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[Despatch Abstract.]

Emigration - distant Colonies.

Directing the republication of the Resolution of the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, No. 3691-D., dated the 23rd March 1918 publishing certain papers regarding labour emigration to distant Crown Colonies.

PAPERS PUT UP WITH CURRENT No. _____

Papers of the department to which the current belongs.

Number.	Date.	Original (= O) or spare copy (= S.O.)	Remarks. (In this column such of the papers as have been removed for copying, printing, etc., should be marked with a cross.)	Initials of Referencer with date in token of return to Reference department.

Papers of other departments.

Department.	Number	Date.	Original (= O.) or spare copy (= S.O.)	Initials with date of (1) Referencer acknowledging returns of the paper concerned or (2) Despatcher to denote the return of the papers to the department concerned.

No. 3691-D.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

EMIGRATION.

RESOLUTION.

Delhi, the 23rd March 1918.

The following papers regarding labour emigration to the more distant Crown Colonies are published for the information of those interested in the subject :—

Extract from despatch from the Government of India to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 5 (Emigration), dated Delhi, the 23rd March 1917.

We have considered in Council your Despatch No. 24, dated the 11th February 1916, in which you expressed yourself entirely prepared to accept the policy advocated by the Government of India, namely, the abolition of the indentured system of emigration, and said that you would invite the Colonial Office to co-operate with you in devising the most suitable means for giving effect to it with due consideration of the interests of the Colonies affected and with adequate safeguards for the protection and well-being of the emigrants under any new system which might take the place of indentured labour. As you are aware, Lord Hardinge announced your decision by accepting in the Indian Legislative Council, on the 20th March 1916, the motion of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that "early steps be taken for the abolition of the system of Indian indentured labour". Lord Hardinge was, however, careful to say that you had asked him to make it clear that the existing system of recruiting must be maintained until new conditions, under which labour should be permitted to proceed to the Colonies, had been worked out in conjunction with the Colonial Office and the Crown Colonies concerned. Towards the end of his speech Lord Hardinge expressed his deep gratitude to yourself and to His Majesty's Government, and added—

"Their attitude in the matter fills me with assurance that what has been promised will be fulfilled to the letter, and that the end of the system which has been, relatively speaking, of so small an advantage to this country is now in sight. No one who knows anything of Indian sentiment can remain ignorant of the deep and genuine disgust to which the continuance of the indentured system has given rise. Educated Indians look on it, they tell us, as a badge of helotry. This is soon to be removed for ever."

Lord Hardinge's announcement satisfied those who heard him, for all believed that the period of waiting would not be long, and the Hon'ble Pandit in his reply said "the country will understand that a little time must elapse before the system can be entirely obliterated."

2. No suggestion was made in the Legislative Council that the period of waiting might extend up to five years, and we feel assured that no one who heard Lord Hardinge's announcement believed that there was a possibility that the ending of indentured labour might be deferred for so long a period. It came, therefore, as a considerable shock to popular expectation to find that a suggestion had been made by Mr. Bonar Law in the Colonial Office letter of the 21st February 1916, that a period—say five years—should be fixed after which no further recruiting under indenture should be allowed. In accordance with your instructions the Colonial Office letter of the 21st February has never been published by us in India, but knowledge of the suggestion made by the Colonial Office has filtered through from one or more of the Colonies concerned. The possibility that Lord Hardinge's promise might remain unfulfilled for a period of five years has roused deep-seated indignation throughout India and the Colonial Office letter has been a useful weapon in the hands of the speakers at public meetings.

3. The telegrams which have passed between us have informed you that there has been during recent months a persistent agitation throughout India for the immediate abolition of recruiting for indentured labour. Mass meetings have been held in all the great centres of population, and not only have the audiences been large, but they have included many, both Indians and Europeans, who are recognised as the leaders of thought in this country, but who are not usually willing to take part in public meetings.

4. The attacks made at all these meetings against the system of indentured labour may be briefly summed up in the charge that the system is one which is based at the outset on fraudulent statements made by the recruiter, and that the direct result of the system is the slavery of the men and the prostitution of the women. In charges made in general terms like these there is likely to be a good deal of exaggeration, but after making allowance for all

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possible inaccuracy and exaggeration, we find ourselves unable to deny that there is a substratum of truth in each one of the three charges which we have just mentioned. This is not a position which we can afford to allow to continue.

5. We have taken advantage of the present session of the Indian Legislative Council to invite representative Indians to formulate a scheme of assisted emigration to take the place of the present system of indentured emigration, and we laid before them copies of our letter of the 1st July 1916 to Local Governments and of the replies of the several Local Governments thereto. Some Members of the Legislative Council met and discussed this question among themselves for several days, but were unable to devise any scheme which in their eyes would be satisfactory. Eventually they handed us a memorandum (a copy of which is enclosed) signed by sixteen Members of the Council in which they state that in their opinion no alternative system is practicable which will carry with it a guarantee of the moral well-being of the Indian labourers concerned.

6. We feel the force of the arguments contained in the memorandum, and we are convinced that no solution short of that stated in the memorandum would satisfy Indian opinion on the subject, and that in the present state of heated feeling in the country the objections raised to the indentured labour system would be urged with equal vehemence against any other system recognised by the State under which labour was assisted or encouraged to emigrate to the four Crown Colonies.

7. Within the past few days it has been necessary for us for military reasons to impose a prohibition on the emigration of all unskilled labour. This is of course a temporary measure only, but it appears to us unthinkable that the system of indenture should be revived after the military necessities have passed away, and we earnestly ask for your support to secure the final ending of the system against which such grave accusations have been made. We consider also that in the circumstances it will not be possible for us to suggest the introduction of any scheme of assisted emigration until the feelings of exacerbation to which the indentured system has given rise have died down. An interval must, in our opinion, in any event elapse between the abolition of the old system and the institution of any new one.

8. If these recommendations are accepted, it will be uncertain when a scheme of assisted emigration will be required. In view, however, of the arrangements which have been made for the holding of a Conference on the subject in the course of next May, it may be useful to set out the conditions which, in our opinion, must find a place in any scheme of assisted emigration, if such a scheme should be needed in the future.

9. The first essential in any new system must be that the emigrant should understand the invitation which the Colonies hold out to him. He must be told not only the daily wage which he is to receive, and the hours for which he is expected to labour for that wage, but he must also be informed of possible deductions from that wage and the cost of provisions and of clothing. The terms of repatriation must also be clearly made known to him. It is plain justice that these material facts should be disclosed under any future system, and if they had been disclosed in the past, there can be little doubt that only those who had some strong reason for wishing to leave their country would have offered their services as indentured labourers. As Lord Hardinge said in his speech before the Legislative Council on the 20th March 1916,

"why should the labourer have to journey thousands of miles over the 'black water' to settle in a strange country and to place himself for a long period under conditions often of an undesirable, and in some cases of a revolting, nature in order to achieve the desired end, when he can obtain in India the choice of either better paid labour, as for instance, in the big jute areas of Eastern Bengal, or almost equally well paid labour with the prospects of obtaining in a very few years a home and a piece of land on the Assam tea gardens? It seems rather absurd to find a man going to Fiji for a wage of 26s. a month with rice at 2½ seers to the rupee, when he can readily earn 6s. or 7s. a week during the jute season in Eastern Bengal with rice selling at a third of the price prevailing in Fiji, with the additional advantage that he can, if he likes, with far greater ease, take his family with him to add to his earnings than in the case of distant Colonies. It is clear then that the cooly himself does not stand to gain much by emigration."

Our belief is that if the facts are made known Indian labour will not be found to be willing to leave this country except for a wage considerably in excess of the wage which can be earned here.

10. We now come to the question of the safeguards which should be required in the case of labour proceeding under any new system to the four tropical Colonies in question. We have examined the subject in correspondence with Local Governments and Administrations, and as stated above with reference to the views of the various representatives of Indian public opinion. We have also with your approval deputed Mr. Marjoribanks and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur A. T. Marakkar to examine the conditions of labour in Ceylon and the Malay States with a view to considering whether a system of recruitment similar to that adopted for Ceylon and the Malay States might be adopted with advantage for the four Crown Colonies. These gentlemen have produced a valuable report, a copy of which we have now the honour to forward to you together with copies of the correspondence with Local Governments and of the other papers bearing on the subject.

11. In addressing Local Governments we expressed the view that any future system must conform to the following general principles:—

- (a) a proper sex proportion must be maintained among adult emigrants;
- (b) the labourer must have reasonable freedom to choose and change his employer;
- (c) the conditions under which the labourer works and lives in the Colony must be suitable and proper; and
- (d) recruitment in India must be carried on under due supervision and must be free from abuses.

It will be convenient to examine the subject with reference to the above principles, and in doing so to elaborate the manner in which these principles should, in our view, be applied.

12. As regards (a), we have already referred to the moral evils which undoubtedly exist and to the charge that is made that the present system leads directly to a life of prostitution for the single women emigrating to the Colonies which take indentured labour. The maintenance of a proper sex proportion has been one of the greatest difficulties under the present system and the low proportion of women hitherto recruited is, in our opinion, responsible for many of the worst evils connected with the condition of indentured labourers in the Colonies. The evils are, however, probably as much due to the class of women who form a proportion of the female emigrants as to the disparity in the numbers of the sexes. The sex question, in our opinion, cannot be solved by merely insisting on a larger proportion of women. Merely to raise the minimum proportion of women would probably have no other effect than to increase the number of undesirable women recruited. After careful consideration we are convinced that the only course which would be in any way satisfactory, would be to encourage recruitment by families. To effect this, it would be necessary to make a rule that no woman should be recruited unless accompanied by her family. We might also find it necessary to cause registering officers to make enquiries in the village of origin to check alleged family relationships. We do not think it would be necessary to prevent single men from emigrating alone; but agree with the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces (Sir Benjamin Robertson) that the number of such single men recruited should not exceed one to every five adults.

13. (b) *The labourer's freedom of choice.*—The aspect of the present system which, next to the position of women, excites the strongest popular resentment is the feeling that the status of the indentured labourer has been in the past virtually one of bondage, and that so far as the future is concerned, however much his condition may be mitigated by beneficent regulations and considerate treatment, the Indian labourer transported to the Colonies is not likely to be a really free agent. We share this feeling. The position of an ignorant peasant transported thousands of miles from his home, and serving an employer who has, at best, an imperfect acquaintance with his language and customs, is, we conceive, in danger of being one not far removed from bondage.

14. The inherent difficulty of this part of the problem lies in the distance of the Colonies from India and the consequent cost of recruitment. We recognise that the Colonies will reasonably expect some security for the cost of the passage money which they have paid, presumably, for the benefit of the emigrant. At the same time, the labourer should have the right ultimately to obtain repatriation. It is even more necessary that he should not be bound down to serve any particular employer for longer than a very short period. He should, we consider, be free to leave his employer on a month's notice, and this freedom should be guaranteed by entitling him to invoke the assistance of the Protector of Immigrants, if necessary, to ensure his transfer. We further regard it as essential that it should not be possible to proceed against labourers for failure to fulfil their contracts otherwise than by a civil suit. We recognise that the Colonies have already abolished imprisonment as a substantive penalty for labour offences, but it is no less important that punishment by fine and imprisonment in default of payment of fine should be similarly abolished for such offences. In short, Indian labourers should not be subject to any legal liabilities or obligations which do not apply equally to the rest of the population of the Colony, and which do not form part of the ordinary law of master and servant in England.

15. It is, we consider, a matter of importance that no employer should be able to claim that he had paid the expenses of recruitment of any particular labourer, and this, it appears to us, could easily be obviated by the payment of the expenses by the Government out of a common fund raised by a rateable cess collected from the employers. No part of these expenses should be charged against the labourer, who should start his career in the Colony free from any initial burden of debt. We see no necessity for any long-term contract between the labourer and the Government. The only contract which the labourer would enter into would be a short-term contract of service with his employer for the time being, whom, as we have just explained, he should be entitled to leave on a month's notice. With regard to the question of repatriation, we would suggest that the labourer with his family, if he has a family, should be entitled to a free passage to India after three years of approved service or a bonus in lieu of the passage-money if he should elect to remain in the Colony. A labourer wishing to return to India before the completion of three years' service should, we suggest, be entitled to one-third of the passage-money for himself and his family after one year of approved service and to two-thirds after two years.

16. (c) *Conditions of life in the Colonies.*—The assisted emigrant ought, we urge, from the date of his arrival in the Colony to have the same rights, including those of acquiring

land, as any other free man arriving in the Colony. So far as the general conditions of life in the Colonies are concerned reforms are desirable in many directions. The recommendations of Messrs. McNeill and Chimmannal in their report, including improvements in housing, medical assistance, hospitals, education, legal recognition of Indian marriages contracted in the Colonies, and other matters have, we are told, met with general acceptance in the Colonies, and are, we understand, largely in course of adoption.

17. (d) *Conditions under which labourers are recruited in India.*—We had originally been disposed to think that a system of recruitment similar to that adopted for Ceylon or the Federated Malay States might meet the case. In order to ascertain whether such a system would be suitable, as already stated, we deputed Mr. Marjoribanks and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur A. T. Marakayar to examine the conditions of labour in Ceylon and in the Federated Malay States. We have, however, after examining the report come to the conclusion that recruiting for distant Colonies cannot be worked on the lines of the 'sardari' or 'kangani' systems or on that of the Federated Malay States. If any system of assisted emigration is to come into being, recruiting must, we think, be on generally similar lines to the present, but with substantial modifications in detail, and with a better class of recruiter working under officers of the Colonial Civil Service. The present class of recruiters should be replaced by men of good character, and as far as possible by men who have actually worked in the Colonies and can speak of the conditions from their own experience. All recruiters should be specially licensed, and should be on fixed pay and not paid by results. It is obviously necessary that the emigrant should start his career in the Colony not only free from debt in respect of his passage money, but also free from debt to the recruiter. The number of recruiters should, in our opinion, be kept as low as possible, and recruiting should be confined to the congested districts of India and should not be permitted at all in the industrial and pilgrim centres. There should, we think, be a real attempt to organise recruitment from villages; and selected non-officials, preferably chosen from among the honorary magistrates, should be entitled to inspect depôts. The physical and age tests should not, we think, be strictly applied to every member of the family, otherwise recruitment by families would in many cases break down, for the labourer would naturally be unwilling to leave behind those members of his family who had least ability to help themselves.

18. A reference is necessary in this connection to the arrangements governing emigration to Surinam and the French Colonies. We understand from the Memorandum of the British Legation at The Hague, dated the 1st May 1916, regarding emigration to Surinam, which formed an annexure to your despatch No. 140, dated the 8th September 1916, that the required notice of termination of the Convention of 1870 with the Dutch Government has been duly given, and that it remains merely to acquaint them with the details of the new arrangements as soon as these are settled.

Though indentured emigration to the French Colonies has been in abeyance and is not likely to be resumed, it appears to be desirable to take the present opportunity to determine the Convention of 1861 with the French Government.

19. We have, with your approval, invited Sir James Meston to represent the Government of India in the proposed Conference. We are also deputing Mr. N. E. Marjoribanks, I.C.S. and Colonel W. M. Kennedy, Chairman of the Assam Labour Board, who will be able to assist with information with regard to any matters of details which may arise.

Despatch from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India to the Government of India, No. 93 (Public), dated London, the 10th August 1917, and enclosure.

With reference to the letter of Your Excellency's Government in the Commerce and Industry Department, No. 5 (Emigration), dated the 23rd March last, I hope to be in a position in the near future to address you on the question of labour emigration to the British West Indies and Fiji. It was, as Your Excellency is aware, unfortunately impossible for Sir James Meston and Sir S. Sinha to remain long enough in England to take part in the actual inter-departmental conference, but my predecessor had the benefit of their assistance in an informal discussion of the general question with the Secretary of State for the Colonies and officials of the Colonial Office, and I share the satisfaction felt by him at their presence on this occasion.

2. The decision of His Majesty's Government that indentured emigration should not be re-opened, has already been communicated to your Excellency.

3. I now desire to invite the careful attention of Your Excellency's Government to the enclosed communication * from the Colonial Office.

* Dated 7th June 1917.

It was probably inevitable that other aspects of the position of Indians in the Colonies in question should absorb public interest in India, but it is evident that little attention has hitherto been paid in unofficial circles to the facts set out by the Colonial Office with regard to the free Indian population.

4. One result of Indian labour emigration has been the establishment overseas of free Indian communities which have attained a high degree of prosperity. This fact does not, of course, affect the necessity for removing the system of indenture and substituting in its place an entirely new system of free emigration from India to the Colonies. It is, however, important to realise to what degree, even under the admittedly condemned system of indenture,

those Colonies have successfully established thriving and self-respecting Indian communities of settlers whose welfare is now bound up with the general prosperity of those Colonies, and many of whom have been enabled to rise to the position of landholders, merchants, and, in some cases, professional men. The continuance of the main local industries is a matter of vital concern to Indians hardly less than to European colonists. To recognise the present position and needs of these Indian communities does not imply satisfaction with the indentured system now abolished.

5. It is further to be observed that the Crown Colonies which imported Indian labourers under indenture have never opposed any obstacle to the entrance of free Indian immigrants of the mercantile or other classes. The peculiar history of the Indian question in Natal under responsible government has possibly given rise to some misunderstanding on this point. But, as you are aware, Natal was alike the only self-governing Colony that imported indentured labour from India, and the only labour-importing Colony that restricted the entry of free Indian immigrants. In that case the supply of further Indian labour was eventually refused by the Government of India. But the British West Indies and Fiji have always maintained an open door for the entry of all British Indian subjects who desired either to travel or to settle down. I am not sure how far it is understood by public opinion in India that the prevention of the free emigration of Indian labourers to those Crown Colonies which imported indentured labour until the present year would not affect or concern any portion of the Empire which has imposed immigration restrictions upon Indians; and I see some inconsistency in an attitude that seems to combine protest against any restrictions on the entry of Indians into other parts of the Empire with opposition to the free emigration of Indian labourers to those Crown Colonies which desire to establish assisted immigration and to give the labourers full facilities for ultimate settlement on the land. The object of the inter-departmental conference is to devise a scheme under which Crown Colonies that desire to foster Indian immigration of this character may be able to arrange facilities for the emigration from India of persons belonging to the agricultural classes who may be willing to migrate as free labourers with the prospect of eventually establishing themselves on grants of land. It is an essential feature of any such scheme that it shall not reproduce under another name the old indenture system, and that future emigrants shall be enabled to find a career in their new homes without passing through the status which, in the case of their predecessors, is regarded as having inflicted a national stigma upon India.

6. In view of the misunderstandings which have blended with perfectly sincere and reasonable indignation at actual abuses connected with the indentured system, it seems very desirable that the above considerations together with such facts as are now presented in the statements furnished by the Colonial Office should not be lost sight of or their importance overlooked. Your Excellency's Government will no doubt take such action as may be possible to this end. I need hardly remark that they furnish strong reasons against the imposition of unnecessary barriers to the movement of unindentured labour under salutary conditions to Crown Colonies in which free and prosperous Indian communities are already established.

ENCLOSURE.

Colonial Office to India Office.

No. 26104.

Downing Street,
7th June 1917.

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Long to state that in the course of his recent informal conference with Mr. Secretary Chamberlain, Sir James Meston, and Sir Satyendra Sinha on the subject of Indian emigration to the West Indies and Fiji, he was led to believe that some misapprehensions exist in India as to the status of the Indian communities in the four Colonies. He desires, therefore, to invite the assistance of the Secretary of State for India in removing any false impressions which the people of India may entertain as to the position of their countrymen in the four Colonies concerned—British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji.

2. The conditions of employment of future emigrants are now a matter of discussion between representatives of India and of this Department, and Mr. Long does not think it would serve any useful purpose to enter in the present letter into any detailed discussion of the existing system or of that by which he hopes it will be replaced. But to remove all possible misunderstanding on a point of principle, he desires to state definitely that it is recognised both in the Colonies and at the Colonial Office that the indenture system must be abolished forthwith, and one more consonant with modern conditions substituted for it, before recruiting for the Colonies is resumed. He has only to add that, after consultation with representatives of the planting interests, and with their full concurrence, he had already decided before the recent meeting took place to propose on behalf of the Colonies the immediate abolition of the indenture system.

3. Mr. Chamberlain is already aware that the penalty of imprisonment for labour offences has been abolished in the four Colonies.

4. Recent controversy has concentrated attention on the position of the indentured labourer. This was probably in the circumstances inevitable. It is nevertheless unfortunate that as a consequence the existence of large and prosperous Indian communities in the Colonies as a direct result of the immigration system has been overlooked; and Mr. Long thinks that much of the feeling which has been aroused in India would have been avoided had not the distance of the Colonies and the lack of frequent direct communication prevented the people of India from having more accurate knowledge of the facts with regard to their fellow-countrymen who have settled in the Colonies.

5. The prosperity of these communities is bound up with that of the Colonies in which they have made their homes. If the industries of the Colonies suffer, the Indian communities will be the first to feel the effect. It is therefore desirable that their existence should not be overlooked by their countrymen at home when discussing a question so vital to the Colonies as that of the supply of labour which is essential to Colonial Industries.

6. Indians actually under indenture in the four Colonies form but a small proportion of the total Indian population there. How small the proportion is will be seen from the following figures:—

	British Guiana.	Trinidad.	Jamaica.	Fiji.
Total Indian population (1911 Census)	136,528	121,895	20,063	56,853
Under indenture (1915-16)	7,197	8,827	2,913	14,362

The proportion is, of course, larger in Fiji, as Indian immigration into that Colony began over 40 years later than into British Guiana. In the two Colonies which are mainly dependent on Indian labour the proportion of Indians under indenture is about 1 in 19 and 1 in 15, respectively.

7. Even of the labourers actually working on estates only a portion is serving under indenture. According to the latest figures available for Trinidad the number of adult immigrants not under indenture working on estates which also employ indentured labour was 15,676. The corresponding figure in British Guiana was 38,411. It will be seen that, leaving out of consideration estates which do not employ any indentured labour, by far the greater number on the Indian labourers employed on estates where the indenture system is in force are free from the restraints of that system.

8. Indian emigrants to the four Colonies have been recruited from the labouring classes in India, and have settled in Colonies engaged in producing a few staple kinds of estate produce, mainly sugar, fruit and cocoa. It would, therefore, be natural to expect that the Indian population in those Colonies would consist almost entirely of estate labourers. This, however, is not the case. It is probably not realised to what an extent the movement of population from India has been one of settlement of small proprietors on the land. In this connection the following quotations from the reports of the Protectors of Immigrants for 1915-16 are interesting:—

Trinidad.

“General Condition of East Indians not under Indenture.”—The general condition of these people continues to be excellent. There are, to-day, many East Indians of independent means; some occupying positions of trust and honour in the Government service, and a few in the professions, law and medicine.

“Many are well-to-do merchants, while others still retain their affection for the soil, being either cane farmers or landed proprietors.

“The following table shows the amount of lands owned by East Indian proprietors and the nature of the cultivation.

Acreage under Cultivation.	Nature of Cultivation.
56,414	Cocoa.
9,488	Rice.
9,368	Sugar cane.
9,698	Provisions.
3,081	Corn, etc.
1,740	Cocoonut.
408	Coffee.
117	Fruits.
90,314	

British Guiana.

“Settlement of unindentured East Indians on the Land.”—There was considerable acquisition of landed property during the nine months under report, as appears from the following figures supplied by the Registrar, which deal with Chinese as well as Indians:—

	East Indians.	Chinese.
Number of purchasers	413	19
Number of deeds	454	22
Total value	\$96,898.05 = Rs. 3,02,806	\$48,335.00 = Rs. 1,51,047
The highest price paid for one property was	\$12,800.00 = Rs. 40,000	\$14,000.00 = Rs. 43,750

“Plantations Unity and Lancaster on the east sea coast of Demerara, some 415 acres in extent, having been drained, irrigated and laid out in acre lots, are now fully taken up, the purchase price of \$20 (Rs. 62.8) per acre having been readily paid, and the cultivation of rice and ground provisions is proceeding satisfactorily.

“Drained and irrigated land can be obtained at Clonbrook, on the east, and at Windsor Forest, La Jalousie, and Hague on the west sea coast of Demerara, in some cases by purchase at prices varying between \$15 to \$35 (Rs. 47 to Rs. 109) per acre or by lease at rates from \$1 to \$3 (Rs. 3 to Rs. 15) per acre for the first year, rising to \$5 and \$6 (Rs. 15 to Rs. 18) per acre thereafter.

“In addition to these ways by which East Indians may acquire land, anyone, under the Lands and Mines Regulations, may lease Crown lands for terms of 99 years, with right of renewal subject to a re-assessed rent, if the land has been reasonably usefully held. The cost for five acres, for instance, is as follows:—

	\$	Rs.
Cost of application	5.00	15
“ of survey	1.50	4½
One year's rent	1.00	3
Total initial cost	7.50	22½

“Rent thereafter \$1 (Rs. 3) per annum for the whole five acre tract.

“For areas from 5 to 100 acres in extent the rent is 20 cents. (10 annas) per acre per annum; and for larger tracts less still.

“The settlements at Huis't-Dieren, Helena, Whim, Bush, Lot and Maria's Pleasure, comprising between them some 2,943 acres, have enjoyed fair prosperity during the period of report.

“The following figures give the number and value of properties in the several towns and villages owned by East Indians as assessed for taxation for local purposes:—

	Nos.	Value.
		\$
Georgetown (capital)	258	296,435.00 = Rs. 9,26,359
New Amsterdam	84	66,950.00 = Rs. 2,09,219
Villages	7,846½	732,009.20 = Rs. 22,87,529
Total	8,188½	\$1,095,394.20 = Rs. 34,23,107

“The establishment of Agriculture Loan Banks will be, doubtless, a great stimulus to and settlement. There are now three: one in the island of Wakenam, county Essequibo, in which 78 East Indians have 152 one dollar shares; another on the west coast, county Demerara, at Dem Amstel, in which six Indians hold 12 shares; and the third at Ann's Grove, least coast, county Demerara, in which 34 have 128 shares.

“There were 7,756 East Indian depositors on the 31st December 1915, and they had at their credit a sum of \$393,348.27 (81,947.11s. 1½d.) (Rs. 12,29,213). Both the number of depositors and the amount of savings are less than on 31st March 1915, when the figures were: Deposits, 8,774; savings, \$502,626.80 (104,713.18s. 4½d.) (Rs. 15,70,709). Circumstances arising out of the war have, no doubt, considerably affected Savings Banks transactions but the lately established Savings Bank branches of the Colonial Bank and the Royal Bank of Canada in Georgetown and New Amsterdam and in the two large villages of Mahaica and Rose Hall have without doubt attracted a considerable share of the business hitherto enjoyed by the Post Office Savings Banks. The continued expansion of rice planting is also responsible in some considerable measure, providing as it does a remunerative investment for the people's savings.”

Jamaica.

“Occupation of free Indians.”—There are now about 17,000 free Indians in the Colony, the majority of whom are employed in various manual occupations. Among these occupations may be mentioned the following:—

“Agricultural labours; planters, shopkeepers, market gardeners, traders, itinerant and otherwise; goldsmiths, cart men; domestic servants. There are no less than 369 trade and spirits licences taken out by East Indians.

"*Settlement of free Indians on the Land.*—A statement kindly furnished by the Honourable Collector-General is attached showing the value and extent of property owned by East Indian immigrants in the Island. This statement is only approximate and does not fully represent the true value of the property. It is shown that land owned by East Indians covers over 11,000 acres. In the parish of St. Mary alone 2,276 acres of land is owned by Indians. I estimate that the accumulated wealth of East Indians in this Island cannot fall short of 120,000%. (Rs. 1,800,000).

"*Savings of the Immigrants.*

"*Deposits.*—The number of immigrant depositors in the Government Savings Bank on the 31st March 1916 was 1,383 and the amount at their credit was 15,700*l.* (Rs. 2,35,500). The reduction of the amount at credit compared with last year is largely due to the withdrawals by immigrants repatriated during the year. These immigrants who returned to India by the ship *Ganges* took with them drafts on the Bank of Bengal amounting to 2,824*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* (Rs. 42,374), and jewellery valued at 1,132*l.* 16*s.* (Rs. 16,992). This represents an average saving per head (exclusive of immigrants returned as destitute and children) of 32*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* (Rs. 487). The largest individual remittance was 283*l.* (Rs. 4,245).

"The statement alluded to is given below:—

Statement showing the particulars of Property owned by East Indian Immigrants in the several Parishes of the Island during the year 1915-1916.

Parish.	Value of Property.	Extent in Acres.	LIVESTOCK.			Probable Value of Stock.
			Horse-kind.	Cows.	Asses.	
	£	Holdings.				£ s.
Kingston	5,110	94	7	...	...	84 0
St. Andrew	1,234	Ac. 29½	4	...	...	100 0
St. Thomas	12,775	2,002½	103	...	5	953 0
Portland	5,522	747½	54	110	1	1,246 0
St. Mary	13,375	2,275½	141	144	32	2,147 5
St. Ann	172	36½	...	...	...	...
Trelawny	2,390	1,624	25	80	6	662 0
St. James	338	150½	1	...	2	21 5
Hanover	2,520	509½	80	30	45	950 0
Westmoreland	4,223	393½	150	100	...	2,870 0
St. Elizabeth	1,360	501½	14	13	2	192 10
Manchester	362	84½	...	...	...	...
Clarendon	4,477	996½	158	...	32	1,503 10
St. Catherine	5,375	1,697½	42	3	17	423 15
Total	59,733	11,049½	774	484	145	11,158 5
	Rs. 8,95,995					Rs. 1,67,374

Fiji.

"*Native leases (i.e., leases of land by Indians from natives of the Colony).*—Seven hundred and forty-two leases, comprising a total area of 5,744 acres, were registered in 1915, the largest total area leased in any province being 2,557 acres in Ba and Yasawas. The following table shows the number of leases issued and the area leased in each of the last nine years:—

Year.	No. of Leases.	Acreage.
1907	240	...
1908	415	3,715
1909	456	3,740
1910	455	...
1911	440	2,300
1912	573	2,676
1913	392	1,817
1914	398	1,865
1915	742	5,744

Savings.

"*Deposits in Local Banks.*—During the year fixed deposits were made by the Department in the local Banks on behalf of 106 depositors. The total sum at fixed deposit on the 31st December 1915 was 8,947*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* (Rs. 1,34,205), being 4,037*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* (Rs. 60,564) less than the previous year. The decrease is no doubt due to the outbreak of war, resulting in an unusually large amount of money being buried. The following table shows the

amount on fixed deposit in Government Savings Bank by Indian immigrants on the 31st December in each of the last five years:—

Year.	No. of depositors.	Balance to credit.		Rs.
		£	s. d.	
1911	50	1,422	17 2	21,343
1912	77	2,527	2 0	37,907
1913	159	4,725	14 5	70,886
1914	172	3,114	13 4	46,720
1915	156	2,177	3 5	32,657

"*Remittances.*—The amount remitted by Indian immigrants through the Treasury was 1,965*l.* 16*s.* (Rs. 29,487) sent by 350 persons. This amount does not include the amount remitted by Madras immigrants through the Treasury, which was 1,425*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* (Rs. 21,384) by 199 remitters, the average remittance for both Calcutta and Madras being 6*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* (Rs. 93). This total is exclusive of money remitted by immigrant passengers repatriated per S.S. *Mutlak* amounting to 843*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* (Rs. 12,658). The following table shows the amount remitted through the Treasury in each of the last ten years:—

Year.	No. of remittances.	Amount remitted.		Rs.
		£	s. d.	
1906	388	1,882	1 0	28,231
1907	537	2,996	12 4	44,949
1908	634	3,027	12 0	45,414
1909	761	3,534	14 0	53,021
1910	721	3,843	5 6	57,649
1911	762	4,201	19 8	63,030
1912	844	4,792	17 9	71,893
1913	886	5,268	8 0	79,026
1914	707	4,419	17 0	66,298
1915	549	3,391	7 4	50,871

"The following extracts from the reports of Resident Inspectors on the settlement of unindentured Indians in their respective districts may also be of interest:—

Macaula.

"The Indian cane-growers in this district did very well. The crops, if not heavy, were very sweet, and they also participated in the 2*s.* 6*d.* per ton bonus. The following are the figures you asked for in this connection:—

(a) Area	303 acres.
Tonnage	5,750 tons.
(b) Area	310 acres.
Tonnage	6,249 tons.
(c) 3,993 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> (Rs. 59,901).	

"Apart from the cane crops the following were grown by the unindentured Indians in this district during the year:—

Maize	870 acres.
Rice	4,920 acres.
Dhal	100 acres."

Ba, Tavua and Ra.

"Number of contractors on books, 429.

"Area under cultivation, 4,915 acres.

"Number of contractors who cut in 1915, 302.

"Area actually cut in 1915, 2,738 acres.

"Number of tons crushed in 1915, 33,432.

"Total amount paid for cane crushed in 1915, 25,848*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* (Rs. 3,87,731).

"Number of Indians on settlements, 39.

"Area under cultivation, 515½ acres.

"Number of Indians who cut in 1915, 39.

"Area actually cut in 1915, 255½ acres.

"Number of tons crushed in 1915, 4,644.

"Total amount paid for cane crushed in 1915, 1,459*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* (Rs. 21,892)."

Lautoka, Nadi, and Sigatoka.

- "(a) Area under cultivation, 1915 5,200 acres.
Cane cropped, 1915 49,893 tons.
(b) Area under cultivation, 1916 7,200 acres.
Estimated cane crop for 1916 80,000 tons.
(c) Amount paid to 408 farmers, 36,656L. 12s. 10d. (Rs. 5,49,850)."

"These figures represent Indian farmers working their own land, and are quite separate from those representing the private settlements of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, which have been furnished to me as under:—

- "Colonial Sugar Refining Company's areas settled 1,068 acres.
Crop from settlement areas 20,897 tons.
Amount paid to 180 settlers, 16,027L. 16s. 1d. (Rs. 2,40,417)."

Rewa.

"The indentured banana cultivators appear to be in a very prosperous way; some are now drawing as high as 20L. (Rs. 300) and 25L. (Rs. 375) per month for their fruit. The rice crops also look very prosperous, and should give good returns."

Navua.

"The quantity of cane sent to the Navua mill by unindentured Indians was 28,597 tons, for which was paid 13,249L. 13s. 4d. (Rs. 1,98,745). The area cropped was 1,366 acres."

An ordinance of 1916 makes provision for the acquisition of land by the Colony and its improvement at Colonial expense for purposes of settlement of East Indians.

The total number of Indian freeholders and tenants in the Colony is now 11,043 occupying 115,635 acres."

9. The extracts above confirm the report made in 1913 by Mr. McNeil and Mr. Chimman Lal, the Commissioners appointed by the Government of India to report on the condition of Indian emigrants to the Colonies, that "the great majority of the emigrants exchanged grinding poverty with practically no hope of betterment for a condition varying from simple, but secure, comfort to solid prosperity."

10. In 1885 the Secretary of State for India laid down, as an indispensable condition of emigration from India to the Colonies, that . . . "Indian settlers who have completed the term of service to which they agreed, as a return for the expense of bringing them to the Colonies, will be in all respects free men with privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of His Majesty's subjects resident in the Colonies." That condition has been fulfilled. On the expiration of his term of service the Indian takes his place in the community on the same terms as other inhabitants of the Colony, and Mr. Long finds it difficult to understand how the idea could have arisen in India that the Indian communities in these Colonies stand in any degree in a position of industrial or political inferiority as compared with the rest of the population.

11. At the general election in British Guiana, in 1916, an East Indian, Mr. J. A. Luckhoo, was elected to the local legislature for the division of South-East Essequibo. The unsuccessful candidate was an English planter. Mr. Luckhoo is the son of an Indian immigrant and of an Indian born in the Colony. He practices at the local bar. His brother, Mr. E. A. Luckhoo, a solicitor, who has held office as Mayor of the Municipality of New Amsterdam, was an unsuccessful candidate at the same election.

12. There were other unsuccessful East Indian candidates at this election, and details of their careers may be interesting as illustrating the prospect open to East Indians in the Colonies. One unsuccessful candidate is an East Indian who arrived in British Guiana in 1865 at the age of seven. In 1878 he started business as a butcher and has been very successful. He is described as one of the richest East Indians in the Colony, owner of an estate on the west coast, and of a racing stable. Another candidate, the grandson of indentured immigrants, is a practising barrister in the Colony. Another, who is a shop-keeper in Georgetown, originally came to British Guiana under indenture to an estate. Another East Indian, a merchant in Georgetown, was selected by the Negro and Portuguese sections of a constituency to contest the seat, but was found ineligible for election as he had neglected to register as a voter. This candidate was born in the Colony, being the son of indentured immigrants. He returned to India with his parents, but came back to British Guiana in 1891 and went under indenture to a plantation.

13. The East Indian voters constitute 6.4 per cent. of the total electorate. On the basis of population the proportion should be much higher, as the Indian community forms 40 per cent. of the population. The reason is that East Indians, although equally eligible with other races both for the municipal and for the legislative vote, often do not trouble to go through the formality of registering themselves as voters. It is, however, anticipated locally that, as a result of the recent general election, there will be more disposition on their part to exercise the franchise.

14. The Legislative Council of Trinidad is not an elective body, and there is therefore no legislative franchise for any race in the Colony. One of the unofficial members nominated by the Crown is of East Indian descent. There is now an elective Town Council in Port of Spain, the capital of the island, and East Indians are, of course, fully eligible for the municipal vote and for membership. The Council is a very recent institution, and no statistics of East Indian voters are available.

15. In Jamaica the Legislative Council is partly elected. East Indians are eligible to vote for and to serve on the Council, as well as on the Parochial Boards which manage local affairs; but, as they form only 2 per cent. of the total population, their political activity is naturally less in evidence than in British Guiana. No statistics as to East Indian voters are available.

16. The question of Indian representation in Fiji has recently been under discussion with the Government of India, and Mr. Chamberlain is aware that, at their suggestion, the constitution of the Colony has been altered to admit of the appointment of a nominated member to the Legislative Council. The Governor has now appointed Badri Maharaj, who originally came to Fiji as an indentured immigrant and has since acquired considerable property and controls several hundred acres of cultivated land as well as a general store business.

17. Mr. Long trusts that the Government of India will take steps to make public, in such manner as they may think appropriate, the facts mentioned in this letter.

Extract from despatch from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India to the Government of India, No. 117-(Public), dated London, the 21st September 1917, and enclosure.

I have given very careful consideration in Council to the letter of Your Excellency's Government in the Commerce and Industry Department, No. 5-(Emigration), dated the 23rd March last, in which you set forth your conclusions on the subject of labour emigration from India to the more distant Crown Colonies. I agree with your view as to the unfortunate effect in India of the suggestion that indentured emigration might remain in force for five years more, a suggestion deprecated at the time by my predecessor [see the fifth enclosure to his Despatch No. 63-(Public), dated the 14th April 1916]. As you have been informed, His Majesty's Government have decided that indentured emigration, temporarily prohibited on account of urgent military needs, cannot be resumed. I trust that you have been able to secure for this decision as wide a publicity, especially in those quarters which are not reached by English newspapers, as was obtained by the earlier reports.

2. I agree with Your Excellency's Government that any new system of emigration must be free from suspicion of liability to the three charges brought against the old system—that it was based on fraudulent recruitment, that it involved slavery for men, and that it resulted in the prostitution of women.

3. The letter of Your Excellency's Government was laid before the Inter-departmental Conference which after a session lasting some six weeks, has drawn up a new scheme for a system of free emigration assisted by the Colonial Administrations. Advance copies of its Report have already been despatched to you, and I have in my telegram of the 24th July recommended that it should at once be published for general information and discussion. The Colonial Administrations concerned have represented the necessity for early publication of the Report in view of the condition of uncertainty prevailing amongst the interests affected. I now enclose 25 further copies. I have no wish to prejudice the full consideration which you will give to the scheme, and I think it essential that the people of India should be afforded every possible opportunity of examining a subject which is regarded as vitally concerning their national self-respect. The scheme is provisional, in the sense that it is necessarily one to be judged on the one hand by Your Excellency's Government, and on the other by the Colonial Administrations. Should the latter, or any of them, consider that the increased expenditure which its adoption will necessitate would make it unprofitable to employ imported Indian labour under the new conditions, the assisted emigration question, so far as India is concerned, will necessarily disappear in connection with such colonies or colony. If, on the other hand, you are unable to regard the scheme as regards any particular detail or details as satisfactory from the Indian point of view, I shall of course give full weight to your criticisms, and shall communicate them to the Colonial Office. Apart from questions of detail, the scheme as a whole appears to me to fulfil the conditions laid down in your Government's letter, as affording a means of enabling Indian labourers to emigrate to those colonies which desire to attract them, as eliminating so far as is humanly possible unsatisfactory features in the engagement of emigrants in India, and as securing for the emigrant labourers work under conditions of freedom, with facilities for repatriation if they do not desire to settle. The encouragement of family as opposed to individual emigration affords the only sure means of guaranteeing the moral welfare of the Indian communities overseas. I shall proceed later on to analyse and comment upon the details of the scheme. But at this point I would like to observe that the proposed scheme differs fundamentally from the present system. In place of indentured labour it is now proposed to establish a scheme of colonisation and one, I would add, that goes considerably beyond not only the requirements laid down by Your Excellency's Government, but also any scheme of assisted emigration hitherto devised for European settlers in the Dominions, since the latter have never been granted systematic State assistance if they desired to repatriate themselves after experience of colonial life.

4. The Indian claims have been met by the Colonial Office in a liberal and sympathetic spirit, and I would invite your particular attention to the fact that the benefits in the way of material and medical comforts, and other safeguards provided under the old system for labourers who had covenanted under indenture to work for a term of years, are under this scheme continued for labourers who are entirely free, and as to whose readiness to work the colonies have no such guarantee as was provided by those indentures.

5. I regret that Your Excellency's Government were unable to derive more assistance from those members of your Legislative Council whom you invited to discuss the question. You state that you feel the force of the arguments contained in the memorandum presented to you. But I am somewhat surprised to see that, though the signatories appear unconscious of the fact, and though it is not noticed in your letter, most of these arguments, if analysed, are applicable as much to free emigration to Ceylon and Malaya as to a reformed scheme of emigration to more distant colonies. Yet I understand that no real or reasonable objection is entertained to emigration to Ceylon and Malaya as such, though details have given rise to complaint, and it is indisputable that the Ceylon and Straits emigration is of far greater importance, and plays a far larger part in the economic life of India, than the numerically unimportant emigration to the West Indies or Fiji. As regards the latter, the fear that an invidious distinction would arise in the colonies between old and new immigrants—a fear not justified, as far as I know, by the experience of the abolition of indentures in the Malay States or in Assam—is met by the stipulation in the new scheme that the cancellation of all indentures is a necessary preliminary to the inception of free assisted emigration to any colony.

6. But consideration of this memorandum leads me to think it desirable, before proceeding to discuss the scheme in detail, to set down some general considerations which have not, I think, been presented, at any rate in full force, to public opinion in India.

7. I have already, in my Despatch No. 93, dated 10th August, commented on the extremely misleading, though not surprising, confusion between the self-governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies which underlies much that is said or written on the general question of emigration from India. While it is to be hoped that the attitude taken by the Dominions towards the question of India's representation at Imperial Conferences, and the actual proceedings at the recent Imperial War Conference, will tend to closer and more sympathetic relations between India and the Dominions, the political and economic objections entertained in the Dominions to the unrestricted entry of fellow-subjects whose standards differ so widely from those of the new countries must be expected to remain. It is natural enough that India should resent any proposal that her labouring classes should be imported for special local purposes and under exceptional conditions into territories which are not open to the general immigration of Indians. But no such question arises in the case of the Crown Colonies; Fiji and the British West Indies are as free to the Indian merchant or professional man as Ceylon or Malaya, while they have offered more favourable openings to Indians who desire to settle on the land. It is surely important that the distinction should be brought home to those who write and speak on the question of emigration, but I have noticed wide-spread and genuine misunderstanding.

8. The growing sense of Imperial solidarity is producing a wide feeling that the Empire as a whole cannot be indifferent to the prosperity of any of its component parts. The great sugar and other agricultural industries are not merely a matter of local concern to the colonies in which they are established but of real importance to the economic strength of the British Empire. I need hardly say that considerations of this kind, whether political or economic, cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the removal of actual abuses or the redress of real grievances. But they become relevant when indignation at abuses arising in particular localities out of certain features of the indentured system now abolished has developed into the doctrine that free Indian emigration under carefully devised safeguards should not be allowed to any country, Malaya excepted, in which Indians formerly worked under indenture. If the abuses are eliminated, and a free system of assisted emigration, coupled with a generous scheme of land settlement, is substituted for the old indentured system, this doctrine cannot be admitted either in the interests of the Indian people themselves, or as a principle of general policy. Its acceptance would constitute a new departure, wholly at variance with the principles as regards emigration and colonisation prevailing in all other parts of the Empire. The colonies in question have now a considerable number of Indian settlers, and it would be unfair to these to prevent more of their fellow-countrymen from joining them. It is probable that under the scheme now proposed some of the colonies will become largely Indian in population and character. This is a very important consideration and one that must have weight with Indian opinion.

10. I realise that any attempt to reintroduce indentured emigration under a new name would be rightly resented, and I do not under-rate the difficulties that surround the subject. But I would ask you to consider very carefully the present legal position. Emigration to the four British Colonies and Surinam is for the time being suspended by an order under the Defence of India Act. But when the war ends, and this emergency power is exhausted, the Emigration Act will at best enable you only to prohibit emigration under indenture to those Colonies. There is no power under that Act to declare unlawful or to restrict or regulate free or assisted emigration where no agreement to labour is entered into by emigrant before leaving India by sea. Unless the Act is amended, or is supplemented by another Act, emigration under such conditions as are suggested in the

Report of the Conference, could not be prevented, but it would be unregulated, and would necessarily lack the supervision by Government officers which the Report contemplates.

11. Simple repeal of the present Emigration Act will therefore not meet the situation. Legislation in some form will be inevitable, and it is possible that you will be asked to prohibit the emigration of unskilled labourers who receive assistance to emigrate on the understanding that they will enter upon agreements overseas. But apart from other considerations, it would be difficult to prevent evasion of the provisions in such a bill discriminating between persons induced to emigrate in order to work on estates in the West Indies, and such free emigrants as have in the past gone in considerable numbers from the Punjab to Canada, South America, and the Far East, often in the hope of obtaining employment as manual labourers. The question requires very careful examination, and I trust that Your Excellency's Government will consider it fully. There is the further point to be borne in mind that you may be asked to modify the present system under which labour emigration to Ceylon and Malaya is free from any legal restriction or supervision. While I can understand your reluctance to undertake special legislation that could be represented as framed merely in the interests of Fiji, I greatly doubt whether you will not in the obvious interests of India find it necessary to deal afresh by legislation with the whole system of labour emigration. If and when free assisted emigration is opened, you will find it necessary to possess the penal powers conferred by the present Act in order to deal with possible malpractices by emigration agents in India.

12. It is obvious that the interests, agricultural and industrial, chiefly represented in the Legislative Councils, will not be anxious to see inducements held out to Indian labourers to leave the country. The passage from Lord Hardinge's speech quoted in the 9th paragraph of your letter appears somewhat to over-rate the actual mobility of labour within India. The option of migration to the jute areas of Eastern Bengal for part of the year, especially if it involves the expense of transporting his family, has not, I should suppose, presented itself with marked force to the labourer in remote parts of Madras. Temporary emigration to Malaya or Ceylon is far easier. But the local landholder, who has had a supply of labour available at low wages, is probably as reluctant to see labourers leave his district for Malaya or Eastern Bengal as for the West Indies. He has not been allowed hitherto to veto their emigration, but the feeling aroused by highly coloured accounts of the condition of Indians in distant colonies has produced objections based on philanthropic grounds which coincide somewhat closely with certain private economic interests. It is admitted that the labourer has the right to leave his district, and even to leave India, if he thinks that he can better his condition, but it is argued that emigration to distant colonies involves his degradation. I do not see that such a result necessarily follows under a carefully guarded system of colonization. As regards the past, the arguments appear to be based on reports about Fiji, and it is not clear why they should be held applicable to Trinidad or British Guiana.

13. I am not concerned to give an artificial stimulus to emigration from India, and the scheme now offered limits the functions of the Indian authorities to the supervision and inspection necessary to prevent abuses.

14. I now pass to the scheme itself. Its cardinal feature is the prominence given to provisions for encouraging the settlement of Indians in these colonies. The principle that the object of the indentured system should be "permanent colonisation, not the introduction of labour, much less of cheap labour" was enunciated by Lord Crewe in his Despatch to the Government of India, No. 83, Public of 17th May 1912, and was reiterated in his later Despatch No. 3, Public, dated 3rd January 1913. The Conference has adopted Lord Crewe's "main principle" as the guiding principle of its new scheme of free emigration, and has coupled with it terms of repatriation intended to provide liberally for the case of an immigrant who for any reason may desire to return to India and prefer not to take advantage of the facilities offered him for settling in the colony. While the emigrant who wishes merely to stay a short time in the colony can freely utilise the new arrangements, the Conference was convinced of the greater importance of encouraging the emigration of permanent settlers. The cost of the introduction of each emigrant will be increased greatly under the new scheme; and while the colonies are prepared to pay this price for permanent settlers they would find it financially impossible to continue to pay it for the temporary labourer. The Conference there had advisedly introduced into the new scheme no special provisions to attract casual labour, and believes that the attractions offered will induce most immigrants of this class eventually to settle in the colony.

15. The scheme contemplates that on his first arrival the emigrant will undertake work for a "probationary" period under selected employers. All experience has shown that when an Indian first lands in a colony he is quite unfit to enter immediately upon the life of a settler. He requires to learn colonial ways of life and work and colonial methods of agriculture. It may even be that through the change in climatic conditions he may develop symptoms of ill-health or of disease requiring medical treatment which if left to himself he would never be in a position to obtain. A "probation" of six months is therefore provided under selected employers in selected, mainly agricultural, industries.

16. The Protector of Immigrants will select for each immigrant his first employer, and will no doubt be guided in his selection by each man's individual circumstances, and particularly by such a fact as that he already has friends or relations on any particular estate. After the first six months the immigrant will be perfectly free to move from one employer to another at a month's notice, and even during the first six months he can

always be transferred by the Protector to another employer should the Protector see reason to move him. During this probationary period the immigrant will learn how to work; he will learn colonial methods of agriculture; he will live under proper medical supervision and in healthy houses and surroundings; he will receive free rations for his wife and family in certain conditions; and in return he will provide voluntarily the labour upon which the prosperity of the colony depends. This part of the scheme appears to me to be essential in the interests of the immigrant during the early period of his residence in a new country.

17. The Conference entirely agreed with the conclusion stated in paragraph 15 of Your Excellency's Despatch of the 23rd March, that it was essential that all the expenses connected with the introduction of the immigrant should be borne by a common fund. Its proposal complies with this principle, but it found it difficult to lay down precisely the method by which the common fund should be raised. The objection that any rate levied from the employer operated indirectly to handicap the immigrant in competition with other labour was fully recognised. It has been sought to reduce this handicap as far as possible by limiting to the immigrant's own lifetime or to a period of years the time during which an employer would be liable to pay the contribution. Three alternatives have been proposed. It will be for the colonies to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of each and decide which they will adopt.

18. As the immigrant will be entirely free to choose his employers it is essential in his own interests that the Colonial Government should have power to decide who may and who may not employ him. This is secured by the provision that suitable persons will be entered in a Register of approved employers by the Protector of Immigrants, and that any person not so entered who employs an Indian during his first three years of residence will be liable to prosecution. At the same time, in order to make this provision as little restrictive as possible of the area within which an immigrant may seek employment, the only qualification required for obtaining entry in the Register will be that the employer can provide conditions of employment and living which the Protector considers satisfactory. It is felt that during the early years of the colonist in a new country this provision will be an advantage as guaranteeing for the worker protection somewhat analogous to that provided by the Factory Acts in this country. After three years, when the colonist has become acquainted with the conditions of his new home, it will no longer be necessary.

19. The Conference has laid down in outline a settlement scheme which contemplates that one department of the Government in each colony will be responsible for helping the immigrant in every way to settle upon the land should he after at least three years' experience of life in the colony decide to do so. The conditions of grant and other details could necessarily only be stated in very general terms, but the Conference attached the greatest importance to a properly regulated settlement scheme to facilitate the settlement of Indians on the land, and hoped by stipulating that a definite department should undertake this task, that a serious attempt will be made in each colony to systematise settlement and to remove needlessly obstructive regulations wherever they exist. The Conference believed that this was the most vitally important of all its proposals, and that if worked in the spirit in which it has been drawn up, it will have far-reaching consequences not merely in securing the happiness and prosperity of the Indian immigrants, but in developing the natural resources of the colonies and enabling them to take a more important position in the Empire. If Your Excellency's Government so desire, I shall be glad to confer with the Secretary of State for the Colonies as to the more detailed arrangements that it will be necessary to make for the development of land settlement in the colonies concerned.

20. That the above belief is well founded has already been amply proved by the condition of those colonies where the settlement of Indians has made most progress. And if it can once be realised in India what an extremely important part the domiciled Indian community already plays in such colonies as Mauritius and Trinidad, and may equally play in the future in the other colonies also, there can hardly be room for doubt that the objections to emigration raised by Indian public opinion upon the grounds that these representatives of India come before the world as bondsmen and slaves will speedily disappear, now that the objectionable feature of the indenture has been removed and the emigrant goes as a free man under one of the most liberal schemes of emigration that has ever been devised in any country.

21. On the other hand, to meet cases where the immigrant may decide that a colonial life does not suit him and wishes to return to India, the Conference has agreed upon generous terms of repatriation which mark a distinct advance upon the terms at present prevailing, especially upon those for the West Indies where only a half passage is granted after 10 years. The terms proposed by Your Excellency in your letter of the 23rd March last received most careful consideration, but the Conference found itself unable to accept them. After discussing the question from every point of view, it came to the conclusion that to lay down such very short periods as qualifying for assisted and free passages would in fact be a grave error which might seriously imperil the success of the whole scheme. The Conference was deeply impressed by the consideration that after one year's residence, and indeed to some extent even after three years' residence, the immigrant will hardly have acquired sufficient knowledge of the prospects offered by life in the colony to resist the immediate inducement of a return to India, even though his return before he has been able to make appreciable savings involves poverty. The opportunity of returning would come at the most critical period of an immigrant's residence, and there can be little doubt that many good colonists would be lost, and many emigrants debarred from the prospect of a prosperous career, by an offer

of too speedy repatriation. Short periods for repatriation would in fact be inconsistent with the principle that a sound immigration system should have for its object permanent colonisation, not merely the introduction of temporary labour. Indeed, on the ground of the probable enormous cost, the Colonial Office was quite unable to agree to such short periods for repatriation, and to have insisted upon them as you proposed would have created an impossible situation for which the India Office representatives could see no justification in principle. A system under which emigration means merely the transit of labourers to a distant country and their speedy return before they have had any real opportunity of even material benefit, seems to me open to grave objections and certainly detrimental to the emigrants' self-respect. Indians would, it is true, have ceased to bear the stigma of indenture, but the position of a migratory labourer is not one that inspires respect. The terms now conceded by the Colonial Office are far more liberal than those at present in force, and when it is remembered that the whole trend of policy in recent years has been to curtail the grant of repatriation, the terms now proposed by the Conference must be considered the most satisfactory that could be expected.

22. The report makes it clear that the old indentured system is abolished. Future emigrants will be entirely free to work for whom they please, subject to a six months' probationary period and subsequently to a month's notice of leaving. Provision is made at the same time that all existing indentures shall be cancelled, and terms of repatriation have been drawn up for labourers whose indentures are thus cancelled. These terms necessarily could not be quite so generous as those for future immigrants. Persons who emigrated under the old terms definitely accepted them and cannot reasonably expect to be placed in exactly the same position as regards repatriation as persons coming under the new terms; but at least none obtain worse conditions, and some obtain very much better conditions, than under the indentured system, while all alike receive the great concession of the cancellation of their indentures and participation in the settlement scheme.

23. The difficult sex problem received close attention. In framing its recommendations the Conference had always before it the evils brought to light in the past and endeavoured to guard against their recurrence. One of the conditions laid down in your letter is that a proper sex proportion should be maintained, and from the moral standpoint the most essential condition for the acceptance of any scheme undoubtedly is that it shall secure this. But definite measures devised to attain this end have not in the past been successful. The attempt, by fixing a definite proportion of women to men, to prevent inequality of the sexes has been proved by experience a failure. It was perhaps hardly realised how difficult it must be under the conditions of early marriage prevailing in India to secure that adult single women of respectable antecedents should take part in emigration, and in practice the chief result of the rule was to force recruiters to seek out women who were either of bad repute, or were involved in domestic troubles, to make up the required proportion. The Conference has not only advisedly refrained from repeating this provision, but it has also prohibited the assisting of unprotected women to emigrate. It was, after close consideration, found impossible to introduce any provision that single men should only be assisted to emigrate in strict proportion to the number of families emigrating. It was feared that a provision of this kind would be evaded by underhand methods, difficult of detection, and possibly giving rise to further abuses, while such a provision would make it difficult for men to emigrate with the idea of sending for their families later if they desired to settle permanently in the colony.

24. The Conference believed very strongly that no artificial rules of this kind will remedy the disproportion of the sexes without creating as in the past further evils, and that the only satisfactory solution of this problem lies in encouraging in every possible way the emigration of families. The greatest emphasis has therefore been laid upon the necessity for encouraging the emigration of married couples with children, and particularly with young marriageable daughters who may become in the colonies the wives of other immigrants. To encourage families to emigrate provision has been made for the grant of free rations to children during their first year of residence, and it has been declared that non-working dependents will not be rejected merely on account of old age or because they are physically unfit for work. But here again no definite rules can be laid down, and the attainment of the object in view will depend mainly upon the action of the controlling staff who must show their subordinates in every possible way that they regard success in this respect as of the utmost importance.

25. The proposals regarding the emigration staff in India follow mainly the lines of the present organization, but the unsatisfactory bonus system has been abolished as the method of payment of the "emigration agent," though the possibility of small extra grants of money to reward meritorious work during the year has not been overlooked. A grade of Inspectors between the Emigration Commissioner and the emigration agents is provided for in cases where the agents are too numerous or too scattered for the Commissioner to supervise them properly alone. The Conference felt that there already existed in the District Magistrate and his local subordinates a sufficient local inspecting agency, and it did not see that any good purpose would be served by a formal proposal to increase the number of inspecting agencies; but it will be always open to you to set up any further inspecting machinery that may seem to be required.

26. The Conference discussed the question of confining emigration to particular areas in India, as proposed in your letter, but did not see its way to make precise provision for this, though the advantage of obtaining an immigrant population homogeneous in language

and customs was fully recognized by the Colonial Office representatives. While it seems probable that emigrants will in the future be attracted chiefly from Madras, the Conference did not desire to isolate the Hindustani communities now in the colonies by recommending an arbitrary restriction. In regard to depôts the proposals provide that both the district and the central depôts shall be perfectly open, and that emigrants shall be under no restraint whatever while staying in them. Your suggestion that non-officials should be appointed as visitors to depôts was willingly agreed to by the representatives of the Colonial Office.

27. The social and political conditions of emigrants in the colonies engaged the attention of the Conference, and proposals have been framed on the subject of education, marriage and divorce, and political rights. Education, as the Conference points out, is already widely diffused in the West Indies and the same position is being reached in Fiji. The proposals as to registration of marriage mark a distinct advance upon the present law and will, it is hoped, provide immigrants with an easy method of legalising marriages performed according to their own customs, while the proposals as to divorce are intended to restrict indiscriminate divorces and yet provide a simple method of legalising such as cannot be avoided. On the question of representation in the Fiji Legislative Council, the Fiji Government have already made a valuable political concession, and are prepared to consider the possibility of placing Indians on the same terms as Europeans.

28. This summary of the recommendations of the Conference is not exhaustive, but points not discussed above, such as the suggestion that Indian surgeons might be employed on emigrant ships, seem to require no explanation. I am confident that Your Excellency's Government will accord the scheme your careful and unbiassed consideration, and that you will not fail to view it in connection with the wider Imperial aspect already alluded to by me. I would invite your special attention to the enclosed letter* in which the Secretary of State for the Colonies

* 26th July.

discusses the Report of the Conference.

29. The recommendation as to periodical visits by persons nominated by the Government of India was included because of the desire of the Colonial Office to give all possible facilities for watching the welfare of the emigrants; but it will, of course, be for the Government of India to decide as to the despatch of their representatives.

30. As regards emigration to Dutch and French colonies, I am in correspondence with the Foreign Office on the question of procedure. I agree that the revival of actual emigration to the French colonies is impossible; but, taking certain other considerations into account, I am not at present convinced that the formal determination of the Convention of 1861 is desirable.

31. The position as regards Surinam is different, but you will agree as to the impossibility, if the Netherlands Government should desire to import free immigrants under a new system, of allowing emigration to foreign territory until the economic needs of British colonies are fully met. Apart from this, the new scheme of colonisation and land settlement could not well be applied or enforced in foreign territory. It therefore seems unlikely that it could in any case be extended to Surinam.

32. I desire to express my appreciation of the help given to the Conference by the extensive knowledge and willing industry of Mr. Marjoribanks, Indian Civil Service, and Lieutenant-Colonel Kennedy, C.I.E., and to inform you that in Mr. R. H. Ellis, Indian Civil Service, the Conference found a most competent and energetic secretary. I have already expressed my regret that Sir James Meston and Sir Satyendra Sinha could take part only in informal preliminary discussion, but I know that my predecessor was able to take advantage of their presence in this country in putting before the Secretary of State for the Colonies the Indian point of view, and that their expression of opinion produced a marked effect.

ENCLOSURE.

Colonial Office to India Office.

No. 35794.

Downing Street,
26th July 1917.

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Long to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant enclosing the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Assisted Emigration from India to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji.

2. Mr. Long notes that the Report recommends to the Government of India and to the Governments of the Colonies concerned the establishment in future of a scheme of aided colonisation which would be entirely free. He would welcome the abolition of the existing system of indentured emigration and all the features of that system, whether social or political, which have given rise to so much adverse criticism in India and have been regarded as repugnant to Indian national self-consciousness; and he is aware that the representatives of the industries concerned take the same view. He desires to place on record the fact that before the

expression of feeling in India became so pronounced the Colonies had shown every disposition to meet Indian opinion in the matter so far as it is possible to do so.

3. In particular I am to point out that the Colonies concerned are anxious to afford Indian immigrants exactly the same legal, political and religious rights, privileges and duties as are afforded to the other inhabitants of whatever race. They wish to add sufficient material advantages to attract a supply of labour sufficient to maintain their industries and to furnish trained Colonists; but it is impossible to increase these advantages beyond a point which the industries can bear; and I am to express Mr. Long's opinion that these offered under the proposed scheme approach, if indeed in some cases they do not exceed, the limit of expenditure which, on any reasonable assumption of prices, the greater part of the staple industries, especially sugar, can afford.

4. The encouragement of the emigration of whole families, which is in itself a desirable feature of the scheme, will make the proportion of passages to working emigrants higher than under the existing system, especially as the women will be under no obligation to work and non-working dependants are not to be rejected medically merely on the ground of physical incapacity or the score of age. Further, the substitution for the present system of five years' labour under indenture, of a period of three years' free work under an approved employer followed by liberal provisions for settling on the land will in all probability necessitate the introduction of a larger number of labourers annually if an equivalent labour force is to be maintained. Also the experience of Assam points to the aggregate productivity of the labour force being reduced by the provision of attractions such as the extra garden ground and allotments contemplated by the proposed scheme. Mr. Long would emphasize that the effect of these different proposals will be cumulative and they will thus greatly increase the cost of introduction. In addition, the proposals for improved housing, for the issue of free rations to children and to pregnant and nursing women for a minimum wage based on the cost of living and other minor concessions will all involve additional expenditure.

5. An equally important factor which again is cumulative in its effect is the fact that the cost of passages will be much higher after the war. It is impossible to give an accurate forecast of the amount or duration of the increase, but enquiries that have been made point to the probability that the actual contract price for passengers will be for some years as much as 100 per cent. higher than the minimum pre-war figure. The serious effect of this increase will be appreciated when it is stated that the cost of passages at the cheapest rate to British Guiana had by 1916 already risen to 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. as compared with 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. 12s. 6d., the cost of passages to the Colony before the war, and the rate to Fiji had increased from 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. under a contract made in 1913 to 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. under a special contract made for the year 1917.

6. The higher cost of passages will for some years add very considerably to the expenses of repatriation, which will also be affected by the increase in the assistance to be given for return passages, by the shorter period of residence after which such assistance will be forthcoming, and by the greater number of introductions and consequently of repatriations. Experience alone can determine how far these factors will be offset by the numbers of immigrants induced to stay in the Colony by the local land settlement schemes.

7. Mr. Long does not put forward the increased expense as a reason for rejecting or modifying those provisions of the scheme from which it arises. Indeed he welcomes those provisions on their merits. But as the question of cost is not one on which the Government of India can easily obtain first-hand information, he thinks it well to bring to their notice an aspect of the scheme which might otherwise escape consideration. It is for this reason that he has felt it right to call attention to the gravity of the financial aspect of the problem since, if the burden imposed on the industries is too heavy, the effect will be widespread, particularly in the sugar industry. Many natives of India are already operating as sugar planters, and the proportion of cane produced by Indians increases yearly. The failure of the staple industries of the Colonies concerned would most seriously affect the fortunes of the Indian settlers, now by far the most numerous section of the Indian communities concerned.

Ordered that a copy of the above Resolution be forwarded to all Local Governments and Administrations, in continuation of Resolution No. 10294, dated the 1st September 1917, and that it be published in the supplement to the *Gazette of India*.

A. A. [Signature]
Secretary to the Government of India.

12

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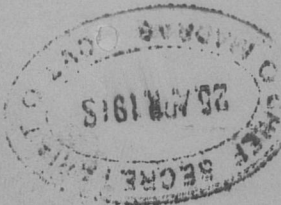
Emigration

From the G. & S. Dept of Commerce
and Industry No 3691-D,
to the 23-3-18

For the U.S.

The resolution may be
recorded and republished in the
Port St George Gazette. A copy may
also be formally communicated to
Mr Harpibanks with reference to
the appreciative remarks contained
in para 32 of the Secretary of State's
Despatch No 117 to the 21.9.17. A copy
of the resolution has been put up
in the main file on the subject.
A draft order is submitted for
approval.

16CF



20.4.18.
Pub is
22.4.

Mr. L. H. W.

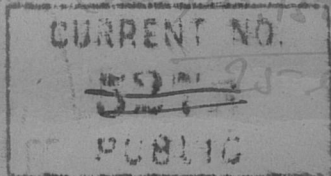
Para 32 of the Sec of State's
despatch should be read in Pub

24/4/18

Pub 709

Public Dept

It is submitted that the



RD 25/4/18

1090

* Mr. Harjorbanks
Mr. R. H. Ellis.

13
remarks made by the S. of S.
for India in para 32 of his
despatch on p. 16 of C.F. may be
noted in the I. C. & personal
Register; and the file
may be returned to Home
(Mis) Mr. Home (Mis) dept may be
requested to communicate a copy of the
(H.S.) 20. 10 this kept for record
25/4/18

I think these commendations should
be formally communicated both to
Mr. Harjorbanks & to Mr. Ellis & the
most convenient way of doing so will
be to add a para 3 to the
draft: - "The Govt. note with pleasure
the commendation bestowed on — in —
A copy of the 20. is then communicated to
Public a note will be made in the
L.C.S. Reg.?"

26.4.18

Pub no: 1090-1
26.4.18

What is CR J.D. Home (Mis) is
24.18

Redy u.



For the U.S.

Home dept
(Mis)

The addition of para

3 to the draft order suggested by Public has been made which is submitted for approval.

29.4.18
Reed
29.4.18

S. L. 8.

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H.M.

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6/5/18

~~Sectt.~~ II.10 (b)—1-17

Home DEPARTMENT.

Emigration - distant Colonies

— 15 (Mis)

Directing the republication of the resolution
of the G. Z. I., Dept of Commerce and Industry), No 3691-D,
of the 23. 3. 18 publishing certain papers regarding
labour emigration to distant Crown Colonies

READ AGAIN G.O. No., dated 191

” ” ” ” ” 191

READ ALSO:—

C. No. 1327A, From the G.I. Sept 4, No. , dated , 191

Commerce and Industry

No. 3691-D, 2nd the 23rd 1918.

" " , " , " 191

ORDER

No. 422, dated 6.5. 1918

Mi

Recorded

2 The resolution will
be republished in the Fort
St George Gazette.

74
20.4.18.

Pder.
22.4.18

22.4.18
3 The Govt note with
pleasure the commendations
bestowed on Messrs Hayfinbanks
and Ellis in para 32
(10 do)

(Add) and Ellis in para 32
of ^{the} despatch from the
Secretary of State for India to
the G of I, No 117 - (Public), & the
21. 9. 17.

72
29.4.18 29.4.18

Resolutions
with Jones
9.5.08

To The S. G. P for publication
of the resolution in
the Gazette.

To N. E. Maymorbanks Esq
R. H. Ellis Esq I.C.S. I.C.S.
Copy to the Public Depn

162

U.S.

The Resolution being
an important one it should
perhaps be circulated
to H.M. Orders are
requested

Paer
23/4/18

S.

This is all in
the big file so I
don't think it
necessary to circulate

h
23 u.s.

When given for copying

When copied 191

When examined

When signed

READ AGAIN G.O. No.
191

DATED

CURRENT No.

ENCLOSURES TO C. No.

ORDER OF GOVERNMENT

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LETTER OF GOVERNMENT

STATEMENT WITH DITTO.

PAPERS NOT FILED UP, BRING MEANT FOR DISPATCH
IN ORIGINAL.

N.B.—

- A = Copy in full.
- B = Not to be copied.
- F = Copy abstract only.
- Q = Copy heading only.

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