shipped, and the manner in which it is packed. Experience shows that if too ripe it is liable to spoil on the passage and be unfit for consumption on arrival. The wonderful growth of the Island fruit trade is one of the most satisfactory and pleasant features in the recent history of Jamaica. Again, the woods of the Colony, especially logwood, figure largely in the export values. Ginger, pimento, and spices of various kinds, cinchona, tea, and all the numerous production resulting from Jamaica's varied climate, make up a picture of tropical industry that cannot fail to be pleasing to the eye of the Englishman at home. Being the nearest to England, as well as the most productive in the way of tropical fruits, the West Indian Islands naturally supply, and should supply, the English market more readily than any other. In Jamaica alone fruit is annually exported to the value of over half of a million sterling—consisting chiefly of bananas, oranges, pine-apples, and cocoanuts. The Bahamas export chiefly pine-apples, both fresh and canned. Trinidad grows and exports chiefly cocoanuts. British Honduras, connected by a mail route with New Orleans, exports bananas, cocoanuts, and plantains. Montserrat is chiefly interested in limes, and exports limes and lime-juice. Dominica exports limes, tamarinds, and concentrated lime-juice; while flat and sugary Antigua exports only pine-apples, but those, though small, of very superior quality. From their geographical position it is only natural to suppose that a large proportion of the fruit of the West Indian Islands finds its way to the United States and Canada, where there are nearly fifty millions of people, with all of whom fruit enters largely into their daily food.

[From paper read by D. Morris, Esq., M.A., Assistant Director, Royal Gardens, Kew, before the Colonial Institute.]

The rearing of horses and cattle opens up opportunities for young Englishmen who are attracted by active occupation and life in the open air, and a large export trade in cattle to neighbouring countries might be established. Jamaica offers peculiar facilities for this industry; and no doubt, as years go on, the native population will eat more beef raised on the spot.

The Jamaica Blue Mountain coffee is now acknowledged by experts as the finest in the world. The principal reason of the stationary cultivation of coffee is, no doubt, the apparent absence of a demand of an increasing character. But the prices realised show distinctly that for the finer qualities, such as Jamaica can produce, there will be sufficient demand.

Another important and pressing question is that of central factories. A Government guarantee could not be put to a better use. The low prices have caused a cutting down of expenses in every direction, in some instances, such as that of manure, possibly to the injury of the estate. Muscovado Estates are not particularly paying, and the point is whether good sugar, suitable for direct consumption (referring to estates on which high-class rum is not produced), might not be made in central factories, instead of each estate continuing what is perhaps in some cases a comparatively wasteful process by making sugar which must go through another process before it reaches the consumer.

A few more detailed remarks on the productions of Jamaica for which Indian immigrants are so largely responsible will not be out of place:—

The total acreage of the island is 2,683,520 acres. Of this 270,000 acres are valueless being in ponds, morass, rivers, rocks and cock-pits.

Coffee, pimento (or all-spice), ginger, and cinchona are the principal productions of the higher elevations, whilst sugar, Liberian coffee, cacao, spices, fruit, tobacco, nutmeg, cocoanuts, pine-apples, and fibre-yielding plants are grown in the lower elevations and plains. Interspersed with these are fields of guinea grass which afford abundant nutritious food for cattle and horsekind.

Sugar.—In the early days of sugar manufacture in the island the mills used for the expression of the cane were almost entirely worked by horse-power, but there are only four or five estates on which this mode of working mills still prevails, steam and water power having almost entirely superseded it. The mills on 121 estates are supplied with motive power by

steam; 42 by water; 20 by steam and water; 5 by cattle; and one by wind. The separation of molasses from sugar is now almost entirely effected by means of the centrifugal machine, although the old method of standing casks of sugar in tiers and allowing the molasses to gradually drain out through perforations in the casks is still followed in a few instances. The manufacture of sugar is the principal industry of the island, but, owing to the beetroot competition, sugar is much reduced in price.

The value of sugar exported in 1881 was £336,901; in 1891 it was £236,188.

In addition to the sugar exported, a large quantity (estimated at over 10,000 hhds. a year) is consumed in the island; this is principally produced by small settlers, who grow the cane on their small holdings, and extract the saccharine matter by means of small and imperfectly designed and constructed mills.

Rum.—The Jamaica rum is the finest in the world, holding the first place in all markets for quality and merit, and commanding a higher price than the rum of any other country. The small settlers do not manufacture rum from the sugar produced by them, as the working of stills of a smaller capacity than 300 gallons is under such legal restrictions as almost to be prohibited.

Value exported, 1881, £174,906; 1891, £199,197.

Coffee.—In the higher mountain districts coffee is grown which can compete successfully with that grown in any other country. The character of this coffee is indeed so well established that notwithstanding the fluctuations in price in the plantations at lower altitudes the coffee from the higher and well-known localities (especially from the Blue Mountains) for the most part remains at the same rates, ranging from 120s. to 140s. per cwt.

Value exported, 1881, £231,383; 1891, £283,000.

The coffee above referred to is the Arabian coffee; but Liberian coffee is being generally planted, and will soon occupy a prominent position in the produce market. The Liberian coffee is successfully grown in the plains, where labour is cheaper and more abundant than in the high mountains, and where there are no difficulties and expense in connection with transport. In addition to the coffee exported, a very large quantity is annually consumed in the island, all classes of the inhabitants being coffee-drinkers. This coffee is principally grown and cured by the small settlers, especially those living in the parish of Manchester.

Pimento.—The pimento, which is indigenous to the island, is not only a very graceful tree, but a very remunerative plant in favourable years. It grows without cultivation of any sort in ordinary pasture land, especially in the high elevations. Ever since the Crimean War of 1854, the demand for pimento in the European markets has been considerably reduced, especially in Russia, where a large quantity of this spice had been previously consumed, but under no circumstances can a pimento property become valueless to the owner. The plant grows on land left to nature, and when it comes to maturity, on the mere clearing of the ground of the bush, the best of all natural grasses in the island springs up spontaneously around the pimento trees, and the pasturage, which was fruitless before, becomes of great value.

Value exported, 1881, £87,843; 1891, £81,326.

Cinchona.—The lands on the Blue Mountain range, where the quinine-yielding trees are being cultivated, enjoy a temperature resembling that of an English May, and are, therefore, very suitable for the successful growth of the plant. It was first established under the direction of Sir J. P. Grant, and has since been developed by Mr. D. Morris, the late Director of Public Gardens and Plantations. Mr. Morris, in a recent paper, says: "Assuming that the proper elevation has been selected and that the proper kind is cultivated, the result or the profit would be that at the expense of £100 there could be put into the market 1,815lbs. of bark, realising £363. This is the expense which would be spread over the seven years from the time of planting the tree to the removal of the bark. After the establishment of the trees—about 1,210 to the acre—the expense becomes trifling and the return annual." There are about 5,000 acres of land now in cinchona. Of these 143 acres constitute the Government Cinchona Plantation at Belle Vue, and 2,688 acres are lands lately patented by the Government to private individuals at nominal rates for the purpose of encouraging the enterprise.

Tea.—The cultivation of this plant is now being established on some of the higher lands purchased from the Government for the purpose of cinchona planting. The results of cultivation by the Government so far have been most encouraging. A sample of *camellia thea* recently sent to England from the Government Botanic Gardens was pronounced by a firm of brokers "to be of good flavour, and to combine to a great extent the peculiar characteristics of a fine China black leaf and a Ceylon Pekoe Souchong."

Bananas.—This is the most extensive and the most valuable fruit interest in the island. The exports in 1875 were of the value of £5,590; in 1885, £129,917; in 1890, £446,720. The increase in value of bananas exported in 1891 was £192,254 over that of 1890. The Director of Public Gardens stated that "the development of the banana industry has brought into cultivation large tracts of lands formerly lying useless or in ruin, and it has also been the means of circulating nearly £200,000 per annum in ready money amongst all classes

of the community." With ordinary care and in favourable soil the net profit of banana cultivation is stated to be about £15 per acre planted.

Oranges.—The export of oranges is increasing by rapid strides. Several well-kept plantations are springing up, which will no doubt in time yield fruit superior to any now exported: but the trees yielding the bulk of the present export of oranges from Jamaica are self-sown seedlings, growing in cattle pastures or in the neighbourhood of coffee and provision fields, and they receive little or no cultivation. The value of the oranges exported amounts to over £50,000 per annum.

Pine-apples.—The cultivation of this valuable and luscious fruit is greatly extending. During the year 1884 a fine selection of the best English pines from Windsor Castle and Lord Carrington's nurseries was introduced into Jamaica by the Government, and the plants are now doing well. The smooth cayenne species is being introduced by the Horticultural Society.

Cocoanuts.—In a tropical country and along the sea-coast there is no tree which is at once so picturesque and so useful for shade and shelter and so valuable as a source of food for man and beast as the coconut. If carefully planted in favourable situations the plant will take care of itself and will cause no expense for management. An acre of land will produce 60 plants, and these will yield nuts that will realise about £10 per annum. Thus the coconut industry is capable of being made most lucrative. It has an export value of about £13,000, and a home consumption of about £12,000, so that the coconut industry in Jamaica is at present of an annual value of about £25,000. The thousands of acres of land bordering the sea-coast of the island are capable of immense development in this direction.

Other delicious fruits, such as the mango, the cherimoyer, the naseberry, and the sweet sop grow in great profusion without any care or cultivation; some of these might, with care in packing, &c., become articles of export, especially to the United States, which are within a week's journey from Jamaica. The development of the fruit trade has been very rapid. In 1867 the value of the fruits exported was £728. Two years later an agency was established at Port Antonio (which was then a decaying port) for certain fruit-houses in the United States, and seven schooners were loaded with bananas. In the following year cocoanuts and oranges were added, and since then the trade has gone on progressively, and has extended itself throughout the island. Several steamers are now engaged in this profitable business, the greater part of the fruit being conveyed to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans.

Cacao was an important industry in Jamaica about a hundred and fifty years ago, but it had so declined that twenty years ago the only trees in the island were a few inferior kinds scattered here and there in settlers' gardens.

Fibre-yielding Plants.—Increased attention is being devoted to the utilisation of the many native plants capable of yielding fibre. The most promising plants appear to be the various species of agave furcraea, sansevieria, and the China grass or ramie (*behrmeria nivea*). Furcraea cubensis is widely distributed in the island and especially in the parish of Westmoreland, where it is known as "silk grass." The common keratto yields a good soap as well as a fair fibre. The bamboo is utilised also for fibre purposes, being exported in a crushed state and packed by hydraulic pressure in convenient bales. The New Zealand flax (*phormium tenax*) has been introduced, and is now established at the Cinchona Plantation.

Woods.—A large business was done in Jamaica woods to the year 1875, when the quantity exported was 85,204 tons, of the value of £265,211. Since then both the price and the quantity required have considerably fallen. The most valuable of the Jamaica woods are the yacca, the bullet tree (hard almost as a bone), the mahoe, juniper cedar, Santa Maria, Spanish elm, the common cedar (from which cigar boxes and furniture are largely made), lignum vitae, ebony, fiddle wood, yoke, prickly yellow, broad-leaf, guango, soap wood, calabash and cashaw.

Value of Dye woods exported, 1881, £141,216; 1891, £387,054.

Medicinal Plants.—Plants of a medicinal nature are a marked feature in the indigenous flora of Jamaica, and in works published from 1735 to the present time numerous references are made to the valuable properties possessed by Jamaica plants. Eighty-seven samples were exhibited at the New Orleans Expedition.

Jamaica stock.—The breeding of cattle and horses has had great attention from pen-keepers, and the breed has been greatly improved from time to time by the introduction of superior stock from England and America. At the present time the neat cattle and thorough-bred horses of Jamaica will compare favourably with those of most countries, whilst they undoubtedly surpass the stock in the rest of the West Indies. The best cattle are reared in the parishes of St. Ann, Manchester, and St. Elizabeth, the Guinea grass in those parishes being very fine and the climate well suited to the growth and development of fine stock. The fattening capabilities of the parish of St. Catherine, particularly in the Salt Pond and St. Dorothy districts, are well known. The markets of Kingston and Spanish Town are supplied with beef chiefly from cattle brought from St. Ann, Manchester, and St. Elizabeth, and fattened in St. Catherine. There are other districts in the island in which on a more limited scale neat cattle are reared, notably in St. Mary, Trelawny, Westmoreland, and Hanover, the herd of pure-bred Herefords at Knockalva in the last-named parish being the finest in the island, the six-year-old steers weighing from 1,500 to 2,000 lbs.

The horsekind in Jamaica is the finest in the West Indies. As in the case of cattle, so in that of horses, the parishes of St. Ann, Manchester, and St. Elizabeth have been found

to produce the best stock. The racing stock come almost entirely from these three parishes; and the horses of Hanover and Westmoreland are excellent and hardy stock for general use. Some of the best Jamaica racing-stock have been exported to Demerara, Barbadoes, Trinidad, &c., where they have always distinguished themselves. Three Jamaica race-horses have lately been exported to Mexico.

Mules are bred all over the island, but on a more extensive scale at the regular grazing farms. The mules of St. Elizabeth and Manchester are in great demand, because they are as a rule good-tempered, hardy, and cheap; whilst the mules of Hanover, and notably those bred at Knockalva, on the borders of Westmoreland, are generally considered to be the finest in the island.

2. I am indebted to Mr. Washington Eves for much of the above information.

Early history of immigration—Seventeenth century.—All the first immigrants sent to Jamaica were Europeans, principally refugees, political prisoners, persons under sentences of punishment, prisoners of war and convicts who were deported to Jamaica by the English Government as a ready means of disposing more or less permanently of dangerous members of the community. Many persons, especially young labourers, were, in the interests of the Jamaica planters, kidnapped in England and carried off by force to Jamaica, to serve there as bond servants, and the mortality among these early immigrants owing to the unhealthiness of the uncleared land, the absence of sanitary precautions, and forced freed labour in a tropical sun, always very deadly to Europeans, *vide* the French convict establishment at St. Laurent on the Marowine river in French Guiana, was very great. As a description of the condition of the imported labourers of Jamaica of those times, I cannot do better than give the description written by Colonel A. B. Ellis, and which recently appeared in the *Popular Science Monthly*. He says—

Few but readers of old Colonial State papers and records are aware that between the years 1649 and 1690 a lively trade was carried on between England and the "Plantations," as the colonies were then termed, in political prisoners, who were sentenced to banishment in the former country and shipped to the colonies, where they were sold by auction to the colonists for various terms of years, sometimes for life, as slaves.

The Government of the Commonwealth appears to have been the first to adopt this convenient if unjustifiable method of disposing of troublesome adversaries; and in Cromwell's proclamation to the Irish people, dated Youghal, January 1649, and written in answer to the declaration of the Irish prelates at Clonmacnoise, we find the following: "The question is of the destruction of life, or of that which is but little inferior to it—to wit, of banishment. Now, first I shall not willingly take or suffer to be taken away the life of any man not in arms, but by the trial to which the people of the nation are subject by law for offences against the same; and secondly, as for the banishment, it hath not hitherto been inflicted on any but such who, being in arms, might justly upon the terms they were taken under have been put to death, as might those who are instanced in your declaration to be 'sent to the Tobacco islands.'" And in a despatch from Cromwell to the "Hon. William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England," dated 17th September 1649, and describing the storming of Drogheda, we find with reference to those men who, contrary to the custom of war, had continued their resistance after the place had been carried and quarter given: "When they submitted, these officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed; and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes."

Banishment, however, was not a punishment reserved for the Irish taken in arms against the Commonwealth, for the same measure was meted out to Englishmen and Scotchmen who incurred the displeasure of the Protector; and the "Tobacco Islands"—namely, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Barbados—did not enjoy a monopoly of this traffic, for prisoners were sent in large numbers to the New England colonies, and, after the capture of Jamaica from the Spaniards, to that island. Of the ten thousand Scottish prisoners who were taken at the battle of Dunbar, five thousand were dismissed on account of sickness and other causes, and the remainder marched to Durham and shipped for North America and the West Indies. How those who reached the former country were disposed of we learn from Hutchinson's Papers relative to the History of Massachusetts (Boston, 1769), in which is a letter from the Rev. John Cotton to Oliver Cromwell, as follows: "The Scots whom God delivered into your hands at Dunbar, and whereof sundry were sent hither, we have been desirous as we could to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy or other disease have not wanted physic and surgery. They have not been sold for slaves to perpetual servitude, but for six or seven or eight years, as we do our own; and he that bought the most of them I hear, buildeth houses for them, for every four a house, and layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them as their own, requiring them three days in the week to work for him by turns and four days for themselves, and promiseth as soon as they can repay him the money he laid out for them, he will set them at liberty."

The lot of these unfortunate Scots was pitiable enough, but it seems they were treated with far more consideration than their fellow-sufferers in the West Indies. In Massachusetts,

too, to judge from the foregoing letter, the purchaser could terminate the period of slavery when he wished; but in the West Indies the banished were sentenced to specific terms of servitude which could not be shortened; and where no term was mentioned the slavery was, before the law of 1681 (33 Charles II.), for life. There is still in existence in Jamaica a deed executed in the Secretary's office in November 1671 between Robert Nelson and Thomas Pitts, by which the former, in consideration of the sum of £10, conveys to the latter and his heirs for ever one white servant named Stephen Avliff.

As we have said, Englishmen were likewise banished, and a great many of the royalist party who took part in the abortive rising of Wagstaff and Penruddock at Salisbury in March 1655, were sent to Jamaica and Barbadoes, with reference to whom Carlyle says: "A terrible Protector this. . . He dislikes shedding blood, but is very apt to 'Barbadoes' an unruly man—has sent hundreds and hundreds to Barbadoes, so that we have made an active verb of it, 'Barbadoes you.'"

After the restoration, Charles II. did not scruple to use against his political opponents a weapon which they had employed so effectually against his party. The House of Commons which was returned by the general election of 1661 revived the old ecclesiastical policy and recommenced the persecution of Nonconformists, a series of penal statutes against them being passed and assented to by the King, in spite of the promises he had publicly made, both before and after his restoration, to grant liberty of conscience to all men. It was made a crime to attend a Dissenting place of worship. A single justice of the peace might convict without a jury, and might, for the third offence, pass sentence of transportation beyond the seas for seven years. With refined cruelty it was provided that the offender should not be transported to New England, where he was likely to find sympathizing friends. If he returned to his own country before the expiration of his term of exile, he was liable to capital punishment.*

Charles II. made Jamaica one of the places of banishment for the Quakers, who would take no oaths either abjuring papacy, acknowledging the supremacy of the King, or swearing allegiance to him, all which omissions were considered to be treasonable offences, and hundreds of them were sentenced as convicts and sent out. These were soon followed by the conspirators of the Whig and Rye House plots in 1683, and in 1684 the Jamaica House of Assembly passed by command an Act entitled "An Act for ascertaining the servitude of the rebels lately sent from England, and to prevent all clandestine releasements and buying out their time, to the end, that after so great a mitigation" (as reprieve from hanging) "their punishment might yet in some measure be answerable to their crime." The author of the Annals of Jamaica informs us that these poor wretches were sentenced to ten years' servitude, and adds that few lived to its expiration, as may be readily believed when we remember that they were employed as "field hands" in a climate that at that time was notoriously unhealthy for Europeans, were insufficiently fed, badly housed, and hard worked.

In the reign of James II. this inhuman practice was still continued. More than three hundred persons who took part in, or were suspected of being connected with, the rising in Argyleshire, were transported to the West Indies, many of them having first been subjected to mutilation; and several women were banished, after being branded on the cheek with a hot iron. The prisoners taken at the battle of Sedgemoor in 1685, and persons otherwise implicated in the rebellion of Monmouth, who were all technically liable to suffer death, were granted in batches to the members of the court, who sent them out to the colonies to be sold as slaves. The number of prisoners transported by the notorious Judge Jeffreys was eight hundred and forty-one. They were divided into gangs and granted to court favourites, the conditions of the grant being that the convicts should be carried beyond the sea as slaves, that they should not be emancipated till after ten years, and that the place of their banishment should be the West Indies. This last condition was studiously framed for the purpose of aggravating the misery of the exiles, for it was thought that in New England they would have found a population kindly disposed toward them. The stipulation, however, that the place of banishment should be a West India island was not in every case complied with, for some of the exiles certainly found their way to Virginia; and a letter addressed to the Government of Virginia on the subject of the convicts says: "Take all care that they continue to serve for ten years at least, and that they be not permitted in any manner to redeem themselves by money or otherwise until that term be fully expired. Prepare a Bill for the Assembly of our colony with such clauses as shall be requisite for this purpose." Less complaisant than the Jamaica Legislature, which, as we have seen, had passed by command a similar Act the year before, the Virginia Legislature appears never to have passed the measure sought to be forced on it, and at the accession of William and Mary all the exiles were set free.

Such was the condition of the slave market at this time that the convicts, notwithstanding the high rate of mortality during this, the earliest "middle passage," were very valuable in England. From a letter addressed to James II. by Judge Jeffreys, protesting against the sycophants of the court sweeping up all the spoil, we learn that they were considered worth £15 a piece. He says: "I beseech your Majesty that I may inform you that each prisoner will be worth £10 if not £15 a piece; and, sir, if your Majesty orders these, as you have already designed, persons that have not suffered in the service will run away with the booty." The royal party in Somerset and the western counties pointed out that by the losses they had sustained during the rebellion, and by their exertions in its suppression, they had earned a right to share in this profitable speculation; but the King turned a deaf

* Macaulay.

ear to their expostulations, and the court favourites remained victorious. The Queen did not disdain to share in the profits of this inhuman business; and, instead of endeavouring to save even one single victim from this most frightful proscription, the only request that she is known to have preferred touching the rebels was that a hundred of those who had been sentenced to transportation might be given her. Macaulay declares that the profit which she cleared on the cargo, after making large allowance for those who died during the passage, cannot be estimated at less than a thousand guineas. Of the horrors of the passage itself he says: "The misery of the exiles fully equalled that of the negroes who are now carried from Congo to Brazil. It appears from the best information which is at present accessible that more than one-fifth of those who were shipped were flung to the sharks before the end of the voyage. The human cargoes were stowed close in the holds of small vessels. So little space was allowed that the wretches, many of whom were still tormented by unhealed wounds, could not all lie down at once without lying on one another. They were never suffered to go on deck. The hatchway was constantly watched by sentinels armed with hangers and blunder-busses. In the dungeon below all was darkness, stench, lamentation, disease and death. Of ninety-nine convicts who were carried out in one vessel, twenty-two died before they reached Jamaica, although the voyage was performed with unusual speed. The survivors when they arrived at their home of bondage were mere skeletons. During some weeks coarse biscuit and fetid water had been doled out to them in such scanty measure that any one of them could easily have consumed the ration which was assigned to five. They were therefore in such a state that the merchant to whom they were consigned found it expedient to fatten them before selling them."

John Coad, an honest carpenter, who joined the rebellion under Monmouth, was badly wounded in the skirmish at Phillip's Norton, and tried by Jeffreys and sent to Jamaica, where he appears to have fared better than most of his fellow-exiles, has left us a narrative from which the reader may gather many curious particulars. He and those who were shipped with him were consigned to a Mr. Christopher Hicks, of Port Royal, Jamaica, who at first, having some Nonconformist leanings, refused to sell them; but on its being represented that if he declined that office it would only be filled by some one else, and that he might be instrumental in getting them good places, he consented to put them up to auction. The hour at which the market opened for the sale of the convicts was announced by the firing of a gun, and John Coad, more fortunate than some of his fellow-sufferers, passed into the hands of a humane planter with whom he was secure from ill-treatment, and in whose service he passed five years of his servitude. Immediately after the Revolution, and the elevation to the throne of William and Mary, a new Governor, the Earl of Inchiquin, was sent to Jamaica, with instructions to release from their bondage and send to England such of the exiles as were still alive. This news spread rapidly among the convicts and some of them went to the Governor to inquire about their freedom. The Earl, who appears not to have read his instructions, and to have been of a choleric and hasty temper, had the deputation flogged and sent away; but was astonished to find, a few days later, that the men he had thus ill-treated were those who were specially recommended for kind treatment. He accordingly summoned the Council and proclaimed the freedom of all the exiles, who, after some little delay, were finally shipped home.

The participants in Monmouth's rebellion were the last who were ever sold into bondage beyond the seas and consigned to slavery, and the reception met with by those who went to interview the Governor will give us some idea of the manner in which exiles were usually treated. In most cases, in the West Indies, they were herded with the negro slaves, insufficiently fed, ill-clad, compelled to sleep without beds on the earthen floors of the hovels that were provided for them, driven out to work daily under a tropical sun, and flogged for the most trivial offences. Scores of them succumbed to this treatment, and it must be remembered that these men were not malefactors, nor indeed criminals at all, except in a political sense. Most of them were men of blameless lives, and, as says Macaulay, they were regarded by themselves, and by a large proportion of the people in England, not as wrong-doers, but as martyrs who sealed with their blood the truth of the Protestant religion.

So much for the white slaves; we now turn to the bond-servants—that is, persons who engaged themselves as servants in the colonies for a certain number of years, and whose condition was little better than that of the convict-slaves. It is true that the bond-servant came to the colonies voluntarily, in theory at least, for in fact he was often a poor wretch who had been kidnapped in some English seaport and hurried on board a vessel, while the convict was banished; but, once in the colonies, there was little distinction made between them. Indeed, their position in most of the colonies was such that it is incredible that any persons should knowingly have engaged themselves; and we are forced to conclude that they were not informed of the conditions of their servitude, and were misled by false misrepresentations made by the agents of the colonists in England.

Each colony appears to have had its own law on the subject of bond-servants. That of Jamaica provided that bond-servants might be of either sex, and those who had not entered into contracts or agreements in England were compelled, after arriving in the island, to serve seven years if they were under eighteen years of age, and four years if they were above that age. The clause of the Act ran thus: "All servants shall serve according to their contract and indenture; and where there is no contract and indenture, servants under eighteen years of age, at their arrival in this island, shall serve seven years, and above eighteen years, shall serve four years, and all convicted felons, for the time of their banishment; and at the expiration of the terms aforesaid, shall receive from their last master, mistress, or employer,

forty shillings and a certificate of freedom on demand; and whosoever shall refuse, without just cause, to give such certificate to servant, certifier, or labourer whose term is expired, shall forfeit forty shillings for every such refusal." The words "certificate of freedom" smack rather of slavery, and the bracketing together of convicted felons with bond-servants, as if they were much the same kind of persons, give us a hint of social position of the latter. In fact the bond-servant was little better than a slave. No person was allowed to employ a servant who was not possessed of a certificate of freedom from his last employer, or to buy from or to sell to any servant any kind of article whatever, without the consent of the master or mistress, under penalty of forfeiting to the owner treble the value of the article bought or sold, and £10 of the island currency. Any servant who offered violence to his or her employer was compelled to serve an additional twelve months, without wages, for each offence; and if a servant stole, made away with, or wasted any of his employer's property to the extent of over forty shillings, he was to serve two additional years without wages. For each day of absence from work the servant was to serve a week, but additional services on this ground were not to exceed a total of three years.

Any man-servant who married without the consent of his employer was to serve two additional years for offence, but if a free man married a servant he was to pay the employer £20 and the servant was free. If a free man had an illegitimate child by a servant, he was to pay £20 to the employer, and to provide for the maintenance of the servant and child, or, in default, was to serve the employer double the time the servant had still to serve; while if one servant had a child by another, the man-servant, after serving his own time, had to serve double the time the woman had to serve when the offence was committed.

If any one knowingly entertained a servant, he was liable to a fine of £5 for each day and night; if it was done without knowledge the fine was £1. If one servant was guilty of entertaining another servant, he was to forfeit a year's service, or receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back, at the option of the party injured. Any person who forged a certificate of freedom was to be subjected to the punishment of the pillory, and to the loss of his ears. Any servant who permitted any one to ride his master's horse, or use his cart, was to serve an additional three months for each offence.

These were the clauses of the Act framed for the protection of the employers of bond-servants; those designed for the protection of the servants were much fewer, and their purport was as follows: Should a servant fall sick, he or she was to be provided for, under a penalty of £20; but if the servant's sickness arose from misconduct, or from indiscretion, or if it was the jaws or a broken limb, he or she was to serve double the time lost. No servant was to be flogged naked without a justice's order under a penalty of £5; and no servant could be buried until the body had been seen by a justice, constable, or tithingman, or by two neighbours. This last provision was framed to prevent servants, who had been murdered or who had died from the effect of ill-treatment, being buried quietly and the matter hushed up. The owner was bound, under a penalty of ten shillings, to provide each white servant weekly with four pounds of meat, or four pounds of fish, with such vegetables "as may be sufficient." Owners were further bound to give yearly to each man-servant three shirts, three pairs of drawers, three pairs of shoes, three pairs of stockings, and one cap, and to a woman-servant in proportion.

Such was the law governing the relations between bond-servants and their employers in the island of Jamaica, and so far from being exceptional it compares favourably with others. The object of the law was clearly the prolongation of bond-service, most offences being punishable by additional terms of servitude; and the master consequently had an interest in their committal, and not infrequently provoked the servant to commit them. It can scarcely be believed that any one should knowingly have expatriated himself to serve under such conditions as these in a country which then bore a very unenviable reputation for unhealthiness; and it is fairly certain that those who came voluntarily must have been ignorant of the law; but a very large proportion of the bond-servants were carried off from England by force, and such kidnapped labourers are those who are referred to in the Act as persons arriving without a contract or indenture. In 1682 large numbers of labourers were seized in England and shipped to Jamaica, and the fact was so notorious that an Order in Council was issued regarding it. In 1685 kidnapping had become very common in Bristol, and young persons, guilty of no offence, were seized, hurried across the Atlantic, and sold for money. Even the City Magistrates dabbled in this kind of traffic. At that time many offences which are now considered very trivial were punishable with death, and it was the practice of the mayor and justices to intimidate persons brought before them, and to induce them, under fear of being hanged, to pray for transportation; the profits of the business being divided among the members of the Magistrate's court. In connection with this scandalous abuse, Judge Jeffreys appears for once in a light which is quite novel to most readers of history—viz., as the champion of the liberty of the subject and a redressor of grievances; for chancing accidentally, when at Bristol, to discover the proceedings of the Mayor, he, when sitting as Judge, took the opportunity of denouncing him, and compelled him to plead for mercy at the bar.

Kidnapping was not limited to England, as we learn from the pages of Esquimeling, servant of Morgan, the notorious buccaneer, and author of the History of the Buccaneers, who had himself been a bond-servant and had twice been sold. He tells us that the bond-servants were usually treated worse than the negro slaves, for, as the latter was the actual property of their masters, they took some care to preserve them. After describing the situation of the bond-servants in the islands belonging to France, and saying that he has seen

bond-servants beaten to death in the French portion of Hispaniola, now Hayti, he thus continues: "The planters that inhabit the Caribby islands are rather worse and more cruel to their servants than the precedent. In the isle of St. Christopher dwelleth one, whose name is Bettessa, very well known among the Dutch merchants, who hath killed above an hundred of his servants with blows and stripes. The English do the same with their servants, and the mildest cruelty they exercise towards them is that, when they have served six years of their time (the years they are bound for among the English being seven complete), they use them with such cruel hardship as forceth them to beg of their masters to sell them unto others, although it be to begin another servitude of seven years, or, at least, three or four. I have known many who, after this manner, served fifteen and twenty years before they could obtain their freedom. . . . To advance this trade, some persons there are who go purposely to France (the same happeneth in England and other countries), and travelling through the cities, town, and villages, endeavour to pick up young men or boys, whom they transport, by making them great promises. These having once allured and conveyed them into the islands I speak of, they force to work like horses, the toil they impose upon them being much harder than what they usually enjoin unto the negroes their slaves."

A terrible indictment of seventeenth-century planters this, and on the whole, except perhaps in the actual number killed by the Dutchman Bettessa, not an exaggerated one, for we find General Brayne, who arrived in Jamaica as Governor in December 1656, urging Cromwell to have negro slaves imported from Africa, on the ground that, as the planters would have to pay for them, they would have an interest in the preservation of their lives, which was wanting in the case of bond-servants, numbers of whom were killed by overwork and cruel treatment.—*Popular Science Monthly*.

Sir Thomas Modyford arrived as Governor in June 1664, and settled the seat of Government at Spanish Town. He brought with him a thousand persons, to whom he granted lands in the interior; and, as they were possessed of means, they soon began planting to the great benefit of the colony. He had acquired a large fortune by planting operations in Barbadoes, and he now freely expended his wealth in the same direction in Jamaica. He instructed the inhabitants "in the manner of making sugar, of planting cacao groves, of managing pimento walks and of erecting salt works."* The result was the increased value of the products and the extension of cultivation. Cacao was then considered "the best commodity in the island. A planter obtained from 20 acres of cacao plants 12 cwt. of nuts, which he sold in England for £8. 12s. per cwt." The best sugar works made at that time 20,000 to 30,000 lbs. of sugar a week, which were sold for 50 per cent. beyond Barbadoes sugar.†

Sir Thomas Modyford, in his first report to the King, stated that "sugar, ginger, indigo, cotton, tobacco, dyeing woods, and cacao were produced in Jamaica as well as elsewhere, but there were numerous other commodities; the best building timber and stone in the whole world, plenty of corn, potatoes, yams, cattle, horses, fowl, sheep, fruit, and pasturage. In short, nothing was then wanting but more hands and cows."‡ The former were secured by the Royal African Company being required at a moderate rate to supply the island with slaves from the Coast of Africa, and by the King ordering that all felons convicted in the Circuit Courts and at the Old Bailey, whose sentences might be commuted to transportation, being sent to Jamaica. The King also engaged to pay from the Imperial Exchequer for one year the cost of emigration from Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands. The required cattle were obtained from the Cape de Verde Islands, Hispaniola, and Cuba. The price paid for the supply from the two last-named places was 4s. per head.

With the view of encouraging immigration to the colony, the King ordered Sir Thomas Modyford to be prodigal in the granting of lands, allowing 30 acres per head to men, women, and children, white and black. All patentees were, however, required to begin cultivation within three years, and to pay a fine of 1s. per acre on all lands left unplanted after that period.

In March 1675, Lord Vaughan arrived as Governor. One thousand and two hundred of the inhabitants of Surinam Dutch Guiana which have been ceded to the Dutch in exchange for New Amsterdam (now New York), arrived in the island and settled for the most part in the parish of Westmoreland. "The poverty of these people inspired them with the resolution to labour, and Jamaica soon exported vast quantities of sugar superior to that of the other English islands" (*"Gardener's History of Jamaica"*). The refugees from the battlefield of Sedgmoor were transported as convicts to Jamaica, but were re-shipped to England by the Earl of Inchiquin, the Governor in 1690.

The population had by this time greatly increased, as it numbered 7,768 free people and 9,504 slaves. Attempts were made to increase the European population of Jamaica by the "apprenticeship system," and this has altogether up to 1884 cost £128,271 of the public money, and introduced 5,969 immigrants. They and their descendants are living as small settlers and earn sufficient to render them independent of prædial labour on estates.

In 1798 the Colonists raised by voluntary subscription the sum of one million sterling to aid the mother country in its war against revolutionary France.

* "History of Barbadoes," by Power.

† "Calendar of State Papers," vol. ii.

‡ *Ibid*

In 1807 the African slave trade was abolished.

The Jamaica slave-owners received £5,853,975 sterling as compensation for the 255,290 able-bodied negroes who were emancipated.

In the year 1838 (the year of emancipation) the value of the sugar, rum, and coffee exported was £1,455,185. From that time the exports of the staples continued to decline; but in 1842 the Earl of Elgin arrived as Governor, and he distinguished his government by his efforts to improve the social condition of the colony, and to develop its varied industrial resources.

In the early part of the Session of 1844 the Earl of Elgin, then Governor of the island, informed the Legislature that in consequence of hill coolies having been employed "within the last few years with great success in the colony of Mauritius," Her Majesty's Government had resolved on extending the scheme to Jamaica if the Legislature would provide the necessary funds. Thereupon the House resolved that they would make provision to cover the expense of the importation of 5,000 hill coolies and the re-conveyance of such of them as might, after the termination of five years, wish to return to India. In accordance with this arrangement 261 coolies were introduced in 1845; 1,890 in 1846; 2,400 in 1847. But there were no regulations for enforcing continuous and steady services from the immigrants; they were at liberty to enter into contract for a period not exceeding one year with any planter in the island whom they might choose to work for, and at the expiration of that time they could renew the contract or find an employer elsewhere.

The only penalty on the unemployed immigrant was the payment to the Government of 5/ for every month he passed out of "industrial contract." The consequence of this was the vagrancy of the coolies and the utter failure of the scheme. "The weaker portion of the immigrants fell into ill-health and becoming incapable of labour took to begging and thus eked out a miserable existence, living on alms and travelling from one place to another, so that the whole country was covered with beggars, many of whom were suffering from loathsome ulcers. The parochial institutions for the relief of the poor became overcrowded and the parochial funds were unable to bear the extra strain on them."* This led to the entire stoppage of East Indian immigration, but in the year 1854, 472 Chinese were introduced, the majority of whom came from Colon where they had gone to labour on the Panama Railway, and where their health had been completely destroyed. The consequence was that soon after their arrival here they were to be seen in the streets "worn out, emaciated, heart broken and miserable," and they eventually found homes in the hospitals and alms houses of Kingston and St. Catherine where the majority died as paupers. Of the aggregate number of immigrants thus introduced (5,023 in all), 1,726 returned to their native country, 1,491 remained in Jamaica as agricultural labourers, and the remainder (1,806) died or disappeared; this immigration cost the colony the sum of £83,703.

In 1858 the question of immigration was again introduced into the House of Assembly, and a measure carried providing for the raising of a sum of £150,000 by three instalments of £50,000 each, the interest and sinking fund being secured by a tax on exports, and by the payment by the employer of one pound per annum for five years on each immigrant allotted to him. In the following session the Act was amended (at the suggestion of the Secretary of State for the Colonies) by a provision requiring every part of the loan to be paid off within 15 years of the date at which such part had been borrowed, and increasing the annual contribution of the employer to thirty shillings for every Indian in his employment until the expiration of his indentured service. The new law gave the Governor power to impose stringent regulations on the employers, with respect to the lodging, food and clothing of the immigrants and required them to be provided with diet, medicines, &c., when sick, at the expense of the employers, and compelled the employers to report within 24 hours all cases of desertion. The period of indenture was extended to two years, with the provision that should the immigrants fail, within one month after the expiration of the second year, to apply to be re-indentured to any other employer, their original indentures were to be deemed extended for another year, and so on until five years of service under indenture expired. This law also required that twenty shillings should be paid from the general revenue to the immigration fund for each immigrant alive on the 30th September in each year, for the purpose of raising a fund to meet the expenses of the return passage and colonization of the East Indian immigrants. Under this scheme the following importations took place:—

In 1860	592	In 1862	1,982
„ 1861	1,521	„ 1863	540

There was then another stoppage in East Indian immigration to Jamaica. This cessation was principally on account of the unsuitability of the immigrants sent out by the Agent at Calcutta. The Commissioners who were appointed to enquire into the question in 1867, reported that "well founded complaints were made that many of those imported were much emaciated, of very low physical power and unaccustomed to agricultural labour," and that "the allotment of such persons to the planters as labourers had caused much dissatisfaction and tended greatly to deter them from making further applications." The Commissioners made several recommendations for improving the immigration system, and a law was passed

* Papers relating to East Indian Immigration, 1877, by Hon. A. H. Alexander, now Immigration Agent-General, British Guiana.

by the Legislative Council in 1869 amending the then existing enactments. In the meantime 1,625 immigrants were imported from Calcutta under the special instructions of Sir John Peter Grant.

The most important changes introduced by the law of 1869 related to the questions of rations, wages and medical treatment. The employers were required to supply daily rations to every Indian immigrant during the whole of his indentured service (which was fixed at five years) according to a scale and price to be promulgated, from time to time, by the Governor in Privy Council; but provision was made that, on being satisfied as to the safety of the measure, the Agent-General might, on the application of the immigrant, and subject to such instruction as the Governor might give, direct that such immigrant should receive the whole of his wages in money, payable weekly. Every male immigrant above 16 years of age was declared entitled to a rate of wages of not less than one shilling per day, and every female and every male under 16 years of age was made similarly entitled to a rate of not less than nine pence per day. By mutual agreement between employer and immigrant, sanctioned by the Agent-General, an immigrant might do task work if he should be able thereby to earn one shilling or more per day. Every employer was declared bound to find work for, or at least to pay, every immigrant for six days in each week, the working period being fixed at nine hours a day. With regard to medical aid the Government was empowered to appoint, pay and remove the medical attendants on immigrants, and to establish union hospitals for the better treatment of the sick. It was also empowered to establish a dépôt in Spanish Town as an asylum for indentured coolies disabled and incapable of labour; a temporary home for deserters until they could be returned to their employers and as an hospital for such sick coolies as had served their term of indenture but had not completed the industrial residence of five additional years to entitle them to a return passage to India.

The twenty shillings a year on each cooly paid from the general revenue for the purpose of immigration was by the new enactment repealed, Sir John Peter Grant being of "opinion that the cost of immigration should be borne exclusively by the planters and by a duty on products other than those produced by the small settlers." The bounty for colonization instead of a return passage to India was at the same time extended from £10 per head to £12 for each adult and half that sum for each child between the ages of 3 and 16.

Under this new system immigration became regular, and the Agent-General was soon able to report to the Government that "vagrancy and desertion were almost unknown, and that there was less sickness and malingering than ever there was."

The number of immigrants introduced under the provisions of the new law up to 1873, inclusive, was:—

In 1869	1,393	In 1871	1,354
In 1870	906	In 1872	1,188
In 1873	1,518		

Up to December 1872, out of 15,652 East Indian immigrants introduced since the 1st January 1845, but 3,167 applied for and received return passages; and in 1873 of all entitled to return passages none accepted them. The total East Indian population in Jamaica on the 30th September 1873 was as follows:—

Serving under indenture	5,880
Number who had served five years under indenture but had not completed ten years' residence	1,418
Number who had completed 10 years' residence and had voluntarily become colonists	5,157
	12,455

The question of the payment of the bounty to coolies electing to settle in the island was, among other fiscal matters connected with the immigration, reconsidered by the Local Imperial Governments and settled during the year 1873. The Secretary of State then decided that "the circumstances of Jamaica did not justify any contributions from the general revenue for the purpose of introducing immigrants from India to be indentured to sugar planters, or of sending them back to India," but that "the general revenue may properly be charged to a limited extent with such payments as may be made to Indian immigrants in lieu of return passages, in order to induce them to remain in the colony as settlers." A law giving effect to this arrangement was passed by the Legislative Council and the sum of £23,500, which had been paid from the immigration fund on account of colonization, subsequently to the passing of Law 17 of 1868, was refunded to the Immigration Department.

In the following three years the number of coolies imported stood thus:—

In 1874	1,356	In 1875	1,250	In 1876	748
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In the latter year the question of the cost of immigration was again brought forward, this time in the form of petitions to the Legislative Council from the planters of the island assembled in public meetings held in the City of Kingston and in the Town of Montego Bay. The most important of the points decided by the Council was "that the annual expenditure

in connection with immigration be defrayed in the proportion of one-third from general revenue and the remaining two-thirds from employers of cool labour and the export duties." At that time there was a deficit of £1,367 in the immigration accounts of the previous year (1877), and an anticipated deficit of £12,443 in the expenditure of 1878, and the cost of two ship-loads of immigrants, especially ordered by the Secretary of State at the instance of Lieutenant-Governor Rushworth, £14,000, making a total of £30,810. This amount had at once to be provided, the borrowing powers under the Act of 1858 having been reached by the raising of the full sum authorised thereunder. This was done by raising the sum of £35,000 under Law 1 of 1878.

Pending the settlement of the question involved in the resolution of the Legislative Council, and in the circumstances of the entire failure of the immigration fund, the further supply of the immigrants was suspended and the Agent at Calcutta recalled. In the following year the question was finally settled by the passing by the Legislative Council, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, of the Finance Law of 1879 and the Immigration Protection and Regulation Law 23 of 1879. The first of these enactments transferred the payment of the whole of the immigration debt, then amounting to £144,113, exclusive of the £35,000 above referred to, to the general revenue, and relieved the employers of all hospital and medical expenses. The planters were required for the future to pay but the cost of introducing and returning the immigrants to India and the office and staff expenses of the Department. These charges they were required to meet by means of the export duties on sugar and rum and by a contribution of not less than £15 on each immigrant allotted to them. This capitation fee was secured by means of promissory notes or bonds, payable in five annual instalments and discounted at the Government Savings Bank. The export duty on coffee and dyewoods was by the law appropriated to the purposes of general revenue, and the union hospitals and their equipments were transferred to the Government for the use of the general labouring population and placed under the charge of the medical department. The Immigration Protection and Regulation Law consolidated and amended all the laws relating to immigrants and gave new designations to the officers of the department, the Agent-General being termed Protector of Immigrants and the Sub-Agents Inspectors of Immigrants.

No immigrants were imported in 1877 for the reasons already stated, but in 1878, 895 were received; in 1879, 167; in 1880, 747; and in 1881, 504. No East Indian immigrants were introduced in 1882, but in 1883, 396 were received. The applications in 1884 for East Indian immigrants having been too late for the immigration season in India, the Secretary of State, at the solicitation of the West India Committee, sanctioned the introduction of Chinese immigrants, and 680 arrived from Hong-Kong in July of that year.

During the period that intervened between the 1st October 1873 and the 31st December 1888, the number of immigrants who returned to India was 4,501. On the latter date—

1888

The number serving under indenture in the colony was	...	1,002
The number who had served five years under indenture but had not completed ten years' residence was	...	1,858
The number who had completed ten years' residence and voluntarily become colonists was	...	10,206
The total number of East Indian immigrants in the colony on the 31st December 1887, was therefore	...	13,066

Under the amended immigration system the immigrants who arrived after 1878 are not entitled to bounty in lieu of return passages; consequently no money will be paid to those who are completing their industrial residence in the colony.

Of the coolies who were in Jamaica on the 30th September 1881, 456 were depositors in the Government Savings Bank to the extent of £11,491 0s. 4d. At the same date in 1889 the number of depositors was 703 and the amount of deposits £16,458 19s. 4d. The total amount of money taken in Government bills to India by the coolies who returned between the years 1871 and the sailing of the *Boyle* in May 1890, inclusive, was £70,603 7s. 10d. No record was kept for the previous years.

The Governor had under Law 18 of 1886 issued a Proclamation suspending the provisions of the Immigration Laws bearing on applications for immigrants, but under the same Act the Executive retained the power of revoking by Proclamation any such suspension. The Legislative Council in the autumn season of 1888 passed a resolution to the effect that immigrants should be introduced only on the condition that the whole cost should be borne by the importers.

In 1889 several causes had combined to make the most of increased labour felt with some severity. These were the natural diminution of the cool population owing to return to India of time-expired coolies, deaths, efflux of labour to the Panama Canal, the erection of bridges in Portland and St. Mary, the making of parochial roads into main roads, the growing dimensions of the banana and fruit trade, for which alone it was considered 1,000 labourers were necessary, and railway construction which absorbed a quantity of labour.

The smattering of education given to youths, which was the tendency to disqualify them for free or other manual work, is also credited with the loss of part of the labour attainable. The difficulty was to provide funds to cover the cost of the now reduced Immigration Department and that of introducing and repatriating coolies. The estates had already been relieved of the expense of maintaining hospitals for the treatment of their labourers, and any immigrants or others requiring hospital treatment had to find it in the public hospitals often at a considerable distance. The same subject is referred to in my note on Emigration to St. Lucia.

	£	s.	d.
The balance at the disposal of the Immigration Fund was...	18,784	17	4
Return Passage Fund	9,383	10	0
	28,170	7	4

And to enable the colony to introduce 1,000 coolies yearly, it was estimated that £5,500 to £6,000 a year would be necessary. The expense of introducing 503½ statute adults in 1885 was at the rate of £16-12-5 per statute adult.

<i>Detailed statement of the cost of introducing immigrants ex-Ship 'Hereford,' 1885.</i>			
	£	s.	d.
PAID BY CROWN AGENTS:			
Telegrams to Emigration Agent	2	15	0
Charter Party 7/6. Alterations to ditto 10/	0	17	0
Inspection at St. Helena	3	3	0
	6	15	6
EXPENSES IN INDIA:			
Collection and despatch of Emigrants:			
Collection, clothing, feeding in Depot, commission to Agents, &c., &c.	1,953	14	5½
	5,050	11	10
PAID IN JAMAICA:			
Passage money and premium on bill	632	5	0
Surgeon-Superintendent's Fees and Premium	74	16	0
(Advanced by Cr. Agents): Surgeon-Superintendent's passage to India	30	3	1½
Compounder's advances in India	202	1	8
" balance of gratuities	100	0	0
" return passages to India	332	4	9½
	125	0	0
Gratuities to Captain and Officers of Ship	32	1	10½
" to Sirdars, Cooks, &c.	14	4	6
Medical Inspections in Jamaica	153	19	5
Clothing issued to coolies on arrival	143	6	2
Less refunds by employers	10	13	3
	115	9	0
Conveyance and food of coolies, &c.	8	7	9
Sundry petty expenses	5	10	0
Advertising	8,361	13	11½
Total expenditure	14	13	4 each.
Number of coolies landed alive—570 souls			
Number statute adults allotted:			
Men, 322; women, 146; boys, 47; girls, 24—503½ statute adults	16	12	5 per statute adult.
Which with the investment for return passages	3	17	4
ages	20	9	9
Amounts to			

This was to be paid for in the following way:—

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
PAYMENTS BY EMPLOYERS:							
Indenture fee	...	15	0	0			
Interest	...	2	12	1½			
Leaving a loss per statute adult to the Immigration Fund of	...				17	12	1½
					2	16	7½

Many propositions were put forward to raise the yearly income £5,000 or £6,000 with the least possible cost to the planter. A Select Committee was appointed to consider the question of renewal of immigration from India. Their recommendations were—

- (1) That native labourers or creoles should be encouraged to work under the immigration law and take contracts for one year, his employer paying 50s. premium on each contract to the Government, £2 of which should go as a premium to the labourer and 10s. to the expenses of Government.
- (2) That no employer should be supplied with imported (Indian) labour who refused to receive such contract labourers (either native or cooly) as were allotted to him.
- (3) That the cost of the Immigration Department should be met out of general revenues, and not be debited to the importers of labour.
- (4) That only half the expenses of importation and repatriation should be borne by the employer to whom the cooly is indentured, the rest to be provided out of general revenues to be recovered from the employer of the cooly after his term of indenture has expired and during his second five years of continuous residence on the island.

And further that if the cooly declines to accept such employment and wishes to employ himself in shop-keeping or in any independent occupation, he should pay £2-10 a year, and if he becomes the possessor of land, he is to forfeit his right to a free return passage.

In all these arbitrary arrangements for the disposal of the coolie's property and liberty of action, no mention is made of the terms under which Indian immigrants are introduced into the Colony. A reference is therefore necessary to the contract made in India, and the provisions of the immigration ordinances from which it is seen that the period of residence, not necessarily industrial, is 10 years (*Law 1 of 1881, definition Immigration; also Protection and Regulation Law of 1879, clauses 53 and 53*); that the period of indenture or industrial residence is five years from the date of allotment *clause 30 of 1879*; that having served his indenture of five years he is entitled to a certificate of industrial service (*clause 39 of 1879*).

The effect of these suggestions, if adopted, would be to deprive the cooly, after the term of his indenture has expired and when he is a perfectly free man, of his right to dispose of his time and labour in any way that may seem most profitable to him, as well as to put prohibitive penalties on his employing himself in any other way than as a bond servant, to extend his indenture service to the whole period while he remained in the Colony, and to ensure the prolonged indenture far beyond the time when employers had any title to control his labour. A last proposition was made that any person employing a "free" cooly should be fined £50.

In the new law of 1891, the section of the Immigration Law of 1879, whereby a medical officer had to visit an estate employing emigrants once a fortnight, was repealed, and the medical officer under the law has only to visit estates once a quarter. In acute cases which cannot be moved to the public hospitals, sometimes many miles distant, these visits are not sufficiently frequent.

The term immigrant in Jamaica is confined to those who have not completed a continuous residence of 10 years in the Colony (*Law 23 of 1879, definition Immigrant; Law 1 of 1881, clause 1*), and after that time the Immigration

DIARY.

Kingston, Jamaica.

The 31st October 1891.—Arrived at 6 A.M. in the *Orinoco*. As there was no message for me, I drove to the Immigration Office, where I found that Mr. Cork, the Protector, was in England on six months' leave, and that Mr. Pigou, the Inspector, was acting for him, and was at present at the wharf arranging the allotment of emigrants recently arrived in the *Belgravia*. At 11-30 I therefore drove to the Colonial Secretary's office to see what arrangements had been made for my tour. As the Colonial Secretary had not arrived, I drove to the depot, where the coolies are kept during allotment. I found them in several large warehouses well suited for their reception, and they were all very happy and in good health, enjoying a good meal of rice and dal. The sick, of whom there were few, had been sent to the public hospital. Mr. Pigou, who was absent at breakfast, came after a short time, and we proceeded to the Emigration Office to discuss matters. He said he was sorry he could not accompany me on my tour, as the work of allotments and distribution of coolies would occupy all his time, and his office establishment had been reduced. I showed him the answers to my questions forwarded by him, and asked him if he could not give me fuller information, which he said he might be able to do if he had time after I had left. I asked him for copies of some letters respecting my visit to Jamaica, which he said might be obtained from the Colonial Secretary's office. As I wished to see the Colonial Secretary, I went to his office at 1-15 P.M., but found he had left. But with Mr. Alwood of the Colonial Secretary's office I had some conversation, and sent a letter to the A.D.C. to General Black, C.B., administering the Government here, and asking for an interview. To Mr. Alwood I announced my intention to leave at once on my tour of the estates, and said I would come and see the Colonial Secretary on Monday morning.

I found several letters for me at the Colonial Secretary's office, including three from Consul Wyndham at Paramaribo, respecting the Zoelen affair; also a memorandum on free return passages to India, by Sir Charles Bruce, Lieutenant-Governor of British Guiana, and the answers from the British Guiana Emigration Department to my questions, which had been printed in book form. I returned to my hotel, and was occupied for the rest of the day in writing a note on Sir Charles Bruce's memorandum.

November 1st, Sunday, and November 2nd, Monday.—Occupied in the early morning writing a note on Sir Charles Bruce's memorandum.

At 11 A.M. went to the Government offices and saw the Colonial Secretary, the Honourable Neale Porter. He said he was under the impression that I had already visited and left the island some months ago, and on my asking how this idea originated, he said he had seen some questions I had sent the Emigration Department, which I told him I had forwarded from Demerara, in order to give the Jamaica authorities plenty of time to answer them before my arrival.

He asked what was the object of my visit, and I explained the matter fully to him, and said I should like to visit some of the estates and institutions receiving East Indians. He said, when my visit was first proposed by the Secretary of State, he had objected, on the score of there being no necessity for such inquiries, and of the expense, and afterwards the Government, on further representation by the Secretary of State, had agreed to the proposal. I explained that I was already acquainted with his correspondence, and showed him an itinerary, prepared in consultation with the head of the Emigration Department, of a route through districts containing indentured emigrants; and said I should like to start at once. He gave me some advice as to the route, and very kindly sent Mr. Lucie Smith of his office to accompany me and make arrangements for my journey, and introduce me to the proprietors of estates. I am very much obliged to the Colonial Secretary, and I find Mr. Lucie Smith gives me much valuable assistance and information, and is the most charming of companions.

At 11-50 I called on His Excellency General Black, C.B., and had a few minutes' conversation with him. Mr. Lucie Smith and I then left the office and made arrangements for carriage and horses to be waiting at the terminus of the railway next morning, to take us to Malvern. We afterwards visited the public hospital, a most extensive and complete institution, where the Medical Officer, Dr. Saunders, showed me three East Indians recently arrived in the *S.S. Belgravia*, two of whom were suffering from pneumonia. These being all the East Indian patients, I left and proceeded to the jail. This is a modern building, with many of the latest improvements in good architecture and fittings, most admirably arranged and superintended. This is by far the best jail I have seen in the West Indies. I saw the East Indian prisoners, a nominal-roll of whom was given me by the Superintendent, who kindly showed me round the institution. The small number of Indian prisoners is remarkable.

Tuesday, November 3rd, 1891.—With Mr. Lucie Smith, left at 8 A.M. in the train for Porus, where we found the carriage waiting, and we drove to Malvern, which we reached at 7-30 P.M., after a very long drive in pouring rain. Distance travelled—train 45 miles, carriage 47 miles; total 92 miles.

The number of East Indians in this part of the country must be few, and I saw hardly any. The estates are for cattle and horse-breeding, with some coffee and roucou (anatto). In the train I studied the immigration rules and laws. The latest additions to them made during the present year appear to be calculated to obstruct the emigrant from obtaining occupation or making his living independent of work on the estates after he has finished the period of indenture, and when he should be quite free to choose his own line of life.

I wrote to the Colonial Secretary for the report of the Select Committee, on whose recommendations the new laws were framed, to see what reasons are urged for the alterations. I hope to receive this report at Savanna la Mar to-morrow.

Wednesday, November 4th.—At 8 A.M., leaving Malvern in heavy rain, we descended the hill 17 miles to Black River, a town on the seashore. After a rest of half an hour, we started for Savanna la Mar, 32 miles. The rain was still falling, the roads heavy, and the streams swollen. The road lay through immense "logwood properties" and cattle and horse-breeding farms. The absence of population is remarkable, and is to be accounted for by the small amount of labour required for the work. We reached Savanna la Mar, a rising and well laid out town, about 5 P.M., and continued our journey to Fontabelle, five miles—total distance to-day 54 miles—the proprietor of which, Mr. Hugh Vickers, had kindly invited us to make his house our head-quarters, which, as it is the centre of the numerous large estates in the neighbourhood, I was glad to do. I must again express my obligation to Mr. Neville Lubbock, the Chairman of the West India Committee, for the instructions he has given in all colonies for every information and confidential assistance to be afforded me by the planters in studying the condition of indentured immigrants. This I have always found to be most willingly and cordially given.

Fontabelle, Thursday, 5th November 1891, Hugh Vickers, Esq.

Acreage ...	...	...	...	1,500
In cultivated canes ...	...	...	...	280
Pasture ...	...	...	...	500

The rest is logwood and "mountain land" or uncleared bush.
Indentured—

Men ...	...	...	...	37
Women ...	...	...	...	16
Children ...	...	...	...	10

There are no reindentured immigrants here, and never have been. There is no necessity as "free" immigrants are treated in exactly the same way as indentured.

Free coolies—

Men and women ...	...	...	...	17
Children ...	...	...	...	3

On first arrival clothes according to scale are given them at the expense of the estate.

Also implements free—	Market value.
Cutlass (machete) ...	s. d. 1 6
Hoe ...	2 0

These are the only implements, as immigrants do not use the fork or shovel.

One iron pot to each house. One tin can "pan" to carry food to the field to each. One tin pudding pan. One kerosine tin for water to each room. Padlock and lamp to each room, and oil (kerosine) for the first few days.

None of the coolies have any cows, sheep, goats, or pigs, but number of fowls. One immigrant has a horse, but none own mules or donkeys. They are not prevented from keeping cattle, and nothing is charged for pasturage, but I do not think they can have been encouraged to do so. Many of the immigrants who completed their indenture in March 1890 left the estate and have gone and settled in Paul Island, Linton Pen, Burnt Savannah, and Three Mile River. Roughly speaking, there must be at least 1,000 acres of rice in the parish of Westmoreland belonging to free coolies. These four settlements are rented at from 10 to 20 shillings an acre per annum. They are mostly on abandoned estates. Some of the immigrants formerly have owned cattle, but when they left they took their cattle with them. These "free" people come back to work on the estate when they have no work on their own land. The free and the indentured work together in the same gang, but the "free" need not, like the indentured, work every day.

There is plenty of wood on the estate, which they are allowed to cut free. Also abundance of good water; a large spring from which the estate takes its name, &c. There are no cooly rice lands on the estate. There is no system like "farming," "colonage," or "metairie" in the island.

Task work.—All work is done by task, except watchmen by the week (4 shillings a week) for night work of, irrespective and not including earnings for, daily work.

Planting canes ...	...	...	...	1s.
Manuring ...	...	...	...	1s.

The tasks are on the Trinidad system, i.e., value of the work done is calculated and entered each day in the pay-book. There are shelter-huts all over the estate, and in case of rain the coolies are collected there. This is unusual but an excellent arrangement, as Westmoreland is a very rainy district.

Buildings.—Immigrants are seldom used in the mill on this estate, and the only work in the "buildings" is carrying "megass," dry cane, to the furnace. As a rule, immigrants are entirely reserved for cultivation.

Domestics.—There are two boys in the "yard" or compound, who are employed on the lawn-mowing machine.

Taxes.—Value to the colony as tax-payers.

Clothing and boots imported into the colony are subject to a tax.	
Rice ...	3s. per 100lbs.
Horses and mules ...	11s. a head per annum.
Horned stock for breeding ...	1s. "
Cart ...	8s. a wheel per annum.
Cultivable ground ...	3d. an acre.
Land tax ...	1d. "
Property holding tax commences at 5 acres	2s. a holding.
House ...	4s. a year.

Shop license, retail—	£	s.
1st class ...	...	5 0
2nd " ...	...	2 10
3rd " ...	...	0 10
Spirit license in towns ...	...	20 0
Tavern ...	...	10 0
Dealers ...	...	5 0
In districts—		
Retailers of spirit ...	...	10 0
Tavern ...	...	10 0
Dealers ...	...	5 0

Parochial taxes.—Dwelling-houses, shops, stores, etc., of the annual value of £4 and upwards, 1s. 6d. in the £.

Rum.—6s. a gallon, and immigrants drink a great quantity of rum.

Feast to coolies.—After crop a grand dinner of £8 or £10 is given, 6 goats, 1 barrel of flour, 3 bags of rice, 1 bag of peas. No rum is now given on this estate.

Shops.—There is one shop kept by a free cooly. The estate has no interest in it. No rent is charged, though the house belongs to the estate. Porter and beer are sold there, but no wine. The "wine" of Demerara—a villainous compound of spirit and colouring matter, called wine to evade the revenue duty—is not known here.

Rations.—The immigrants are rationed for three months, and their rations are discontinued by a written order from Protector. Rations are not popular with immigrants. They are issued weekly, on Sundays, and 3s. 6d. per week is charged and deducted from the immigrants' pay. Two overseers and "headmen" are always present. The provisions are supplied by the estate direct, and not through a contractor. No arrears of rations are charged for in the following week. The only substitute allowed is the money value of salt-fish for meat. The ration is a most liberal one, and the price deducted from the wages is the highest in any colony, and could probably be reduced without loss to the supplier.

Pay-books.—Are regularly kept and up to date. Payments weekly. Mr. Vickers kindly gave me copies of two months' pay-lists to show the system, which are annexed. They are both for day payments, not for task: one for February 1890, and one for August 1891. The second shows the price of rations deducted from the wages—

Weeks ending ...	{ 20th September 1891.
	{ 27th " 1891.

Twenty-one men, working 189 days out of a possible 252 days on task-work, weeding and threshing canes, earned £8-12-4½, or 11¾d. per day worked.

Nine women, working 63 days out of a possible 108 days, earned £2-8-3, or 9¼d. per day worked.

The coolies were mustered, and are a fine body of labourers. I saw the "barracks." A new house has just been completed for the coolies arrived two days ago, from the Belgravia. The rooms are sufficiently large and ventilated, but there is no verandah for cooking, and the inmates are beginning to make their "chulas" or cooking-places inside the huts—roof of shingle; surroundings drained and cleaned. I saw also the huts for the free coolies, which are roomy and comfortable.

November 5th, 1891.—After breakfast we started to make a tour of the estates in the neighbourhood. We were much hampered by the heavy rain which had made the execrable cross-roads almost impassable. We also were obliged to avoid the larger streams, as it was doubtful if we should be able to cross those not bridged. We passed some rice cultivation

belonging to coolies who seem to be well able to turn this crop to good advantage. There is a great quantity of low land in this neighbourhood, at present uncleared and useless, which seems admirably adapted for it.

Blue Castle, November 5th, 1891.

Acreage	...	...	2,300
In cultivation last year	...	...	150 acres.
Crop—Sugar	...	...	165 tons.
Rum	...	...	146 puncheons.
Indentured coolies—			
Men	...	...	24
Women	...	...	12
Children	...	...	8

Free coolies, about 30 altogether; but these work also at Paul Island on their own rice land. Barracks, two sets, one boarded at the sides with a window at the back; "trash roofs." The floors are only raised a few inches, and are damp; there is no verandah; size of room 10' x 12', and it holds a family of three, or two men.

The other range is wattle-sided, plastered with mud, and with a "trash" roof; no verandahs; the floors not raised and, very damp. There is but little attempt at drainage, and the jungle is uncleared and grows up to the doors. The newly allotted coolies arrived yesterday, and their huts and ranges were not ready for them. Two women and two children I found in a walled shed half full of lime. Most of the huts have a bench for sleeping. These huts would not be accepted as proper accommodation for newly indentured immigrants in other British colonies. They are roughly constructed, the roofs not rain-proof, and there are no cooking verandahs or huts. In one hut I found a child very ill and requiring immediate medical attendance. I recommended such remedies as were available on the spot, and the manager said he would send it to the hospital at Savanna la Mar, but this is eight miles distant, and the road very bad and heavy rain falling. The child and mother will be sent in a cart, and I recommended that a tarpaulin should be given to afford some shelter to the luckless couple. This illustrates the disadvantage of having done away with the joint hospitals for adjoining estates visited by medical officers at intervals of a few days; but Blue Castle, although an immense estate, has only 150 acres in sugar cultivation and cannot afford arrangements of this sort.

Pay-books.—Taking a week selected by the manager to show the wages earned when full work is given—Nineteen men worked 82½ days out of a possible 117 days, and earned £3-16-1½, or 11d. a working day. Eight women worked 21 out of 43 days and earned 11s. 3d., or 6½d. per day worked. Children get 3d. a day. These are coolies who have been four months on the estate, and their earnings may be expected to improve, but at present they are very small, and not what they should get according to the Ordinance.

The pay-books are regularly kept and up to date. There are no deductions or stoppages of any sort. Payments of wages are made to relatives or to headmen of gangs if the labourer is not present at the pay-table. Paying wages to headmen for the labourers of their gangs is universally condemned, and has been abandoned in other colonies, as it was found the labourers did not get their money, or only part of it. During crop time immigrants are employed in the mill, distillery and boiling room; also in carrying canes and trash, drying and mixing trash, and in the still, carrying rum.

No cases in Court for the last 18 months.

One or two of the coolies who came in April 1890 have learnt to drink rum.

This is a small estate, at least the cultivated part, and the immigrants do not seem to earn much money. The houses provided for them are small, cheaply and roughly built, and require raised floors and a verandah for cooking. The ground in the neighbourhood should be drained and the jungle cleared. By the new law the visits of the medical officer, unless especially sent for, are at rare intervals, and the distance of the hospital at Savanna la Mar renders the transport of cases of acute disease difficult.

Estate Black Heath, 5th November 1891.

Acreage	...	...	...	1,600
In cultivation	...	...	...	300
Tons sugar	...	...	...	280
Puncheons of rum	...	...	...	308
Indentured coolies—				
Males—	...	...	...	23
Females	...	...	...	9
Children	...	...	...	9

Free.—About 100.

Dwellings.—Boarded sides, huts in ranges 12' x 12'. Floors of indentured coolies' huts not raised, but of free coolies raised and partly boarded. They have standing bedsteads. "Trash" or dry cane roofs. Water-tight. Surroundings—cleaned and drained.

I saw two coolies, both new arrivals of yesterday, and the indentured coolies who arrived in July. There are also many free coolies.

Some complain that at the hospital at Savanna la Mar, six miles, they are not well treated. They do not get medicine more than once a day, and then not good medicine, unless they pay the Negro compounder. Nor will he dress their wounds. This complaint seems to be very general. On my return to Kingston I mentioned this to the Protector.

Saw the pay-lists. They are regularly kept and up to date, and the payments shown daily. Thirteen men worked 75 days in week 13th September 1891, and earned £3-19-0, or 1s. 0½d. per working day. Four women worked 15 days and earned 13s. 3d., or 9d. a day. In calculating days, only 5½ days are counted in the working week, as half a day, or Saturday, is given as a holiday. There are no stoppages or deductions.

Week ending 27th September.—Four men worked 46 days out of 50½ days, and earned £2-5-6, or 11½d. a day.

Rice cultivation.—Fourteen coolies have 35 acres of rice in cultivation. The ground is given free by the estate, and the result is that coolies at the end of their first indenture remain on the estate and do not leave. The rice is very good, and the coolies are very anxious to take up the otherwise worthless lagoon land for growing rice. They get about 30 bags of dhan to 1½ acres, or 15 bags of cleaned rice to 1½ acres. The first year they got more.

Cattle.—They sell and eat a number of steers and goats. There are at present—

Horned stock	...	...	...	16
Horses and mules	...	...	...	11
Carts	...	...	...	3
Goats	...	...	...	10
And numbers of fowls.				

There are no re-indentured coolies. None of the children go to school. This is a favourite estate, as it gives all the advantages to free coolies, which retains them permanently on the estate and prevents their going to other estates or to India. I came across a Bengali from Kidderpore, whose father kept a cloth shop. This is the first Bengali I have met. The immigrants on this estate are especially happy and contented and well cared for. They earn good wages and make money also by growing rice and rearing animals and poultry, and their position is infinitely superior to what it would be in their own country.

Estate George's Plain, 5th November 1891.

Acreage	...	...	...	2,700
Cultivation	...	...	...	210
Tons, sugar, last year	...	...	...	200
Rum puncheons	...	...	...	187
Indentured immigrants—				17
Men	...	...	...	6
Women	...	...	...	5
Children	...	...	...	50
Free	...	...	...	

Out of 15 children two go to school.

Rice cultivation.—Twelve acres of rice are cultivated by free coolies. The estate gives the land free, on condition of coolies working on estate. They take 14 days' lease from the manager for planting, and 14 days for reaping their crops.

Cattle.—Pasturage free. There are about 15 animals, including horses and cows, belonging to coolies. No carts. No re-indentured coolies. No applications have been made for re-indenture.

Pay books.—There are three books kept:—

(1) The overseer's or "head book-keeper's," which has not been entered up in the estate's book since 31st October.

(2) A pay-list showing daily earnings and payments.

(3) Another pay-list in the prescribed form, but not showing to whom paid. Entered up to 30th September 1891.

The second book is of no use if the third book is kept complete.

Seven men worked 37½ days and earned £1-18-7½, or at the rate of one shilling a day.

Women in full work earn 9d. a day. No stoppages or deductions.

Rations.—Are continued for three months and one week, or one week longer than prescribed by law. No cases before Magistrate since the arrival of the coolies in June last.

Dwellings.—Boarded side and matted huts, 12' x 12', with "trash" roofs and standing bedsteads. Earthen raised floors. No verandahs. Cooking done inside the huts.

Pots and implements and clothes, soap, kerosine-oil, are given gratis on first arrival, also padlocks and lamps.

I wished to go to Meyless Field, a rice estate of 1,000 acres belonging to Dr. Caulder, but it was so late, and the roads so bad, and the distance to the estate (14 miles) too far to cover before dark. I learn, however, that he sells his rice at 12 shillings per 100 lb, or at a higher price than Caloutta rice, which is 10 shillings per 100 lb, and that he makes and sells to the coolies and others from the broken rice a large quantity of "arrack."

6th November 1891.—Leaving Fontebelle at 8 A.M. we drove across the mountains to the other side of the island, distance 39 miles. The scenery of this part is very beautiful, and we passed several park-like estates, on which were grazing large herds of Devon, Hereford, and Alderney cattle. I also noticed some East Indian importations among them.

Catherine Hall.

Acreage	...	...	...	800
In cane cultivation	...	...	...	250
Pasture and woodlands	...	...	...	550
Indentured immigrants—				
Men	...	25	Children	...
Women	...	11	Free, about	...
				30

Dwellings.—The best I have seen; large commodious ranges, shingle roofed, boarded side, and floor raised two feet from the ground. There are no verandahs, which are generally added for cooking purposes. The rooms for married couples are 15' x 10'; surroundings clean and well drained.

I saw all the coolies; they are in excellent health, and well satisfied. Nineteen new coolies arrived yesterday from the *Belgravia* and are busy making their cooking-places and putting their huts and belongings in order. I saw two monthly returns of money earned, which by rule are submitted to the Inspector of Immigration. I should suggest that two columns be added, one for the number of days on which each cooly actually worked during the month and the other for the average earnings of each cooly per working day. This information would add much to the value of the return.

Rations.—I was shown a letter received from the Protector, giving a new scale of rations, and reducing the cost to the cooly from 3s. a week to 2s. 6d. This is as it should be. The cost of the ration hitherto deducted was excessive. The ration now ordered is a good one—

Daily.		Weekly.	
Rice	... 1½ lb.	Cocoanut oil	... 6 oz.
Fish, salt	... 3 oz.	Pepper	... 1½ "
Peas	... 3 "	Salt	... ¼ lb.

It is not stated whether the rice is issued cleaned or uncleaned. This makes a great difference, and in scales of this sort cleaned rice should always be ordered.

The following is a calculation by the manager of the actual cost to the estate:—

Rice	...	...	15s. 6d. per 100 lb.
Peas	...	...	26s. a barrel.
Fish	...	...	16s. for ¼ box of 50 lb.

Delivered at Montego Bay.

Approximate cost of daily ration—

Rice, 1½ lb.	...	...	} 4½
Peas, 3 oz.	...	...	
Fish 3 "	...	...	

Weekly—

Oil 1s. a quart, 6 oz. =	...	...	} 2½
Salt and pepper	...	...	

or about 2s. 10d. a week, so the estate will be a loser by the ration arrangement if these rates be maintained.

Pay books.—Are not kept according to (10) page 33 of Immigration Rules of 11th May 1891, but the system here adopted, though not authorized, is just as good, as this pay-book shows the number of chains worked by each cooly per day and the value of the work at the end of the week. The books are up to date and neatly kept. Nine men worked 48½ days, and earned £2.2 = 10½d. a day; but one day was a wet day on which only half day's work was done and wages earned. It may be said that they worked 45 days in nine weeks, and earned 11½d. a day. The number of days worked is very large, as, excepting those in hospital, every man worked every day in the week except Sunday. Five women worked 22 days and earned 17 shillings = 9½d. per day. This was for week ending 4th October 1891. Some of the free coolies have rice land on a neighbouring estate, ¼ acre each, at a rental of 6s. an acre per annum. They also have a few goats but no cows or horses. No re-indentured or "second term" coolies. No stoppages or deductions of any sort from the pay of the coolies. No cases before the Magistrate. No shop on the estate. In the "buildings,"

i.e., the sugar factory, immigrants work as cane-carriers, brush-carriers, boiler-men, stokers, sugar potters, and in the still-room in the making of rum. These latter get higher wages. Indentured coolies do not work overtime, but free coolies often arrange to work 12 hour "spells" during manufacture. The highest wage earned there is 12s. or 15s. a week. None of the children go to school. After visiting a neighbouring estate, on which, however, we found there were no Indian labourers, we continued our journey to Montego Bay, arriving there before dusk. We slept there the night, and the next morning (November 7th) continued our journey to Falmouth, where we hoped to find some fresh horses, as the ones we had brought from Kingston were somewhat fagged by the long distances the steep hills, and the heavy roads, which were in this neighbourhood washed away in parts. It speaks well for the stamina of the Jamaica horses that they should be able to do such journeys day after day, and I do not think that English or any other horses could have done so well. The first day they did 47 miles in a very hilly country; the second day 54 miles on heavy roads. The third day we used another pair, but on the fourth day they did 39 miles of hilly road, and the fifth day 26 miles, coming in very fairly fresh at the end. The country through which we passed grows a great quantity of sugarcane, but the Negro labour appears to be quite sufficient for all purposes, and Indian immigrants are not required or applied for. There are a few old Indians living in small villages here and there, and they also own a few roadside shops, but the Negro element predominates everywhere on this route. The sugar estates are large and growing fine canes, looking clean and well cultivated; but the absence of any but the most antiquated machinery is very remarkable. If these estates were situated in Guadeloupe or Demerara, they would certainly have a central usine with all the latest improvements in machinery, and a light railway to convey the canes from the more distant fields to the crushing machine; but Jamaica, I believe, owns only one "triple effect" in the whole of the colony. I believe it is generally understood that, except where labour is exceptionally cheap and plentiful, as in Barbadoes, the manufacture of common process or Muscovado sugar in the colonies unassisted by a bounty can hardly be a paying concern. Arriving at Falmouth about noon, we found a pair of particularly fractious and stubborn ponies waiting for us, and we continued our journey. At the particularly fine looking sugar estate of Hyde Hall I stopped and had a talk with the Manager. He says that there is plenty of negro labour in this neighbourhood, and no one is anxious to employ Indians, of whom there are very few living in the parish. Towards evening, we arrived at Brown's Town, having covered a distance of 48 miles since the morning, the latter part being very hilly.

We slept there, and the next morning, Sunday, November 8th, drove our original pair of horses to Moneague, 26 miles, and on Monday morning, the 9th, continued our journey to Ewarton station (10 miles), and took the train for Spanish Town, the old capital of the island, and which contains many of the more important public institutions. According to their custom, the Spaniards built their town some distance from the sea, which makes it from a business point of view inconvenient.

Old Marine Hospital.—Admirably situated on the seashore. Is a convenient and well-built structure for the reception of the sick public, who find there great comfort and attention. The wards are well furnished, clean and airy, and provided with good iron beds with plenty of excellent bedding, and all the out-buildings, including a laundry, in good order. There were a few Indians suffering principally from anæmia and other allied affections.

In *Spanish Town* I visited the *Leper Asylum* with the Superintendent, who kindly conducted me round the institution, which is situated at some distance from the town. Great improvements are being effected both in the arrangement of buildings and of internal discipline, both of which are now excellent. I found here only four Indian lepers, so I conclude that there must be a number in the island who have not found their way here. From the Superintendent I obtained the following information, which I was anxious to get in order to test the correctness of the oft-repeated observation that leprosy is not caught in the colony, but that emigrants in the incipient stage of leprosy are exported from India. All the evidence I have been able to obtain in this and other colonies points to an entirely different conclusion—

Peer Bux came to Jamaica 32 years ago in the *Surinam*, and he had been many years in the colony before the disease showed itself.

Koonja came seven years ago in the *Hereford*, and the first symptoms showed themselves three years ago.

Bhandoo, real name *Bamoo*, came to the colony 17 years ago, and has had leprosy four years.

Aliyar Khan came to the colony 18 years ago, and has had leprosy eight years.

So that in all these cases the disease did not show itself until these men had been some years in the colony. This is what I found also to be the case in Guadeloupe and Trinidad. After visiting every part of the institution, I proceeded to the *Public General Hospital*, and saw the East Indian patients under treatment there. Altogether there were—

Men	...	...	6
Women	...	...	4
Children	...	...	6
Total	...	...	16

These were mostly new coolies just arrived in the *Belgravia*, and they complained of the scantiness of their food, which, as I explained to them, was quite sufficient, though less than

the extremely liberal scale they have obtained on the ship they have just left. I visited the different parts of the hospital and saw all the arrangements, which appear suitable and sufficient. The number of Indians who are under treatment in the hospitals of this island is very small, and it is probable that the free or more permanently resident Indians do not frequent them during sickness to any great extent, while the, at times, great distance from the estates must prevent their free use by the indentured immigrants. If the colony continues to import new immigrants at the present rate, some arrangement might with advantage be made to bring medical aid nearer to these more distant estates. I continued my round of visits, and saw the *Jail, Spanish Town*, with which I was greatly pleased. The buildings are of the new type and well planned. The prisoners looked clean and well, and had to work hard to finish the tasks given. The separation in cells of the prisoners at night is, except in the French Colonies, very common in the West Indies, differing from our wards in the east, and it is undoubtedly better for discipline and prevents those organised schemes at escape and riot which the negro would be certain to attempt under any other system. The jailor who accompanied us is an enthusiast at his work and showed me many improvements he had devised and adopted. I saw the East Indian men confined here, who are altogether six in number. There are no women.

They were employed on stone-breaking, and the jailor says they have none of them required any disciplinary punishment. The following are the offences and terms of imprisonment:—

One shop-breaking and larceny	...	90 days.
One larceny	...	4 months,
One assault	...	9 "
One stealing canes	...	30 days,
and two "Working obeah,"	3 and 4 months respectively.	

Busoon Ahir, of Jaunpur, is one of those convicted of "working obeah," that is, of trying to do injury to an enemy by the use of magic. The other Indian convicted of "obeah" is a "Creole" of Jamaica, i.e., born in the island.

"Working obeah" is extremely common among the negroes, who have the profoundest respect for its powers, and cannot be got to talk of them without bated breath, but it is new to me to find East Indians taking to this strange god.

Having finished my visits to the Spanish Town public institutions, which receive East Indians, we returned to Kingston by the evening train.

10th November 1891.—The next morning Mr. Lucie Smith and I drove out ten miles to visit an estate entirely worked by "free" or unindentured coolies. This is one of those estates which the new legislation is intended to make in the future pay their share of the cost of immigration.

Evring's Caymanas Estate.

Acreage in cultivation	...	663 acres.
Sugar last year	...	915 tons.
Rum	...	18,914 gallons.

There are about 210 adult coolies here, and perhaps 50 children.

Pay-books.—Although not under the jurisdiction of the immigration laws, these books are regularly kept and are up to date. There are no deductions or stoppages of any sort from the pay of the labourers.

Cleaning gang, 128.—These all get 1s. or 1s. 3d. a day working by task, except children and a few old people, who get 6d., 7½d., or 9d. More than half of this gang are women. They work at cleaning and washing.

Planting gang, 24.—Get the same wages. Six of these are women.

Watchmen, 5.—Get 6 shillings a week.

Attending stock.—The boys get 3s. 6d. and 4s. 6d.

Day labour gang, 17.—One shilling a day. These are employed on any particular work which cannot be hurried. These are mostly men, but there are a few women. They are chosen for this gang on account of their steadiness at work.

River gang.—Altogether 13, 1 headman and 12 men, working by task. These are employed in cleaning the lagoons and canals and keeping up the main drainage of the estate.

The headman is chosen by the gang and is changed weekly. The system of "pot money," "soo-soo," "chitti," as known in other colonies, is here in force, and is known as "partner" money, by which each of the gang subscribes 1 dollar or more a head, and one of the number gets the whole sum by turns. He whose turn it is to take the "bag" is generally chosen as headman of the gang for that week. The river gang make about 1s. 6d. a day.

Irrigators, 8.—All men employed in watering canes in dry weather, and in wet weather keeping the surface drainage free of obstruction.

Wains 12 men and four boys.—These work at driving teams of cattle in the wains. They are paid at 3d. a load. A team of four cattle has one headman and a boy, and the 3d. is divided between them.

A wagon, differing from a wain, has eight oxen, and is managed by one headman, one driver, and one boy, and they get 6d. for each wagon-load working on the estate.

If they go into Spanish Town a wain gets 2s. 6d. and a wagon 4s., and a big wagon 5s. a load.

Manuring, 5.—All women, employed in placing artificial manure in cane holes. This is day work.

Small trenches.—Nine men, paid by chain, varying from 2d. to 6d. They earn about 7 shillings each a week.

Gathering tops 6.—Paid by tasks 1s. for cutting, 1,600 tops.

Ploughmen, 4.—Paid by acre—

	s.	d.
Single cut	...	1 0
Double cut	...	1 6
Opening into cane holes and cleaning out	...	6 6

Close ploughing—10s. an acre, or an average of 1s. 6d. a day.

Houses.—Are comfortable, roomy, shingle roofed, bath, standing bed-places. The floors are earthen and not raised sufficiently. Surrounding drained and cleaned.

Medical attendance.—A doctor is retained to visit the estate once weekly at an allowance of £50 a year. There is no hospital or dispensary on the estate, and the sick are sent to Spanish Town hospital, five miles.

Cattle and horses.—Belonging to free coolies. They own perhaps 30 mules, and the estate pays for their use during crop time.

Pasturage is charged—1s. a head per month during crop time only. The coolies own 25 mule carts. They also own a great number of goats, but as they are always eating them, the number varies constantly. There are a few pigs, but keeping them is not encouraged. There are a great number of fowls. They have no cows.

Lands.—Many of these "free" coolies rent land, generally ¼ to ½ acre, on neighbouring estates and "pens," at a rent of £1 an acre per year.

One immigrant rents a "fruit walk" on a neighbouring estate at a rent of £50 a year; mangoes, cocoanuts, star-apples, sour-sap. His father has just left the estate, and has a farm of 70 acres in the neighbouring hills.

Wood.—They can pick up as much firewood as they require. If they wish to build their own huts, the estate supplies the beams, boards and thatch, and helps them in the repair.

Implements.—The estate finds the trenchmen in spades, but the hoemen have to supply their own hoes and cutlasses.

Leave and holidays.—They can have as many as they like to take. They generally work three or four days a week.

Education of children.—The proprietor gives a Presbyterian minister £80 and a free house and garden on the estate. He superintends, and occasionally, in the absence of the schoolmaster, teaches in the school, the scholars of which are at least half cool children. The proprietor for the last two years has given £10 a year towards the school. I cannot find out whether this is a Government school or not.

No rum is given on the estate, but there is a great deal of drinking on Saturday and Sunday. This is the only estate in the island which has a triple effect.

Shops.—There are two shops on the estate, at which rum is sold. One kept by a free cooly, who pays a rent of £1 a month to the estate. The house belongs to the estate, which has no other interest in the shop.

This is one of those estates which obtains its labour entirely from the "free" or unindentured coolies, who come here in preference to staying on the estate to which they were indentured on account of the advantages they obtain, which are a higher rate of wage and as much leave as they wish for to cultivate the lands they rent on neighbouring estates. Perhaps some may value the education they obtain for their children, though this is, in this island as in others, generally a subject of indifference.

Morning Post.—On the emancipation of slaves, the revenue of Jamaica, which was the richest island under the British Crown, dropped from millions to £20,000 a year. Plantations which could not produce sugar would produce nothing else with profit.

The fallacy of this axiom was recently abundantly demonstrated. Value of bananas exported equals ¼ million sterling actually more than that of the once staple product, sugar; the exports of which continue to diminish as the new industries become more profitable. What the colony requires is capital. There is an abundance of labour; but as this is composed of coloured people rather given to a life of indolence, European supervision is necessary, negroes being good steady workers under the control of white men. Much of the poverty of the island has been brought about by distributing the land among the negroes, whose only endeavour has been to secure a bare subsistence from the soil (who have been contented with securing a subsistence from the soil, without attempting to improve it or to expend more labour on it than will provide them with the food necessary to their subsistence).

Where these petty proprietors are most numerous, the exports are lowest—

Virgin islands	...	16s. per head.
Dominion	...	32s. "
Trinidad (where the number of cooly petty proprietor, is increasing yearly)	£11 14s.	

11th November 1891.—The steamer *Andes* being timed to leave tomorrow for New York, I arranged to travel by her. I obtained what further information I could from the Protector of Immigrants, Mr. Pigou, and called and took leave of His Excellency General Black, C.B., and the Colonial Secretary, whom I thanked for the arrangements so kindly made for my tour, and for providing me with so excellent a travelling companion in Mr. Lucie Smith.

The information I have obtained in Jamaica is not so complete as I could have wished, and there are many subjects which I should have liked to have enquired more fully into, especially as the answers to the questions I have obtained from Immigration Department here are laconic in the extreme, and are generally contained in one line. I was lucky enough afterwards to obtain further information in England from Mr. Cork, the Protector of Immigrants, who was at home on leave. Jamaica is a big island, and the few Indians there are scattered far apart, and many miles are passed without meeting one of them.

12th November.—Left Jamaica in the Atlas line steamer *Andes*, whose cargo I found consisted of a few bananas in the 'tween-decks, and a few boxes of oranges and bags of pimento in the hold; not enough to load a jolly-boat, as the captain of a ship-wrecked schooner remarked. As she had no ballast, I expected a lively time off Cape Hatteras, which anticipations were fully realized; but after a stormy passage of a week, the *Andes* reached New York with a list of at least 20 degrees from the bananas having shifted to leeward. From New York I took a passage in the Cunarder *Servia*, and arrived in London on the 3rd December 1891.

This completes my tour of the West Indies.

My subsequent visit to Holland to discuss emigration matters with the Colonial Office at the Hague is described in my diary on Surinam.

APPENDIX A.

East Indian Population, Jamaica.

Attending school.	Not attending school.		Total children.		Married.		Widowed.		Not married.		Total.		Under one year.		1		5		10		15		20		30		40		50		60		80 and upwards.		Total.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
126	110	996	983	1,063	1,435	1,356	237	260	4,666	2,851	6,338	4,467	135	99	464	443	629	618	53	390	416	370	1,189	842	1,072	715	965	540	464	298	342	108	59	25	6,338	4,467

Occupations of East Indian Population.

Sailors.	Peasant proprietors.		Overseers or assistant overseers, or lookers.		Agricultural labourers.		Tending stock on pasture.		General labourers.		Railway, road or street labourers.		Attending agricultural machinery or boilers.		Railway guard, pointman, or gate or signaller.		Merchant, agent, or dealer.		Shopkeeper.		Huckster or pedlar.		Shopman, salesman, or clerk.		Milk-sellers.		Grass-sellers.		Charcoal burners and sellers.		Market gardeners.		Indoor domestic servants.		Domestic room, coachman, or gardener.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
5	69	3	15	...	8,707	2,834	10	...	523	390	16	11	1	...	...	...	10	...	264	151	2	...	39	46	...	...	...	...	...	...	67	50	35	39	31	20

Washers.	Interpreters and court scribes.		Teachers.		Priests and mendicants.		Dispensers, druggists, and midwives.		Goldsmiths and jewellers.		Bakers.		Bakers and cake-makers.		Fishermen.		House proprietors.		Cab proprietors.		Living on private means.		Female attending to domestic duties.		Watchmen.		Wood-cutters.		Police.		Persons and children of no occupation.		Total.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
...	26	4	...	4	1	20	16	...	3	25	...	32	...	5	2	2	...	355	28	2	...	...	...	74	32	...	2	...	...	...	1,082	1,063	6,338	4,467

21. CALCULATING AND CREDITING WAGES.

1891.

Pay Book of Indentured Immigrants on Fontabelle

Estate, Jamaica, for the month of August 1891.

Pay Book of Indentured Immigrants on Fontainebleau

Estate for the month of February 1890.

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APPENDIX C.

Message from His Excellency the Governor to the Honourable the Legislative Council of Jamaica.

HONOURABLE GENTLEMEN,

In connection with previous messages on the question of the renewal of immigration, I have the honour to submit for your consideration the Report of the Select Committee which you appointed to enquire into the matter, and to report to me on it.

At the request of the Committee, I have caused their Report to be published.

HENRY A. BLAKE,

Governor.

KING'S HOUSE,
15th April 1890.

HON. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

THE Select Committee to whom was referred the messages of His Excellency the Governor relating to the renewal of immigration from India,

REPORT—

That they have duly considered the messages of His Excellency the Governor and the several petitions relating to immigration, and have heard all witnesses who have tendered their evidence on the subject.

They accept the statement that in many Districts of the Island there is an absence of that supply of continuous and reliable labour which is indispensable to secure the investment of capital and the development of the great resources of the island.

Your Committee are of opinion that for the encouragement of the investment of capital in agricultural operations, a certainty of continuous labour is a necessity, and that in a country so sparsely populated as this is the establishment of a system by which such labour can be secured, on fair terms to the employer and employed, must work greatly to general prosperity. They attach considerable importance to the assertion of those who oppose immigration that if the same facilities, terms and advantages now given to imported labourers are given to native labourers, the uncertainty now attending the supply of labour would be lessened. They therefore recommend that power should be granted to the Protector of Immigrants to enter into contracts with native labourers on behalf of employers, and that only a sufficient number of imported labourers should be introduced as will, with the native contract labourers, meet the wants of employers. To encourage the native labourer to work under the protection of the Immigration Department your Committee recommend that an indenture fee of 50s. a year for each native adult labourer entering into an annual contract should be paid to the Executive by each employer, and that of this sum £2 should be paid as a bonus to the native labourer on the expiry of each year's faithful service under contract, and the remaining 10s. should be available towards reimbursing the Government the cost of carrying out the system. This would give the native contract labourer an advantage over any imported labourer.

They further recommend that no employer should be supplied with imported labourers who refuses to receive such contract labourers (native or second-term coolies) as the Protector is able to allot to him, or who after receiving, breaks his contract with them.

To carry out this important recommendation, under the direct supervision of the Government, your Committee further recommend that the Immigration Department should become one of the regular administrative departments of the colony, and that the cost thereof should be defrayed from general revenues.

Your Committee are of opinion that as priority of employment would, under the system they recommend, always be given to native labourers who are willing to work under annual contracts, which the Government would be responsible to see duly carried out, as well by the labourer as by the employer, the public interest requires that any deficiency in the supply of labour necessary for the continuance or development of agricultural operations should be met by importing a sufficient number of labourers from elsewhere.

Your Committee think that in the case of East Indian immigrants it would be unfair to charge the first employer with the entire cost of introduction, inasmuch as after five years' indentured service (of which the first two years are admittedly of little value) the coolie can be employed by any one who chooses to hire him. Your Committee consider the cost of introducing a coolie may be assumed with sufficient safety to amount to £22, exclusive of the cost of the Department in Jamaica, £3, which makes the total cost £25 per statute adult; and they recommend that half of this sum, or £12-10 should be paid by the first employer, and that the remainder of the cost of introduction and return passage, £9-10, should be defrayed in the first instance by an advance from the general revenue, to be recovered by a fee of £2-10, to be levied annually on the employer of a coolie who has served his first five years' indenture, but has not completed the second term of five years, which the

coolie engages to spend in Jamaica before he becomes entitled to a return passage. If a coolie after serving out his five years' indenture elects to go into shop-keeping, and thereby ceases to be an agricultural labourer, your Committee think he should pay in addition to the ordinary trade license a sum of £2-10 a year for five years, to reimburse the cost of introducing him as an agricultural labourer. This 50s. a year would go to general revenue. But if a coolie after serving his five years' indenture elects to become an agriculturalist on his own holding, such holding being acquired either by purchase or by a grant of land from Government, then he should forfeit his right to claim a return passage at the end of the second five years of his residence. The cost to general revenue of introducing such a coolie would be only £5-10 and the value of an additional permanent increase of the land-holding agriculturalists of the island would greatly exceed this sum.

Your Committee think that any person employing a second-term coolie, without having arranged with the Protector of Immigrants for a yearly contract with the coolie, should be liable to a fine of £50, to go also to the credit of the general revenue and to be recoverable in any Resident Magistrate's Court, the onus of proof that the coolie is not such a second-term coolie lying on the employer.

The effect of these suggestions, taking 1,000 coolies a year as a basis, would be as follows:—

	£		£
Cost of introduction	18,000	Payable by first employer	12,500
„ return passage	4,000	Advance required from general revenue	9,500
	<u>22,000</u>		<u>22,000</u>
			9,500
Against the advance from general revenue			
there would be the £2-10 from re-indentured and shop-keeping coolies for five years		£	12,500
Less 20 per cent. for death, and other losses			<u>2,500</u>
			10,000
			<u>500</u>
Or a yearly margin of			

in addition to the import duty paid by the coolies, which would probably amount in ten years to £15,000, at only 30s. each per annum.

Your Committee think that the hospital arrangements now in force should continue and be equally applicable to native or imported labourers.

They further consider that the importation of the labour required to supplement the native supply should not be confined to East Indian coolies, but might with great advantage and economy include Portuguese, Maltese or other Europeans and Africans; and in all cases where the duration of the indentures made with the first employer is less than five years, your Committee think the cost of introduction may be advanced out of general revenue, and be recovered by a yearly indenture fee on each annual contract for the term agreed on with the labourer when he is engaged, for such period as he may be employed as a landowner, as and until he ceases to be one either by taking up shopkeeping or becoming a landowner, as aforesaid.

Your Committee are very strongly of opinion that imported labourers should be required to work under contracts, directly supervised by a Government officer, until they elect to remove themselves from the category of prædial labourers by becoming peasant proprietors or taking to shopkeeping; and your Committee further consider that in the case of East Indian coolies, the cost of such a peasant proprietor will always be worth to Jamaica much more than the mere cost of his introduction, especially when he has acquired experience and training during his contract service, at the expense of his first employer and not of the State.

In order to secure that only those who directly benefit by employing an imported labourer should be directly taxed to re-pay the cost of introduction, your Committee recommend that the export duties on sugar and rum should be abolished.

It must be borne in mind that if by the arrangement suggested there be a sufficiency of native labourers, willing to work under Government supervision on yearly contracts—so as to ensure to capital a reliable supply of labour—no imported labourers will be required or introduced, and that if enterprise and capital are driven away from Jamaica, because neither native nor imported labour is obtainable, it will be not only impossible for the colony to advance, but on the contrary it will retrograde.

Your Committee do not think there is any question of competition between the native and imported labourer, because they cannot believe that an employer will ever resort to the employment of imported labourers if he can obtain reliable native labour.

Having regard to the prejudices of some persons, to the exaggerated ideas entertained by some employers of the amount of State aid they have a right to claim, to the abandonment and curtailment of agricultural operations from the uncertainty of obtaining continuous labour, to the advantage to the community of any increased yield from our great sources of wealth—our land, and to the necessity of securing continuous and reliable labour in the development of our resources, your Committee recognize the extremely difficult problem for which they are required to find a satisfactory solution, and they think that in

arriving at the solution they suggest they have given full weight and consideration to the difficulties and necessities surrounding the whole question.

Your Committee venture to conclude that there is no objection to, but rather a desire for industrial colonization, and it has occurred to your Committee that in order to obtain it, the State would not be unwilling to pay a bonus, possibly as high as £9-10 each for every adult agriculturist who would settle in Jamaica for at least five years, perhaps for life; and they consequently trust that the recommendations they have made will be regarded by all who are interested in the prosperity of Jamaica as a fair and just arrangement for the settlement of this difficult and important question.

Your Committee in closing their Report call attention to the fact that if it be, as maintained by many against the assertion of others, that there is a sufficiency of native labour, and if that labour will declare itself and avail itself of the machinery afforded by these suggestions, general prosperity will be secured at no cost to the State beyond the maintenance of the Immigration Department for the benefit of native labourers.

W. BANCROFT ESPEUT, *Chairman*.
HENRY KIRKE.
CHAS. B. MOSSE.
W. BOURKE.
ROBERT CRAIG.

Dated 3rd day of April 1890.

I AGREE generally with this Report, although I have only been able to attend two meetings of the Committee and have had no share in drawing it up. Individually, I go beyond its recommendations, and would urge upon the Government the necessity for taking immediate steps to meet the demand for labour, not only on estates—which now exists—but the demand which, in my opinion, is certain to arise in carrying out the very extensive public works already decided on, and in contemplation, and which must to a great extent deplete the present supply of agricultural labour. I also think that the Government ought to offer inducements to skilled labourers and tradesmen to settle in the island who could teach their handicrafts (now nearly extinct) to the rising generation under a proper system of apprenticeship.

In my opinion it is idle to assert that native labour is now available on the terms given to the cooly immigrant. Employers cannot expect to control continuous native labour—even on ruinous terms—while the labourer can become a freeholder with a facility unsurpassed anywhere, and there are other well-known reasons which account for the decreasing supply of labour, notably the smattering of elementary education given to our youth, which has the tendency, in the present transitional condition of the bulk of the population, to disqualify them for field or other manual work.

For the above reasons I consider it absolutely necessary to import labour now, not only to prevent existing staple cultivations from disappearing, but, if the island is to prosper and progress, to increase our population and so extend our production.

3-4-90.

ROBERT CRAIG.

APPENDIX D.

LAW No. 20 OF 1891 AND SECTIONS OF LAW 23 OF 1879 REFERRED TO IN LAW 20 OF 1891.



JAMAICA—LAW 20 OF 1891.

The Immigration Protection and Regulation Law, 1879, Amendment Law, 1891.

[27th May, 1891.]

WHEREAS it is expedient to extend the provisions of the Immigration Protection and Regulation Law, 1879, so as to make the same available for the establishment of a system of indenturing native labourers, and otherwise to amend the provisions of the said Law:—

Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Council of Jamaica, as follows:—

1. Law 23 of 1879 and the several Laws amending the same and this Law shall be read and taken together as one Law, and may be cited as The Immigration Laws, 1879-1891.

2. When any person, other than an immigrant within the meaning of the Immigration Laws, shall agree with any other person to serve him as an indentured labourer under the Provisions of this Law, the arrangement shall be carried out as follows:—

(1) The parties shall go before a Justice of the Peace.

(2) The proposed employer shall—

(a) either satisfy the said Justice that he is the proprietor of an estate, plantation, pen or property, or the person having the personal charge of or chief authority upon any estate, plantation, pen or property, and as such entitled, under the provisions of the Immigration Protection and Regulation Law, 1879, to apply to have immigrants assigned to such property, in which case such proposed employer shall make and hand to the Justice his promissory note at nine months for the sum of two pounds ten shillings, payable to the Protector of Immigrants; which note shall be expressed to be given under this Law, in the matter of a proposed indenture of A.B. (the labourer) to the maker, or

(b) produce and give to the Justice a receipt from the parochial treasury for the sum of two pounds ten shillings, lodged by him to the credit of the Protector of Immigrants, in the matter of this Law and a proposed indenture of A.B. (the labourer) to the person paying the money.

(3) The parties shall execute in triplicate an indenture in the form given in Schedule A to this Law, and the said Justice shall countersign each such indenture.

(4) One copy of the said indenture shall be given to the employer, (who shall hereafter be deemed to be the "Employer" within the meaning of the Immigration Protection and Regulation Law, 1879), one to the indentured labourer, and the third, together with the promissory note or receipt (as the case may be), shall be retained by the Justice, and by him transmitted at the cost of the employer, by post or otherwise, to the Protector of Immigrants.

3. On the execution of the indenture in manner aforesaid, the labourer (hereinafter referred to as an "Indentured Labourer") shall be deemed to be duly indentured to the employer for the term of one year from the date of the said indenture.

4. All the provisions of the Immigration Protection and Regulation Law, 1879, and the several Laws amending the same, relating to indentured immigrants and their employers, excepting sections 39-46 and 52-60, both inclusive, and sections 76, 77, 80, 87 and 88 of the said Law of 1879, and such portions as relate in terms to a person introduced into the island from parts beyond seas otherwise than by designating such person "an immigrant," or to a person subject to five years' service under indenture and five years' industrial service in the island, shall apply to indentured labourers and their employers under the provisions of this Law, as if the enactments of the said Laws were here repeated with the substitution of the words "indentured labourer" for the word "Immigrant."

5. All monies paid to the Protector, whether on promissory notes or otherwise, under the provisions of section 2 of this Law, shall be carried to the credit of the Protector in an account to be opened at the treasury intituled "The Indentured Labourers' Account."

6. At the termination of the term of service of any indentured labourer, such labourer shall be entitled to receive from the Protector of Immigrants the sum of two pounds sterling, and such amount shall be paid out of the parochial treasury of the parish in which such labourer was indentured, on delivery up by the labourer of the indenture as the voucher

Preamble

Incorporation Laws.

Arrangements for service as indentured labourers by persons not being immigrants.

Form of indenture. Schedule A.

Effect of indenture.

Portions of Law 23 of 1879 made applicable to indentured labourers.

Payments to the industrial labourers' account.

Amount payable to industrial labourer at the termination of his term of service.

Proviso in certain cases.

Claims by indentured labourer or employer to the two pounds.

To be tried and dealt with by the resident Magistrate.

To what account payments to be charged.
Application of the residue of ten shillings.

Certificates of service and residence.

Schedule B.
Schedule C.

Duty of persons employing an immigrant who has a certificate of industrial service but not of residence.

Penalty.

Evidence of want of notice.

Sums payable by employer on entering into any contract of service under Law 23 of 1879, section 41.

Payments by persons otherwise employing such immigrants.

Transmission by Protector to the treasurer of all promissory notes and moneys.

Moneys payable under the Law to be a first charge on property of the party by whom they are payable.

of the treasurer for such payment:—Provided that in case the indentured labourer has during his service been convicted of offences under the Immigration Laws in respect of which penalties of the aggregate amount of two pounds have been inflicted, it shall be lawful for the employer to give notice to the treasurer not to pay the said money to the labourer, in which case the treasurer shall not pay the said money without the order of the resident Magistrate of the parish.

7. In case the treasurer shall have refused payment to the indentured labourer as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for such labourer to lay an information before any Justice of the Peace, and thereupon a summons shall issue to the employer calling on him to show cause why the treasurer shall not pay the said amount to the said labourer,—or, whether application shall have been made to the treasurer by the labourer or not, it shall be lawful for the employer to lay an information against the labourer, whereupon a summons shall issue to the labourer calling on him to show cause why the treasurer should not pay the amount to the said employer.

Any such case shall be heard and tried before the resident Magistrate of the parish, and if it shall appear that the labourer has been convicted of offences and sentenced to penalties as aforesaid, the resident Magistrate shall order the money to be paid to the employer; otherwise he shall order it to be paid to the Labourer.

Any such order shall be endorsed on the copy of the indenture held by the party in whose favour it is made, and shall be an authority to the treasurer to pay the money to such party:—Provided always that if it shall appear that the employer has, during the term of the indenture, been convicted of any of the offences specified in sub-sections 1, 2, 5 or 6 of section 95 of the Immigration Protection and Regulation Law, 1879, in relation to the said labourer, the resident Magistrate shall in any case make the order in favour of such labourer.

8. Any money paid by the treasurer as aforesaid shall be charged to the account aforesaid.

9. The sum of ten shillings, being the difference between the sum of two pounds ten shillings, payable by the employer and the sum of two pounds to be paid under the provisions of section 6 or section 7 of this Law, shall be transferred by the treasurer to, and form part of, the general revenue of the island.

10. The certificate of industrial service to be granted to an immigrant who has served the full term of his indenture shall be in the form given in the Schedule B to this Law, and every immigrant who shall have completed a continuous residence of ten years in the island shall be entitled to receive from the Protector a certificate in the form in Schedule C to this Law.

11. Every person who shall engage or employ in his service any immigrant introduced into the island after the passing of this Law, who, though entitled to and possessing a certificate of industrial service, has not completed a continuous residence of ten years in the island, shall forthwith give notice of such engagement or employment to the Protector; and every person who shall engage or employ any immigrant as aforesaid, and shall omit forthwith to give the notice aforesaid, shall, unless he shall prove that after reasonable and proper enquiry he had obtained satisfactory evidence that the immigrant employed was not such an immigrant as aforesaid, be guilty of an offence, and shall forfeit and pay a penalty not less than ten pounds and not exceeding fifty pounds.

Evidence given by or on behalf of the Protector that no notice as aforesaid had been received at the office shall be *prima facie* evidence that no such notice has been given.

12. Any employer entering into any contract of service under section 41 of the said Law of 1879 with any immigrant as aforesaid shall—if entitled under the provisions of the Immigration Protection and Regulation Law, 1879, to apply to have immigrants allotted to him—give to the Protector his promissory note payable at the public treasury at nine months for the sum of fifty shillings;—if not entitled to apply as aforesaid, he shall pay the said sum into the parochial treasury to the credit of the Immigration Fund in the matter of the immigrant to be indentured, and produce the receipt for the same.

Such note or receipt shall be given to the Protector or Inspector before he sanctions any such contract as aforesaid.

13. Any person engaging or employing any such immigrant as last aforesaid otherwise than under a contract of service as last aforesaid shall, for every week or part of a week that he engages or employs such immigrant, pay to the account of the Protector at the parochial treasury, in the matter of the immigrant to be employed, the sum of one shilling.

Such sum shall be deemed to accrue due at the end of every week of such engagement or employment, and such sum shall continue payable week by week until the employer shall give notice to the Protector of the termination of the engagement or employment, and shall with such notice forward the receipt of the parochial treasurer for all sums due in respect of the same.

14. Any promissory note given under section 11 shall be forthwith transmitted by the Protector or Inspector receiving the same to the treasurer, and all sums received on such notes, and all sums paid into the Treasury under sections 11 or 12, shall be carried by the treasurer to the Immigration Fund, 1879.

15. All moneys payable under any of the provisions of this Law shall be a first charge and lien on all real and personal property of the person by whom the same is made payable, and shall be recoverable by the Protector by the ways and means provided by law for the time being for the recovery of moneys payable under the Immigration Laws.

SCHEDULE B.

CERTIFICATE OF INDUSTRIAL SERVICE.

Under section 10 of Law

This is to certify that from the day of ex ship 1891, an immigrant introduced from the day of 18, has completed his indentured service of five years and is now at liberty to abandon the service of his first employer, but must not leave the island without obtaining a passport from the Immigration Department.

(Sd.)

Protector of Immigrants.

To be printed on the back of the above.

Any person who shall within five years of the date of this certificate employ the immigrant therein named without giving notice of such employment to the Protector of Immigrants will be liable under section 11 of Law of 1891, to a penalty of not less than £10 and not exceeding £50.

SCHEDULE C.

CERTIFICATE OF COMPLETION OF TEN YEARS' RESIDENCE.

Issued under section 10 of Law

This is to certify that 18, an immigrant introduced from the day of ex ship 1891, has completed a residence of ten years in Jamaica.

Protector of Immigrants.

LAW 23 OF 1879.

Contracts of service after indenture.

39. Every immigrant shall be entitled, after having served the full term of his indenture, to receive from the Protector or an Inspector a certificate of industrial service, unless it appears to the satisfaction of the Protector or the Inspector that he has deserted or absented himself from service while under indenture, in which case he shall not be entitled to such certificate unless and until he has further served under indenture for the period of such absence or desertion.

40. Every immigrant born out of the British Dominions who has obtained or become entitled to a certificate of industrial service shall thereupon become entitled to all the privileges of a natural born British subject within this island.

45. No person shall induce or attempt to induce any Indian immigrant to enter into any such contract, or to quit this island under any agreement or with any intent to enter into any such contract.

46. The Protector may in his discretion, in any special case in which he thinks fit, permit particular Indian immigrants to enter into contracts of service in specified prohibited places, and may permit particular ship owners to engage to take such immigrants on board their ships.

49. Every adult being a male of the age of sixteen years or upwards shall be paid by day wages, at the rate for each working day of not less than one shilling a day; and being a male of any age between twelve and sixteen years, or an adult female, shall be paid by day wages, at the rate for each working day of not less than nine pence a day.

Every such immigrant shall be bound to do every working-day a fair day's work of nine hours a day, having regard to his or her age and strength.

50. Any adult instead of working for days' wages may, if desired both by himself and his employer, do task work at rates sanctioned by the Protector, and such sanction may at any time be revoked by the Protector.

No rate of task work shall be approved unless it is sufficient to afford to a male of sixteen years of age or upwards.

52. The Protector shall provide a free return passage for every immigrant who may have been relieved on account of sickness or other cause from further service under indenture.

Passports, Land Grants, and Return Passages.

SCHEDULE B.

CERTIFICATE OF INDUSTRIAL SERVICE.

Under section 10 of Law of 1891.

This is to certify that ex ship 189 , an immigrant introduced from on the day of 18 , has completed his indentured service of five years and is now at liberty to abandon the service of his first employer, but must not leave the island without obtaining a passport from the Immigration Department.

(Sd.)

Protector of Immigrants.

To be printed on the back of the above.

Any person who shall within five years of the date of this certificate employ the immigrant therein named without giving notice of such employment to the Protector of Immigrants will be liable under section 11 of Law of 1891, to a penalty of not less than £10 and not exceeding £50.

SCHEDULE C.

CERTIFICATE OF COMPLETION OF TEN YEARS' RESIDENCE.

Issued under section 10 of Law of 1891.

This is to certify that ex ship 18 , an immigrant introduced from on the day of 18 , has completed a residence of ten years in Jamaica.

Protector of Immigrants.

LAW 23 OF 1879.

Contracts of service after indenture.

39. Every immigrant shall be entitled, after having served the full term of his indenture, to receive from the Protector or an Inspector a certificate of industrial service, unless it appears to the satisfaction of the Protector or the Inspector that he has deserted or absented himself from service while under indenture, in which case he shall not be entitled to such certificate unless and until he has further served under indenture for the period of such absence or desertion.

40. Every immigrant born out of the British Dominions who has obtained or become entitled to a certificate of industrial service shall thereupon become entitled to all the privileges of a natural born British subject within this island.

45. No person shall induce or attempt to induce any Indian immigrant to enter into any such contract, or to quit this island under any agreement or with any intent to enter into any such contract.

46. The Protector may in his discretion, in any special case in which he thinks fit, permit particular Indian immigrants to enter into contracts of service in specified prohibited places, and may permit particular ship owners to engage to take such immigrants on board their ships.

49. Every adult

being a male of the age of sixteen years or upwards shall be paid by day wages, at the rate for each working day of not less than one shilling a day; and the rate for each working day of not less than one shilling a day; and being a male of any age between twelve and sixteen years, or an adult female, shall be paid by day wages, at the rate for each working day of not less than nine pence a day.

Every such immigrant shall be bound to do every working-day a fair day's work of nine hours a day, having regard to his or her age and strength.

50. Any adult instead of working for days' wages may, if desired both by himself and his employer, do task work at rates sanctioned by the Protector, and such sanction may at any time be revoked by the Protector.

No rate of task work shall be approved unless it is sufficient to afford to a male of sixteen years of age or upwards.

Passports, Land Grants, and Return Passages.

52. The Protector shall provide a free return passage for every immigrant who may have been relieved on account of sickness or other cause from further service under indenture.

53. Every Indian immigrant who has completed a continuous residence of ten years in this island, and has during that time become entitled to a certificate of industrial service, shall be entitled to be provided with a back passage for himself and his wife and children, if any, to the port from which he emigrated, provided that he claims such back passage within twelve months after the date at which it becomes due and claimable, unless he has, with the sanction of the Governor, foregone such right in consideration of a grant of land, or of a money payment, or partly of a grant of land and partly of a money payment.

The Protector shall cause to be notified in each district the times at which return passages will be available, at least three months before the sailing of the vessel available for such passages.

54. When a sufficient number of immigrants desire to have lands granted to them under the provisions of this Law, the Governor may, with the advice of the Privy Council, from time to time contract for the absolute purchase in fee simple of lands suitable for the purpose, the title whereof shall be taken in the name of the Colonial Secretary.

The Governor may with the like advice grant for the like purpose any lands, or the right and title of the Crown to any lands, which have become forfeited to Her Majesty for non-payment of land tax or quit rents, or otherwise.

55. Every Indian immigrant who has completed a continuous residence of ten years in this island, and is desirous to commute his claim to a back passage for a grant of land or money, shall be entitled to claim a grant of ten acres of land, and a grant or patent for ten acres of land shall be made out and given to such immigrant, and he shall be put in possession thereof.

The Protector may, at the request of any such immigrant, direct payment of a money equivalent in lieu of the whole or a portion of the land, and in such last-mentioned case a lesser quantity only of land, as may be agreed upon, shall be granted.

The provisions of this section shall have no effect unless and until Her Majesty's Government sanctions the principle of commutation herein contained.

56. The Governor, with the advice of the Privy Council, may grant to any immigrant, as or by way of reward for meritorious conduct, land not exceeding one acre for each year of industrial service he has given under indenture, in consideration of the faithful performance of his duties under such indenture.

57. All grants and patents for land under the provisions of this Law shall have annexed thereto a plan or diagram of the lands thereby granted or given.

58. All lands granted to immigrants in lieu of return passage shall be acquitted and discharged of all arrears of land tax and quit rents, and the grant or patent thereof, and the survey thereof shall be made, recorded and delivered to the immigrant entitled thereto free of expense to him, the expenses being paid by the Treasurer under warrant of the Governor.

59. Every person who receives a grant or patent of land under the provisions of this Law shall for the space of three years after the grant or patent be exempted from all direct taxes and charges and assessment in respect of the land or any building thereon.

60. Every Indian immigrant shall be entitled to receive a passport from the Protector when he has duly served for the whole period for which he is liable to serve, and every immigrant shall on the production of his passport be at liberty to depart from the island at his own expense, subject, however, to the restrictions imposed by section 44 of this Law.

No immigrant who has obtained a passport shall be afterwards granted a free passage back to the port from which he emigrated, or any bounty or grant of land.

Medical care of Immigrants.

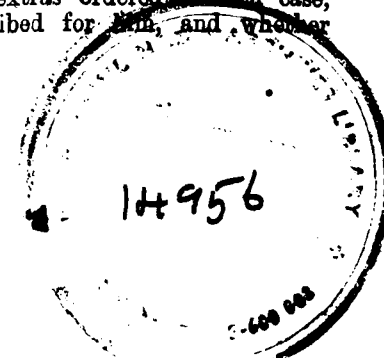
61. Persons in charge of estates shall give to the appointed Medical Officers, whenever they visit the estates, all reasonable facilities for ascertaining the state of health of the immigrants thereon, and shall follow the reasonable directions of the Medical Officers for the purpose of maintaining the immigrants generally in good health, and shall send to the hospital any immigrants whom the Medical Officer may direct to be sent thither.

62. The Protector, or an Inspector or an employer, may send to hospital any immigrant unable to work and in his opinion requiring hospital treatment.

63. The Governor shall from time to time cause to be published in the Gazette a list of the public general hospitals available for the treatment of immigrants.

64. Immigrants shall be treated when sick in such public general hospital as may be lawfully available for them.

65. The Medical Officer shall visit the hospital at least once in every twenty-four hours, and oftener in cases of emergency or if specially required to do so by the Protector or Inspector, and shall record the disease or injury under which any immigrant may be suffering, with the remedies prescribed and the diet and extras ordered in each case, and shall inform every immigrant patient of the diet prescribed for him, and whether



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16. In any prosecution of an indentured immigrant or indentured labourer for desertion, it shall be an answer to the charge that such immigrant or labourer was, at the time of the supposed desertion, on his way to the resident Magistrate of the parish, or to an Inspector of Immigrants, for the purpose of making a complaint or of asking advice, provided it appear that he had reasonable ground for making such complaint or asking such advice.

17. Any Justice of the Peace or Inspector before whom any indentured immigrant or labourer is brought charged as aforesaid, and who proves to the satisfaction of such Justice or Inspector such answer to such charge as aforesaid, and any resident Magistrate or Inspector before whom any indentured immigrant or labourer makes any complaint, or to whom he comes to ask any counsel, shall, if he considers that such immigrant or labourer had reasonable cause for so doing, give to such immigrant or labourer a certificate that his absence from his estate was, for a period to be stated in such certificate, for reasonable cause.

18. No indentured immigrant or labourer shall be deemed to have deserted, or to have absented himself from service, during any period covered by any such certificate as aforesaid.

19. The Register of desertions and leave of absence required to be kept by every employer shall be produced to the Inspector on the occasion of each visit to an estate, and the Inspector shall then and there, after hearing both the employer and the immigrant, adjudicate between them as to what periods of alleged desertion or absence without leave shall under section 39 of Law 23 of 1879 be reckoned against the immigrant, and shall sign his name to such adjudication. And at the end of the period of indenture of any immigrant no period of alleged desertion or absence without leave shall be reckoned against any immigrant so as to prolong his service under indenture, except any such period as may have been adjudicated on under this section.

20. So much of section 66 of the said Law 23 of 1879 as requires every Medical Officer appointed to attend immigrants on an estate to visit every such estate at least once a fortnight, shall be and the same is hereby repealed.

21. Every Medical Officer as aforesaid shall visit every estate to which he is appointed at least once a quarter, and at intervals of not less than two months:—Provided that nothing in this or the foregoing section shall exonerate any such Medical Officer from the duty of visiting every such estates irrespectively of such periodical visits, in the other cases mentioned in the said section 66.

22. Every information or complaint laid by any indentured immigrant or labourer under the Immigrations Laws shall be free of stamp duty.

23. Every employer having indentured immigrants shall, at the end of every calendar month, furnish to the Protector a return, in such form as may be prescribed by the Protector with the sanction of the Governor, showing the name of every indentured immigrant on the estate, and the wages earned during each week in the said month by each such immigrant. Every such return shall be declared to by the employer.

24. If any employer shall wilfully and intentionally declare to and send to the Protector any false return, he shall be guilty of an offence, and on conviction thereof, in a summary manner, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding fifty pounds.

25. Section 41 of the Immigration Protection and Regulation Law, 1879, shall be and the same is hereby amended, by omitting therefrom the words "provided such contract shall be specified to be service on any estate on which such employer has immigrants indentured to him at the time."

SCHEDULE A.

FORM OF INDENTURE.

WHEREAS A.B., labourer, has agreed with C.D., the of
in the parish of to serve him as an indentured
labourer under the provisions of the Immigration Protection and Regulation Law, 1879,
Amendment Law, 1891: And whereas in pursuance of the said agreement the said parties
have duly appeared before the undersigned Justice of the Peace, and the said C.D. [being a
person entitled, under the provisions of the Immigration Protection and Regulation Law, 1879,
to apply to have immigrants allotted to him, has given to the said Justice his promissory
note at nine months for the sum of fifty shillings payable to the Protector of Immigrants in
the matter of the said Law and of the said A.B.] or [has produced and given to the said
Justice the receipt of the parochial treasurer for the sum of fifty shillings paid to the account
of the Protector of Immigrants in the matter of the said Law and of an indenture proposed to
be entered into between the said A.B. and the said C.D.] Now this indenture witnesseth
that the said A.B. is hereby indentured to the said C.D. under and subject to the provisions
of, the Immigration Protection and Regulation Law, 1879, Amendment Law, 1891, for the
term of twelve months from the date hereof.

Witness our hands this day of

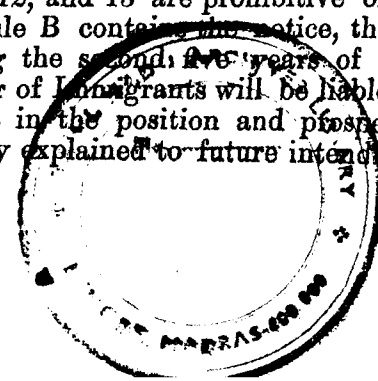
A.B.
C.D.

Executed by the said parties in conformity with the said Law before

E.F., J.P.

Department has no further concern in them beyond the necessity for providing them with a return passage to India. Immigrants therefore after 10 years' residence are merged in the general population and regarded in the same light as native labourers or Negros, and in this view it is easy to understand the suggestions of the Select Committee. The aversion of the Negro to anything which would bind him to regular work throughout the year is so general and well understood that the Select Committee could hardly have expected to have obtained many volunteers for yearly contracts from this class, by whom contracts for labour are regarded as not very different from the slavery from which they have been emancipated. Of this if it were needed, there is ample evidence in the Report of the Labour Commission which sat in British Guiana in 1890. On reading further the Report of the Select Committee on immigration to Jamaica from India, it is evident that the free coolies were the class which they wished to bring under the control of yearly contracts. The planters who pay for the introduction of immigrants, and who are dependent on indentured labour, are naturally anxious that their neighbours should pay their share of the cost of immigration. Many planters hitherto by employing only immigrants whose indentures have expired and who are free to work where they like, have avoided contributing anything to the Immigration Fund, whilst they have benefited by the labour introduced at the expense of others. They have therefore been able to afford to offer slightly better wages and other advantages which have had the effect of attracting the best free resident labour from other estates. It is reasonable that the body of planters who annually go to the great expense of importing coolies should view with much dissatisfaction their best trained and skilled workmen as soon as their indentures have expired and they are free, leaving them at the first opportunity for more favourable estates. In the legislative endeavours to restrict these estates from employing free labour without contributing to the general Immigration Fund, the rights and interests of the free immigrants themselves have, I fear, been somewhat lost sight of. These should, after they have fulfilled their engagement for labour, be free to work where they like on the best terms they can make with their employers as they had hitherto done unrestricted by any special legislation and with all the advantages employed by other sections of the free population. By their contract made in India with the Colonial authorities, their period of service is five years, after which if they wish they can return to India at their own expense, or if they do not wish to return, they can continue to reside in the Colony for five years longer, after which they are entitled to a free return passage to India. It must always be remembered that the second period of five years under the service of their contract need not be "industrial residence." It has no doubt been argued that five years is sufficiently long a period of indentured service to repay the employer for the cost of introduction, and the Colony must benefit by the residence of skilled labourers, whether they are employed on estates, on the cultivation of their own lands, or in any other trade or occupation in which a profitable livelihood may be obtained. There is a great difference between these two conditions. In the one case his engagement to labour ceases after five years, but by the system of yearly contracts during the second period of five years if enforced by prohibitive penalties, the coolie remains in a state of perpetual servitude for ten years or longer.

It would appear from a study of the Immigration laws and their amendments that the terms of the contract under with the coolie in India have not always been clearly defined in the minds of the framers of the recent laws, and I notice the expression "industrial residence of ten years" has more than once occurred, and been corrected. In the new law of 1891, clause 4, a person five years under indenture and five years industrial service in the island is spoken of. This cannot refer to coolies introduced previous to the passing of these laws. Clauses 11, 12, and 13 are prohibitive of the employment of free coolie labour, and schedule B contains the notice, that any person who employs the immigrant during the second five years of his residence without giving notice to the Protector of Immigrants will be liable to a penalty of not less than £10. These changes in the position and prospects of Indian immigrants in Jamaica should be fully explained to future intending emigrants before leaving India.



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In 1890 the Legislative Council discussed the immigration question and the various means suggested to raise the money for the necessary expenses of introduction, and the following financial scheme proposed by Mr. C. S. Farquharson was agreed to:—

	£	s.	d.
Taking the cost of an adult cooly at ...	25	0	0
And deducting the departmental charge, which will very properly be chargeable to general revenue under the proposed system ...	3	0	0
Leaves the cost of importing and providing return passage at ...	22	0	0
I suggest that an increase of 1s. per 100lbs. import duty on rice should be levied, and estimate it to yield £5,000. This in the case of 1,000 coolies a year would be equal per capita to ...	5	0	0
Leaving to be provided ...	17	0	0

For which sum the first employer should give his note for 34s. a year, extended over 10 years.

The fee of 50s. to be levied annually on the employer of a coolie who has served his first five years' indenture, as well as the extra trade license of 50s., should be paid into a fund, the proceeds of which should be applied in the reduction of the employers' notes as they annually mature.

	£	s.	d.
Suppose then only 25 per cent. of the first term coolies are re-employed (a very small percentage), the charge to the first employer would be ...	17	0	0
Less five years at 12s. 6d. ($\frac{1}{4}$ of 50s.) ...	3	2	6

At the worst the first employer would pay £17 and no export duties, but he would very probably pay no more than ... 13 17 6

and perhaps a lesser sum.

If this view be adopted no possible charge can ever fall on general revenues, nor would even an advance, as proposed in the Committee's report, be necessary.

As to the increase on the duty on rice (1s. per 100lbs.) it is infinitesimal, and it will not fall on the masses of the people, but chiefly on the coolies who are otherwise not heavily taxed.

It will be noticed that the Legislative Council partly composed of planters gravely propose to partially recoup themselves for the expense of the importation of their labourers to whom they are obliged to pay a fixed wage by an increased tax on the special food of these people. This ingenious proposition, as might have been expected, was not approved of at the Colonial Office in London.

Lord Knutsford, the late Secretary of State for the Colonies, writing in June 1890 to the Governor of Jamaica, remarks:—

I agree to continuing the medical treatment of immigrants as a charge upon general revenue, and considering the circumstances which led to the adoption of that arrangement some 12 years ago, I should not feel able to concur in your suggestion to revert to the former practice. Nor should I object, if the Council should so decide, to the assumption by the Colonial Government of the charge for establishments, nor to the payment by employers during the second term of five years of a fee at the rate of 50s. per annum for the period of employment. But I am unable to agree to the trade license of 50s. per annum, to the import duty on rice, and to the fine on employers who may engage immigrants during the second term of five years otherwise than under a 12 months' contract.

In 1867 Jamaica set the example of leaving immigrants on the completion of the first term of five years free to dispose of their labour as they pleased, whether in the service of employers by the day, week, month or year, or by the setting up for themselves in independent occupations.

That example was rapidly followed by other Colonies and has now become an established feature of coolie immigration. Credit has been taken for it both with the Government of India and with the opponents of the long contract system; and I feel assured that it would be useless to propose any departure from it even if I were disposed to do so. I am therefore unable to assent to any proposal for enforcing 12 months' contracts or for taxing shopkeepers. Nor am I able to approve of the taxation of immigrants in aid of the cost of their introduction by an additional import duty on rice, the duty on which in Jamaica is already higher than it is in British Guiana or Trinidad.

3. On this understanding immigration from India was resumed and 2,129 coolies imported during the year 1891.

3. The following information has been furnished by the Immigration Department, Jamaica, and I am much obliged to Mr. E. W. Pigott, Acting Protector of Immigrants, for the answers forwarded through the Colonial Secretary, Jamaica, on the 24th October 1891. After my arrival in England I obtained from Mr. P. C. Cork, the Protector of Immigrants, on leave, much more complete answers to my questions, and my thanks are due to Mr. Cork for the information furnished and his offers of assistance.

The importations of coolies previous to 1847 are not noticed by the Protector of Immigrants, but during the years 1845 and 1846 there were received—

1845	...	...	291
1846	...	...	1,890
			2,181

which increases the total number of coolies imported to 25,993. No records are kept in the Immigration Office of the period previous to 1872, but since that time there have been 941 births in the colony, and 63 births occurred on the voyage since the same period.

4. Number of immigrants who have arrived yearly since the commencement of immigration.

Year.	Number who arrived.	Year.	Number who arrived.	Year.	Number who arrived.
1847	2,400	1872	1,188	1883	396
1860	592	1873	1,518	1885	601
1861	1,521	1874	1,356		
1862	1,982	1875	1,250		21,683
1863	540	1876	748	1891	2,129
1867	1,625	1878	895		
1869	1,393	1879	167		23,812
1870	906	1880	747		
1871	1,354	1881	504		

5. Population.—The total East Indian population in the colony in 1891 was as follows:—

Under indenture ...	2,129
Second term (i.e., over 5 and under 10 years) ...	2,185
Time-expired (i.e., over 10 years) ...	10,195
	14,509

All the indentured immigrants (2,129) are residing on sugar or banana estates, but there is no record of the second-term and time-expired East Indian population residing on them. In my opinion it would be safe to estimate that two-thirds of the population do so.

There is also no record of the number employed by public establishments. The Department of Public Gardens and Plantations keep a staff of East Indian gardeners.

Two thousand four hundred and eighty-nine coolies have emigrated to other colonies.

6. Proportion of Madras to Calcutta immigrants.—Two thousand six hundred and thirty-seven Madrassis were introduced into Jamaica over twenty years ago as against 21,175 Calcutta coolies. The present proportions cannot be ascertained.

7. Non-effective immigrants.—It is not customary to indenture on estates coolies who on arrival are pronounced to be non-effective. All such are provided for in one of the following methods:—

If suffering from any acute disease requiring medical treatment, they are sent to one of the public general hospitals. If physically unable to perform a

full day's work, they are sent to the same estate as their relatives and friends, but are not indentured; and if unable to earn their own living, they are granted an alimentary allowance out of the Immigration Fund. There is an immigrant depôt for the accommodation of invalids, but it is almost always without any inmates. An immigrant who becomes ineffective during his term of indenture from permanent infirmity is released from indenture—(a) at the request of his employer backed by one medical certificate; (b) by order of the Governor on two medical certificates. All coolies after being pronounced permanently ineffective are entitled to be sent back to India free of charge at the first opportunity.

The number rejected on arrival as unfit to be indentured have been for the past ten years:—

1881	...	...	None.
1883	...	...	4
1885	...	...	15, of whom 9 were sent back to India
1891	...	...	5
			24

8. *Return immigrants.*—The number who have arrived from India during the past ten years has been—

Formerly of Jamaica	...	...	19
" " other Colonies	...	...	38
Total	...	...	57

One hundred and thirty-one coolies not entitled to return passage have paid their own way back to India during the past 10 years.

9. *Remittances from India by return immigrants*—

Moy, 1891	...	...	Rs. 360
Belgravia, 1891	...	...	70

A few return immigrants have come to Jamaica by steamer, and it is believed brought back money with them, but as they travelled by Royal mail steamer as passengers, they are not included in the Immigration returns, and there are no official records to show the number.

10. *Remittances to India and correspondence.*—Every encouragement has been given to the immigrants to make remittances to their friends in India, and to write to them. Orders are obtainable at every parochial treasury free of commission, and letters are transmitted free of postage. The chief barrier to the rapid extension of correspondence is the ignorance of the friends, in India, of the immigrants who, in very many cases, address their letters in such a defective manner that there is no possibility of discovering the addressee. To remedy this, the Inspectors of Immigrants are provided with reply envelopes, stamped, which they are instructed to address for enclosure in immigrants' letters, and in this way some extension has taken place, but so many months elapse before the replies arrive that correspondence is not very brisk. Add to this that very few coolies can write, and many of the letters that do arrive are almost undecipherable, and it will be readily understood that correspondence must necessarily be restricted to a few of the better educated.

Several remittances have taken place, but principally of small sums of £5 or under.

11. *Commutation.*—Commutation is not provided for in the immigration law, but is usually allowed by the employer on the immigrant paying a sum equivalent to the employer's liability to the Immigration Fund.

12. *Transfers.*—Transfers sometimes take place on the change of ownership of an estate, and in cases where quarrels occur between husband and wife when there is reason to anticipate violence. As a rule, however, temporary removal is found to be sufficient to prevent wife murder, none of which have occurred in Jamaica for a number of years. It is very difficult to effect the

transfer of a turbulent cooly from one estate to another, as employers are naturally unwilling to assume the responsibility.

13. *Re-indenture.*—Re-indenture has never been practised in Jamaica since the period of indenture was extended to five years. Coolies serving their second period of five years to qualify for free return passage are called "second-term coolies."

14. *Medical treatment of immigrants.*—After the entire failure of the Immigration Fund and the passing of the Finance Law and Immigration Protection and Regulation Law of 1879, employers of immigrants had no longer to provide them with hospital accommodation, the hospitals or estates were abolished and their equipments made over to the Medical Department, and the sick coolies had to find medical attendance in the public hospitals of the colony. These are often at a considerable distance from the estates, and, as might be supposed in these cases, the absence of estate hospitals makes itself felt. I think the abolition of estate hospitals a retrograde step much to the disadvantage of the Indian immigrant, who in the case of remote estates have to go many miles to obtain medical assistance, or to depend on the quarterly visits of the visiting medical officer.

Indentured and second-term coolies are treated free of charge in the public general (Government) hospitals.

The Protector or Inspector of Immigrants, medical officers, and the employers, have the power of ordering indentured immigrants into hospital. Employers are liable to penalties if they neglect to send them to hospital when sick, and as their responsibility ceases and they are not liable for any charge, they are only too glad to despatch the sick into the Government institutions. As a rule, the coolies on estates are mustered every morning, and any reporting themselves ill are sent off at once.

The distances of estates (employing coolies) from the hospitals vary in different parts of the island from half a mile to about 12 miles. The parishes of Portland, St. Mary, St. Thomas, and St. Catherine contain two hospitals each and Clarendon three, and the coolies are within easy distance of them; whereas in Westmoreland and St. James', there being only one hospital each, the distance is greater from some of the outlying estates. The employers are, however, under the obligation of providing conveyance for coolies requiring to be carried to the hospital. Sometimes the greatest difficulty is experienced in getting the coolies, when suffering from slight ailments, to go into hospital; but such is the anxiety of employers to send them there that the Medical Department complained of the matter and a law was passed in 1883 (No. 3), giving the medical officers the power to refuse to admit very trivial cases.

15. *Mortality and sickness*—

Patients treated in hospitals.			
	Creoles.	East Indians.	Chinese.
1886-87	4,827	3,302	833
Deaths %	5.32	2.48	.84
1887-88	4,591	2,479	599
Deaths %	4.79	2.10	.1
1888-89	4,323	2,487	422
Deaths %	6.29	1.96	.71

The death-rate amongst indentured immigrants has been as follows for seven years to 1889:—

	Per cent.
1883	2.25
1884	1.85
1885	2.75
1886	3.33
1887	2.66
1888	2.28
1889	2.68

The medical officers were paid Rs. 8 per annum for each cooly.

District medical officers are required by section 21 of Law 20 of 1891 to visit each estate in their districts employing indentured immigrants at least once a quarter, and at intervals of not less than two months; also at any time when summoned by the Manager by reason of severe illness or accident to an immigrant such as to prevent his being sent to hospital. These officers are required by section 65 of Law 23 of 1879 to visit the hospitals under their charge at least once in every 24 hours. The arrangements for the care of the sick within public hospitals are very complete, and the hospitals being all Government institutions, the treatment is uniform throughout the island. Most of the public general hospitals were originally built as joint hospitals for East Indians, but were taken over by the Government in 1878, and thrown open to the general public in addition. The hospitals now available for the use of coolies are :—

Morans Bay	...	...	50 beds.
Hordley	...	...	149 "
Port Antonio	...	...	40 "
Buff Bay	...	...	42 "
Annotto Bay	...	...	73 "
Port Maria	...	...	70 "
St. Ann's Bay	...	...	30 "
Falmouth	...	...	47 "
Montejo Bay	...	...	32 "
Lucca	...	...	22 "
Savilamar	...	...	91 "
Black River	...	...	53 "
Mandeville	...	...	30 "
Chapleton	...	...	23 "
Dry River	...	...	82 "
Lionel Town	...	...	90 "
Spanish Town	...	...	77 "
Linstead	...	...	54 "
			1,055 beds.

16. *Marriage and Divorce*—There is no immigrants' marriage and divorce law in force, but there is a clause in the Marriage Law of 1879 enabling immigrants arriving in the colony as man and wife to register their names as such.

In my note on British Guiana, I have remarked on the necessity of a legal recognition of the alliances counting as marriages among Indian immigrants and of the descendants of such marriages.

17. *Deceased immigrants' estates*.—The officers of the Immigration Office administer the estates of deceased immigrants whose residence in the island is under 10 years. There is, of course, no charge or commission of any kind except an auctioneer has to be employed to sell stock or goods, in which case the commission on the sale is five or six per cent. In the distribution of these estates the Immigration Department recognizes Indian marriages as valid in the colony, and hitherto no difficulty has arisen, but it would be more satisfactory if there was a local law on the subject.

The Department has no authority to interfere in the case of immigrants whose residence in the colony exceeds 10 years, and who are then said to have "emerged into the general population;" but in the interests of the heirs in India, I have, from time to time, deemed it right to make repeated representations to the Governor, with the object of paying over to them the proceeds of estates administered by the Administrator-General and deposited in the Bank. I am glad to say that the matter has been recently under the consideration of the Attorney-General, and a proposal has been made to draft a Bill dealing with it.

18. *Wills*.—Some few immigrants have had wills drawn by properly qualified solicitors, but the majority do not make any. Some years ago a form was drafted and copies sent to the Inspectors of Immigrants for use when required.

19. *Return passage to India*.—The total repatriations for the 10 years from 1880 to 1889 inclusive, were 2,925 including children born in the colony,

giving an average of 292.5 souls per annum. The total East Indian population during the same period averaged 13,371, equal to a percentage of repatriations to general population of 2.18 *per annum*.

No charge has been made in this colony for warm clothing or blankets for coolies returning to India. The people get everything free of cost. Unfortunately the expenses under this head have recently been increased in consequence of the alteration of the regulations, the number of blankets to be issued to each adult having been increased to four, and I question whether so large a number are not more than are actually necessary.

The amount taken to India in Government bills by these 2,925 repatriated coolies was Rs. 41,093-8-11½. No estimate was made of jewellery and gold and silver money taken away by them, but I do not recollect having ever seen any women embarked who did not wear silver bangles, &c., and often they were so heavily laden with necklets, bangles, anklets, &c., that their movements were impeded. Considerable amounts in English and American gold have also from time to time been taken away.

Number of East Indian immigrants who have been repatriated yearly since the commencement of immigration.

YEAR.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Number of souls.	REMARKS.
1853	*	...	...	1,167	The sum of £70,593-5-1 in bills of exchange has been taken back to India by repatriated coolies since the year 1871.
1854	...	...	...	380	
1858	...	...	...	126	
1871	464	215	248	925	
1872	235	81	104	420	
1875	269	65	22	356	
1876	182	43	26	251	
1877	212	62	42	316	
1878	167	43	17	237	
1879	196	123	97	416	
1880	236	91	49	376	
1881	219	96	88	403	
1882	235	121	92	448	
1883	226	113	76	415	
1884	41	25	12	78	
1885	248	134	89	471	
1886	75	45	41	161	
1888	279	157	117	553	
1890	298	158	111	567	
				8,066	

* No records kept before this time.

Those imported amount to 21,683, the percentage is therefore 37.19.

Importation of 1891 not reckoned.

Properly speaking, there are no pauper coolies in Jamaica, excepting the few invalids who are physically unfit to labour, and even these are usually not wholly penniless. The only test which is applied as to what immigrants returning to India should be classed as paupers is the list of bills. Those who have not brought bills are regarded as paupers, unless evidence comes to light of their having gold in their possession, which is very often the case. As the treatment of all returning immigrants, paupers and others, is identical, so far as return passages are concerned, the distinction is not of much consequence in Jamaica.

Formerly a bounty of £12 used to be granted to induce the immigrants after their ten years' residence had expired to settle in Jamaica, but this has now been discontinued.

The liability to provide return passages is a great tax on the Immigration Fund, and greatly restricts the demand for immigrants. Doubtless in the past it was absolutely necessary to promise a return passage before a cooly could be induced to emigrate; but I question whether the time has not now arrived

when immigrants could be obtained without offering this inducement. It would, however, be necessary for all the cooly-importing colonies to act in concert, and it would probably be found that there would be an increase in the charges for passage money, since the ships carrying coolies would be unable to obtain charters from west to east.

IMMIGRATION OFFICE,
The 14th February 1885.

With the approval of His Excellency the Governor, the course to be adopted in future in disposing of claims made by East Indians for bounty or back passages is as follows:—

Bounty.—From and after the commencement of the financial year 1885-86, bounty will not be paid to any East Indian who has not claimed the same within 12 months after the expiration of his 10 years of residence in the colony (*Law 23 of 1879, section 53*).

After the 9th April 1889, no claims for bounty will be entertained.

Return passages.—Return passages will not be refused to East Indians if claimed after the period prescribed by law, provided the Government is put to no inconvenience or sustains no loss in providing passages (except in cases where passports have been taken, or the right to return passages commuted by land-grants, &c.); but an immigrant who registers his name for a passage and fails to present himself for embarkation will not be entitled to have a second passage provided for him free of cost.

At the expiration of ten years after arrival in the colony, coolies who wish to return to India at once should without delay present themselves and register their names, when passages will be provided for them. Those who do not claim their passages at once can do so at any future time when other coolies are registering their names, but passages cannot be specially provided for small numbers of coolies who have allowed their opportunity of returning to India to pass without taking advantage of it.

Nothing is said in the Immigration Ordinances regarding the abolition of bounty, which was stopped in 1888 by section 15 of Law 18 of 1878, or of a cooly losing his free return passage because he fails to present himself at the day of embarkation. It is easy to understand that from sickness or other cause he may unavoidably be prevented from doing so.

20. **Quarantine.**—There is an excellent quarantine station at Green Bay, opposite to Port Royal, but fortunately it has not been necessary to make use of it for immigrants up to the present time.

21. **Vaccination.**—The medical officers vaccinate the children on their visits to the estates. Section 67 of Law 23 of 1879 makes it compulsory on district medical officers to vaccinate all newly-arrived immigrants. Law 28 Vic., Chapter 41, controls time-expired coolies.

22. **Leprosy.**—There is a Leper Asylum at Spanish Town to which all immigrants attacked with leprosy are sent. I am happy to say the cases are comparatively rarely met with. A few lepers have from time to time been sent back to India.

23. **Area of land owned.**—No returns are available of the number of owners of land. Price of freehold land £1 to £10 per acre according to situation, &c. There is a great deal of Crown land, but it is reserved for the Railway Company, and is not for sale to coolies.

24. **Cattle.**—The Collector-General's return shows the number above one year old on which taxes have been paid. There may be a good many which have escaped the taxes, but it is not usual for coolies to keep cattle on the estates. As a rule they prefer to keep horses, which are more easily managed, and not so likely to trespass on the sugarcane.

25. **Licenses.**—The following return furnished by the Revenue Department shows the number of licenses taken out bearing Indian names, but as there are a number of time-expired (over 10 years) coolies, and descendants of East Indians, who adopt English names, I deem it probable that many of these have been omitted. The number of licenses and the number of cattle are probably susceptible of considerable augmentation.

No licenses are issued specially for the sale of opium or *ganja* in Jamaica.

There is only one East Indian immigrant known to the Customs authorities who imports direct; and during the past year he paid £179-15-11 in import duties:—

Number of licenses granted to East Indian immigrants for sale	523
of liquor and provisions	10
Number of licenses to keep dogs	50
Number of licenses to keep guns	401
Number of wheels of carts, &c., licensed	627
Number of horses licensed	53
Number of asses licensed	8,577 acres.
Area of land owned by East Indian immigrants	392
Number of houses owned	135
Number of cattle owned	85
Number of owners of cattle	£389-14
Taxes paid on land and houses	

26. **Occupation followed by unindentured coolies who do not work on the estates—**

Rice cultivation.	Cartmen.
Cattle and horse farming.	Barbers.
Fruit cultivation.	Tailors.
Vegetable and flower gardening.	Silver and goldsmiths.
Jobbers about Kingston.	Domestic servants (men and boy butlers, &c.).
Grooms.	Shopkeeping.

27. **Property owned by East Indians.**—The Collector-General's return, included under the above head "Licenses" cannot be regarded as complete, on account of the numbers of coolies who have assumed English names; but it gives a fair idea of the extent to which investment is being made in land, horses, carts, &c. The deposits, amounting to £19,356-2-1, in the Government Savings Bank are further evidence of the prosperity of the East Indian population, and it must be remembered that a considerable amount of gold and silver is hoarded, and much converted into jewellery and bangles.

28. **Return showing the number of cooly depositors in the several parishes Savings Bank and the amount of credit.**

PARISH.	For the six months from 1st October 1889 to 31st March 1890.		For the 12 months from 1st April 1890 to 31st March 1891.	
	No.	Amount.	No.	Amount.
		£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Kingston ...	102	4,876 10 11	103	4,881 19 3
St. Thomas ...	28	475 6 3	30	493 1 9
Portland ...	34	743 2 3	35	463 9 6
St. Catherine ...	110	1,613 7 7	120	1,700 3 5
St. Mary ...	17	481 13 0	20	518 6 2
St. Ann ...	1	0 2 3	1	0 2 3
Clarendon ...	254	4,974 8 7	271	5,465 2 9
Manchester ...	3	13 4 14	4	21 9 4
St. Elizabeth ...	14	307 15 0	16	520 13 3
Westmoreland ...	112	1,795 9 1	114	1,918 7 4
Hanover ...	10	520 11 8	9	489 15 2
St. James ...	10	144 4 6	14	178 9 4
Trelawney ...	6	82 12 7	8	107 4 0
Total ...	701	16,028 8 7	745	16,758 3 6

In 1891 there were about 2,800 labourers employed by the Jamaica Railway Company in the construction of the extension of the railway, and 300 on the permanent-way of the old line.

29. **Banana cultivation.**—The period which elapsed between the cessation of immigration in 1885 and its resumption in 1891, has marked the rise of the

fruit trade from £181,654 to £531,726. During this time most of the sugar estates in the principal fruit-growing parishes (St. Mary, Portland, &c.) have been converted into banana plantations. Until 1891 there have been no indentured coolies on banana plantations, though during the process of conversion from sugar estates the few indentured immigrants in the district have taken part in the work. There has therefore been practically no competition between banana and sugar estates for coolly labour. A banana field once planted on good soil lasts for years, and after the tree is a few months old furnishes efficient shade to the labourer, whose work is therefore less arduous than in a cane field, the soil being less liable to be baked by the sun. The work on a banana estate consists of ploughing and preparing land, planting, manuring, weeding, cutting the branches and carrying them to the carts, driving carts, &c. There is no process of manufacture.

The development of the banana and fruit trade, most especially the former, has taken away native labour from large plantations, inasmuch as that now labourers, who formerly were working for wages, are planting bananas on their own account, and are able, by the sale of their produce, to secure a competence. Further, the shipping of fruit at the wharves has often to be done against time; and as much as 6s. to men and 4s. to women has been paid for night and day work, in order to secure the quick despatch of the fruit steamers. These are prices that no cultivation can compete with.

Prior to the introduction of the coolies in 1891, sugar estates that were, previous to the banana industry, making from 10 to 20 tons a week, dwindled down to three and five tons; and in many cases labour could not be got to cut or carry the canes on the field.

30. *Passports.*—The only British colony to which coolies migrate from Jamaica in any number is British Honduras. Employers from that colony occasionally send over agents to Jamaica, and induce batches of 20 to 15 to emigrate. This course seems very unfair, but there is no law to prevent it. During the time the Panama Canal was being constructed, a number of coolies were induced to emigrate to Colon, and a few went to Nicaragua under promise of high wages; but there seem good grounds for believing that nearly all who survived have returned, and the number of people who take passports has diminished within the past year or two very considerably and the emigration has practically ceased. Two thousand four hundred and eighty-nine passports have been issued during the past 10 years, but many of the people who went away have, as I have explained, returned to Jamaica. Unfortunately the exact number who have done so cannot be stated, as the Customs returns do not discriminate between coolies and native labourers.

31. *Desertion.*—Desertion is very rare. There are usually two or three idle coolies who desert over and over again, wandering from place to place until arrested by the police. As a rule they are incorrigibles.

32. *Absence from work.*—Absence from work is an offence under the Immigration Laws, and is sometimes punished by a fine when a charge is preferred by the employer; and the cooly is not entitled to receive his certificate of the completion of his indentured service until he shall have made good the days lost. Proceedings are seldom taken unless a man is absent for an unreasonable number of days, and it is only rarely that an employer claims that the cooly should make good the lost time.

33. *Habitual idleness.*—Habitual idlers are generally deserters. These people are few in number, but perfectly incorrigible. They are usually Brahmans or Fakeers, and are generally supported by the other coolies. Immigration into Jamaica having been discontinued between 1885 and 1890, there are none now under indenture, the people who arrived in 1891 having apparently none of that class amongst them.

34. *Vagrancy.*—Vagrancy is practically unknown, unless the wanderings from estate to estate of the very limited number of persons who during indenture were habitual idlers can be so called. Any coolies who are physically unable to earn their living receive an alimentary allowance until the time arrives for them to return to India. A few cases have come to notice in which, after having become permanent colonists, coolies have fallen into ill-health and found it impossible to support themselves, and in such instances

the officers of the Department have put them in the way of obtaining parochial relief or of being admitted into the almshouses; but such cases are very rare.

35. *Free passes.*—The police have power to stop any immigrants unknown to them, and take them before a Magistrate unless passes or certificates of exemption from labour are produced. It is very seldom that an unindentured cooly is stopped because a large number of them become known, but such as are unknown usually carry their certificates about with them. Moreover, after a few years' residence they learn sufficient English to make themselves understood, and no one is arrested who gives a satisfactory account of himself to the police.

36. *Education.*—The immigrant population is so scattered that all attempts made hitherto to establish special schools for their benefit have resulted in failure from lack of attendance, and the number of East Indians who take advantage of the native schools is very small indeed. The subject was brought to the notice of the Commission on Education a few years ago, but owing to the cessation of immigration shortly after, it was allowed to drop. Its consideration will have to be resumed in the near future.

37. *Orphans.*—These are dealt with in either of two ways as may appear most suitable in each case:—

1st.—By placing them under the charge of some responsible person and making an allowance for their support out of the Immigration Fund.

2nd.—By sending them to a Government industrial school to be cared for and educated. When placed in charge of respectable families the Immigration Department allow an alimentary allowance of 2 or 3 a week.

38. *Missionaries.*—No missionary work is attempted amongst the immigrants. A section of the clergy, especially amongst the Baptists, have done all in their power to prevent the introduction of East Indians, and have not established any missions or schools for their benefit. Actuated apparently by a desire to zealously safeguard the interests of the sons of the soil, the negroes, the heathen cooly has been left severely alone.

39. *Murders.*—There were no murders amongst the East Indian population for the five years ending 1890. In June of the present year four time-expired coolies were murdered. No case of "wife-chopping" has occurred for many years.

Suicides have not occurred for very many years.

40. *Strikes and disturbances.*—One case occurred within the past five years in which cooly labourers assaulted a book-keeper or overseer on an estate, but all labour disagreements are as a rule settled by the intervention of the Inspector of Immigrants, and it is very rarely that any disturbance or actual strike occurs. Dakaities or gang robberies are unknown.

41. *Complaints under the Immigration Laws—Employers against immigrants—*

1885 ...	160	1889 ...	Nil.
1886 ...	144	1890 ...	No coolies under indenture.
1887 ...	129	1891 ...	No prosecutions to date.
1888 ...	35		

No employers were prosecuted by immigrants except one for assault, and a conviction was obtained.

42. *Penal punishments.*—All immigrants convicted under the Immigration Laws are only liable to imprisonment in the event of failure to pay a fine. Gaol labour is a deterrent with the great number of East Indians; an incorrigible, however, does not seem to be affected by it. No remedy has been found for the passive resistance of an idle and incorrigible East Indian, and the employer is in most cases very glad to get rid of him on the first opportunity.

43. *Use of stimulants and narcotics.*—The coolies are as a rule very moderate in the use of stimulants, but are very easily affected by it. Crime cannot be attributed to that cause, I think. Opium is expensive, and is not much used. Ganja is sometimes the cause of lunacy. No licenses are issued for the sale of opium and ganja; but 523 licenses for the sale of liquor were granted to coolies in 1890.

44. *Petition-writers, village lawyers, etc.*—Jamaica is remarkably free from such persons.

45. *Caste.*—The coolies of high caste maintain their ascendancy over those of lower castes; but in other respects caste is greatly modified, and is heard very little of in Jamaica. The coolies seem not to regard it as binding in the colonies, but a Brahmin, who is punctilious in his observance of it, is looked up to with great reverence.

It is almost always a pure waste of money to recruit Brahmins, Fakirs, Gosains, Jogeas, etc., as labourers. They are often not only unable to work, but unwilling to try to do so.

46. *Amusements.*—Music (drum and saringa), dancing, singing, feasting and story-telling or listening to the reading of the sacred books are the principal amusements indulged in, and the Muharram is a season of festivity for Muhammadan and Hindu alike. No difficulty has ever been experienced in connection with the Tajah processions, which are carried out in a peaceable manner.

47. *Holidays and festivals.*—Christmas and New Year's Day and other local holidays are observed by the immigrants in addition to those mentioned above.

48. *Religious ceremonies.*—There are no mosques or temples in the island. The sacred books are sometimes read in the houses, and marriages celebrated, but there is little or nothing else practised of the nature of religious ceremonies.

49. *Social condition as regards mixing with other sections of the population.*—As a rule, coolies and negroes get on well together, and live amicably on estates, though this friendship does not go so far as sexual intercourse. In very rare instances cooly women cohabit with negroes, but I have never seen any case of a man being married or living in concubinage with a negro woman.

50. *Value of immigrants as taxpayers.*—The East Indians in Jamaica contribute very materially in proportion to their numbers to the revenues of the colony, and a fair number are qualified as electors.

Setting aside the limited number who own cattle or horse-breeding farms, or sugar estates (one), a large number own carts (on which there is a tax of 6s. per wheel) also horses and mules (the license duty on which is 11s. a head). There is a house tax collected for the support of the poor. The import duty on clothing is 12½ per cent. *ad valorem*, and as the coolies clothe themselves in trousers and shirt over the dhoti, a working suit seldom contains less than 12 or 15 yards of cloth. Many of them, moreover, wear serge jackets and trousers and English-made boots when they leave their homes.

The import duties levied on the articles of food, etc., which they principally consume are as follows:—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Butter ... per lb.	0	2	Salt ... per 100 lbs.	1	0
Flour ... per barrel	8	0	Rice ... per 100 lbs.	3	0
Fish ... per 100 lbs.	3	6	Tobacco, manufactured, per lb.	1	0
Matches, per gross boxes	5	0	Tobacco, unmanufactured, per lb.	0	6
Oil ... per gallon	0	9	Peas ... per bushel	0	4

51. *Shops.*—There are no Chinese or Portuguese shop-keepers on estates. Such shops as there are on or near estates are owned by East Indians or Natives. A few instances have from time to time come to light in which coolies have deposited money with shop-keepers, receiving interest on the deposits, but every effort has been made by the Department to discountenance this practice, and considerable sums of money having been lost by the coolies through the failure of one or two shop-keepers, some years ago, the coolies have learnt to be more cautious. No instance has occurred within the past five years.

52. *General remarks.*—Immigration having been discontinued, and only recently resumed, there are no indentured immigrants in the island who have yet mastered the duties they are expected to perform. They have not learnt to cut canes, feed the mill, drive wagons or other such tasks at which more than ordinary wages can be earned by dexterity or care: in fact, no sugar crop has been reaped since their allotment. A considerable number of the immigrants have been allotted, for the first time, to banana plantations, and it is hoped that many will speedily acquire dexterity in reaping the fruit, carting, &c., and will thus earn more than average wages.

Several important alterations have recently been made in the Immigration Laws, but the only one likely to have any material bearing on the condition of the immigrant is that which requires the employer of the second-term immigrant to pay a certain sum to the Immigration Fund, weekly or annually, in respect of such a person.

1. *Recommendations.*—The remarks I have made in my notes on emigration to other colonies on the evils which follow re-indentures, apply equally here, and obstacles are put in the way of the immigrant enjoying the freedom in the choice of occupation to which he is entitled after serving his five years' indenture, and he can only engage in shop-keeping or in the cultivation of his own land under prohibitive penalties not applicable to other sections of the free population. The new conditions of service should be fully explained to any future intending emigrants.

2. If Jamaica continues to import new coolies at the contemplated rate of 1,000 a year, it will be necessary to increase the Immigration Department to its former strength, and some arrangement must be made to bring medical attendance nearer to the estates.

Rule 27 of the Rules for the government of Immigration states that estates having indentured immigrants shall be visited by the Inspector at least once in every month; this is quite impossible with the present staff.

3. *Immigration Ordinances.*—Alterations and additions recommended. Law 23 of 1879, section 3. Definition of 'adult' by the Immigration law "of or above the age of 12 years;" by section 49 "of the age of 16 years or upwards;" by the contract in India, "16 years." On emigrant ships, persons over 10 years are classed and paid for as adults. The different reading of this term resulted in the case of the *Belgravia* in a loss to the immigration fund of 27 fares at £11-10.

Section 40.—As Indian immigrants should be perfectly free when they have completed their indentured service, the words "born out of the British dominions" might well be left out.

47. The word "indentured" before "adults" in the second line is necessary.

48. As the employer can claim "lost days" and extend the indenture for the number of days on which a full day's work was not given, nine hours every day in the week, except Sunday for five years running is more than can be reasonably expected of any man. Regarding the clause "according to the national custom, &c.," I am informed Government has not sanctioned any national holidays.

49. After the words "one shilling a day," the words "of 7½ hours" should be inserted (vide *British Guiana Ordinance of 1891*).

53. The words "provided he claims such back passage within 12 months" should be omitted. It has been proved in other colonies that the insertion of such a clause has the effect of making members claim their back passage who would otherwise have remained permanently in the colony. The local Government recognise this, and have ordered that every immigrant entitled from length of residence shall at any time obtain on application a free back passage.

62. The words "unable to work and" may be omitted.

66. If the number of indentured immigrants imported yearly remains at the calculated number of 1,000, this section will require alteration.

71—73. Six months is quite long enough for compulsory rationing, and if the immigrant gets in food the value of his money and no more, it is beneficial for both employer and labourer to discontinue rations as soon as the labourer is earning more than the cost of the rations. The power of granting rations at any time during indenture to immigrants who from infirmity not necessitating remaining in hospital or from pregnancy, &c., are not earning enough to keep themselves properly nourished, should be retained by the Inspectors.

80. The medical officer should also certify that the food and water are of good quality and sufficient according to scale for the voyage.

85. I am informed no pensions have been given.

95. Clause 23.—After the word "every" the word "indentured." The unindentured immigrant should be perfectly free to engage in any occupation he may think fit.

Law 20 of 1891.—As the immigration laws are to be considered as one, I do not see why sections 39 and 40, providing for the liberty of the immigrant after expiry of indenture and the sections regarding the providing of back passages are omitted. As regards the words "a person subject to five years' service under indenture and five years' industrial service in the island," there is no such person in the colony.

11 and 13 are unjustifiable obstacles in the way of free immigrants obtaining employment.

2 will require alteration if importations are continued on the present scale.

Schedule B.—The notice printed on the back should be omitted.

In the monthly statement of work and wages submitted to the Immigration Department, I suggest that two columns be provided—one for the number of days on which the cooly actually worked during the month, and the other for the average earnings of each cooly per working day.

