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Government of Madras

HOME DEPARTMENT (MISCELLANEOUS)

-86

G.O. No. 585, 5th August 1918

Emigration—Distant Colonies.

Directing the despatch of a reply to the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, furnishing the views of this Government on the scheme of the inter-departmental conference for a new assisted system of emigration to distant colonies.

GENERAL.

1,000—16-7-18.

BACK PAPERS.

G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.	G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.

FURTHER PAPERS.

G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.	G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.

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READ—the following papers :—

I

Resolution of the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, No. 10294, dated Simla, the 1st September 1917.

The following Report of the Inter-Departmental Conference recently held in London to consider proposals for a new assisted system of emigration to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji is published for public information and criticism. The Government of India have not yet considered the report and reserve judgment on all the points raised in it.

The Secretary of State has desired that it should be made known that His Majesty's Government in agreement with the Government of India have decided that indentured emigration shall not be re-opened. They also consider that no free emigrants can be introduced into any Colony until all Indian immigrants already there have been released from existing indentures.

ENCLOSURES.

REPORT OF THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL CONFERENCE ON ASSISTED EMIGRATION FROM INDIA TO BRITISH GUIANA, TRINIDAD, JAMAICA AND FIJI.

It was decided towards the close of 1915 to hold an Inter-Departmental Conference to consider the questions raised by the Government of India in their despatch on Emigration (No. 41 of 1915, dated 15th October 1915). The Colonial Office wished first to consult the various Colonies concerned, and in order to enable them to do so, the Conference was tentatively fixed for the autumn of 1916. But meanwhile, at the instance of the Government of India, the Government of Madras had deputed an official and a non-official to visit Ceylon and Malaya, and to investigate the conditions of emigration to those countries. It was thought desirable that these gentlemen should complete their enquiries before the Conference was held. This necessitated the postponement of the Conference till May 1917.

2. The Government of India nominated as its representatives at the Conference Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha, both of whom had however to return to India before the Conference could meet formally. It is greatly to be regretted that, in consequence, they were not able to take any part in the deliberations, though they had been able to discuss the question informally with the two Secretaries of State.

3. The Conference was purely official in composition and did not summon witnesses. The following members of the respective Secretaries of State's Establishments attended :—

Lord Islington, G.C.M., D.S.O. (*Chairman*).	G. E. A. Grindle, Esq. C.M.G.
Sir A. H. Steel Maitland, *Bt.*, M.P.	J. F. N. Green, Esq. and
M. C. Seton, Esq., C.B.	T. C. Macnaghten, Esq.

4. The Conference held some informal meetings during May to consider preliminaries and clear the way for the formal discussion. Ten formal meetings have been held, at the earlier of which Mr. James McNeill, Indian Civil Service, retired, was able to give the Conference valuable information regarding Indian labourers in the Colonies, while at the later meetings the Conference had the benefit of the knowledge possessed by Major deBoissiere, Protector of Immigrants, Trinidad. Lieut.-Col. W. M. Kennedy, C.I.E., President of the Assam Labour Board, and Mr. N. E. Majroribanks, Indian Civil Service, who had been deputed by the Government of India to furnish the Conference with any information that might be required, attended all the meetings. The Conference desires to express its great obligation to all these gentlemen for the valuable advice and assistance which it received from them.

5. The following scheme of assisted emigration combined with colonization for Indians in these Colonies was agreed to as one that could be recommended to the Government of India and the Colonial Governments for adoption :—

A scheme of aided colonization for Indians in British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji.

I.—The new system.

The new system will be entirely free, and the indentured system together with the titles and characteristics attaching to it will be abolished. The system to be followed in future will be one of aided colonization, and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain Colonies after a probationary period of employment in those Colonies to train and fit them for life and work there, and at the same time to afford a supply of the labour essential to the well-being of the Colonies themselves.

The immigrant will as at present arrive in the Colony entirely free of debt and of any financial liability connected with the cost of his introduction into the Colony. He will be in no way restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months. He will, however, be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries by the offer, should he do so, of numerous and important benefits subsequently as a colonist.

II.—Method of financing the scheme.

In order that no employer shall be able to claim that he had paid the expenses of introduction of any particular immigrant, such expenses will be borne by the Government of each Colony concerned out of a common fund raised by rateable contributions from the employers either (i) of all Indian immigrants other than those locally born, or (2) of an immigrant during the first three years of his residence, or (3) during the period laid down as necessary to qualify him for a free return passage.

III.—Land Settlement.

Steps will be taken to ensure that land may be made available at once in the simplest and cheapest manner that can be devised for all immigrants who desire it and who have completed a qualifying period of three years' employment under employers on the Register. To secure this end a Department in each Colony will be responsible for the provision of sufficient land to meet all bona fide applications, for rendering it suitable for agriculture by adequate clearing, irrigation and drainage, where this is considered necessary by the Department, and for the distribution of it among applicants, and the due control of their management of it subsequently. It will be the duty of this Department to advise immigrants on questions relating to the acquisition of land, to explain fully to them the conditions upon which land can be obtained and to assist them in every possible way to obtain it.

In Fiji, these objects will probably be attained by the Land Trust Committee instituted under Ordinance No. 15 of 1916. In British Guiana the Crown lands are in places not cultivable except after a larger expenditure on irrigation and drainage than the individual immigrant can afford to incur. In Jamaica, it is understood that suitable Crown land is scarce, and land for the settlement of Indians can only be provided by purchase from private owners. In Trinidad, settlement is retarded by the restrictive conditions that the occupancy price must be paid in one lump sum and that the minimum area that can be granted shall be five acres. It will be the business of the responsible Department in each Colony to remove all obstacles of this kind to the free settlement of Indians upon the land.

Land not exceeding five acres in extent will be granted to an immigrant after three years' employment under employers on the Register subject to a reasonable annual rent in the case of leaseholds. The rent will vary according to the fertility and position of the land and will be subject to revision every 30 years. For ten years after the grant the immigrant will be prohibited from alienating or encumbering his right in the land except with the sanction of the responsible Department, and that Department will have power further to resume any land not brought under cultivation within two years of the grant.

IV.—Conditions of Employment.

(1) Terms of engagement.

An employer specially selected as being able to provide conditions of employment and living which the Governor in Council may deem to be adequate will be chosen by the Protector of Immigrants for each immigrant on arrival. The immigrant will be required to remain with this employer for six months, the Protector of Immigrants having power to sanction or require during that time a change of employment should he see reason to do so. After this first period of six months the immigrant will have perfect liberty to move from one employer to another upon one month's notice. At no time will the immigrant be under any indenture or any contract other than the above, and the relation between him and his employer will be purely that prevailing in the Colony between any master and servant. The immigrant can only be proceeded against for any breach of engagement by way of a civil suit in the ordinary course of law, and will be liable to no criminal penalties.

(2) Wages.

(*a*) A *minimum wage* will be fixed which will bear to the minimum wage at the time of Mr. McNeill's visit the same proportion that the cost of living when the wage is fixed bears to the cost of living then (when it was estimated at 3*s*. 6*d*. a week). This minimum wage will require revision every five years on the same proportional basis. In the calculation free rations to women and children granted in accordance with IV (3) will be excluded.

(*b*) All wages will be paid regularly and in full, *i.e.*, without deductions.

(3) Rations.

(*a*) For children—During the first 12 months after arrival in the Colony children under eleven years of age will be entitled to free rations on a scale to be determined by the Colonial Government; while children under five years of age will be given free milk rations during the whole time that their parents remain in the employment of an employer on the Register.

(*b*) For Pregnant and Nursing Women—Free rations will be issued for at least six months to pregnant and nursing women working under an employer on the Register.

(4) Housing.

The provision of married quarters, separate from the 'single' quarters, will be made compulsory upon all employers of more than 20 adult male Indian immigrants, and will be insisted upon as far as practicable in the case of all other employers on the Register.

(5) Grants of land.

Each adult male immigrant employed in an agricultural industry will be granted for his personal use and cultivation a garden plot of one-tenth acre, if he desires it, after six months' service. A larger plot, up to one-third acre, will be made available, wherever possible, to industrious workers in the nature of a reward.

(6) Medical treatment.

The existing regulations and provisions will continue in force, and will be applicable to immigrants under the new system. Under the present regulations, in addition to other medical care, hospitals, public or private, are provided at which immigrants are treated free of charge, either as inmates or out-patients.

V.—The Employer.

All persons desirous of employing assisted immigrants during their first three years of residence will be required to apply to the Protector of Immigrants, and if the conditions of employment and living which they offer are found after enquiry to be suitable, and in accordance with the standard required, the Protector will place them on the Register of Approved Employers. An approved employer will be any employer who is deemed qualified by the Governor in Council to employ an immigrant under proper conditions of wages, labour, medical attendance and housing, and who has received a licence to employ and has paid for it. Any employer not fulfilling the above conditions, found employing an immigrant, will be liable to a fine on prosecution in a criminal court at the instance of the Protector of Immigrants.

VI.—The Emigration staff and Supervising Agency.

(1) *A Protector of Emigrants* appointed by the Local Government in India, to supervise Emigration in the Province.

(2) *An Emigration Commissioner* appointed by the Colonial Governments with the approval of the Local Government in India, who will be a Colonial Civil Service Official.

(3) *Inspectors of Emigration.*—Officers, who may be Indians, shall, if necessary, be appointed for this purpose. They shall be under the Emigration Commissioner, and shall supervise the work of emigration in the villages. They shall be men of standing and on a graded scale of pay. The actual area of each Inspector's charge will be settled by the Colonial Government subject to the approval of the Local Government in India.

(4) *Emigration Agents* licensed by the Emigration Commissioner, the licences being countersigned by the magistrate of the district in which the agent works and also by the Protector of Emigrants. Emigration agents will be paid a fixed salary with possibly in addition small money grants at the end of the year to reward meritorious work. Men who have actually worked in the Colonies will be preferred as Emigration Agents, provided that the Emigration Commissioner certifies their character and respectability.

(5) (In each Colony). A *Protector of Immigrants*, a colonial official with a good knowledge of the principal Indian languages used by immigrants and of their customs.

(6) An official of standing from India or a non-official will be deputed every three years by the Government of India to visit the Colonies and report upon the conditions prevailing.

VII.—Depots.

In each district from which assisted emigration proceeds there will be a conveniently situated depot where emigrants will be assembled by the agents and passed as suitable by the Inspectors. The depots will be freely open to the emigrants and their friends and in them emigrants will be under no restraint. Depots will be open to inspection at any time by the District Magistrate or any Magistrate deputed by him, but the production of emigrants before a Magistrate in India will not be required. Non-official gentlemen of standing in the district will be appointed visitors to each depot.

From these District Depots emigrants will be sent down to a Central Depot, where they will be examined medically and passed by the Emigration Commissioner as suitable. Non-official gentlemen will be appointed visitors to these depots also.

The Emigration Commissioner will be responsible for the Central Depots and also for the District Depots which will be in charge of officers to be selected by him.

VIII.—Conditions of Emigration.

(1) While it is considered impracticable to insist upon any hard and fast proportion of single men to families, the emigration of whole families will be encouraged, and particularly of families containing young unmarried girls, but persons below the age of 18 will be assisted to emigrate only when accompanied by their parents or guardians. To discourage the emigration of women of an undesirable class, women unaccompanied by their families will not be assisted, and the rule requiring a certain proportion of women to men will be abolished.

(2) The non-working dependants of an immigrant will not be rejected medically merely on the ground that they are physically incapable of work or on the score of age.

(3) A written statement shall be given to each intending emigrant and explained to him, stating the terms of his employment and the conditions of life in the Colony to which he proposes to emigrate.

(4) Emigration from pilgrim centres will be prohibited during times of pilgrimage or festivals.

IX.—Surgeons on Emigrant Ships.

If the Government of India so desire, a proportion of the Surgeons employed on emigrant ships shall be Indians.

X.—Repatriation.

(1) Any immigrant wishing to return to India will be granted for himself and his dependants half the passage money after three years,' three-quarters after five years', and the whole after seven years' continuous residence in the Colony. But the acceptance of a grant of land under the special facilities outlined in paragraph III will be held *ipso facto* to extinguish all claim to a free or assisted return passage. By this it is not to be understood that the immigrant will at any particular period be required to make a choice between a return passage and a grant of land, but merely that the acceptance of a grant of land under the special conditions outlined above will be taken as extinguishing his right to a return passage.

(2) An immigrant who has availed himself of a free or assisted return passage under these conditions, should he return to the Colony, shall have no right to a second free or assisted return passage to India.

(3) Six months' previous notice must be given by any immigrant of his intention to claim a free or assisted passage.

(4) The Protector of Immigrants shall have the right, subject to approval by the Governor in Council, to grant at any time free return passage in full in cases where he deems repatriation desirable. This right will extend to the cases of immigrants whose claim to a return passage has been extinguished by the grant of land, and who may have been reduced subsequently to indigent circumstances.

XI.—Cancellation of Indentures and Repatriation of Indentured Labourers.

(1) No emigration will be permitted to take place under this scheme to any Colony until an ordinance is passed in that Colony providing for the cancellation of all existing indentures, such cancellation to take effect from the date when the first immigrants under the new scheme arrive in the Colony.

(2) All labourers who are at present under indenture or who after completing their period of indenture have not yet qualified under the existing rules for a free or assisted return passage, as the case may be, shall have the option of remaining under the existing terms as to repatriation or of coming under the new terms on the condition that in the latter case the first five years of service in the Colony shall be excluded in calculating the amount of service qualifying for a free or assisted passage.

XII.—Conditions in the Colonies.

(1) Marriage Law of Immigrants.

A marriage which in accordance with the religion or caste custom of the parties to it is valid and which is duly celebrated according to the rites of the particular religion or caste and is not repugnant to the marriage laws of the Colony shall be valid, provided it was registered before a Registrar within 15 days of its celebration by the person celebrating the marriage, or, in the case of castes whose customs do not require the presence of an official celebrant, by the parties to the marriage themselves.

Divorces duly pronounced according to the customs of the religion or caste to which the parties belong shall be held valid if registered.

(2) Educational Facilities.

Indian immigrants already enjoy the same facilities for primary education as are possessed by other inhabitants of the Colonies concerned. Education is universal in the West Indies. In Fiji recent legislation has been enacted in 1916, and further efforts will be made to reach the same standard there.

(3) Political Rights.

The Indian immigrant already acquires exactly the same political and municipal rights as any other inhabitant, except only that in Fiji he is specially represented on the Legislative Council by a nominated member instead of taking part in the elections by which European members are selected. The Government of Fiji will, if desired, consider the question of adapting the electoral system so as to include Indians on the same terms as Europeans.

6. Mr. Ellis, Secretary to the Conference, has saved the members much labour by his careful preparation of the business, and they wish to record their gratitude for his assistance.

India Office, Islington.
14*th July* 1917. Arthur Steel Maitland.

Ordered that a copy of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to all Local Governments and Administrations for such observations as they may desire to make.

C. E. Low,
Secretary to the Government of India.

II

Memorandum No. 3083-1, Home (Miscellaneous), dated 29th October 1917.

The accompanying copy of a Resolution of the Government of India in the Department of Commerce and Industry, No. 10294, dated the 1st September 1917, containing the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration from India to the West Indies and Fiji, is forwarded to

the Board of Revenue (Separate Revenue)
the Protector of Emigrants, Madras
N. E. Marjoribanks, Esq., I.C.S.,
the Right Rev. the Bishop of Madras

with the request that $\frac{\text{it}}{\text{he}}$ will furnish Government at an early date with such observations as $\frac{\text{it}}{\text{he}}$ may have to offer.

R. Ramachandra Rao,
Secretary to Government.

To the Board of Revenue (Separate Revenue).
,, the Protector of Emigrants.
,, N. E. Marjoribanks, Esq., I.C.S.
,, the Right Rev. the Bishop of Madras.

III

Letter—from the Ven'ble L. E. Cox, M.A., Archdeacon of Madras and Bishop's Chaplain.
To—the Chief Secretary to Government, Public (Ecclesiastical) Department.
Dated—Madras, the 22nd November 1917.
No.—3718 (Bishop's Office).

I have the honour by order of the Bishop to say that he acknowledges the receipt of Memorandum No. 3083-1, Home (Miscellaneous), dated 29th October last enclosing the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration from India, to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji. The Bishop thinks that the scheme described in the report is in the main advantageous to emigration from India but that there are certain points in it which need careful consideration.

It is not clear that in all the colonies land will be available for the immigrants after they have served for three years in agricultural industries as day labourers. It is stated under section III, paragraph 2, that there are obstacles to the proposed grants of land in three of the colonies and it seems uncertain whether the responsible departments in each colony will be able to remove these obstacles or not. The Bishop thinks that the scheme should not be sanctioned until definite provision has been already made for these grants of land.

2. The whole provision for land settlement may easily be rendered useless by the action of the departments in each colony. The action of the Government of Natal in imposing the poll tax on coolies after their period of indenture was over cannot be forgotten. The departments in these colonies may equally render the whole of this provision null and void by imposing prohibitive rents.

3. There is no provision in the scheme for preventing the notorious abuses which have always existed in connexion with any method of recruiting in India. Apparently the Inspectors of Emigration in India are to be appointed by the Colonial Government and not by the Government of India. There is no security that they will understand anything about village life in India or will know either the language or the customs of the people. In the same way the emigration agents will be licensed

not by the Local Government in India but by the Emigration Commissioner appointed by the Colonial Government. If they are paid as proposed in addition to their fixed salary " small money grants at the end of the year to reward meritorious work ", it is almost certain that many of the abuses of the old system of recruiting for indentured labour will be revived.

4. The condition that a grant of land extinguishes all claim to a free or assisted return passage seems unfair, if the immigrant is prohibited from alienating his right in the land for ten years. It may well happen that owing to sickness or bad seasons or the fact that he has been granted an inferior plot of land or is charged too high a rent he will be unable to make a living after two or three years. In that case, the Bishop thinks, he ought to be able to sell his right in the land, if he has forfeited his claim to a free passage.

5. The Bishop suggests that before any action is taken by the Government of India the report should be referred to a commission consisting partly of officials and partly of non-officials, both European and Indian, and he would also suggest that one or two missionaries from districts where recruiting has been carried on for indentured labour in the past should be put on the commission.

IV

Letter—from the Hon'ble Muhammad Aziz-ud-din Sahib Bahadur, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., I.S.O., Protector of Emigrants.
To—the Secretary to Government, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.
Dated—Madras, the 29th November 1917.
No.—D. Dis. 248.

With reference to Government Endorsement No. 3083-1, dated 29th October 1917, on Government of India resolution containing the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on a system of assisted emigration from India to the West Indies and Fiji, I have the honour to submit the following remarks.

2. The proposed system is an improvement over the existing one and is less open to objection by the public.

3. The report mentions that the emigrant (under the proposed system) will in no way be restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months. The emigrant may have the freedom to change his employer. But it seems improbable that another employer, similarly situated, will accept the services of the emigrant who may choose to forsake his previous employer. It is natural that common interests will make employers to come to an understanding in the matter and the choice of an employer will have no field for exercise. Service under one master being the only course open to the emigrant, some provision may be made for change of a master.

4. It is doubtful whether the conditions under which land could be acquired by emigrants will be a sufficient inducement for them to live for ever far away from their people. The result of the system may however be awaited.

5. It appears to me that the limiting of the period of continuous residence in the colony to five years instead of seven years as a condition for earning the full passage money for repatriation will act as a greater incentive to emigration. Correspondingly payments of half and three quarters of passage money respectively for three and four years' stay in the colony may also be allowed.

V

Proceedings of the Board of Revenue (Separate Revenue), R. Mis. No. 1960, dated 18th December 1917.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. Todhunter, I.C.S.,
Acting Third Member, Board of Revenue, and Commissioner of Salt, Abkāri and Separate Revenue.

The Board begs to submit the observations called for in Government Memorandum No. 3083-1, dated 29th October 1917, on the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration.

Speaking generally, the conditions proposed appear to contrast so favourably with those hitherto in force that it seems to the Board that the objections, if any, are likely to come from the colonies or from employees in India and Ceylon and that there are few objections that can be made with reason on behalf of the emigrant.

One general point may, however, be taken. It is believed that a part of the difficulties that have arisen in the past have had their origin in the indiscriminate recruiting of Indians of all classes and races for the same colony. It has been impossible for employers to learn all the languages of their employees, the communication of the latter with one another has been difficult and in such a mixed society the restrictions of caste and custom have been very much relaxed. It is too late now to redistribute the immigrants so as to allot all those of one language to a particular colony, but something might perhaps be done to prevent further admixture, for instance, by laying down that there shall be no recruiting for any colony of labour of a class that is not already there except with the prior permission of the Government of India.

The following remarks relate to particular paragraphs of the scheme :—

Part II—Method of Finance.—While Part VIII provides for the encouragement of the emigration of non-working dependants, Part II specifically refers to payment from the fund of the expenses of introduction of particular emigrants. It is no doubt the intention that the cost of introduction of non-working dependants should be borne by the fund and that the method of distributing the charge should be left for settlement by the colony concerned.

Part IV—Conditions of Employment.—While provision is made for notice to be given by the emigrant before quitting any employment, nothing is said about notice by the employer. It is presumed that he will have to give at least a month's notice also before sending an emigrant away. It is presumably for the colonies to consider the position of the employer saddled with the payment of an idle man and the maintenance of his children for six months or one month as the case may be and no remedy except the securing of a Civil Court decree against a pauper.

It is presumed that the right to a garden plot is to accrue after six months' continuous service under the same employer.

Part VI—Emigration Staff and Supervising Agency.—In B.P.R. No. 125, dated 20th January 1917, the Board dealing with a wider scheme suggested that a full-time officer should be appointed as Protector of Emigrants. There is no case for this under the present proposals, but there does appear to be distinct need for more co-ordination and it would be desirable that the functions should be entrusted to some officer who tours throughout the Presidency.

If particular colonies can be limited to particular recruiting areas, it would perhaps be desirable that the local limits of the inspectors should be laid out accordingly so that each will recruit for a particular colony.

As regards the agents, the difficulty will be to ensure that their remuneration is really limited to their fixed salary. Sundry expenses must be incurred in connexion with every recruitment, to free the recruit from debt, give him money for current expenses and to pay cost of transport to the depot. A bonus to the recruit himself is almost inevitable. These charges will have a tendency to conform to a common standard, and a percentage of the standard payment will stick to the fingers of the agent. It will be extremely difficult also to prevent his working through unauthorized assistants whom he will inevitably pay by results.

It is desirable that the District Magistrate's scrutiny and counter-signature of the agent's licences should be annual.

Part VII—Depots.—A minimum period of detention at District Depots should be prescribed so as to enable the relatives of runaways to trace them, and some provision should be made to ensure that each intending emigrant should be sent for this period to the depot of the district to which he belongs. It would be well for the written statement provided for under Part VIII, clause (3), to be given to the intending emigrant at this stage.

Part X—Repatriation.—Certain local officers suggest special provision for the repatriation of emigrants whose health breaks down before they have earned it and a reduction of the term of service which entitles an emigrant to repatriation. The former case is provided for by clause (4) and it seems hardly necessary to press for a reduction of the term in view of the generally favourable nature of the conditions.

It is presumed that the offer of land will be of a specific area, the merits of which the emigrant will have full opportunity of examining. Otherwise some provision for surrendering the land and reserving the right of repatriation seems to be desirable, since the immigrant cannot sell the land without sanction for ten years.

It is not clearly provided that the colonies will compulsorily repatriate people who are no more use to them, but it seems likely that that will be the effect of clause (4); in other words, that India will have to provide for the derelicts.

Part XI—Cancellation of Indentures and Repatriation of Indentured Labourers.—There seems a possibility of difficulty arising out of these provisions. Indentures are to be cancelled from date of arrival of the first free immigrants. The colonies will desire to secure a good supply of free immigrants before cancelling the indentures. It is not desirable that some of these should be kept for indefinite periods in depots while the rest are being collected. A provision for shipment within, say, three months of recruiting seems to be desirable.

The existing conditions of repatriation are understood to be much easier in some colonies than in others. The alternative of five years' service before an immigrant who is released from indenture can count his free service towards repatriation will be hard in the latter case. It would seem that the term should be reduced.

Part XII—Conditions in the Colonies.—The provisions regarding marriage need to be more specific. In the first place they appear to provide for the recognition only of marriages contracted in the colony and not for those contracted before emigration. In the second place, the proviso regarding marriages repugnant to the marriage laws of the colony, is liable to create difficulty. If, for instance, the law of the colony prescribes monogamy it should be made clear to emigrants in the statement furnished under Part VIII (3) that married men will not be allowed to marry again in the colony so long as they have wives alive whether there or in India. The legitimacy or otherwise in the colony of the children of the second wife of a man emigrating with two wives should also be made clear.

(True extract)

E. Graham,
Secretary.

To the Secretary to Government Home (Miscellaneous) Department.

VI

Letter—from N. E. Marjoribanks, Esq., I.C.S., Collector and District Magistrate, South Arcot.
To—the Secretary to Government, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.
Dated—Cuddalore, the 4th January 1918.

In reply to Memorandum No. 3083–1, dated 29th October 1917, I have the honour to submit the following remarks.

2. In the first place I must apologise for the delay in answering. I was expecting every mail to receive a packet of books and papers containing my notes on the subject of the Conference at the India Office which books and papers I had not brought with me but left to be sent by post and have only recently learnt that the packet has been lost by enemy action.

A copy of the printed minutes of the proceedings at the India Office Conference without the appendices is however available and this is enclosed for reference. I have the honour to request that it may be treated as confidential and returned to me when done with.

3. The prevailing considerations that guided the Conference were political, but I venture to think that the officers from India forwarded the interests of the emigrant labourer as far as they could.

4. The only important respects in which I venture not wholly to agree in recommendations of the Conference are set out below:—

(i) The root of any abuses there may be in the present system of indenture is the feeling of the individual employer that a particular labourer whose cost of immigration he has paid is or should be *his* labourer. The only way to remedy this would be, I think, to adopt the system of the Malay Peninsula where the whole cost of recruitment and immigration is borne from a general fund to which all employers of Indian labour contribute in proportion to the amount of Indian labour they employ—the labourers being at the same time free to leave any employer at a month's notice and take employment elsewhere.

I accordingly do not like the provisions in the Conference scheme for a register of approved employers and for an initial six months' term with some one employer (legally unenforceable except by the illusory remedy of a civil suit and therefore apt

to be illegally or extra-legally enforced). The provision of alternatives (2) and (3) for financing the scheme will, if the experience of the Straits Settlements be any guide, almost certainly lead to trouble.

(ii) The provisions for a minimum wage are not, I think, in the true interests of the immigrant. The tendency is for a prescribed minimum to become the normal or even the maximum.

(iii) The provisions prescribing rations for children and for pregnant and nursing women are also not consistent with a free system. Employers are certain to adopt these measures to attract free labour. If compulsory on all employers they tend to confirm the idea that the labourer 'belongs' to a particular employer and may fairly be prevented by means bordering on the illict from leaving him.

5. It is not intended to suggest that the scheme should necessarily be amended in these respects. As it stands it offers extremely liberal terms and many safeguards to intending emigrants and appears to meet all reasonable political criticisms and may, I think, be tried with confidence and amended in time as the result of experience.

VII

Memorandum of Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, Editor of the "Indian Emigrant."

It is suggested in the report of the Conference that the new scheme will be styled as one of aided colonization for Indians only so far as the four British colonies of British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji are concerned. A perusal of the report in its details does not warrant such a high sounding name and one would be inclined to call it more an Emigrant Colonization, which, while preserving some of the objectionable features of the indenture system, has gone only a step in advance in ensuring the settlement on land of labourers after a probationary period of three years' employment in agricultural work. Such a settlement is taking place even to-day without any active effort on the part of the Government. What is meant by assisted or aided colonization is that intending settlers are provided with free or reduced passages and money is advanced to them to start agricultural operations in the new country. This financial assistance is generally given, not as gifts but with the expectation of repayment, by Government and more often by philanthropic societies as the Salvation Army in England and by limited companies started for the purpose. In this country owing to the indifferent interest of the people in the subject, the burden of responsibility has fallen on the Government. It should not therefore be imagined that there is a general disinclination on the part of the people to better their fortunes in another part of the Empire, as the large volume of voluntary emigration to the Federated Malay States proves. It is more the defect in the entire system of emigration that has kept back thousands from taking advantage of it and it should therefore be carefully revised so as to afford greater facilities for the flow of labour and capital to the colonies.

The success or failure of any scheme of colonization depends on the objects aimed at and the view-point of the mother country. In the scheme of colonization of the British colonies by Indians, there are two divergent interests—one of the British capitalists and the other of the Indian public. Any scheme, therefore, which seeks to be one sided for preserving the interest of one at the expense of the other is bound to fail; the view-point therefore to be adopted is not the interest of England or India but of the Empire as a whole. The question of Indian colonization is therefore an Imperial problem.

The objects of the new system as set out in the report are (1) to encourage the settlement of Indians after a probationary period of three years, (2) to afford a supply of labour essential to the well-being of the colonies, it being assumed, I believe, in both cases that the class of immigrants to belong to pauper class of labourers.

One grave objection to the indenture system was that the sending out of ignorant and destitute labourers alone to distant colonies lowered the self-respect of the country to which the immigrants belonged and consequently brought national dishonour. This is due mainly to the behaviour of the lower orders of society and the impression they created on the foreigners, so much so that Indians in the West Indies are called even today coolies, however noble and enlightened they may be. This is inevitable even in the case of European emigration, just as we in India cannot judge of England truly by the kind of riff-raff that come out here as shop-assistants or estate superintendents, but only by self-respecting middle class men

who follow them bringing with them the noble traditions of British freedom and justice. There should therefore be always a sprinkling of a few at least of respectable people going out with the labouring classes. In other words emigration or colonization of people should be an entire transfer of the state of things as obtaining in the mother country. Settlers in new countries must be as varied in character and cosmopolitan in nature as in the mother country—a few priests, merchants, artisans and tradesmen and a few of the professional men as doctors, engineers, lawyers and others; and added to these above all the frame work of such social institutions as the settlers have been accustomed to in their native land should be thoroughly implanted. In this connexion, a quotation from a speech of Charles Buller, M.P., on systematic colonization delivered in the House of Commons on April 6, 1843, will not be out of place. He says: "If you wish colonies to be rendered generally useful to all classes in the mother country, if you wish them to be prosperous, to reflect back the civilization and habits and feelings of the parent stock and to be and long to remain integral parts of your Empire, care should be taken that society should be carried out in something of the form in which it is seen at home, that it should contain some at least of all the elements that go to make it up here, and that it should continue under those influences that are found effective for keeping us together in harmony. On such principles alone have the foundations of successful colonies been laid."

To illustrate the idea of what I mean, I may be permitted to state here that in one of the recent colonisation schemes dealing with Canada, the variety of people who took advantage of it included, amongst others, a veterinary surgeon, a coal merchant, two engineers, a Scotch gardener with a large family, a retired Indian Civil Servant, a first mate of the merchant service, a piano tuner, a Norfolk farmer and a Cambridge M.A. (From a letter published in the *Daily News*, October 27, 1910.)

In the proposed new scheme opportunities should be given for the settlement of middle class men of the type described above. If this facility is granted to middle class and business men to emigrate, the tendency to do the same will be greater among the lower classes also and the object of the colonies for getting more labour will be realized as it is one of the principles of sociology that the habits of the lower classes are based on those of the upper and it is they that stand as a model for all to follow. This important factor was thoroughly overlooked by the indentors of Indian labour to the colonies. The reason why emigration was so much discredited in India was due to the fact that colonies were intent mainly on the supply of labour irrespective of all other considerations and only destitute men were taken to work by questionable methods of recruitment and when they returned home broken down and crippled, being resourceless, they created a dread, a horror and general dislike to emigration in general. If therefore a sprinkling of high and middle class Indians should be permitted to go and settle with the labouring classes they would naturally see that these people do not go home in that deplorable state, but would take care of them being their own countrymen; and so if this suggestion is carried out, it will be very popular and highly acceptable.

The supply of labour.—As regards the supply of labour essential to the well-being of the colonies, the present scheme is in no way an improvement on the original. At first when indenture was introduced into the colonies about 1834, it will be found that immigrants were considered free citizens, free to enter into contract with any employer he liked, and in some colonies there was no other restriction except the statutory hiring of one month. A relic of this system is found to-day in the Malaya Labour Code and it does not consider valid any labourer entering into a contract for work for more than a month. To impose therefore conditions as six months' protection under a selected employer or a three years' agricultural work in the colonies a condition precedent to settlement is to bring back the bad old laws of modern indenture. If labour is to be attracted to the colonies, the system should be free both in letter and in spirit. Restrictions on personal liberty often tend people to revolt from them as freedom often makes people subject themselves voluntarily to control and bondage. It is in fact the theoretical aspect of British freedom and equality, however bureaucratic the Government may be, that makes Indians loyal and submissive, while German militarism would at once create revolt and revolution.

The suggestion that I would wish to bring forward is that labourers should be made free in every sense of the word; free to enter (i.e., introduced free without debt), work and settle down in the colony without any enforced probation. And side by side with the labouring classes there should be emigration of high and middle class men with capital and facilities granted to them for doing independent trade and business.

Finance.—The question of financing the scheme has been a problem. For its success the Wakefield system of colonization may be tried. In essence the scheme is this. The lands set apart for colonization, i.e, the Crown lands available are sold to the settlers at a moderate price per acre and the revenue so realized may be utilized for the free introduction of immigrants without any contribution made by the employers. At the outset only the initial cost will have to be borne by the Government. After the arrival of the immigrants any employer wishing to employ such labour may be levied a rate varying with the duration of employment of the immigrants. To those labourers who do not possess sufficient capital but yet desire to settle down in the colony a choice of a year or two's agricultural work may be given. This condition will not be found so exacting and irksome as the compulsory probation of three years under the new scheme.

Land settlement.—The subject of colonization aided or otherwise is closely connected with land settlement and the mode of that settlement exercises immense influence on the colonies and the Empire. It is pointed out in the report that scarcity exists in the crown lands for settlement in some of the colonies as Jamaica. Before organizing any scheme of settlement, the lands available for such settlement in each colony should be determined first, so that if immigration takes place there may be no glut of labour or over-immigration, and only three-fourths of the area available for settlement should be thrown open, the remaining one-fourth kept as reserve for the future settlements of the descendants of the colonists. In each colony an Indian Colonization Act should be passed setting apart the maximum land available for colonization either by purchase or by free grant to the intending settlers. This would enable the colonies to determine the maximum population it would hold on a decent scale. The Government of the colony should spend a portion of the revenue for agricultural improvements as drainage, irrigation, supply of seeds to cultivators, etc. Tenures should be under two kinds, ordinary and special. The ordinary tenure will be held out to those who possess capital and who purchase lands with rights of occupation and purchase or with renewable leases. Special tenures are for those (who have no capital but yet wish to settle down) who have completed two years' residence in the colony as labourers or otherwise, preference being of course given to the former class and they should be given financial assistance as advances for building, implements, seeds, etc., recoverable in 10, 15 or 20 years as the case may be, prohibiting the transfer of these lands until the whole amount is paid up. It must however be seen that labourers are able to save at least Rs. 75 a year during every year of residence and work. In addition to this system of land settlement, finance associations or special Small Farm Associations as in New Zealand should be permitted to be formed in the colony or in India for promoting closer settlement of land by enabling groups of purchasers to buy land under ordinary tenure for subdivision among the members, all subject to the provisions contained in the Indian Colonization Act to be passed. The object of such a system will be not only to attract high and middle class men with capital into the colony but also to allow the necessary labour to flow into the colony through the medium of the better class men and in their wake. The details of the scheme as to how the purchase money is to be raised, how the Government is to guarantee its members are all matters of detail which may be left to the Government of the colony for consideration. The inauguration of such beneficent laws would induce a large class of landless agricultural labourers to turn their attention to the colonies for their prospects and the colonies will be supplied with a large amount of earnest and hard-working labour population who would be pleased to seek homes of comfort and fresh fields of enterprise, instead of the vagabondish class of men now obtained through fraudulent recruiting.

Minimum wage.—The way in which wages, hours of labour and conditions of employment are regulated in some of the industrially advanced countries is by a system of Wages Board and Arbitration Acts. It cannot be denied that the introduction of

these Acts has produced most favourable results in the improvement of wages and the general condition of labour. It is often overlooked by capitalists that a good wage system is an index for efficient work. Mr. MaCulloch in his principles of Political Economy points out that " whenever wages of labour are so low as to render it impossible for an ordinary increase of exertion to make any material visible addition to their comforts and conveniences, the labourers invariably sink into a state of idleness and of sluggish and stupid indifference." Proceeding further he asks, " have the low wages of the peoples of Ireland, Poland and Hindustan made them industrious ? or the high wages of the Americans, the English and the Hollanders made them lazy, riotous and profligate. Just the contrary. The former are as notoriously and proverbially indolent as the latter are laborious, active and enterprising. The experience of all ages and nations proves that high wages are at once the keenest spur, the most powerful stimulus to unremitting and assiduous exertion and the best means of attaching the people to the institutions under which they live."

I am forced to make this extended quotation as it was impossible for me to follow the report on its circumlocutory method of fixing a minimum wage. In fixing minimum wages regard must be had to the consideration of two factors, viz., efficiency and the purchasing power of wages. Finding that high wages alone lead to efficiency, the question to be asked is, ' What is the high wage ' ? It is the wage which should enable a family (husband, wife and a child) to lead a normal existence with a minimum standard of comfort. The family is the necessary unit or standard of comfort and not the individual, for it is one of the economic principles exemplified by Adam Smith in the case of the pin manufacture. In the case of a family, if these two men combine their labour and divided their employments, one occupying himself solely with household cares for both and the other with earning wages for both, then might the produce of their united labour be equal to more than two men each engaged in the entire work himself. In other words if two men perform each for himself all the work that women have to perform for men, i.e., divide their work between cooking their food and working in the field, they would produce less than one man giving the whole of his time to field work. This principle is well realized by the Chinese labourers. The Chinese in Malaya working by gangs have engaged one cook and a servant for every dozen or ten men, so that the cares of the kitchen do not worry the Chinese men during their work. It is a different story with the Tamil coolie. After completing his work for the day, he has to cook his own food in the evening. Next day he is unable to put forth his entire energy for the field and at this rate of work he is eventually enfeebled and falls sick and is thus rendered unfit for further work. This accounts for the eventual efficiency of the Chinese and the deficiency of the Indian labourers. The best way therefore of getting the maximum work with minimum cost is to get married couples and pay for both sufficient wages which will keep them both above the necessaries of life and get the full work out of the man alone.

It is a false economy that planters have adopted all along that men alone should be paid for their work and not for his wife also. Imagine how much work we can turn out in our office if we should cook our own food at home after office hours.

The second point is about the purchasing power of wages. It may generally seem that wages have risen all along, but if the cost of food, groceries and clothing have all increased more than the purchasing power of the nominal wage its purchasing value is reduced, i.e., a reduction is caused in the real wage. To illustrate it, supposing there is a rise of 5 per cent in the nominal wages, and the cost of food grains, etc., have increased by 15 per cent; the purchasing power of the wage is reduced by 10 per cent or a reduction of 10 per cent in the real wage. The minimum should be determined according to the prices prevalent in the necessaries of life. To fix a minimum wage, a Wages Board may be appointed composed of Indians, the Protector and some employers and it should be revised at least once every six months instead of five years. If however labourers are engaged for a year or two a graded system of wages based on length of service and experience may be introduced.

The other points mentioned in the report do not require any elaborate criticism and they may be passed as satisfactory. Finally I would suggest the following in addition to what are contained in the report.

Suggestions—(1) For a speedy cancellation of indenture, opinions may be invited from planters and other employers of labour in the colonies if the present scheme would not be acceptable ; in which case the indenture system may be cancelled forthwith instead of allowing it to continue any longer.

(2) No discrimination should be shown in the selection of colonies for the settlement of Indians. The British Empire (including the self-governing colonies) must be thrown open for settlement and colonization by Indians. It seems as though it is a travesty that an Indian British subject could get all the facilities for settlement in countries other than the British Empire, as Argentine, Brazil, but not within the British Empire itself. Special attention of the Government of India should be drawn to this important aspect of the problem. Even if this concession is shown very few Indians will take advantage of it and the British public need not grow uneasy about the colonies being flooded by Indians.

(3) Communities should be settled in one block, i.e., groups of Indians of different provinces speaking different languages should not be mixed up. The settlement should be divided on linguistic basis as this will facilitate working of educational institutions.

(4) In addition to the Protector of Immigrants in the colonies, an *Indian Consul* responsible to the Indian Government should be appointed in all colonies containing more than 10,000 Indians to safeguard the interest of independent men as traders, bankers and other business men and occasionally supervise labour, something on the nature of a Chinese Protectorate in Strait Settlements and Federated Malay States.

(5) Free or reduced passages should also be given to men with capital.

(6) The formation of private associations should be encouraged having for their object the settlement of labour and middle class men, as intending settlers would be willing to go through the medium of private bodies than Government agencies involving considerable delay and inconvenience.

(7) The passing of an Employer's Liability and Workmen's Compensation Act is highly desirable.

(8) Religious and educational institutions should be ample and grants to be given for starting schools and building temples, etc.

(9) As there is a dearth of qualified medical men in the colonies large numbers of them should be requisitioned from India.

(10) There ought to be direct steamship service from India to the colonies once in every month at least.

(11) Indian members in the Legislative Councils of the colonies should be elected and not nominated. There ought to be one in Malaya and in Ceylon where the Indian population exceed even the native population.

(12) The free system of labour now current in Ceylon and Malaya should also be brought under control.

I trust that the above suggestions for the welfare of India, the colonies and British Empire will be sympathetically considered by the Government.

T. K. Swaminathan.

VIII

Opinion of Doctor Nayar.

I am sincerely glad that the Secretary of State in agreement with the Government of India has decided that indentured emigration is not to be reopened. That finally closes a black chapter in the British administration of India never to be re-opened. And what is now proposed is a sort of colonial assisted emigration of Indians to the Crown colonies of British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji. The scheme of aided colonization for Indians in the above named Crown colonies as explained in the report of the Inter-departmental Conference appears to me to be satisfactory. The only remarks that I have to make are from the standpoint of an ordinary Indian as to the economic effect of such assisted emigration. The question that Indians have to consider is whether emigrants really better themselves by going to the colonies and secondly, whether India is so overcrowded and unemployment so pressing that an outlet for the surplus population is necessary. On the first point it

is yet too early to express an opinion as to how Indians would do under the proposed scheme of emigration. Under the old system of indentured emigration we used to be told some fairy tales about time-expired indentured labourers returning to India with King Solomon's mines in their baggage. These fairy tales have been exploded by the careful analysis and merciless criticism of the Government of India who have come to the conclusion that the emigrants are no better off than they would have been in their own native country. As to the second question, it is an obvious fact that the labour market in India is not overcrowded. The Indian factories are one and all under-manned to the extent of 15 to 25 per cent. Agricultural labourers are very scarce. And in some large agricultural districts, sometimes agricultural operations have to be stopped for want of the necessary number of labourers. European planters in India have always been complaining of the scarcity of labour. Under these conditions it would be an act of economical suicide for India to permit, much less to assist in, the emigration of the active labourers of this country. Since the outbreak of the war the necessity for looking out for a wider field of recruitment to the Indian Army has also come to the front. I would therefore submit that any scheme of assisted emigration which would diminish the recruits to the Indian Army and curtail the labour supply for the agricultural and industrial operations in this country would be highly detrimental to the interests of India. If the scheme of assisted emigration is to be brought into operation, care must be taken that able-bodied individuals from classes from which recruits are generally obtained for the Indian Army are not selected for emigration. Emigration should also be discouraged from localities and communities which at present supply the labour market in India. There are fresh fields where the Indian emigration agent might work with advantage. But at the very outset it would be easier to work in fields already opened out and developed. And hence the danger of the new scheme encroaching on the Indian labour supply and the recruits of the Indian Army. Unfortunately the Indian employer of labour and capitalist is short-sighted and selfish and persists in a policy of keeping wages down. It would be unfair on the part of the Government to take advantage of this ignorance and selfishness on the part of the Indian employer of labour. In my humble opinion the Government ought, first of all, to put matters right so far as India is concerned by coming to the help of the illiterate labourers who, from want of capacity to combine, are at present suffering great social injustice. The enactment of a minimum wage, taking into consideration the existing prices, with arrangements for periodical revision, is urgently called for in India. And if, after such an enactment, labourers are found ready to emigrate voluntarily, no objection can possibly be found to a scheme of assisted emigration. But to persist in a policy of *laissez faire* so far as India is concerned and to assist labourers to emigrate to the colonies where a minimum wage is enforced is not altogether fair to the Indian agriculturists and industrialists. I am of opinion that no scheme of assisted emigration should be sanctioned till the legislature in India has done everything possible to put the labourer in an advantageous position so that his ignorance and incapacity to combine does not handicap him in his bargaining with the powerful capitalist.

Under the existing circumstances I should emphatically protest against the proposed scheme.

T. M. Nayar.

IX

Letter—from G. S. Hardy, Esq., I.C.S., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry.
To—the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
Dated—Simla, the 2nd April 1918.
No.—906.

With reference to this department Resolution No. 3691-D., dated the 23rd March 1918, I am directed to request that the Government of India may, with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council, be furnished with such observations on the correspondence with His Majesty's Secretary of State for India as the Local Government may desire to offer.

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

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 assised 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 26*s.* a month with rice at 2½ seers to the rupee, when he can readily earn 6*s.* or 7*s.* 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. Marakyar 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 Chimmanlal 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. 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.

* Dated 7th June 1917.

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	Cocoanut.
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	Rs.	22	Rs.
Total value	$96,898·05 =	3,02,806	$48,335·00 =	1,51,047
The highest price paid for one property was	$12,800·00 =	40,000	$14,000·00 =	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.	
		$	Rs.
Georgetown (capital)	258	296,435·00 =	9,26,359
New Amsterdam	84	66,950·00 =	2,09,219
Villages	7,846½	732,009·20 =	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*l.* 11*s.* 1½*d.*) (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*l.* 18*s.* 4½*d.*) (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 gardners, 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*l.* (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	Acs. 29½	4	4	3	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	2,275¾	141	144	32	2,147 5
St. Ann	172	26¼	...	...	...	...
Trelawny	2,390	1,624	25	80	6	662 0
St. James	838	150⅕	1	...	2	21 5
Hanover	2,520	509¾	80	30	45	950 0
Westmoreland	4,223	393¼	150	100	...	2,870 0
St. Elizabeth	1,360	501¾	14	13	2	192 10
Manchester	362	84¼	...	...	...	...
Clarendon	4,477	996¾	158	...	32	1,508 10
St. Catherine	5,375	1,697½	42	3	17	423 15
Total	59,733	11,049¼	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.				
		£	s.	d.		Rs.
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. *Mutlah* 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.				
		£	s.	d.		Rs.
1906	388	1,882	1	0	=	28,231
1907	587	2,996	12	4	=	44,949
1908	684	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 :—

Macuala.

"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*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* (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, 515·1 acres.
"Number of Indians who cut in 1915, 39.
"Area actually cut in 1915, 255·2 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, 36,656*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* (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, 16,027*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* (Rs. 2,40,417)."

Rewa.

"The indentured banana cultivators appear to be in a very prosperous way; some are now drawing as high as 20*l.* (Rs. 300) and 25*l.* (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 13,249*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* (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, orginally 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 Parochical 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 Mahraj, 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 lagislation that could be represented as framed merely in the interests of Fiji, I greately 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 nesessary 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

16

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 artifical 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 discusses the Report of the Conference.

* 26th July.

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 Jamas 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 grouud 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*l.* as compared with 11*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, the cost of passages to the Colony before the war, and the rate to Fiji had increased from 6*l.* under a contract made in 1913 to 15*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. H. LEY,
Secretary to the Government of India.

S.G.P.J. Delhi,—No. 550 C. & I.—22-3-18—568.

18

X

Letter—from G. S. Hardy, Esq., I.C.S., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry.
To—the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
Dated—Simla, the 6th July 1918.
No.—6180.

With reference to my letter No. 906, dated the 2nd April 1918, I am directed to forward copy of a Despatch No. 40 (Public), dated the 17th May 1918, on the subject of emigration to Fiji for consideration in connexion with correspondence published with this department Resolution No. 3691-D., dated the 23rd March 1918.

Enclosure

Despatch—from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.
To—His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council.
Dated—India Office, London, the 17th May 1918.
No.—40, Public.

Probable effect on the sugar industry in Fiji of the conditions proposed in the scheme set out in the report of the recent Inter-Departmental Conference.

With reference to my Public Despatch No. 117, dated the 21st September 1917, I enclose for the consideration of your Excellency's Government, copy of a letter * from the Colonial Office, on the subject of the probable effect on the sugar industry in Fiji of the conditions proposed in the scheme set out in the report of the recent Inter-Departmental Conference.

* Dated 28th March 1918 with enclosure.

2. Copy of the reply returned to the Colonial Office is also enclosed.

Sub-Enclosures

(1)

Colonial Office to India Office.

No. 8539.

Downing Street,
28*th March* 1918.

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence which has passed on the subject of the scheme for assisted immigration into British sugar producing Colonies from India, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Long to request you to inform Mr. Secretary Montagu that a certain amount of information is now available with regard to the probable effect of the proposed new conditions, if adopted, on the industry in Fiji.

2. As Mr. Montagu is aware, the industry in that Colony is dependent upon outside labour, as the natives own large areas of fertile land which render them independent of employment. The introduction of alien Asiatic labour is undesirable on political grounds, so that the European planters can only carry on if assured of a supply from India. Local Indian labour is usually unobtainable except for special types of work, as the extremely favourable arrangements made by the Colonial Government and the employers have enabled practically every Indian, who has completed his indentures and desires to remain, to secure cheap and good land on which he can grow sugar or other produce profitably, his savings during the period of indenture providing him with sufficient capital.

3. The production of sugar by these settlers, now amounting to about 30 per cent of the total, should enable the manufacturing industry to be carried on on a restricted scale, even if the European planters have to retire. But should such an unfortunate result come of the new scheme or some modification of it, the effect on the Colony as a whole must be disastrous.

4. The attitude of the Vancouver-Fiji Sugar Company is indicated by the following extracts from a letter dated 26th November last:—

"It is our firm belief that we shall be unable to make use of immigrants arriving in Fiji from India under the scheme as recommended by the Inter-Departmental Conference on assisted immigration from India.

" . . . With the cost of labour increased to the extent we fear the scheme promises, we feel positive that we shall have to manage the best way possible without employing these assisted immigrants."

5. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company, Limited, which produces about seven-eighths of the total output of sugar in Fiji, is of the same opinion. It is clear, from a letter addressed to the Governor on 13th November 1917, of which a copy is enclosed, that they do not anticipate that the planting industry can be carried on in the future.

6. The Company is already acting on this view. They have resumed the various estates they had leased out to European cane growers in the Rewa district and have already surveyed some of them into blocks for Indian settlement. Lieutenant B. H. Holmes, Royal Field Artillery, who has represented a section of the planters while in this country, has informed this office that planters at Nausori and Labasa are giving up their estates, but that those he represents intend to carry on as long as they can. A number of them, however, are of the opinion that a year will be as long as they can hope to continue unless there is a prospect of more labour.

7. In connexion with the state of affairs at Labasa, I am to observe that, should the factory at that centre be closed, in accordance with what is understood to be the intention of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, the entire sugar industry of the island of Vanua Levu will be destroyed, including that carried on by Indian settlers.

8. Mr. Long cannot but think that it is unfortunate that the entry of India into the Imperial conference should synchronise with an alteration of policy which seems likely to ruin a Colonial industry, which has been a model of scientific development, and a British community which is believed to have sent as large a proportion of men into the Army and to have suffered proportionately as heavy losses, as any other part of the British Empire.

I am, etc.,
HENRY LAMBERT.

The Under Secretary of State for India.

Annex—*Colonial Sugar Refining Company to Sir Bickham Escott.*

SYDNEY,
13*th November* 1917.

DEAR SIR BICKHAM ESCOTT,

The last English mail brought us the text of the report of the London Conference on Indian Labour, and we received by the "Atua" the despatches from London you were good enough to send us.

These show the position to be even worse than we had feared from the telegraphed summary of the report, and though we have not got over Mr. Hughes' written statement about the meeting of the Conference, we think it well to let you know informally, without delay, how we regard the proposals made at that meeting.

To us it would seem that these are impossible of application in so far as the sugar industry in Fiji is concerned, because the cost of the labour unit would become prohibitive and that the Colony, if it accepted the scheme, would find itself saddled with very serious obligations in respect of the Indians already resident there, without having in any way improved its chances of obtaining additional labour.

And anyone holding this belief would not feel justified in advising my company to apply for labour under the conditions proposed, nor to guarantee, as hitherto, the charges in respect of Indians requisitioned for by their tenants and contractors. Any such guarantee would imply the hope that the planters would be able to carry on or that the company meant to see them through their difficulties by an increase in the price of cane, and the hope would be, in my opinion, illusory, for, in the first case, the planters could not meet the higher costs involved, and, in the second case, the possibility of a higher price for cane depends entirely on the market value of the sugar produced. This value is controlled, not by the manufacturers but by the price at which competitors can place their sugar in the same market. Our principal competitor is Java, with unlimited supplies of cheap labour, and then come Mauritius and Formosa with the same advantage. Java has profited very greatly by war prices, and there is reason to believe that surplus gains have been used to place the factories there in a position to turn out sugar more cheaply than ever after the war is over.

In these circumstances we view with much concern the tendency manifested in some quarters to regard the sugar industry in Fiji as able to carry any load that may be imposed on it. Indeed we look for hard times to come when those concerned will need all their resources to keep their heads above water.

These remarks are not, however, to be read as indicating a fear on our part that, in consequence of labour difficulties, we shall have to write off our Fiji investment forthwith. We hope to be able to carry on, though on a restricted scale, with the labour now in the country until their number can be reinforced by people emigrating from India under free and reasonable conditions. We have no illusions as to any possible modification by the British Government of the terms now proposed (despite Mr. Long's protest against them as penalising producers of sugar), and we think there is no chance of this after the publication in India of the report of the Conference. But as emigration has not been absolutely barred, some method may be evolved later on of turning a small stream towards Fiji to provide a supply of labour available on terms corresponding with the capacity of the men in question as against that of Europeans producing sugar in their own countries.

Meanwhile, there can be no extension of our business, and we must concentrate our efforts on the attempt to render the industry, as far as practicable, independent of further immigration by settling the lands with growers who will constitute their own labour force for the cultivation and harvesting of the crops.

Although this letter is addressed to you privately, it represents the views of the Board, and may, therefore, be treated by you as an official communication from the Company if you so desire.

I have, etc.,
EDW. W. KNOX.

Sir Bickham Escott.

(2)

India Office to Colonial Office.

J. and P. 1157.

INDIA OFFICE,
9*th May* 1918.

SIR,

In reply to your letter No. 8539, dated the 28th March 1918, regarding the probable effect on the sugar industry in Fiji of the conditions proposed in the scheme set out in the report of the recent Inter-Departmental Conference, I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to say that a copy of your letter, with its enclosure, is being transmitted to the Government of India for their consideration.

The Secretary of State for India shares Mr. Long's regret that the scheme for assisted immigration into British sugar-producing colonies from India which was framed last year by an Inter-Departmental Conference, is considered by the planters of Fiji so prohibitive in its cost that they cannot see their way at least to give it a trial before deciding that the sugar-planting industry of the island is in danger of destruction. But with reference to the remarks in the last paragraph of your letter, I am to say that though the coincidence may be unfortunate, a change of policy was inevitable, and was, in fact, overdue, since the hitherto existing system of indentured immigration had both been condemned by Indian opinion, and had been admitted to be imperfect in many respects by the planters themselves.

I have, etc.,
T. W. HOLDERNESS.

The Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office.

Order—No. 585, Home (Miscellaneous), dated 5th August 1918.

The following reply will be despatched to the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry.

(True extract)

R. RAMACHANDRA RAO,
Secretary to Government.

20

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

HOME (MISCELLANEOUS) DEPARTMENT

No. 586.

From

THE HON'BLE DIWAN BAHADUR R. RAMACHANDRA RAO AVARGAL,
Secretary to the Government of Madras, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

Dated Ootacamund, the 5th August 1918.

SIR,

I am directed to invite a reference to Mr. Low's endorsement forwarding a copy of the resolution of the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, No. 10294, dated the 1st September 1917, and to furnish the remarks of this Government on the scheme of the Inter-departmental Conference held at London in May 1917 for a new assisted system of emigration to distant Crown Colonies. Attention is also requested to the correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State forwarded with Mr. Hardy's letter No. 906, dated the 2nd April 1918.

2. The views of select officials and non-officials have been obtained on the scheme formulated at the conference. The bulk of non-official opinion deprecates emigration to distant colonies in any form and proceeds from two premises—first, that the supply of labour in India is already insufficient for India's needs and second, that even if a surplus of the labouring classes did exist, its constituents would derive no benefit from emigration to the colonies in question. It is urged that no outlet is necessary and that the emigration of the past has been stimulated by artificial means. The Governor in Council is not prepared to accept the unsupported statement that there is no demand for an outlet for the surplus population of India; on the other hand he finds that there is abundant and convincing evidence to the contrary. In many parts of India—and in this Presidency by no means the least—the pressure of population on the land is very severe. Thus in no less than 18·4 per cent of the total area of the Madras Presidency, the population exceeds 500 to the square mile, while in another 24 per cent the population exceeds 300 to the square mile, so that, over not less than 42 per cent of the total area of the Presidency, the population exceeds 300 to the square mile. Of the total population of this Presidency 39·5 per cent inhabit areas where the population exceeds 500 to the square mile. These figures, in His Excellency's opinion, testify clearly to congestion and the consequent need for relief. As against the argument that emigration in the past has been the product of artificially devised inducements a resort to statistics is again convincing. As was observed in paragraph 5 of the Secretary of State's despatch to the Government of India No. 117, Public, dated the 21st September 1917, a very large number of labourers annually emigrate without assistance of any kind to Ceylon and Malaya and the statistics actually show that the average of this emigration alone amounts to 158,312 adults per annum as against an average of only 2,054 adults under the indentured system. His Excellency in Council is pursuaded

that the volume of this emigration (which excludes that to Burma) viewed with the census figures for this Presidency demonstrates beyond possibility of doubt the cogent necessity of an outlet for the surplus population.

3. The contention that the labouring classes of Madras are not benefited by emigation is rendered untenable by recent inquiries into the economic conditions of these commmunities at home. The reports of Mr. Gray who inquired recently into the economic condition of the depressed classes in the districts of Chingleput South Arcot, Tanjore and Malabar leave no doubt as to the miserably depressed condition of the landless labourer. From the copies enclosed, it will be seen that, although wages have actually risen in the last twenty years, yet in Chingleput 49 per cent of the villages and in South Arcot 52 per cent of the villages investigated showed a daily rate of wages not exceeding 3 annas for an adult male. A labourer fettered by a perpetual system of advances and indebted to his master even for the hut in which he lives is reduced to a condition not greatly differing from slavery. To such classes emigration has been the only means of escape, and it is recorded by Mr. Gray that the labouring classes themselves recognize that emigration has had the effect of raising the wages and improving the condition as well of those who remain as of those who have ventured afield. In support of the proposition that the Indian labourer benefits by emigration the accumulated evidence of these inquiries is, in the opinion of His Excellency in Council, nothing short of irresistible.

4. His Excellency in Council has reviewed at length these fundamental aspects of the question as he believes that a considered decision on these is the necessary preliminary to any further advance. The demand for an outlet and the advantages of emigration being demonstrated, His Excellency concludes that it is the duty of Government to remove such barriers and disabilities as at present exist. Turning then to the outlines of the scheme of the Inter-departmental Conference, the Governor in Council recognizes that while the scheme is necessarily a compromise with the colonies concerned, it avoids the main evils of the indentured system and forms, in his opinion, a genuine essay towards the goal just indicated. The provisions as to a probationary period of six months under a selected employer and a continuous residence of as many as seven years as the condition of a free return passage do not appeal to this Government, but it does not seem that these prescriptions seriously vitiate the scheme which in its general aspects must tend to improve the treatment and status of the Indian emigrant. The Governor in Council would here confine himself to the general aspects of the scheme, believing that the hour for an examination of its minutiae is not yet ripe: such problems as the method of financing the scheme, the minimum wage question, and the settlement of land will illuminate themselves in the light of practical working, and experience will doubtless indicate a satisfactory solution to them all. His Excellency in Council accords meantime to the proposals of the Inter-departmental Conference general acceptance and approval.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. RAMACHANDRA RAO,
Secretary to Government.

NOTES CONNECTED WITH G.O. Nos. 585–86, HOME (MISCELLANEOUS), DATED 5TH AUGUST 1918

[SUBJECT.—*Report of the Inter-Departmental Conference on Assisted Emigration from India.*]

Previous papers:

Report of Messrs. Marjoribanks and Marakkayar.

Mr. Gray's report on the amelioration of the depressed classes in certain districts.

Mr. Gray's report on statistics of wages and their accuracy.

Minutes of proceedings of the Inter-Departmental Conference on Assisted Emigration.

Notifications issued under the Assam Labour and Emigration Act.

G.O.	585,	*Public*,	10*th May* 1913	G.O.	281,	*Home* (*Mis.*),	3*rd Nov.* 1916
,,	147	,,	3*rd Feb.* 1914	,,	342	,,	21*st* ,, ,,
,,	391	,,	30*th Mar.* ,,	,,	37-*A*	,,	17*th Jan.* 1917
,,	581	,,	12*th May* ,,	,,	239	,,	9*th Mar.* ,,
,,	642	,,	27*th* ,, ,,	,,	285	,,	18*th* ,, ,,
,,	853	,,	1*st June* 1915	,,	326	,,	30*th* ,, ,,
,,	1295	,,	3*rd Sep.* ,,	,,	415–16	,,	26*th Apr.* ,,
,,	230	,,	10*th Feb.* 1916	,,	502	,,	28*th May* ,,
,,	685	,,	8*th Apr.* ,,	,,	512	,,	29*th* ,, ,,
,,	952	,,	16*th May* ,,	,,	679	,,	28*th June* ,,
,,	1046	,,	30*th* ,, ,,	,,	187	,,	4*th Mar.* 1918
,,	150,	*Home* (*Mis.*),	17*th Sep.* ,,	,,	421	,,	6*th May* ,,

From the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, No. 10294, *dated the 1st September* 1917.

HOME (MISCELLANEOUS) DEPARTMENT.

The suggestions made by this Government for the regulation of emigration after the discontinuance of the system of indentured emigration will be found in letter No. 239, Home (Miscellaneous), dated the 9th March 1917. A précis of the suggestions is given below, a comparison of which with the scheme of assisted emigration formulated by the Inter-Departmental Conference held in London shows that the views of this Government have generally been taken by the conference in the drawing up of the scheme.

I.—The new system.

Views of this Government.	Scheme of the Conference.
(i) Aided emigration to take the place of indentured emigration. The criterion suggested is that a labourer should be assisted to emigrate, the assistance consisting in the grant of free or aided passages or of money.	The system to be followed in future will be one of aided colonisation, its object being to encourage the settlement of Indians in colonies after a probationary period of employment. The emigrant will as at present arrive in the colony free of debt and of any financial liability connected with the cost of his introduction into the colony.
(ii) An emigrant labourer should not be bound to serve a particular employer for longer than some very short period such as a month.	The emigrant will, in no way, be restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months. He will be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries by the offer of important benefits as a colonist.

II.—Method of financing the scheme.

Views of this Government.	Scheme of the Conference.
The cost of recruiting labour in India and of transporting it to a colony should be borne by a common fund managed by the Colonial Government and subscribed to by all employers of Indian labour in the colony and no part of such cost should be recoverable from the emigrant.	The expenses of introduction of any particular emigrant should be borne by the Government of the colony concerned out of a common fund raised by rateable contributions from the employers.

III.—Land settlement.

If a good class of emigrant is to be induced to go to and stay in the colonies facilities should be given for acquiring land, keeping cattle and setting up shops.	Steps will be taken to ensure that land may be available at once for all immigrants who desire it and who have completed a qualifying period of three years' employment under employers. To secure this end a department in each colony will be responsible for the provision of sufficient land and to render it suitable for agriculture and for the distribution of it among applicants. This department will advise immigrants on questions relating to the acquisition of land, explain fully to them the conditions upon which land can be obtained and assist them in every possible way to obtain it. Land not exceeding 5 acres will be granted to an immigrant after three years subject to a reasonable annual rent. Every adult male emigrant employed in agricultural industries will be granted for his personal use and cultivation a garden plot of $\frac{1}{10}$ acre, if he desires it after six months' service. A larger plot up to $\frac{1}{3}$ acre will be made available to industrious workers in the nature of a reward.

IV.—Conditions of employment.

(i) An emigrant labourer should be prohibited from entering into long term labour contracts either before or after emigration. The status of the Indian labourer should be defined by the law of the colony to be that of a monthly paid servant free to leave his employer and take service elsewhere at a month's notice.	At no time will the immigrant be under any indenture or any contract other than that he will be required to remain with an employer for six months in the first instance. An employer will be selected by the Protector of Immigrants on arrival. The Protector of Immigrants has power to sanction or require during the first period of six months a change of employment should he see reason to do so. After the first period of six months the immigrant will have perfect liberty to move from one employer to another on one month's notice. The relation between the immigrant and his employer will be purely that prevailing in the colony between any master and servant.
(ii) The regular monthly payment of an immigrant's wages in full legal tender should be made compulsory.	A minimum wage will be fixed which will be revised every five years. All wages will be paid regularly and in full, i.e., without deductions. The wage will bear the same proportion to the minimum wage at the time of Mr. McNeill's visit that the cost of living when the wage is fixed bears to the cost of living at the time of Mr. McNeill's visit.
(iii) It is desirable to encourage the nurture of children.	Rations for children and pregnant and nursing women will be given.
(iv)	Provision for married quarters is made compulsory. Existing arrangements in regard to medical treatment will continue.
(v) In the matter of legal punishment for neglect of work, for leaving an employer without notice or for similar labour offences the general labour law of the colony should be applied and imprisonment should not be prescribed as a substantive punishment for labour offences.	The immigrant can only be proceeded against for any breach of engagement by way of a civil suit in the ordinary course of law and will be liable to no criminal penalties.

V.—The employer.

Views of this Government.	Scheme of the Conference.
No remarks.	Employers should be approved by the Governor in Council. An employer not fulfilling the conditions relating to terms of employment, etc., will be liable to a fine on prosecution in a criminal court.

VI.—The emigration staff and Supervising Agency.

No objection to the present system of employing licensed recruiters to gather emigrants for distant colonies. The present system of payment per capita is open to objection but no alternative satisfactory method of payment was suggested. A whole-time Protector of Emigrants would be necessary if the control of recruitment of emigrant labour were made general and not restricted to recruitment for distant colonies only. Arrangements may be provided for the periodical inspection of emigrants in each of the colonies on the spot by an officer appointed by the Local Government or by the temporary or permanent location of such an officer in each colony.	Emigration agents on a fixed salary will recruit labour. They will be licensed by the Emigration Commissioner appointed by the Colonial Governments with the approval of the Local Government in India. There will be inspectors of emigration who may be Indians on a graded scale of pay to supervise the work of emigration agents in villages. A Protector of Emigrants will supervise emigration in this Province and a Protector of Immigrants in the colony. (The Emigration Commissioner corresponds to the present Colonial Government Emigration Agent). An officer of standing from India or a non-official will be deputed every three years by the Government of India to visit the colonies and report upon the conditions prevailing.

VII.—Depots.

No remarks.	There will be a depot in each district and a central depot to which all emigrants will be sent down from the district depots. Non-official gentlemen of standing will be appointed visitors to these depots. Emigrants will be examined medically at the central depot. District depots will be open to inspection at any time by the District Magistrate or any Magistrate deputed by him but the production of emigrants before a Magistrate in India will not be required.

VIII.—Conditions of emigration.

Emigration of families to be encouraged. Strict medical examination of old and feeble dependents should be relaxed. No need for a rule prescribing the proportion of women to men among emigrants. Coolies should understand the nature of their destination and their work before emigration. An emigrant should be given an assurance that free passages from India will at any time be given to his wife and children or other near relatives to join him in the colony.	All these suggestions find place in the scheme and it is further proposed (1) that persons below the age of 18 will be assisted to emigrate only when they are accompanied by their parents or guardians, (2) that emigration of women, unaccompanied by their families, will not be assisted, (3) emigration from pilgrim centres will be prohibited during times of pilgrimage or festivals and (4) that a written statement should be given to each intending emigrant the terms of his employment and the condition of life in the colony being explained.

IX.—Surgeons on emigrant ships.

No remarks.	If the Government of India so desire, a proportion of the surgeons employed on emigrant ships shall be Indians.

X.—Facilities for repatriation.

Facilities must be secured by a provision that an Indian labourer wishing to return to India should be entitled to receive from the immigration fund. One-third of the cost of the passage after he has been one year in the colony. Two-thirds etc., after two years.	An emigrant wishing to return to India will be granted for himself and his dependents— half the passage after three years' continuous residence in the colony ; three-fourths after five years, whole after seven years.

X.—Facilities for repatriation—cont.

Views of this Government.	Scheme of the Conference.
The whole cost after three years. There should be at least one steamer sailing from the colony for India in a year. Emigrants declared by a Medical Board to be incapacitated for further labour should be repatriated at any time at the expense of the proposed immigration fund.	The acceptance of a grant of land under the special facilities will be held to extinguish all claim to a free or assisted return passage. An emigrant who has availed himself of a free or assisted return passage shall have no right to a second free or assisted passage to India. Six months' previous notice must be given by any immigrant of his intention to claim a free or assisted passage. The Protector of Immigrants shall have the right subject to the approval by the Governor in Council to grant at any time free return passage in full in cases where he deems repatriation desirable. This right will extend to cases of immigrants whose claim to a return passage has been extinguished by the grant of land or who may have been reduced subsequently to indigent circumstances.

2. It will be seen from the above that the conclusions arrived at by the conference agree in most respects with the views of this Government except on the following points :—

(1) Suggestion that an emigrant should not be bound to serve a particular employer for a longer period than a month.

(2) Concessions in the matter of free return passage.

(3) Grant of free passages to females and children and near relatives of an emigrant wishing to join him in the colony.

(4) Stipulation that at least one steamer should be sailing in the colony for India.

In other respects, especially in land settlement, in requiring employers to be approved by the Governor in Council, and in providing for the appointment of Inspectors to supervise emigration, the scheme of the conference appears to be very favourable from the immigrants' point of view. It is explained that for the protection of the immigrant it is proposed to attach him to an employer for six months in the first instance. It will be seen that under the scheme worked out by the conference an emigrant will be eligible for full passage money only after seven years, while according to the proposals of this Government he will be eligible for full passage after three years. The scheme of the conference does not also provide for the grant of free passages to women, children and near relatives of an immigrant wishing to join him. No mention is also made of the stipulation suggested by this Government that there should at least be one steamer in a year sailing in the colony for India.

I think we might re-emphasize these points.
E.A.H.—25–9–17.

3. As regards depots, the proposal to appoint non-official visitors to district depots and the central depot is only an extension of the policy already adopted by this Government in this respect. Recently three non-official visitors were appointed as an experimental measure to the central depot at Cassimode. Before the experiment could be given a trial indentured emigration was prohibited (G.O. No. 285, dated 18th March 1917).

4. The conclusions arrived at by the conference regarding marriage laws of immigrants, educational facilities and political rights seem to be satisfactory.

5. One or two points in the scheme seem to call for remarks. These are mentioned below: at present licences are granted to recruiters by the Protector of Emigrants and countersigned by District Magistrates. Under the proposed system, Emigration Agents who will correspond to recruiters, will be licensed by the Emigration Commissioner who is a Colonial Government official and these licences will be countersigned by the Protector and the District Migistrates. There is however no provision for District Magistrates or the Protector for the withdrawal by them of the countersignature of licences if they find any particular emigration agent to be undesirable to hold a licence which has been already countersigned. There is such a provision in the existing Act and a somewhat similar provision in the rules under the Assam Labour and Emigration Act. It is for consideration whether the possession of some such control by District Magistrates and the Protector over emigration agents would not be useful. As regards the proposal that a written statement should be given to each intending emigrant stating the conditions of his employment, etc., it is not stated who should give the statement and who is responsible to see that it is properly explained to the emigrant. The conference is distinctly of opinion that the production of emigrants before a Magistrate at any time will not be required. It is therefore clear that the entire control of recruitment will practically be mainly in the hands of Colonial Government officials.

District Magistrates and the Protector should have certain powers of control and interference.
E.A.H.—25–9–17.

6. Submitted for orders whether the views of any public body or association or non-officials should be invited. The remarks of the Board of Revenue, the Protector of Emigrants and Mr. Marjoribanks may be invited.

E.A.H.—25–9–17.

T.C.N.—14–9–17.
P.DER.—18–9–17.

To deal with hostile criticism of these proposals first—

The *New India* has nothing very helpful to offer us, its only constructive suggestion seems to be that the privileges of the franchise should be more fully extended to Indians in the colony in order that their interests may be more fully protected. Looking solely to the interests of the Indians I submit that a nominated representative, one who is *persona grata* to the Government is likely to render greater protection than an elected one, who may be an agitating and irritating vakil who left India for his country's good. The question of the municipal franchise may be left to the colonial Governments concerned who have shown no disinclination to dealing fairly with Indian settlers in such matters.

The *New India* is of course against emigration in toto—

(*a*) because the wide dispersal of Indian labour causes a general impression abroad that India is inhabited chiefly by coolies—as it is;

(*b*) because the employers of the Indian labourers abroad are 'colourless.'

As regards (*a*) the contempt for manual and productive labour evidenced in this point of view—probably common to all readers of the *New India*—is noteworthy; the dignity and honour of the 'nation', which are very dear to them, can only be worthily upheld by students and vakils; the fact that India produces what has been called by planters 'the finest labour force in the world' is as less than nothing to them, a reproach.

As regards (*b*) the *New India* and its supporters have done little or nothing to emancipate the Indian labourers who remain in a condition of serfdom under Indian masters in their own country; the gravamen of the objection to emigration is not that the conditions are hard but that the masters are colourless. Though we may agree with the opinion expressed in the *Mail* that Indians are best at home, yet the objections to emigration advanced by its out-and-out opponents deserve no serious consideration; while there are a number of definite factors in its favour.

To turn to the *Hindu*—

This paper extends its qualified approval to the scheme but points out defects and suggests remedies which can hardly be ignored. The chief points are (*a*) housing, (*b*) hours of work, (*c*) holidays, (*d*) provision for education and (*e*) social amenities and (*f*) the moral and intellectual development of the emigrant, (*g*) facilities for the purchase of foodstuffs at a reasonable price and (*i*) the tenure under which they will hold the land allotted to them at the expiry of their term of labour.

So far as (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*g*) are concerned we are not aware that conditions are unsatisfactory ; the writer of the article does not appear to have studied the labour codes of the colonies, which will certainly not be amended for the worse in respect of the Indian settlers ; as regards (*e*) and (*f*) it is characteristic of the Indian critic of the Government that the Government itself should encroach on such obvious provinces of private enterprise ; perhaps however this Government might express itself ready to assist any recognized body in India prepared to help settlers from this Presidency to provide themselves with 'amenities.' Definite proposals would have to materialize before anything could be done.

Education of settlers and conditions of land-tenure in the colonies seem to be matters of greater importance ; the recommendations of the conference are somewhat vague especially in regard to education ; and it is doubtful whether the Indian settlers should not receive certain special facilities, such as are given to backward tribes and castes in this country, in the shape of reduced fees, special scholarships and the provision of schools in the estates and districts occupied by Indians where there are none ; we might ask India at once whether more information cannot be furnished on the subjects of education and land-tenure.

It will be seen that if anything the decision of the conference goes beyond the recommendations of this Government and when the former and the latter are not in complete accord there is little to complain about. I would however refer in our letter to India to the two points (3) and (4) in paragraph 3 of the office note. Of course the removal of the compulsory sex-percentage and the prohibition to embark single women is criticized ; but there can be no doubt that the new conditions will be much healthier than the old.

Mr. Marjoribanks may be consulted ; also perhaps Mr. Swaminathan, Editor of the *Indian Emigrant* ; I hear there is an 'Emigration Society' probably run by Mr. Swaminathan.

It is useless to consult persons or societies who, it is known in advance, will merely reply with a bottle of vitriol. Perhaps one or two of the saner critics of the indentured system such as Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai, Doctor Nair, Hon'ble Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao and the Bishop of Madras may be consulted.

E. A. HARVEY—25–9–17.

This question has been very much to the front. It seems to me that subject to a few amendments the new scheme is far better than the system of indenture. If the critics be faced in advance with the scheme they are likely to approve of most of the new scheme.

I would therefore consult the persons named by the Under Secretary. ; also Mr. G. A. Natesan and Mr. S. Kasturi Ranga Ayyangar both of whom take considerable interest in emigration.

R. RAMACHANDRA RAO—8–10–17.

May be referred for opinion to the persons named in Mr. Harvey's note, except Mr. Kesava Pillai. I don't approve of Mr. Natesan or Mr. Kasturi Ranga Ayyangar ; we cannot expect a dispassionate opinion from either of them.

H. F. W. G[ILLMAN]—23–10–17.

Drafts are submitted.

A.R.—26–10–17.

P.DER.—26–10–17.

C. H. BROWN—29–10–17.

R.R.—29–10–17.

(1)

Demi-official—from the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur R. RAMACHANDRA RAO, Secretary to Government, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.
To—the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO Pantulu Garu, Dr. T. M. NAIR, Mr. T. K. SWAMINATHAN, Editor, *Indian Emigrant*, Madras.
Dated—the 29th October 1917.
No.—3083–2.

I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of a Resolution of the Government of India in the Department of Commerce and Industry, No. 10294, dated the 1st September 1917, containing the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration from India to West Indies and Fiji, and to request that you will be so good as to furnish Government at an early date with such observations as you may have to offer thereon.

(2)

Letter—from Mr. T. K. SWAMINATHAN, Editor, *Indian Emigrant*, Madras.
To—the Secretary to Government, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.
Dated—the 15th January 1918.

In reply to your demi-official No. 3083, dated 29th October 1917, I have the honour to submit herewith my observations on the report of the Inter-departmental Committee on the scheme of aided colonization from India to the colonies. Considering the magnitude of the subject, it is impossible to do anything more than merely sketch in this little memorandum the broad outlines of the methods of colonization and the means whereby emigration may be made more attractive and acceptable to the Indian public and the welfare of the colonies maintained at the same time.

(3)

Letter—from Dr. T. M. NAIR, Madras.
To—the Secretary to Government, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.
Dated—the 13th January 1918.

In accordance with your demi-official No. 3083–2, dated 29th October 1917, I have the honour to enclose herein my opinion on the Resolution of the Government of India in the Department of Commerce and Industry, No. 10294, dated the 1st September 1917, containing the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration from India to West Indies and Fiji.

(4)

Demi-official—from the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO Pantulu Garu, Non-official Additional Member of the Madras Legislative Council.
To—the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur R. RAMACHANDRA RAO, Secretary to Government, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.
Dated—Ellore, the 16th January 1918.

I am in receipt of your demi-official No. 3083–2, dated 29th October 1917, asking for my opinion on the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration from India to West Indies and Fiji.

2. We are thankful for the assurance now given that His Majesty's Government are now in agreement with the Government of India that indentured emigration shall not be re-opened. The report says that "Under the new system emigration will be entirely free and the indenture system together with the titles and characteristics attaching to it will be abolished. The system followed in future will be one of aided colonization and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indian in certain colonies after a probationary period of employment in those colonies to train and fit them for life and work there and at the same time to afford a supply of the labour essential to the well-being of the colonies themselves."

3. The point for consideration is whether in India there has ever been a genuine demand by the people for an outlet to the surplus populations. It has never been suggested that the emigration was necessary in the interests of India and such emigration as has taken place in the past is not a genuine overflow of the population of this country for a living elsewhere. It has been stimulated by artificial means, by a glowing account of the high wages, by fraud and misrepresentation, and other questionable means.

Looking at the question therefore broadly I believe that unless the Government is satisfied that the present arrangements for assisted emigration is in the interests of the population of this country, the Government of India should not sanction these new arrangements. The description of the new arrangements as aided colonization is not, in my opinion, accurate and the primary object of the arrangement is the supply of the labour to the four colonies referred to in the resolution.

4. The system proposed by the Committee no doubt avoids some of the evils of the indenture system but I feel that by whatever name it may be called the assisted emigrant will in the long run be in the same position as the indentured emigrant. Even under the indenture system the emigrant was protected by numerous safeguards which had proved ineffective. The emigration to Ceylon is in some respects as bad as the indenture system and the safeguards proposed in the new system will not prove in the long run to be any better than those hitherto adopted. The chief reason for this state of things is that the emigrant has not the same protection against oppression as he has in his own country and it is impossible to afford them adequate safeguards against chicanery, fraud and intimidation.

On these grounds I object altogether to any system of assisted emigration. The scheme reads well on paper but I feel grave doubts whether in the working of it much benefit will accrue to the emigrant.

The opinions of the officials and non-officials consulted have been received.

2. The Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao altogether objects to any system of assisted emigration, and doubts whether in the working of it much benefit will accrue to the emigrant. He states that, unless the Government are satisfied that the arrangements for assisted emigration are in the interests of the population of this country, the Government of India should not sanction the new arrangements. He admits that the new scheme avoids some of the evils of the indenture system but states that the safeguards proposed in the new system will not prove in the long run to be any better than those adopted. Submitted that the Government have all along consistently held that emigration is in the interests of the Indian labourer. Mr. Harvey has already noted with reference to similar remarks that appeared in the columns of *New India* that they do not deserve serious consideration.

3. The opinions of others are noted on below, each suggestion being dealt with separately.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao is beside the point.

C. H. BROWN—12-3-18.

L. D. SWAMIKANNU—20-3-18.

Parts I and II.—The new system and the method of financing the scheme.

A

Mr. Marjoribanks states (1) that the root of abuses there may be in the present system is the feeling of the individual employer that a particular labourer whose cost of immigration he has paid is or should be his labourer, (2) that the only way to remedy this is to adopt the system of the Malay Peninsula where the whole cost of recruitment and immigration is borne by a general fund to which all employers of Indian labour contribute in proportion to the amount of Indian labour they employ, the labourers being at the same time free to leave any employer at a month's notice and take employment elsewhere. He is accordingly opposed to the provisions in the scheme for a register of approved employers and for an initial six months' term with some one employer. He is of the opinion that the provision of alternatives (2) and (3) for financing the scheme will almost certainly lead to trouble. He does not however suggest that the scheme should be amended in these respects. He considers that it may be tried with confidence and amended in time as the result of experience. The provision in the scheme that it rests with the Protector of Immigrants to choose on employer for an immigrant on arrival may tend to prevent an employer from feeling that he has paid the cost of introduction of the particular immigrant.

(2) Recovering cost from employers of an immigrant during first three years of his residence.

(3) Recovering cost from the employers for the period necessary to qualify immigrant for a free return passage.

A co-operative purchase is a purchase all the same.

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

Parts I and II—cont.

B

Mr. Swaminathan suggests that the lands set apart for colonization should be sold to the settlers at a moderate price per acre and revenue so realized should be utilized for the free introduction of immigrants without any contribution made by the employers. The suggestion appears to be attractive from a theoretical point of view and does not seem to call for any remarks.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

Also the choice of an employer for the immigrant by the official Protector.

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

As to the list of approved employers, is there not a likelihood that approval will tend to become a mere formality ?

That is why Mr. Marjoribanks condemns alternatives (2) and (3).

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

2. The alternatives (2) and (3) for financing the scheme seem to me to be inconsistent with the main aim—that of precluding any employer from supposing that he has had a personal pecuniary interest in his labourer.

It all depends on whom you are going to collect the rate from. If from *all* employers of *all* Indian labour then of course there is no need for an *approved* employer. That this will come in time I have no doubt but local influences will try other schemes first.

N.E.M.—2-4-18.

3. I don't think sufficient revenue could be raised on Mr. Swaminathan's lines. Much—perhaps most—of the lands set aside will require clearing, breaking up, etc., and the sale price per acre would be *very* moderate indeed. Also the system wouldn't attract.

Yes.

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

C. H. BROWN—12-3-18.

There was no idea that the immigrant should pay for his land. If he had money to do this, he would have money to return to India (£16 was the previous passage rate) and there would be no need to trouble about him.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—2-4-18.

C

Mr. Swaminathan suggests that labourers should be made free in every sense of the word, free to enter work and settle down in the colony without any enforced probation. This objection is met by the explanation in the scheme that the probation is proposed in the interests of the labourer himself and further by the discretion vested in the Protector to find a change of employment. It does not therefore seem advisable to suggest any modification in this respect.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

I think Mr. Swaminathan is idealizing his labourers.

C.H.B.—12-3-18.

L. D. SWAMIKANNU—21-3-18.

I am not in love with the six months' probation clause but see no harm in it.

N.E.M.—2-4-18.

Part III.—Land Settlement.

The Bishop of Madras suggests that (1) the scheme should not be sanctioned until definite provision has been already made for grants for land, (2) that the whole provision for land settlement may be rendered useless by the action of the departments in each colony imposing prohibitive rents and that this should be guarded against. Submitted that under the scheme a department in each colony will be

Part III—cont.

responsible for the provision of sufficient land to meet all bonâ fide applications. This department will assist applicants in obtaining land. There is however no provision for guarding against the imposition of prohibitive rents by departments. For consideration whether the suggestion to guard against the imposition of prohibitive rents may be put to India.

Mr. Swaminathan shares the Bishop's view that the lands available for settlement in each colony should be determined in advance before any definite scheme is decided upon.

The Protector of Emigrants doubts the suitability of the conditions of land settlement to immigrants living far away from their homes but is content to await the result of the proposed system.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.
P.S.R.—26-2-18.

I think the preliminary determination of land is certainly an essential. In Trinidad and Jamaica, for instance, it is evidently going to be very hard to get. The whole land settlement scheme seems a little impractical at present.

C. H. BROWN—12-3-18.

If I understand the stipulation contended for by the Bishop it is this. Land is not to be distributed among the immigrants for three years after they have been entered on the registers of a colony. The Bishop adverts to this condition and nevertheless says that definite provision for grants of land should be made before the scheme is sanctioned. He presumably means that each of the colonies should consider its ways and means in regard to land and make a definite offer to the immigrants not by giving them land on their entry into the colony but by making a promise of which specific performance could be claimed three years later. The Conference apparently meant this, but there is no harm in making this important point quite clear. As regards the expense of rendering the land "suitable for agriculture by clearing, irrigation and drainage," the terms of the offer seem to mean that the responsible department in each colony shall attend to this. Somebody will have to pay and, if the immigrants are to pay out of their savings, they would probably prefer in most cases to get a free passage home and invest their savings in land in India, which would probably be far cheaper and certainly more satisfactory to them. It seems necessary to guard against the contingency of the offer of land turning out to be illusory: if there is any risk of this, it would be better not to make any such offer.

L. D. SWAMIKANNU—21-3-18.

I suppose it is ecclesiastical simplemindedness that mistakes suspicion for foresight.

There is clearly no analogy between the poll-tax in Natal and the rent on land-grants in these colonies now under discussion. The Indian immigrant was not wanted as a colonist in Natal. He is wanted as a colonist in Fiji, Trinidad and Guiana. If it is seriously supposed that there is a possibility of these colonial Governments offering land merely as a bait only later on to evict the grantees by imposing heavy rents then I submit no emigration should be allowed to these colonies under any conditions. But why this should be supposed passes my comprehension.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—2-4-18.

Part IV.—Conditions of employment.

A

The Protector of Emigrants suggests that some provision should be made for change of masters. He seems to think that under the scheme the choice of an employer of labour will have no field for exercise as common interests will make employers come to an understanding in the matter. Submitted that before the scheme has had a trial it will be too soon to apprehend that there will be a combination amongst the employers.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.
P.S.R.—26-2-18.

Part IV—cont.

An employer may agree not to take on a labourer who has deserted a fellow-employer from sheer devilment—just as one has to do with one's servants in this country. I don't know that we want to protect such rolling stones particularly. Where an employer has a bad name, however, a fellow-employer would have no compunction in taking on labourers who had left him.

C. H. BROWN—12-3-18.
L. D. SWAMIKANNU—21-3-18.

The experience of Ceylon and the Straits is all against the success of any attempt at combination amongst employers.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—2-4-18.

B

The Board of Revenue presumes that an employer will have to give at least a month's notice before sending an immigrant away. This presumption appears to be correct.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.
P.S.R.—26-2-18.

Might be made explicit.

C.H.B.—12-3-18.
L.D.S.—21-3-18.

Of course it is a month's notice on either side. This will be made clear (or the time to see that it is made clear will be) when the draft colonial ordinances come for examination. The question now is only one of a general scheme.

N.E.M.—2-4-18.

C

The Board further states that it is presumably for the colonies to consider the position of the employer saddled with the payment of an idle man and the maintenance of his children for six months or one month as the case may be and with no remedy except the securing of a civil court decree against a pauper. There is no provision in the scheme to protect the employer's interests, but it is submitted that it is a matter entirely for the consideration of the colonies concerned.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.
P.S.R.—26-2-18.

The scheme looks at the question purely from the point of view of the emigrant-labourer. The colonies may not want him at all. They may refuse or be unable to give him land. An employer seems to have no power of punishment—he can't fine at any rate [iv (2) (*b*)].

C.H.B.—12-3-18.

The utmost that the colonies may concede is that the Indian immigrant labourer shall be subject to the general law in each colony regarding the relations between master and servant. The law in Ceylon provides imprisonment as a punishment with
K | or without fine (Messrs. Marjoribanks and Marakkayar's report, page 13, paragraph 41): *not so in Malaya* (ibid, page 36, paragraph 37).

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

K—But this is right for the Straits Settlements or colony proper. Imprisonment is provided under the Federated Malay States Labour Code.

N.E.M.—2-4-18.

Part IV—cont.

D

Wages.

Mr. Marjoribanks suggests that the provisions for a minimum wage are not in the true interests of the immigrant. He states that the tendency is for a prescribed minimum to become the normal or even the maximum. Submitted for consideration whether this point may be put to India.

T.C.N.—21–2–18.

P.S.R.—26–2–18.

I hardly think a minimum wage can be fixed—in any general terms at least—in any case.

C. H. BROWN—12–3–18.

L. D. SWAMIKANNU—21–3–18.

My own idea is that the minimum wage clause is there for political effect. Practically I consider it unworkable.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—2–4–18.

E

Mr. Swaminathan suggests that a Wages Board composed of Indians, the Protector and some employers should be appointed to determine the minimum wage and that it should be revised at least once every six months instead of five years. A term of six months appears to be too short for revising the minimum wage.

T.C.N.—21–2–18.

P.S.R.—26–2–18.

Please see note above. Surely the employers in any particular locality should offer a wage for that locality, that wage should be referred to the local Protector and, if approved by him, not decreased without his consent.

C.H.B.—12–3–18.

L.D.S.—21–3–18.

F

On the question of wages Mr. Swaminathan suggests that the best way of getting the maximum work with minimum cost is to get married couples and pay for both sufficient wages which will keep them both above the necessaries of life and get the full work out of the man alone. He says that it is false economy that planters have adopted all along that men alone should be paid for their work and not their wives also. The suggestion appears to be theoretically sound but how far it is practicable of adoption or will prove to be in the interests of the employers or of the labourers is not known.

T.C.N.—21–2–18.

P.S.R.—26–2–18.

I think Mr. Swaminathan is right here and I don't see why the practical difficulties should be insuperable.

C.H.B.—12–3–18.

L.D.S.—21–3–18.

If it is meant that wives are not paid when they work on the plantations, this is of course not the case. They are paid separately.

If however it is meant that a married man should get paid for his work at a higher rate than an unmarried man, I fear that the idea must be more widely accepted and acted on before it can be forced on the employers in these few colonies. I am not aware that this idea is at the present day anywhere carried out.

N.E.M.—2–4–18.

Part IV—cont.

G

Rations for children and for pregnant and nursing women.

Mr. Marjoribanks points out that the provisions prescribing rations for children and for pregnant and nursing women are not consistent with a free system, that employers are certain to adopt these measures to attract free labour and that if compulsory on all employers they tend to confirm the idea that the labourer belongs to a particular employer and may fairly be prevented by means bordering on the illicit from leaving him. Submitted that the provisions are apparently intended mainly for the benefit of the labourers. Mr. Marjoribanks himself does not suggest that any amendments in this respect should now be made.

T.C.N.—21–2–18.

P.S.R.—26–2–18.

I don't quite follow the argument. Surely if compulsory on *all* employers, the rule would not make such treatment by any particular employer appear to constitute any sort of claim.

C. H. BROWN—12–3–18.

L. D. SWAMIKANNU—21–3–18.

I wrote with reference to the scheme before us. These provisions are incumbent on the approved or registered employers only.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—2–4–18.

Part V.—The employer.

No remarks.

Part VI.—The Emigration staff and supervising agency.

A

The Bishop of Madras points out that there is no provision in the scheme for preventing the notorious abuses which have always existed in connexion with recruiting in India, as apparently Inspectors of Emigration are to be appointed in India by the Colonial Government and as Emigration Agents will be licensed by the Emigration Commissioner appointed by the Colonial Government. It is submitted that the Protector of Emigrants or the District Magistrate will have to countersign the licence of the Emigration Agents and if these officers have the power of withdrawing the countersignature also as already suggested in paragraph 6 of page 4 ante this would secure effective control over abuses.

T.C.N.—21–2–18.

P.S.R.—26–2–18.

I think there is sufficient protection here.

C.H.B.—12–3–18.

The recommendations in the confidential note (page 13, paragraph 13 of letter No. 239, dated 9th March 1917) that the employment of irresponsible middlemen should be prohibited and that licensed recruiters should be restricted to defined areas might come in here. These are probably the abuses referred to by the Bishop.

L.D.S.—21–3–18.

The answer to the Bishop's remarks is that there is no evidence of any abuses notorious or otherwise in connexion with recruiting in India for these colonies in this Presidency for so long as the work has been supervised by a responsible officer of the Colonial Government. Possibly the Bishop refers to the recruitment of single women: but this was the result of our own rules. More probably however the Bishop is mixing up Mr. Andrews' fairy tales with what he has been told about unregulated recruitment for Malaya and Ceylon years ago and to planting estates in India and Kolar Gold Fields.

N.E.M.—2–4–18.

Part VI—cont.

B

The Bishop also points out that there is no security that inspectors will understand anything about village life in India or will know either the language or customs of the people. Submitted that the scheme provides for the appointment of Indians as inspectors if necessary. It is for consideration whether it may not be stipulated that inspectors should necessarily be Indians or those acquainted with the language and customs of the people in India. The Bishop strongly objects to the payment of money rewards to Emigration Agents but the Board of Revenue points out that it will be difficult to ensure that their remuneration is limited to their fixed salary. No remarks are called for.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

Should not the words "*shall be* Indians" be substituted for "*may be* Indians"?

It is also perhaps worth noting that the colonial officer in, say, Trinidad or Guiana with a "good knowledge" of, say, Telugu and Malayalam will be something of a *rara avis* [VI (5) of the scheme].

C. H. BROWN—12-3-18.

"A Protector of Emigrants, a colonial official with a *good* knowledge of the *principal* Indian languages"—all this is too much.

L. D. SWAMIKANNU—21-3-18.

The local agents of all the chief recruiting people (Ceylon Labour Commission, Straits Government, Colonial Emigration Agent) have always been Indians so far as I know. It is very improbable that Europeans could be had to do the work. Why these inspectors should be mentioned at all in this general scheme I never understood. It was an idea of Lord Islington's and as it seemed quite innocuous nobody thought of elaborating it or defining it further. I suspect the Bishop has misunderstood them to be local agents of the *Protector* of Emigrants.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—2-4-18.

C

The Board further suggests that the District Magistrate's scrutiny and countersignature of the Emigration Agent's licence should be annual. This suggestion may be put to India.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

C.H.B.—12-3-18.

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

This is a matter of detail which, I submit, does not arise now.

N.E.M.—2-4-18.

D

The Board again suggests that it will be desirable that the function of the Protector of Emigrants should be entrusted to some officer who tours throughout the Presidency. At present the Collector of Madras is also the Protector. The suggestion of the Board in this respect may perhaps be put to India. In paragraph 9 of letter to India No. 416, Home (Miscellaneous), dated the 26th April 1917, this Government have already suggested that the present Indian Emigration Act should be amended * so that emigration shall denote the departure of a native of India assisted by cash payment or the grant of free or aided passages to any country beyond the limits of India, with a view

[* It will be seen from India's despatch to the Secretary of State since received from the Hon'ble Sir Robert Clegg that India is not in favour of this suggestion.]

Part VI—cont.

to securing effective control over recruitment of labour to Ceylon and Malaya also. In this connexion this Government have stated a full-time Protector of Emigrants will be necessary.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

We may surely wait and see how emigration under the scheme develops first.

C. H. BROWN—12-3-18.

L. D. SWAMIKANNU—21-3-18.

The Board here again seems premature.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—2-4-18.

Part VII.—Depots.

The Board of Revenue recommends that a minimum period of detention at district depots should be prescribed so as to enable the relatives of runaways to trace them and that some provision should be made to ensure that each intending emigrant should be sent for this period to the depot of the district to which he belongs. This suggestion may perhaps be remitted for the consideration of India.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

C.H.B.—12-3-18.

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

This also is a detail that need hardly be discussed now.

N.E.M.—2-4-18.

Part VIII.—Conditions of emigration.

Attention is invited to paragraph 6 of the office-note on page 4 ante where it was pointed out that there is no provision as to who should give the written statement of conditions of employment to the emigrant. The Board observes that the statement may be given to the intending emigrant during the period of his detention at the district depot (part VII). The suggestion may be put to India along with that under part VII above.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

C.H.B.—12-3-18.

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

This, I submit, does not now arise for decision.

N.E.M.—2-4-18.

Part IX.—Surgeons on emigrant ships.

No remarks.

Part X.—Repatriation.

A

The Protector of Emigrants, Madras, suggests that the limiting of the period of continuous residence in the colony to five years instead of seven as a condition for earning the full passage money for repatriation will act as a greater incentive to emigration, and that payments of half, three-fourths of passage money respectively for three and four years' stay in the colony may also be allowed. Submitted that it will be seen from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Inter-Departmental Conference that the limit of seven years was originally proposed by the India Office. Even this limit was objected to as being very costly in the course of the discussion at the Conference. Besides the question of cost the one other objection put forward was that earlier opportunity of repatriation would prevent immigrants from settling. Submitted that in the light of the above it would appear undesirable to press for

Part X—cont.

further shortening the term of service entitling immigrants to claim free passage. The Board of Revenue also agrees that it will hardly be necessary to press for a reduction of the term in view of the favourable nature of the conditions.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

The whole principle of free or assisted return passages seems to me violently against the main purpose of the scheme. We are calling the thing as system of aided *colonization*: surely it's a poor sort of colonist who is going to dig up his roots and break home again after seven years and it will be a feeble sort of colony he will plant. The principle seems to me to smack of the old condemned system and is an incongruity in the new.

If people are so constituted that they are afraid to go forth and 'colonize' without a return ticket, it would seem to me they will never be very suitable as colonists or likely to do much good. And if it comes to the choice—as it *must* some day come—"will you have this piece of land or your fare home?", I fear too many will choose the latter. And against the inducement "here is a piece of land I should like to take up" the counter "but if I do, I lose my free passage home" will always act as a drag. In either case the stated purpose of the scheme—'colonization'—is defeated.

C. H. BROWN—12-3-18.

All the above and good deal more was discussed at the Conference.

The point is that you must take the Indian labourer as he is. He will go far afield and once he gets settled in another country *may* make it his home. To encourage him to do so, land is being offered to him under this scheme. But he will not go without the prospect of returning. In this country one goes and returns—one does not simply go—except to the burning ground.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—2-4-18.

B

The Board presumes that the offer of land will be of a specific area, the merits of which the emigrant will have full opportunity of examining. Otherwise it considers that some provision for surrendering the grant and reserving the right of repatriation is desirable since the immigrant cannot sell the land without sanction for ten years. It will be seen from page 6 of the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Conference that grants of land of specific areas alone are intended. The Bishop also considers that the condition that a grant of land extinguishes all claim to a free or assisted return passage seems unfair if the immigrant is prohibited from alienating his right in the land for ten years. He points out that it may well happen that owing to sickness or bad season or the fact that he has been given an inferior plot of land or is charged too high a rent he will be unable to make a living after two or three years. The Bishop accordingly considers that an immigrant ought to be able to sell his right in the land if he has forfeited his claim to a free passage. It is submitted that under the scheme a department in each colony will have power to resume any land not brought under cultivation within two years of the grant. It is presumed that with the surrender of the land, the right of free passage will be restored. Further the scheme provides for the grant of free return passage in full by the Protector of Immigrants subject to the approval of the Governor in Council in all cases where repatriation is desirable including cases of those who have been reduced to indigent circumstances. But it is not clear whether the powers vested in the Protector of Immigrants will be exercised to cover such cases, as those cited by the Bishop and the Board. It is for orders whether it will not be desirable to suggest for the consideration of India that the powers vested in the Protector should be exercised in favour of the immigrant to cover such cases.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

Part X—cont.

If the Bishop's scheme were adopted, I fear half the immigrant's lands would be in the hands of the local sowcars inside of ten years. This is the drawback to giving him any powers of alienation at all. I think it would be safer that he should *never* be allowed to "alienate or encumber his right in the land" except with the consent of the responsible department.

I suppose this danger exists in the colonies as it certainly does in India.

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

C. H. BROWN—12-3-18.

Ten years would be enough. It is considered enough in India in the case of grants of land to the depressed classes.

L. D. SWAMIKANNU—21-3-18.

The object of the clause against alienation is of course to prevent the grantee becoming a prey to the money-lender before he has settled down on the land. But it is not intended to insure him against failure in life in all respects for all time. The Bishop's remarks seem unreasonable and, where he refers to high rents, unworthy of his office.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—2-4-18.

C

The Board further suggests that India will have to provide for the repatriation of derelicts. This point may perhaps be put to India.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

It would be a charge on the immigrant fund.

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

To carry out the scheme logically, it would seem to be the duty of the employer. This, I think, would be better for the labourer at any rate.

C.H.B.—12-3-18.

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

The provision in clause (4) in section X.—Repatriation, seems to provide all that is necessary. 'Governor in Council' in this clause refers to the Colonial Government not to any Government in India. By 'India' the Board means the country generally as the derelict will come back destitute to his village. It hardly seems necessary to harrow our minds over these drops in the ocean.

N.E.M.—5-4-18.

Part XI.—Cancellation of indentures and repatriation of indentured labourers.

A

The suggestion of the Board of Revenue that provision should be made for shipment within, say, three months of recruiting may be put to India.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

C.H.B.—12-3-18.

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

There seems no need for any such anticipation. The Colonial Government is not likely to keep emigrants and feed them in depots for longer than they can possibly help.

N.E.M.—5-4-18.

B

The Board suggests that the term of five years of service which it is proposed to exclude in calculating the amount of service which would qualify labourers now under indenture for a free or assisted passage should be reduced. Submitted that the

Part XI—cont.

provision in the scheme regarding the exclusion of five years of service is only an alternative arrangement. It does not appear worth while to suggest any reduction of this term.

T.C.N.—21–2–18.

P.S.R.—26–2–18.

As to free passages, please see remarks above.

C. H. BROWN—12–3–18.

The Board's remarks are vague. The provision in itself seems fair enough.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—5–4–18.

C

Mr. Swaminathan suggests that for a speedy cancellation of indenture opinions may be invited from planters and other employers of labour in the colonies if the present scheme would not be acceptable so that the indentures may be cancelled at once. Submitted that all indentures will be cancelled from the date when first immigrants under the new scheme arrive in the colony. The employers will naturally be keen on the arrival of fresh immigrants and in the natural course indentures will be cancelled. The suggestion of Mr. Swaminathan appears therefore to be unnecessary to adopt.

T.C.N.—21–2–18.

P.S.R.—26–2–18.

The scheme provides.

C.H.B.—12–3–18.

L. D. SWAMIKANNU—21–3–18.

Yes.

N.E.M.—5–4–18.

Part XII.—Condition in the colonies.

The remarks of the Board of Revenue on this part of the scheme will be found at the end of page 8, current file. All the suggestions of the Board bearing on this part of the scheme may perhaps be remitted for the consideration of India.

T.C.N.—21–2–18.

P.S.R.—26–2–18.

I think it is a mistake to let the laws of the colony affect the Indian immigrant—the purely social laws, of course, I mean. If an Indian is allowed to have two wives at home I don't see why he should not be allowed to have them in the colony even though the local preference is for monogamy.

I think XII (2) and (3) pertain more to the days dreamed of by Mr. Swaminathan when colonists shall be of all classes.

C.H.B.—12–3–18.

(3) has to be provided for, however remote its fruition may be; (2) regarding educational facilities is nothing out of the way.

L.D.S.—21–3–18.

It is rather significant that the Bishop should be silent on this matter.

In Trinidad and Guiana (there is practically no question of emigration to Jamaica) I understand the position is that there are no legal restrictions regarding the marriage of Indian immigrants. Fiji is however entirely Christian. An Indian immigrant may bring two or more wives with him and they will be recognized if he registers them as his legal wives but further wives will not be recognized. I tried to get the exact position more fully defined but there seemed a general disinclination to do so. Very likely the Colonial officer did not know. It might be well to ask for a clear statement of what is and what is not repugnant to the marriage laws of each colony if it is held that it is necessary and beneficial for the Indian labourer to

Part XII—cont.

take his pagan practices with him. Personally I think the colonial law is more likely to be good for him. As for telling him beforehand I don't think it matters much practically what he is told or not told. (I don't mean that he should be told lies !)

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—5–4–18.

General.

4. The following deals with certain general remarks made by the Board of Revenue and the non-officials consulted which are not directly connected with the scheme :—

A

The Board of Revenue states that it is believed that a part of the difficulties that have arisen in the past have had their origin in the indiscriminate recruitment of Indians of all classes and races for the same colony and is of the opinion that something might perhaps be done to prevent admixture, for instance, by laying down that there shall be no recruiting for any colony of labour of a class that is not already there except with the previous permission of the Government of India. In connexion with the imposing of restrictions on the emigration of Indian labour to Malaya, the Provincial Recruiting Board, Madras, recently considered whether it was not desirable to close certain districts to recruitment. The Recruiting Board after consideration did not favour the idea. The proposal of the Board of Revenue to prohibit particular classes from being recruited for particular colonies seems to present a more difficult problem to solve satisfactorily.

T.C.N.—21–2–18.

P.S.R.—26–2–18.

A fortiori it does.

C. H. BROWN—12–3–18.

L. D. SWAMIKANNU—21–3–18.

The proposal is impracticable, I think.

N.E.M.—5–4–18.

B

Mr. Swaminathan suggests that opportunities should be given for the settlement of middle class men in the colonies. His further suggestions of a general character will be found at page 14, current file. It is for consideration whether his suggestion regarding the settlement of communities in one block may not be put to India. His other suggestions do not seem to require serious consideration.

T.C.N.—21–2–18.

P.S.R.—26–2–18.

I fear these suggestions are Utopian meantime—even the block-community one will hardly be feasible.

C.H.B.—12–3–18.

Mr. Swaminathan does not forget to provide a sprinkling of 'lawyers' in his very first shipload of emigrants.

L.D.S.—21–3–18.

C

Dr. Nayar suggests that any scheme of assisted emigration which would diminish recruits to the Indian Army and curtail the labour supply for the agricultural and industrial operations in this country would be highly detrimental to the interests of India. He considers that if the scheme of assisted emigration is to be brought into operation care must be taken that able-bodied individuals from classes from which recruits are generally obtained should not be selected for emigration and that emigration should be discouraged from localities and communities which at present supply the labour market in India. It is submitted that the question of

General—cont.

restricting emigration in the interests of recruiting for the Army was considered at length at page 16 of the notes to G.O. No. 1046, Public, dated the 30th May 1916, and it was thought that the controlled emigration to distant colonies was so small that it was unnecessary to interfere with it.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

C. H. BROWN—12-3-18.

Honourable Member (Judicial) has already declared his views on this point.

L. D. SWAMIKANNU—21-3-18.

There is not the slightest chance of there being any recruiting for these colonies under any scheme till after the war— on account of lack of transport if for no other reason.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—5-4-18.

D

Dr. Nayar further suggests that the enactment of a minimum wage is urgently called for in India. He is of the opinion that no scheme of assisted emigration should be sanctioned till the legislature in India has done everything possible to put the labourer in an advantageous position so that his ignorance and incapacity to combine do not handicap him in his bargaining with the powerful capitalist. This appears to be an important question which may require separate attention. It is for consideration whether there is any need at present to mix up this question with the consideration of the scheme.

No, I think.
C.H.B—12-3-18.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

Is the Indian labourer "ignorant and incapable" when it comes to bargaining for a day's pay ?

C.H.B.—12-3-18.

It is emigration that has helped to raise the wages and by consequence the standard of comfort of the agricultural labourer in East Coast districts, notably Tanjore. If Government should shut down emigration, they will shut down the prospects of the agricultural labourer.

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

5. The Bishop of Madras suggests that before any action is taken by the Government of India the report should be referred to a commission consisting partly of officials and partly of non-officials both European and Indian and that one or two missionaries from districts where recruiting has been carried on in the past should be put on the commission. For orders whether this suggestion may be remitted to India for consideration. The whole file may perhaps be sent u.o. to Mr. Marjoribanks for any remarks he may have to offer on the suggestions of officials and non-officials consulted.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.

P.S.R.—26-2-18.

Surely we need not refer the question any more ?

C.H.B.—12-3-18.

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

Please send u.o. to Mr. Marjoribanks for his remarks on the suggestions made.

H. F. W. G[ILLMAN]—28-3-18.

N. E. Marjoribanks, Esq., I.C.S., u.o.

L.D.S.—30-3-18.

I have submitted a few remarks on the various points noted and added some general remarks at the end.

N.E.M.—5-4-18.

I would submit that it is only the broad lines of the scheme that need engage attention at present. I do not think the Conference supposed they were producing a detailed scheme capable of being put into immediate operation. Further before discussing and amending or accepting the general provisions proposed by the Conference it seems necessary for Government either to accept or reject the position of 'Indian publicists' (or most of them) that no emigration of labour should be allowed.

The arguments on this most important matter have been very well put in Mr. Montagu's despatch to the Government of India, dated 21st September 1917 (recently published in the *Gazette of India*). And an answer to those who so often proclaim the demand for labour in India and the attractive terms of employment available will be found in Mr. Gray's two reports, Nos. 1 and 2, dated 22nd November 1917, which no doubt have reached Government by this time.

If Government wish to stop emigration they can do so either by a plain prohibition as at present or by making conditions that cannot be agreed to by the colonial employer. This employer is of course not acting out of philanthropy and is prepared to cut his losses and do without the Indian labourer if he cannot be had except on prohibitive terms.

I would submit that if it is agreed that emigration is a good thing for the Indian labourer, the safeguards provided by the scheme are liberal and sufficient. Details will of course require elaboration in due course.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—5-4-18.

HOME (MISCELLANEOUS) DEPARTMENT.

Submitted for orders whether the views expressed by Mr. Marjoribanks on each point may be accepted and a draft letter to India prepared Attention is in this connexion invited to paragraphs 14 to 28 of the Secretary of State's despatch No. 117, dated the 21st September 1917, which fully explain the principles on which the scheme of the Inter-Departmental Conference was drawn up. The only points in the scheme which are not acceptable to Mr. Marjoribanks are—

(1) The probationary period of six months on the first arrival of the emigrant,

and

(2) the fixing of a minimum wage.

He, however, says that there is no harm in the retention of the probationary period. Paragraph 15 of the Secretary of State's despatch referred to above fully explains the necessity for such a probationary period. As regards the minimum wage Mr. Marjoribanks says that practically the proposal is unworkable. For orders whether this may be mentioned in the letter to India.

But, I gather he would not object to its inclusion as a bit of political theory.
C.H.B.—23-4-18.

2. Orders are requested whether before the file is submitted to the Honourable Member the notes may be printed for convenience of the Honourable Member's reference.

T.C.N.—19-4-18.

P.DER.—22-4-18.

Please see specially Mr. Marjoribanks' note on page 16 ante. He says the Indian labourer *may* make a colonist. He also says elsewhere that the Indian *is wanted* as a colonist in Guiana, Trinidad and Fiji. These seem to me to be the two main premises on which we may form our general conclusions.

2. Mr. Marjoribanks further advises a preliminary pronouncement on the question of whether or not emigration from India is to be allowed as in the interest of the emigrant. If we decide that it is, then the scheme, viewed as a scheme of protected emigration, is sufficient. We are not dealing with a people of national colonists and we can't make them into colonists at this end. If our scheme offers suitable protection to the Indian emigrant, then it is for the colonies who want him as a colonist to turn him into one by inducements on the spot—if they can.

3. Mr. Marjoribanks shows that the war or man-power aspect does not affect the question, as there will be no possibility of putting the scheme into effect till after the war.

4. We may agree with Mr. Marjoribanks what we have to consider is the broad aspect of the scheme. It is for orders whether the draft to India may generally accept the proposals of the Conference.

5. The notes may be printed up at this stage.

C. H. BROWN—23-4-18.

Yes, please in sections.

R. RAMACHANDRA RAO—24-4-18.

Print up notes, then compare points with our last letter on the subject and note points occurring therein which are now altered or omitted.

C.H.B.—24-4-18.

From the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, dated 2nd April 1918, *No.* 906.

The points in our last letter which are now altered or omitted are set out below :—

Suggestions made by this Government in letter No. 239, dated the 9th March 1917.	As now altered or omitted.
(1) An emigrant should not be bound to serve a particular employer for a longer period than a month.	(1) It has now been proposed to accept the provision in the scheme that an immigrant on arrival will be required to remain with an employer for six months in the first instance.
(2) It was suggested that an Indian labourer wishing to return to India should be entitled to receive from immigration fund— (i) one-third of the cost of the passage after he has been one year in the colony, (ii) two-thirds, etc., after two years, (iii) the whole cost after three years.	(2) It has been proposed to accept the following provisions in the scheme without remarks :— An emigrant wishing to return to India will be granted for himself and dependents— (i) half the passage after three years' continuous residence in the colony, (ii) three-fourths after five years, (iii) whole after seven years. The acceptance of grant of land under special facilities will be held to extinguish all claims to a free or assisted passage.
(3) It was suggested that an emigrant should be given an assurance that free passages from India will, at any time, be given to his wife and children or other near relatives to join him in the colony.	(3) No mention is made in the scheme of this suggestion, nor has it been considered whether India should be told that this should be provided for.
(4) It was stipulated that at least one steamer should be sailing from the colony for India.	(4) No mention is made in the scheme of this suggestion, nor has it been considered whether India should be told that this should be provided for.

2. It has been proposed to accept the entire scheme subject to the following minor remarks :—

(1) The fixing of a minimum wage is not in the true interests of the immigrant. The proposal is practically unworkable.

(2) A clear statement of what is and what is not repugnant to the marriage laws of each colony will have to be obtained. [Mr. Marjoribanks states that it might be well to ask for such a statement if it is held that it is necessary and beneficial for the Indian labourer to take his pagan practices with him. For orders.]

3. India in this connexion ask to be furnished with such observations on the correspondence with the Secretary of State contained in resolution No. 3691-D., dated the 23rd March 1918, as this Government may desire to offer. No remarks seem called for on the correspondence contained in the first ten pages of the resolution. The first twelve paragraphs of the Secretary of State's despatch No. 117, Public, dated the 21st September 1917, explain that under such a carefully guarded system of

colonization as the scheme of the conference provides, emigration to West Indies and Fiji will not involve degradation. The remarks contained in these paragraphs are relevant to the suggestion made by Mr. Marjoribanks, viz., that a preliminary pronouncement should be made on the question of whether or not emigration to distant colonies is to be allowed as in the interest of the emigrant. Of the officials and non-officials consulted, the Hon'ble Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao alone is altogether opposed to emigration. It will be seen that he bases his conclusion on the grounds that the "assisted emigrant will, in the long run, be in the same position as the indentured emigrant" . . . that "the safeguards proposed in the new system will not prove in the long run to be any better than those adopted" . . . and that "it is impossible to afford them (immigrants) adequate safeguards against chicanery, fraud and intimidation".

It seems clear that the above suppositions are a result of inadequate grasp of the fundamental principle underlying the whole scheme, viz., encouragement of the settlement of free Indians in the colonies. The recruitment by inspectors who will be mostly Indians, the control and supervision by Emigration Agents, the abolition of indenture, the emigrant's freedom to choose any employer (excepting during the probationary period), the encouragement offered to settle in the colony, and the assistance provided for a return passage, all these are distinct advantages over the old system and it does not appear that Mr. Ramachandra Rao is justified in his fears that the safeguards under the new scheme would prove ineffective. All the others consulted favour emigration. In the circumstances it is for orders whether this Government may declare that emigration under the new scheme will be in the interest of the labourer.

4. Paragraphs 14 to 29 of the Secretary of State's despatch referred to above are devoted to explaining the principles underlying the main provisions of the scheme. No remarks are called for on these as it has been proposed to accept the whole scheme with remarks on one or two points—vide paragraph 2 supra.

5. The only remaining point which seems to call for any observation is the question of legal control over emigration to distant colonies as well as Ceylon and Malaya—vide paragraphs 10 and 11 of the despatch. The Secretary of State states that legislation in some form will be inevitable in order to provide for supervision by Government officers which the scheme contemplates and he points out certain difficulties in framing the provisions of such a Bill. It is presumed that India will take up this question separately after the opinions of the Local Governments on the scheme have been received and it seems unnecessary at present to consider this question. The Secretary of State also alludes to the possibility of modifying the present system of labour emigration to Ceylon and Malaya which is free from any legal restriction or supervision. So far as emigration to Ceylon and Malaya is concerned this Government have already suggested that it should be brought within the scope of the Indian Emigration Act—paragraph 9, letter No. 416, dated 26th April 1917. But India has taken exception to this suggestion and has stated in their despatch No. 31, dated the 28th December 1917, that the present would be a most inopportune time to amend the Indian Emigration Act in this respect—G.O. No. 187, dated 4th March 1918. In view of these it does not seem now necessary to make any remarks about this question either. As stated by the Secretary of State the question of dealing afresh by legislation with the whole system of emigration may ultimately come up for consideration.

6. Orders are requested whether the file should go again u.o. to Mr. Marjoribanks for any remarks on the above.

T.C.N.—7-5-18.

P.DER.—13-5-18.

For orders in the first instance on paragraph 6 above. If not, may a draft be prepared now ?

C. H. BROWN—14-5-18.

I shall be glad if Mr. Marjoribanks can find time to note further if necessary. On return, rearrange notes and obtain the Honourable Member's orders on the sections and then draft.

R. RAMACHANDRA RAO—15-5-18.

I don't think I can usefully make any further general remarks. Regarding points (3) and (4) of paragraph 1 of the note on page 22 supra, one of the main objects of the scheme being to promote family emigration, it was thought unnecessary to mention expressly that free passages would be given for wife and children or other near relatives to join him in the colony. There would however be no harm in mentioning the point and saying that it is presumed this will be provided for (*pro majore cantela*).

In the same manner it was thought unnecessary to mention about the return ship. If the colonies agree to the return passages clause they must of course provide a steamer.

I would not be understood as advising the cancellation of the minimum wage provision now that it has been put in the scheme.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—15-5-18.

File submitted. For orders as to circulation. The sectional notes will be found at pages 8—20 ante.

T.C.N.—18-5-18.

P.DER.—20-5-18.

R. RAMACHANDRA RAO—21-5-18.

As observed by Mr. Marjoribanks, it is only with the broad outlines of the scheme that we need concern ourselves in our reply.

It is clear from the replies received from non-officials who have been consulted that public opinion is opposed to emigration in any form. The plea is raised that there is a dearth of agricultural labour in this country, and it is said that an outlet for the surplus population is not necessary, and has been stimulated in the past by artificial means. The reason for this opposition, which has been noticed in the Secretary of State's despatch of the 21st September last, is that private economic interests are affected by emigration because it reduces the labour supply and helps to emancipate labour. So long as the opponents of emigration could raise objections based on philanthropic grounds they declaimed against indenture and other abuses of the past system; but now, when they see that these abuses are to be removed and that the Indian emigrant is to be treated with the greatest consideration, they produce their real arguments. These may be met—

(1) by indicating the results of Mr. Gray's enquiries which are to the effect that labourers are often the bondsmen of their masters, that the economic depression of the labouring classes is one of the main factors affecting emigration, and that emigration has already done much to improve their condition and wages. (See passages of Mr. Gray's report, dated 27th November 1917, which I have marked in blue pencil);

(2) by the fact, which Mr. Montagu recognized, that indentured emigration in the past has been only a small fraction of the emigration to Ceylon and Malaya, which has come in for comparatively little criticism from the public.

X

The verdict must therefore be that emigration is a good thing for the Indian labourer.

The scheme is the result of a compromise with the colonies, and it is obvious that India cannot get better terms, such as this Government proposed. I do not like the six months' probationary period or the seven years' service for a free passage back, but I do not think that these prescriptions seriously vitiate the scheme, which in its general aspects seems to have been drawn up with the genuine intention of improving the treatment and status of the Indian emigrant in the colonies. In practical working, matters like the method of financing the scheme, the minimum wage question, land settlement, etc., will have to be considered and satisfactory solutions will no doubt be discovered. It is to be noted that the recruiting agency is henceforth to be paid a fixed salary and not by results; also that the Indian coolie will know exactly what his prospects are in any colony. If under these circumstances emigration continues to be popular, it cannot reasonably be said that it is being stimulated by artificial means.

H. F. W. G[ILLMAN]—13-6-18.

Letter No. 239, Home (Miscellaneous), dated 9th March 1917, was discussed in Council. The scheme of the Inter-departmental Conference differs in some particulars from the above letter.

So the file is circulated for orders whether a draft may be put up as per Honourable Member's (Judicial) orders above.

R. RAMACHANDRA RAO—17-6-18.

With reference to **X** on page 24 ante I should like to have some idea of the volume of the indentured emigration, which it is proposed to change to assisted emigration, and the emigration to Ceylon and Malaya which it is not proposed by anybody to interfere with.

P. R[AJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR]—18-6-18.

I shall note after obtaining the above information from the Home Secretary. I am sure that it is somewhere in the file: but I am not able to lay my hands on it.

P. R[AJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR]—18-6-18.

The following statement compares the number of labourers who emigrated to Ceylon, Malaya, and to distant colonies in the years 1912, 1913 and 1915. The figures for 1914 have been omitted as emigration during that year was affected by exceptional circumstances. Figures for 1916 have not also been taken as accurate figures are not available for Ceylon:—

Uncontrolled Emigration.

I. Ceylon.

	Year.	Men.	Women.	Children.
Page 3 of notes to G.O. 326, 30th March 1917.	1912	68,638	25,983	23,289
	1913	69,961	26,880	23,389
	1915	54,092	20,565	20,152
	Total	192,691	73,428	66,830
	Average for one year	64,230	24,476	22,276

II. Malaya.

Page 26 of the report of Messrs. Marjoribanks and Marakkayar.	1912	60,083	13,610	3,327
	1913	67,957	15,892	4,056
	1915	42,174	9,104	2,005
	Total	170,214	38,606	9,388
	Average for one year	56,738	12,868	3,129

Indentured emigration.

Taken from annual reports on Emigration and Immigration.	1912	1,644	672	230
	1913	1,517	605	144
	1915	1,284	438	130
	Total	4,445	1,715	504
	Average for one year	1,482	572	168
	Total average emigration to Ceylon and Malaya for one year	120,968	37,344	25,405
	Average indentured emigration for a year	1,482	572	168

The above statement shows that the number of labourers that emigrated in the past to distant colonies is negligible compared to the large flow of emigration to Ceylon and Malaya.

2. This Government have moved India to get the obvious ills connected with the system of emigration to Ceylon and Malaya also remedied, which were brought to notice by Messrs. Marjoribanks and Marakkayar—vide letter No. 416, dated the 26th April 1917—and the Government of India have already addressed the Secretary of

State in the matter, but have expressed reluctance to introduce legal control over such emigration (G.O. No. 187, dated 4th March 1918). It is to this that the Secretary of State makes reference in paragraph 11 of his despatch. He also states that in the interests of India it may be found necessary to deal afresh by legislation with the whole system of labour emigration.

T.C.N.—19–6–18.

P.DER.—21–6–18.

C. H. BROWN—22–6–18.

R. RAMACHANDRA RAO—24–6–18.

I confess to a feeling of sympathy with the views expressed by the Hon'ble Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao in his demi-official, dated the 16th January 1918, and by Doctor Nayar. I fear that the 'assisted emigrant' of the future will not be much better off than the 'indentured emigrant' of the past: and it is a matter for consideration, considering the very small volume of this emigration—an average of 1,482 men, 572 women and 168 children—if it should at all be revived. I entirely agree with my Hon'ble Colleague Mr. Gillman that emigration is a good thing for the Indian labourer: but as long as the emigration to Ceylon and the Malaya States* is allowed, the Indian labourer would hardly suffer if emigration to the more distant colonies of Fiji, etc., is permanently prohibited. I take it that this latter emigration is really more in the interests of the distant colonies themselves than of the Indian labourer. If it is open to us at this stage to recommend that emigration to Fiji, etc., should not be revived, I would not hesitate to recommend accordingly.

* An average of 120,968 men, 37,344 women and 25,405 children.

P. R[AJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR]—25–6–18.

The grounds upon which Doctor Nayar and Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao proceed seem to be, first, that the supply of labour in India is already insufficient for India's needs and that, therefore, no emigration should be allowed, and, second, that the Indian labourers derive no benefit from emigration to the colonies in question. As regards the first of these points, Mr. Ramachandra Rao refrains from giving us any facts in support of his statement that there is no surplus population in India, but on the other hand there is abundant evidence to prove the contrary. In many parts of India and of this Presidency, the pressure of population on the land is very severe. Thus, in no less than 18·4 per cent of the total area of this Presidency, the population exceeds 500 to the square mile while in another 24 per cent of the area of the Presidency the population exceeds 300 to the square mile so that, over not less than 42 per cent of the total area of the Madras Presidency, the population exceeds 300 to the square mile. Of the total population of the Presidency, 39·5 per cent inhabit areas where the population exceeds 500 to the square mile. This intense pressure of population upon the land seems a sufficient answer by itself to Mr. Ramachandra Rao's statement. But, in addition to this, there is the admitted fact that large numbers of the population annually migrate without assistance of any kind to Ceylon, Burma and the Straits Settlements. As the figures which have been obtained by my Honourable Colleague show, the average emigration to Ceylon and the Straits Settlements alone amounts to 121,000 per annum. It may well be asked whether this emigration, which does not include that to Burma, is not a clear proof that there does exist what Mr. Ramachandra Rao denies, i.e., a genuine demand by the people for an outlet of the surplus population.

2. As to the question whether the landless labouring classes in Madras can be benefited by emigration, the condition of these classes in their native villages is important evidence. The report of Mr. K. S. Srinivasa Achari on Tanjore and that of Mr. J. Gray on the depressed classes in Chingleput, South Arcot, Tanjore and Malabar leave no doubt as to the miserably depressed condition which the landless labourer occupies. Wages have no doubt advanced in the last twenty years, but Mr. Gray shows that in Chingleput 49 per cent of the villages and in South Arcot 52 per cent of the villages investigated showed a daily rate of wages not exceeding 3 annas for an adult male—paragraph 15 of report, dated 22nd November 1917. In a recent article in *The Statist*, it was asserted that there are some areas in India in which the wage did not exceed 1 anna a day. The system of advances under which the *pannaiyal* binds himself to work for the same master for life converts the labourer

into something little better than a slave, while the fact that the labourer does not own the hut in which he lives gives the employer a powerful weapon of restraint over him. To these people, emigration has been the only means of escape. The late Mr. C. T. H. Johnson, Sub-Collector of Tanjore, writing in 1909 on the subject of emigration said that through it the labourer "is now really a free man"—page 7 of Notes to G.O. Nos. 391–92, dated 30th March 1914. Before there was emigration, the labourer had nowhere else to go to. He could not run away because he had nowhere to run to. Emigration has changed this and that is why, during the last twenty years, the landholders of Tanjore and elsewhere have been steadily agitating against emigration. The amount of remittances made by emigrant coolies from Fiji, British Guiana, etc., may not appear to be very large in themselves, but it may well be asked how long it would have taken before these labourers, if they had remained in their own villages, would have been able to remit as much. Thus, in the five years ending 1915, a sum of Rs. 3,31,000 was remitted by Indian emigrants in Fiji, while a further sum of Rs. 2,09,000 was deposited in local savings banks. The evidence that on the whole the Indian emigrant benefits by his escape from the servitude in his native village to the colonies is, I think, too strong to resist.

3. If then it is shown that India has surplus population and that that surplus population is benefited by emigration, it seems to me that it is the duty of the Government to see that no artificial barriers are placed in the way of such emigration. The object of the present proposals is to remove those drawbacks which have hitherto attended emigration to British colonies other than Ceylon and the Straits Settlements. No doubt, the same interests which have in the past continually endeavoured, as I showed in paragraph 24 of my note of the 10th of December last, to put a stop to emigration will continue to agitate against it, and in view of the small number of emigrants that go from Madras to the colonies, it would doubtless be convenient to avoid the agitation which these persons may be expected to create. But it must be remembered that, although the number of emigrants from Madras is small, larger numbers go from Bengal so that in 1912–13 (*after* the discontinuance of emigration to Natal) the total emigration to colonies other than Singapore and Ceylon amounted to over 12,000. I do not think we should be justified in doing anything to interfere with this emigration and I therefore agree with Mr. Gillman that the proposals of the Inter-departmental Conference should be generally accepted.

A. G. C[ARDEW]—5–7–18.

P[ENTLAND]—6–7–18.

A draft order and a draft reply to the Government of India on the lines of the notes of the Honourable Member (1) and the Honourable Member (2) are submitted for approval.

T.C.N.—9–7–18.

P.DER.—13–7–18.

Clean draft, please.

C. H. BROWN—16–7–18.

From the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, dated the 6th July 1918, *No.* 6180.

Clean copy of draft letter submitted. Attention is invited to a further communication from India forwarding for consideration a copy of correspondence between the Colonial office and the India Office on the probable effect on the sugar industry in Fiji of the conditions proposed in the scheme of the Inter-departmental Conference. It will be seen that the sugar companies in Fiji are opposed to the scheme of the conference in view of the cost involved and that they are not prepared to give the scheme even a trial. But it will be noticed that the Colonial Sugar Refining Company does not expect any modification of the terms now proposed as the scheme has been published in India. The company however thinks that some method may be evolved later on of turning a small stream of emigrants to Fiji to provide a supply of labour available on terms corresponding with the capacity of the men in question. It is premature to say whether any such method will be evolved in future.

2. The annual reports on the condition of immigrants in Fiji show that the sugar industry is not the only one that provides employment for Indian labourers but that there are other industries such as those connected with copra, bananas, which afford employment to Indian labourers, besides general cultivation. It is not known however to what proportion of immigrants the sugar industry provides employment—vide page 7 of report in G.O. No. 421, dated 6th May 1918 and page 8 of report in G.O. No. 502, dated 28th May 1917.

3. The figures of emigration during the three years 1914—16 show that it was Fiji that attracted the largest number of emigrants:—

—	Fiji.				British Guiana.				Trinidad.				Jamaica.			
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men	Women.	Children	Total.
1914	369	127	46	542	205	82	25	312	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1915	782	254	79	1,115	502	184	51	737	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1916	562	259	129	950	283	104	50	387	600	241	69	910	168	74	16	258

If the sugar companies in Fiji refuse to accept the scheme it is not unlikely that an important outlet will be closed to Indian immigrants, but it does not seem likely that in view of this circumstance the Government will be prepared to modify the scheme in any respect before it has had a trial.

4. After orders are passed on the above the necessary addition will be made to draft letter.

T.C.N.—17-7-18.

P.DER.—18-7-18.

For orders as to whether any alteration in this draft is necessary or whether it would not be better to make this the subject of a separate reply.

C. H. BROWN—18-7-18.

The sugar planters in Fiji do not want the scheme. But the Secretary of State definitely states that, notwithstanding this, the change in policy was inevitable. It is quite possible that the scheme of 'assisted emigration' may not work out well. It seems to be unnecessary to allude specially to this last paper.

Draft for orders.

R. RAMACHANDRA RAO—19-7-18.

Approved.

H. F. W. G[ILLMAN]—20-7-18.

I confess I continue sceptical about the scheme of assisted emigration; but I do not wish to stand in the way of the draft letter to India going forward.

P. R[AJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR]—3-8-18.

Submitted for orders whether the drafts may issue.

A.V.S.—3-8-18.
P.DER.—3-8-18.

C.H.B.—5-8-18.

[G.O. Nos. 585-86, Home (Miscellaneous), dated 5th August 1918.]

Sectt. II-10 (b)—1,603—21-1-18.

HOME (MIS.) DEPARTMENT.

Emigration - Distant Colonies.

Directing the despatch of a reply to the Govt. of India, Dept. of Commerce & Industry furnishing the views of this Govt. on the scheme of the Inter-departmental conference for a new assisted system of emigration to distant colonies.

READ AGAIN G.O. No. ....., dated ..... 191 .

" " " " ....., " ..... 191 .

READ ALSO:—

C. No. ....., From the Papers in C.F., No. ....., dated ..... 191 .

" " ....., " " ....., " ....., " ..... 191 .

" " ....., " " ....., " ....., " ..... 191 .

ORDER.

No. 585, dated 5-8 1918.

P.S.

P.N.

Not for S.T.

Letter already posted with Mr. Low's Standing Remarks to Punjab

Bgt with the endo & 35 copies 17/8/18

#1-5 C.F

The following reply will be despatched to the Govt. of India, Dept. of Commerce & Industry:-

Letter

No. 586 dt. 5-8-18

To

The Secy. to the Govt. of India,
Dept. of Commerce & Industry.
(with copies of Mr. Gray's reports)

Sir,

I am directed to invite a reference to Mr. Low's endorsement forwarding a copy of the Resolution of the Govt. of India, Department of Commerce & Industry, No.10294, dated the 1-9-17, and to furnish the remarks of this Government on the scheme of the Inter-departmental conference held at London in May 1917

for a new assisted system of emigration to distant Crown Colonies. Attention is also requested to the correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State forwarded with Mr. Hardy's letter No.906, dated the 2nd April 1918.

2. The ~~conference's scheme has~~ views of
been referred to select officials and
non-officials ~~and their views obtained.~~ have been obtained on the scheme formulated at the Conference
The bulk of non-official opinion deprecates emigration to distant colonies in any form and proceeds from two premises — first, that the supply of labour in India is already insufficient for India's needs and second, that even if a surplus of the labouring classes did exist, its constituents would derive no benefit from emigration to the colonies in question. It is urged that no outlet is necessary and that the emigration of the past has been stimulated by artificial means. The Governor in Council is not prepared to accept the unsupported statement that there is no demand for an outlet for the surplus population of India; on the other hand he finds that there is abundant and convincing evidence to the contrary. In many parts of India - and in this Presidency by no means the least - the pressure of population on the land is very severe. Thus in no less than 18.4 per cent of the total area of the Madras Presidency, the population exceeds 500 to the square

p16 C.F.

Cf. H.M.'s notes pp 46 & 53

H.M.'s note p 53.

36

H.M.'s note p53 para

ibid

mile, while in another 24 per cent the population exceeds 300 to the square mile, so that, over not less than 42 % of the total area of the Presidency, the population exceeds 300 to the square mile. Of the total population of this Presidency 39.5 % inhabit areas where the population exceeds 500 to the square mile. These figures, in His Excellency's opinion, testify clearly to congestion and the consequent need for relief. As against the argument that emigration in the past has been the product of artificially devised inducements a resort to statistics is again convincing. As was observed in para 5 of the Secy. of State's despatch to the Govt. of India No. 117 Public, dated the 21-9-17, a very large number of labourers annually emigrate without assistance of any kind to Ceylon & Malaya and the statistics actually show that the average of this emigration alone amounts to 158,312 adults per annum as against an average of only 2054 adults under the indentured system. His Excellency in Council is pursuaded that the volume of this emigration (which excludes that to Burma) viewed with the census figures for this Presidency demonstrates beyond possibility of doubt the cogent necessity of an outlet for the surplus population.

p28 C.F

p51 f note

3. The contention that the labouring classes of Madras are not benefited by emigration is rendered untenable by recent enquiries into the economic conditions of these communities at home. The reports of Mr. Gray who enquired recently into the economic condition of the depressed classes in the districts of Chingleput, South Arcot, Tanjore & Malabar ~~and into the method of collecting statistics of~~

Para 2 of H.M.'s note p54

Flags (S) & (T)

wages, leave no doubt as to the miserably depressed condition of the landless labourer. From the copies enclosed, it will be seen that, although wages have actually risen in the last 20 years, yet in Chingleput 49 % of the villages and in South Arcot 52 % of the villages investigated showed a daily rate of wages not exceeding 3 annas for an adult male. A labourer fettered by a perpetual system of advances, and indebted to his master even for the hut in which he lives is reduced to a condition not greatly differing from slavery. To such classes emigration has been the only means of escape, and it is recorded by Mr. Gray that the labouring classes themselves recognize that emigration has had the effect of raising the wages and improving the condition as well of those who remain, as of those who have ventured a field. In support of the proposition that the Indian labourer benefits by emigration the accumulated evidence of these enquiries is, in the opinion of His Excellency in Council, nothing short of irresistible.

4. His Excellency in Council has reviewed at length these fundamental aspects of the question as he believes that a considered decision on these is the necessary preliminary to any further advance. The demand for an outlet and the advantages of emigration being demonstrated, His Excellency concludes that it is the duty of Government to remove such barriers and disabilities as at present exist. Turning then to the outlines of the scheme of the Inter-departmental conference, the Governor in Council recognises that while

the scheme is necessarily a compromise with the Colonies concerned, it avoids the main evils of the indentured system and forms, in his opinion, a genuine essay towards the goal just indicated. The provisions as to a probationary period of six months under a selected employer and a continuous residence of as many as seven years as the condition of a free return passage do not appeal to this Government, but they do not think that these prescriptions seriously vitiate the scheme which in its general aspects must tend to improve the treatment and status of the Indian emigrant. The Governor in Council would here confine himself to the general aspects of the scheme, believing that the hour for an examination of its minutiae is not yet ripe: such problems as the method of financing the scheme, the minimum wage question, and the settlement of land will illuminate themselves in the light of practical working, and experience will doubtless indicate a satisfactory solution to them all. His Excellency in Council therefore accords meantime to the proposals of the inter-departmental conference general acceptance and approval.

I have etc.

B. J. B.

Supl
Proof for approval
Please Arrive
Please see Secrets
26

86
27.8.18

G.O. No. 585, 5th August 1918

Emigration—Distant Colonies.

Directing the dispatch of a reply to the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, furnishing the views of this Government on the scheme of the inter-departmental conference for a new assisted system of emigration to distant colonies.

READ—the following papers :—

I

Resolution of the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, No. 10294, dated Simla, the 1st September 1917.

The following Report of the Inter-Departmental Conference recently held in London to consider proposals for a new assisted system of emigration to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji is published for public information and criticism. The Government of India have not yet considered the report and reserve judgment on all the points raised in it.

The Secretary of State has desired that it should be made known that His Majesty's Government in agreement with the Government of India have decided that indentured emigration shall not be re-opened. They also consider that no free emigrants can be introduced into any Colony until all Indian immigrants already there have been released from existing indentures.

ENCLOSURE.

REPORT OF THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL CONFERENCE ON ASSISTED EMIGRATION FROM INDIA TO BRITISH GUIANA, TRINIDAD, JAMAICA AND FIJI.

It was decided towards the close of 1915 to hold an Inter-Departmental Conference to consider the questions raised by the Government of India in their despatch on Emigration (No. 41 of 1915, dated 15th October 1915). The Colonial Office wished first to consult the various Colonies concerned, and in order to enable them to do so, the Conference was tentatively fixed for the autumn of 1916. But meanwhile, at the instance of the Government of India, the Government of Madras had deputed an official and a non-official to visit Ceylon and Malaya, and to investigate the conditions of emigration to those countries. It was thought desirable that these gentlemen should complete their enquiries before the Conference was held. This necessitated the postponement of the Conference till May 1917.

2. The Government of India nominated as its representatives at the Conference Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha, both of whom had however to return to India before the Conference could meet formally. It is greatly to be regretted that, in consequence, they were not able to take any part in the deliberations, though they had been able to discuss the question informally with the two Secretaries of State.

3. The Conference was purely official in composition and did not summon witnesses. The following members of the respective Secretaries of State's Establishments attended :—

Lord Islington, G.C.M., D.S.O. (*Chairman*).	G. E. A. Grindle, Esq., C.M.G.
Sir A. H. Steel Maitland, *Bt.*, M.P.	J. F. N. Green, Esq., and
M. C. Seton, Esq., C.B.	T. C. Macnaghten, Esq.

4. The Conference held some informal meetings during May to consider preliminaries and clear the way for the formal discussion. Ten formal meetings have been held, at the earlier of which Mr. James McNeill, Indian Civil Service, retired, was able to give the Conference valuable information regarding Indian labourers in the Colonies, while at the later meetings the Conference had the benefit of the knowledge possessed by Major deBoissiere, Protector of Immigrants, Trinidad. Lieut.-Col. W. M. Kennedy, C.I.E., President of the Assam Labour Board and Mr. N. E. Marjoribanks, Indian Civil Service, who had been deputed by the Government of India to furnish the Conference with any information that might be required, attended all the meetings. The Conference desires to express its great obligation to all these gentlemen for the valuable advice and assistance which it received from them.

With original

5. The following scheme of assisted emigration combined with colonization for Indians in these Colonies was agreed to as one that could be recommended to the Government of India and the Colonial Governments for adoption :—

A scheme of aided colonization for Indians in British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji.

I.—The new system.

The new system will be entirely free, and the indentured system together with the titles and characteristics attaching to it will be abolished. The system to be followed in future will be one of aided colonization, and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain Colonies after a probationary period of employment in those Colonies to train and fit them for life and work there, and at the same time to afford a supply of the labour essential to the well-being of the Colonies themselves.

The immigrant will as at present arrive in the Colony entirely free of debt and of any financial liability connected with the cost of his introduction into the Colony. He will be in no way restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months. He will, however, be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries by the offer, should he do so, of numerous and important benefits subsequently as a colonist.

II.—Method of financing the scheme.

In order that no employer shall be able to claim that he had paid the expenses of introduction of any particular immigrant, such expenses will be borne by the Government of each Colony concerned out of a common fund raised by rateable contributions from the employers either (i) of all Indian immigrants other than those locally born, or (2) of an immigrant during the first three years of his residence, or (3) during the period laid down as necessary to qualify him for a free return passage.

III.—Land Settlement.

Steps will be taken to ensure that land may be made available at once in the simplest and cheapest manner that can be devised for all immigrants who desire it and who have completed a qualifying period of three years' employment under employers on the Register. To secure this end a Department in each Colony will be responsible for the provision of sufficient land to meet all bona fide applications, for rendering it suitable for agriculture by adequate clearing, irrigation and drainage, where this is considered necessary by the Department, and for the distribution of it among applicants, and the due control of their management of it subsequently. It will be the duty of this Department to advise immigrants on questions relating to the acquisition of land, to explain fully to them the conditions upon which land can be obtained and to assist them in every possible way to obtain it.

In Fiji, these objects will probably be attained by the Land Trust Committee instituted under Ordinance No. 15 of 1916. In British Guiana the Crown lands are in places not cultivable except after a larger expenditure on irrigation and drainage than the individual immigrant can afford to incur. In Jamaica, it is understood that suitable Crown land is scarce, and land for the settlement of Indians can only be provided by purchase from private owners. In Trinidad, settlement is retarded by the restrictive conditions that the occupancy price must be paid in one lump sum and that the minimum area that can be granted shall be five acres. It will be the business of the responsible Department in each Colony to remove all obstacles of this kind to the free settlement of Indians upon the land.

Land not exceeding five acres in extent will be granted to an immigrant after three years' employment under employers on the Register subject to a reasonable annual rent in the case of leaseholds. The rent will vary according to the fertility and position of the land and will be subject to revision every 30 years. For ten years after the grant the immigrant will be prohibited from alienating or encumbering his right in the land except with the sanction of the responsible Department, and that Department will have power further to resume any land not brought under cultivation within two years of the grant.

IV.—Conditions of Employment.

(1) Terms of engagement.

An employer specially selected as being able to provide conditions of employment and living which the Governor in Council may deem to be adequate will be chosen by the Protector of Immigrants for each immigrant on arrival. The immigrant will be required to remain with this employer for six months, the Protector of Immigrants having power to sanction or require during that time a change of employment should he see reason to do so. After this first period of six months the immigrant will have perfect liberty to move from one employer to another upon one month's notice. At no time will the immigrant be under any indenture or any

contract other than the above, and the relation between him and his employer will be purely that prevailing in the Colony between any master and servant. The immigrant can only be proceeded against for any breach of engagement by way of a civil suit in the ordinary course of law, and will be liable to no criminal penalties.

(2) Wages.

(*a*) A *minimum wage* will be fixed which will bear to the minimum wage at the time of Mr. McNeill's visit the same proportion that the cost of living when the wage is fixed bears to the cost of living then (when it was estimated at 3*s.* 6*d.* a week). This minimum wage will require revision every five years on the same proportional basis. In the calculation free rations to women and children granted in accordance with IV (3) will be excluded.

(*b*) All wages will be paid regularly and in full, *i.e.*, without deductions.

(3) Rations.

(*a*) For children—During the first 12 months after arrival in the Colony children under eleven years of age will be entitled to free rations on a scale to be determined by the Colonial Government; while children under five years of age will be given free milk rations during the whole time that their parents remain in the employment of an employer on the Register.

(*b*) For Pregnant and Nursing Women—Free rations will be issued for at least six months to pregnant and nursing women working under an employer on the Register.

(4) Housing.

The provision of married quarters, separate from the 'single' quarters, will be made compulsory upon all employers of more than 20 adult male Indian immigrants, and will be insisted upon as far as practicable in the case of all other employers on the Register.

(5) Grants of land.

Each adult male immigrant employed in an agricultural industry will be granted for his personal use and cultivation a garden plot of one-tenth acre, if he desires it, after six months' service. A larger plot, up to one-third acre, will be made available, wherever possible, to industrious workers in the nature of a reward.

(6) Medical treatment.

The existing regulations and provisions will continue in force, and will be applicable to immigrants under the new system. Under the present regulations, in addition to other medical care, hospitals, public or private, are provided at which immigrants are treated free of charge, either as inmates or out-patients.

V.—The Employer.

All persons desirous of employing assisted immigrants during their first three years of residence will be required to apply to the Protector of Immigrants, and if the conditions of employment and living which they offer are found after enquiry to be suitable, and in accordance with the standard required, the Protector will place them on the Register of Approved Employers. An approved employer will be any employer who is deemed qualified by the Governor in Council to employ an immigrant under proper conditions of wages, labour, medical attendance and housing, and who has received a licence to employ and has paid for it. Any employer not fulfilling the above conditions, found employing an immigrant, will be liable to a fine on prosecution in a criminal court at the instance of the Protector of Immigrants.

VI.—The Emigration staff and Supervising Agency.

(1) *A Protector of Emigrants* appointed by the Local Government in India, to supervise Emigration in the Province.

(2) *An Emigration Commissioner* appointed by the Colonial Governments with the approval of the Local Government in India, who will be a Colonial Civil Service Official.

(3) *Inspectors of Emigration.*—Officers, who may be Indians, shall, if necessary, be appointed for this purpose. They shall be under the Emigration Commissioner, and shall supervise the work of emigration in the villages. They shall be men of standing and on a graded scale of pay. The actual area of each Inspector's charge will be settled by the Colonial Government subject to the approval of the Local Government in India.

(4) *Emigration Agents* licensed by the Emigration Commissioner, the licences being countersigned by the magistrate of the district in which the agent works and also by the Protector of Emigrants. Emigration agents will be paid a fixed salary with possibly in addition small money grants at the end of the year to reward meritorious work. Men who have actually worked in the Colonies will be preferred as Emigration Agents, provided that the Emigration Commissioner certifies their character and respectability.

(5) (In each Colony). A *Protector of Immigrants*, a colonial official with a good knowledge of the principal Indian languages used by immigrants and of their customs.

(6) An official of standing from India or a non-official will be deputed every three years by the Government of India to visit the Colonies and report upon the conditions prevailing.

VII.—Depots.

In each district from which assisted emigration proceeds there will be a conveniently situated depot where emigrants will be assembled by the agents and passed as suitable by the Inspectors. The depots will be freely open to the emigrants and their friends and in them emigrants will be under no restraint. Depots will be open to inspection at any time by the District Magistrate or any Magistrate deputed by him, but the production of emigrants before a Magistrate in India will not be required. Non-official gentlemen of standing in the district will be appointed visitors to each depot.

From these District Depots emigrants will be sent down to a Central Depot, where they will be examined medically and passed by the Emigration Commissioner as suitable. Non-official gentlemen will be appointed visitors to these depots also.

The Emigration Commissioner will be responsible for the Central Depots and also for the District Depots which will be in charge of officers to be selected by him.

VIII.—Conditions of Emigration.

(1) While it is considered impracticable to insist upon any hard and fast proportion of single men to families, the emigration of whole families will be encouraged, and particularly of families containing young unmarried girls, but persons below the age of 18 will be assisted to emigrate only when accompanied by their parents or guardians. To discourage the emigration of women of an undesirable class, women unaccompanied by their families will not be assisted, and the rule requiring a certain proportion of women to men will be abolished.

(2) The non-working dependants of an immigrant will not be rejected medically merely on the ground that they are physically incapable of work or on the score of age.

(3) A written statement shall be given to each intending emigrant and explained to him, stating the terms of his employment and the conditions of life in the Colony to which he proposes to emigrate.

(4) Emigration from pilgrim centres will be prohibited during times of pilgrimage or festivals.

IX.—Surgeons on Emigrant Ships.

If the Government of India so desire, a proportion of the Surgeons employed on emigrant ships shall be Indians.

X.—Repatriation.

(1) Any immigrant wishing to return to India will be granted for himself and his dependants half the passage money after three years', three-quarters after five years', and the whole after seven years' continuous residence in the Colony. But the acceptance of a grant of land under the special facilities outlined in paragraph III will be held *ipso facto* to extinguish all claim to a free or assisted return passage. By this it is not to be understood that the immigrant will at any particular period be required to make a choice between a return passage and a grant of land, but merely that the acceptance of a grant of land under the special conditions outlined above will be taken as extinguishing his right to a return passage.

(2) An immigrant who has availed himself of a free or assisted return passage under these conditions, should he return to the Colony, shall have no right to a second free or assisted return passage to India.

(3) Six months' previous notice must be given by any immigrant of his intention to claim a free or assisted passage.

(4) The Protector of Immigrants shall have the right, subject to approval by the Governor in Council, to grant at any time free return passage in full in cases where he deems repatriation desirable. This right will extend to the cases of immigrants whose claim to a return passage has been extinguished by the grant of land, and who may have been reduced subsequently to indigent circumstances.

XI.—Cancellation of Indentures and Repatriation of Indentured Labourers.

(1) No emigration will be permitted to take place under this scheme to any Colony until an ordinance is passed in that Colony providing for the cancellation of all existing indentures, such cancellation to take effect from the date when the first immigrants under the new scheme arrive in the Colony.

(2) All labourers who are at present under indenture or who after completing their period of indenture have not yet qualified under the existing rules for a free or assisted return passage, as the case may be, shall have the option of remaining under the existing terms as to repatriation or of coming under the new terms on the condition that in the latter case the first five years of service in the Colony shall be excluded in calculating the amount of service qualifying for a free or assisted passage.

XII.—Conditions in the Colonies.

(1) Marriage Law of Immigrants.

A marriage which in accordance with the religion or caste custom of the parties to it is valid and which is duly celebrated according to the rites of the particular religion or caste and is not repugnant to the marriage laws of the Colony shall be valid, provided it was registered before a Registrar within 15 days of its celebration by the person celebrating the marriage, or, in the case of castes whose customs do not require the presence of an official celebrant, by the parties to the marriage themselves.

Divorces duly pronounced according to the customs of the religion or caste to which the parties belong shall be held valid if registered.

(2) Educational Facilities.

Indian immigrants already enjoy the same facilities for primary education as are possessed by other inhabitants of the Colonies concerned. Education is universal in the West Indies. In Fiji recent legislation has been enacted in 1916, and further efforts will be made to reach the same standard there.

(3) Political Rights.

The Indian immigrant already acquires exactly the same political and municipal rights as any other inhabitant, except only that in Fiji he is specially represented on the Legislative Council by a nominated member instead of taking part in the elections by which European members are selected. The Government of Fiji will, if desired, consider the question of adapting the electoral system so as to include Indians on the same terms as Europeans.

6. Mr. Ellis, Secretary to the Conference, has saved the members much labour by his careful preparation of the business, and they wish to record their gratitude for his assistance.

India Office, Islington.
14*th July* 1917. Arthur Steel Maitland.

Ordered that a copy of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to all Local Governments and Administrations for such observations as they may desire to make.

C. E. Low,
Secretary to the Government of India.

II

Memorandum No. 3083-1, Home (Miscellaneous), dated 29th October 1917.

The accompanying copy of a Resolution of the Government of India in the Department of Commerce and Industry, No. 10294, dated the 1st September 1917, containing the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration from India to the West Indies and Fiji, is forwarded to

the Board of Revenue, (Separate Revenue)
the Protector of Emigrants, Madras,
N. E. Marjoribanks, Esq., I.C.S.,
the Right Rev. the Bishop of Madras,

with the request that it / he will furnish Government at an early date with such observations as it / he may have to offer.

R. Ramachandra Rao,
Secretary to Government.

To the Board of Revenue (Separate Revenue).
,, the Protector of Emigrants.
,, N. E. Marjoribanks, Esq., I.C.S.
,, the Right Rev. the Bishop of Madras.

III

Letter—from the Ven'ble L. E. Cox, M.A., Archdeacon of Madras and Bishop's Chaplain.
To—the Chief Secretary to Government, Public (Ecclesiastical) Department.
Dated—Madras, the 22nd November 1917.
No.—3718 (Bishop's Office).

I have the honour by order of the Bishop to say that he acknowledges the receipt of Memorandum No. 3083-1, Home (Miscellaneous), dated 29th October last enclosing the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration from India, to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji. The Bishop thinks that the scheme described in the report is in the main advantageous to emigration from India but that there are certain points in it which need careful consideration.

It is not clear that in all the colonies land will be available for the immigrants after they have served for three years in agricultural industries as day labourers. It is stated under section III, paragraph 2, that there are obstacles to the proposed grants of land in three of the colonies and it seems uncertain whether the responsible departments in each colony will be able to remove these obstacles or not. The Bishop thinks that the scheme should not be sanctioned until definite provision has been already made for these grants of land.

2. The whole provision for land settlement may easily be rendered useless by the action of the departments in each colony. The action of the Government of Natal in imposing the poll tax on coolies after their period of indenture was over cannot be forgotten. The departments in these colonies may equally render the whole of this provision null and void by imposing prohibitive rents.

3. There is no provision in the scheme for preventing the notorious abuses which have always existed in connexion with any method of recruiting in India. Apparently the Inspectors of Emigration in India are to be appointed by the Colonial Government and not by the Government of India. There is no security that they will understand anything about village life in India or will know either the language or the customs of the people. In the same way the emigration agents will be licensed not by the Local Government in India but by the Emigration Commissioner appointed by the Colonial Government. If they are paid as proposed in addition to their fixed salary "small money grants at the end of the year to reward meritorious work", it is almost certain that many of the abuses of the old system of recruiting for indentured labour will be revived.

4. The condition that a grant of land extinguishes all claim to a free or assisted return passage seems unfair, if the immigrant is prohibited from alienating his right in the land for ten years. It may well happen that owing to sickness or bad seasons or the fact that he has been granted an inferior plot of land or is charged too high a rent he will be unable to make a living after two or three years. In that case, the Bishop thinks, he ought to be able to sell his right in the land, if he has forfeited his claim to a free passage.

5. The Bishop suggests that before any action is taken by the Government of India the report should be referred to a commission consisting partly of officials and partly of non-officials, both European and Indian, and he would also suggest that one or two missionaries from districts where recruiting has been carried on for indentured labour in the past should be put on the commission.

IV

Letter—from the Hon'ble Muhammad Aziz-ud-din Sahib Bahadur, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., I.S.O., Protector of Emigrants.
To—the Secretary to Government, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.
Dated—Madras, the 29th November 1917.
No.—D. Dis. 248.

With reference to Government Endorsement No. 3083-1, dated 29th October 1917, on Government of India resolution containing the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on a system of assisted emigration from India to the West Indies and Fiji, I have the honour to submit the following remarks.

2. The proposed system is an improvement over the existing one and is less open to objection by the public.

3. The report mentions that the emigrant (under the proposed system) will in no way be restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months. The emigrant may have the freedom to change his employer. But it seems improbable that another employer, similarly situated, will accept the services of the emigrant who may choose to forsake his previous employer. It is natural that common interests will make employers to come to an understanding in the matter and the choice of an employer will have no field for exercise. Service under one master being the only course open to the emigrant, some provision may be made for change of a master.

4. It is doubtful whether the conditions under which land could be acquired by emigrants will be a sufficient inducement for them to live for ever far away from their people. The result of the system may however be awaited.

5. It appears to me that the limiting of the period of continuous residence in the colony to five years instead of seven years as a condition for earning the full passage money for repatriation will act as a greater incentive to emigration. Correspondingly payments of half and three quarters of passage money respectively for three and four years' stay in the colony may also be allowed.

V

Proceedings of the Board of Revenue (Separate Revenue), R. No. 1960, Mis., dated 18th December 1917.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. G. Todhunter, I.C.S.,
Acting Third Member, Board of Revenue, and Commissioner of Salt, Abkári and Separate Revenue.

The Board begs to submit the observations called for in Government Memorandum No. 3083–1, dated 29th October 1917, on the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration.

Speaking generally, the conditions proposed appear to contrast so favourably with those hitherto in force that it seems to the Board that the objections, if any, are likely to come from the colonies or from employees in India and Ceylon and that there are few objections that can be made with reason on behalf of the emigrant.

One general point may, however, be taken. It is believed that a part of the difficulties that have arisen in the past have had their origin in the indiscriminate recruiting of Indians of all classes and races for the same colony. It has been impossible for employers to learn all the languages of their employees, the communication of the latter with one another has been difficult and in such a mixed society the restrictions of caste and custom have been very much relaxed. It is too late now to redistribute the immigrants so as to allot all those of one language to a particular colony, but something might perhaps be done to prevent further admixture, for instance, by laying down that there shall be no recruiting for any colony of labour of a class that is not already there except with the prior permission of the Government of India.

The following remarks relate to particular paragraphs of the scheme :—

Part II—Method of Finance.—While Part VIII provides for the encouragement of the emigration of non-working dependants, Part II specifically refers to payment from the fund of the expenses of introduction of particular emigrants. It is no doubt the intention that the cost of introduction of non-working dependants should be borne by the fund and that the method of distributing the charge should be left for settlement by the colony concerned.

Part IV—Conditions of Employment.—While provision is made for notice to be given by the emigrant before quitting any employment, nothing is said about notice by the employer. It is presumed that he will have to give at least a month's notice also before sending an emigrant away. It is presumably for the colonies to consider the position of the employer saddled with the payment of an idle man and the maintenance of his children for six months or one month as the case may be and no remedy except the securing of a Civil Court decree against a pauper.

It is presumed that the right to a garden plot is to accrue after six months' continuous service under the same employer.

Part VI—Emigration Staff and Supervising Agency.—In B.P. R. No. 125, dated 20th January 1917, the Board dealing with a wider scheme suggested that a full-time officer should be appointed as Protector of Emigrants. There is no case for this under the present proposals, but there does appear to be distinct need for more co-ordination and it would be desirable that the functions should be entrusted to some officer who tours throughout the Presidency.

If particular colonies can be limited to particular recruiting areas, it would perhaps be desirable that the local limits of the inspectors should be laid out accordingly so that each will recruit for a particular colony.

As regards the agents, the difficulty will be to ensure that their remuneration is really limited to their fixed salary. Sundry expenses must be incurred in connexion with every recruitment, to free the recruit from debt, give him money for current expenses and to pay cost of transport to the depot. A bonus to the recruit himself is almost inevitable. These charges will have a tendency to conform to a common standard, and a percentage of the standard payment will stick to the fingers of the agent. It will be extremely difficult also to prevent his working through unauthorized assistants whom he will inevitably pay by results.

It is desirable that the District Magistrate's scrutiny and counter-signature of the agent's licences should be annual.

Part VII—Depots.—A minimum period of detention at District Depots should be prescribed so as to enable the relatives of runaways to trace them, and some provision should be made to ensure that each intending emigrant should be sent for this period to the depot of the district to which he belongs. It would be well for the written statement provided for under Part VIII, clause (3), to be given to the intending emigrant at this stage.

Part X—Repatriation.—Certain local officers suggest special provision for the repatriation of emigrants whose health breaks down before they have earned it and a reduction of the term of service which entitles an emigrant to repatriation. The former case is provided for by clause (4) and it seems hardly necessary to press for a reduction of the term in view of the generally favourable nature of the conditions.

It is presumed that the offer of land will be of a specific area, the merits of which the emigrant will have full opportunity of examining. Otherwise some provision for surrendering the land and reserving the right of repatriation seems to be desirable, since the immigrant cannot sell the land without sanction for ten years.

It is not clearly provided that the colonies will compulsorily repatriate people who are no more use to them, but it seems likely that that will be the effect of clause (4); in other words, that India will have to provide for the derelicts.

Part XI—Cancellation of Indentures and Repatriation of Indentured Labourers.—There seems a possibility of difficulty arising out of these provisions. Indentures are to be cancelled from date of arrival of the first free immigrants. The colonies will desire to secure a good supply of free immigrants before cancelling the indentures. It is not desirable that some of these should be kept for indefinite periods in depots while the rest are being collected. A provision for shipment within, say, three months of recruiting seems to be desirable.

The existing conditions of repatriation are understood to be much easier in some colonies than in others. The alternative of five years' service before an immigrant who is released from indenture can count his free service towards repatriation will be hard in the latter case. It would seem that the term should be reduced.

Part XII—Conditions in the Colonies.—The provisions regarding marriage need to be more specific. In the first place they appear to provide for the recognition only of marriages contracted in the colony and not for those contracted before emigration. In the second place, the proviso regarding marriages repugnant to the marriage laws of the colony, is liable to create difficulty. If, for instance, the law of the colony prescribes monogamy it should be made clear to emigrants in the statement furnished under Part VIII (3) that married men will not be allowed to marry again in the colony so long as they have wives alive whether there or in India. The legitimacy or otherwise in the colony of the children of the second wife of a man emigrating with two wives should also be made clear.

(True extract)

E. Graham,
Secretary.

To the Secretary to Government, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.

VI

Letter—from N. E. Marjoribanks, Esq., I.C.S., Collector and District Magistrate, South Arcot.

To—the Secretary to Government, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.

Dated—Cuddalore, the 4th January 1918.

In reply to Memorandum No. 3083-1, dated 29th October 1917, I have the honour to submit the following remarks.

2. In the first place I must apologise for the delay in answering. I was expecting every mail to receive a packet of books and papers containing my notes on the subject of the Conference at the India Office which books and papers I had not brought with me but left to be sent by post and have only recently learnt that the packet has been lost by enemy action.

A copy of the printed minutes of the proceedings at the India Office Conference without the appendices is however available and this is enclosed for reference. I have the honour to request that it may be treated as confidential and returned to me when done with.

3. The prevailing considerations that guided the Conference were political, but I venture to think that the officers from India forwarded the interests of the emigrant labourer as far as they could.

4. The only important respects in which I venture not wholly to agree in recommendations of the Conference are set out below :—

(i) The root of any abuses there may be in the present system of indenture is the feeling of the individual employer that a particular labourer whose cost of immigration he has paid is or should be *his* labourer. The only way to remedy this would be, I think, to adopt the system of the Malay Peninsula where the whole cost of recruitment and immigration is borne from a general fund to which all employers of Indian labour contribute in proportion to the amount of Indian labour they employ—the labourers being at the same time free to leave any employer at a month's notice and take employment elsewhere.

I accordingly do not like the provisions in the Conference scheme for a register of approved employers and for an initial six months' term with some one employer (legally unenforceable except by the illusory remedy of a civil suit and therefore apt to be illegally or extra-legally enforced). The provision of alternatives (2) and (3) for financing the scheme will, if the experience of the Straits Settlements be any guide, almost certainly lead to trouble.

(ii) The provisions for a minimum wage are not, I think, in the true interests of the immigrant. The tendency is for a prescribed minimum to become the normal or even the maximum.

(iii) The provisions prescribing rations for children and for pregnant and nursing women are also not consistent with a free system. Employers are certain to adopt these measures to attract free labour. If compulsory on all employers they tend to confirm the idea that the labourer 'belongs' to a particular employer and may fairly be prevented by means bordering on the illict from leaving him.

5. It is not intended to suggest that the scheme should necessarily be amended in these respects. As it stands it offers extremely liberal terms and many safeguards to intending emigrants and appears to meet all reasonable political criticisms and may, I think, be tried with confidence and amended in time as the result of experience.

VII

Memorandum of Mr. T. K. Swaminathan, Editor of the "Indian Emigrant."

It is suggested in the report of the Conference that the new scheme will be styled as one of aided colonization for Indians only so far as the four British colonies of British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji are concerned. A perusal of the report in its details does not warrant such a high sounding name and one would be inclined to call it more an Emigrant Colonization, which, while preserving some of the objectionable features of the indenture system, has gone only a step in advance in ensuring

the settlement on land of labourers after a probationary period of three years' employment in agricultural work. Such a settlement is taking place even to-day without any active effort on the part of the Government. What is meant by assisted or aided colonization is that intending settlers are provided with free or reduced passages and money is advanced to them to start agricultural operations in the new country. This financial assistance is generally given, not as gifts but with the expectation of repayment, by Government and more often by philanthropic societies as the Salvation Army in England and by limited companies started for the purpose. In this country owing to the indifferent interest of the people in the subject, the burden of responsibility has fallen on the Government. It should not therefore be imagined that there is a general disinclination on the part of the people to better their fortunes in another part of the Empire, as the large volume of voluntary emigration to the Federated Malay States proves. It is more the defect in the entire system of emigration that has kept back thousands from taking advantage of it and it should therefore be carefully revised so as to afford greater facilities for the flow of labour and capital to the colonies.

The success or failure of any scheme of colonization depends on the objects aimed at and the view-point of the mother country. In the scheme of colonization of the British colonies by Indians, there are two divergent interests—one of the British capitalists and the other of the Indian public. Any scheme, therefore, which seeks to be one sided for preserving the interest of one at the expense of the other is bound to fail; the view-point therefore to be adopted is not the interest of England or India but of the Empire as a whole. The question of Indian colonization is therefore an Imperial problem.

The objects of the new system as set out in the report are (1) to encourage the settlement of Indians after a probationary period of three years, (2) to afford a supply of labour essential to the well-being of the colonies, it being assumed, I believe, in both cases that the class of immigrants to belong to pauper class of labourers.

One grave objection to the indenture system was that the sending out of ignorant and destitute labourers alone to distant colonies lowered the self-respect of the country to which the immigrants belonged and consequently brought national dishonour. This is due mainly to the behaviour of the lower orders of society and the impression they created on the foreigners, so much so that Indians in the West Indies are called even today coolies, however noble and enlightened they may be. This is inevitable even in the case of European emigration, just as we in India cannot judge of England truly by the kind of riff-raff that come out here as shop-assistants or estate superintendents, but only by self-respecting middle class men who follow them bringing with them the noble traditions of British freedom and justice. There should therefore be always a sprinkling of a few at least of respectable people going out with the labouring classes. In other words emigration or colonization of people should be an entire transfer of the state of things as obtaining in the mother country. Settlers in new countries must be as varied in character and cosmopolitan in nature as in the mother country—a few priests, merchants, artisans and tradesmen and a few of the professional men as doctors, engineers, lawyers and others; and added to these above all the frame work of such social institutions as the settlers have been accustomed to in their native land should be thoroughly implanted. In this connexion, a quotation from a speech of Charles Buller, M.P., on systematic colonization delivered in the House of Commons on April 6, 1843, will not be out of place. He says: "If you wish colonies to be rendered generally useful to all classes in the mother country, if you wish them to be prosperous, to reflect back the civilization and habits and feelings of the parent stock and to be and long to remain integral parts of your Empire, care should be taken that society should be carried out in something of the form in which it is seen at home, that it should contain some at least of all the elements that go to make it up here, and that it should

continue under those influences that are found effective for keeping us together in harmony. On such principles alone have the foundations of successful colonies been laid."

To illustrate the idea of what I mean, I may be permitted to state here that in one of the recent colonisation schemes dealing with Canada, the variety of people who took advantage of it included, amongst others, a veterinary surgeon, a coal merchant, two engineers, a Scotch gardener with a large family, a retired Indian Civil Servant, a first mate of the merchant service, a piano tuner, a Norfolk farmer and a Cambridge M.A. (From a letter published in the *Daily News*, October 27, 1910.)

In the proposed new scheme opportunities should be given for the settlement of middle class men of the type described above. If this facility is granted to middle class and business men to emigrate, the tendency to do the same will be greater among the lower classes also and the object of the colonies for getting more labour will be realized as it is one of the principles of sociology that the habits of the lower classes are based on those of the upper and it is they that stand as a model for all to follow. This important factor was thoroughly overlooked by the indentors of Indian labour to the colonies. The reason why emigration was so much discredited in India was due to the fact that colonies were intent mainly on the supply of labour irrespective of all other considerations and only destitute men were taken to work by questionable methods of recruitment and when they returned home broken down and crippled, being resourceless, they created a dread, a horror and general dislike to emigration in general. If therefore a sprinkling of high and middle class Indians should be permitted to go and settle with the labouring classes they would naturally see that these people do not go home in that deplorable state, but would take care of them being their own countrymen; and so if this suggestion is carried out, it will be very popular and highly acceptable.

The supply of labour.—As regards the supply of labour essential to the well-being of the colonies, the present scheme is in no way an improvement on the original. At first when indenture was introduced into the colonies about 1834, it will be found that immigrants were considered free citizens, free to enter into contract with any employer he liked, and in some colonies there was no other restriction except the statutory hiring of one month. A relic of this system is found to-day in the Malaya Labour Code and it does not consider valid any labourer entering into a contract for work for more than a month. To impose therefore conditions as six months' protection under a selected employer or a three years' agricultural work in the colonies a condition precedent to settlement is to bring back the bad old laws of modern indenture. If labour is to be attracted to the colonies, the system should be free both in letter and in spirit. Restrictions on personal liberty often tend people to revolt from them as freedom often makes people subject themselves voluntarily to control and bondage. It is in fact the theoretical aspect of British freedom and equality, however bureaucratic the Government may be, that makes Indians loyal and submissive, while German militarism would at once create revolt and revolution.

The suggestion that I would wish to bring forward is that labourers should be made free in every sense of the word; free to enter (i.e., introduced free without debt), work and settle down in the colony without any enforced probation. And side by side with the labouring classes there should be emigration of high and middle class men with capital and facilities granted to them for doing independent trade and business.

Finance.—The question of financing the scheme has been a problem. For its success the Wakefield system of colonization may be tried. In essence the scheme is this. The lands set apart for colonization, i.e., the Crown lands available are sold to the settlers at a moderate price per acre and the revenue so realized may be utilized for the free introduction of immigrants without any contribution made by the

employers. At the outset only the initial cost will have to be borne by the Government. After the arrival of the immigrants any employer wishing to employ such labour may be levied a rate varying with the duration of employment of the immigrants. To those labourers who do not possess sufficient capital but yet desire to settle down in the colony a choice of a year or two's agricultural work may be given. This condition will not be found so exacting and irksome as the compulsory probation of three years under the new scheme.

Land settlement.—The subject of colonization aided or otherwise is closely connected with land settlement and the mode of that settlement exercises immense influence on the colonies and the Empire. It is pointed out in the report that scarcity exists in the crown lands for settlement in some of the colonies as Jamaica. Before organizing any scheme of settlement, the lands available for such settlement in each colony should be determined first, so that if immigration takes place there may be no glut of labour or overimmigration, and only three-fourths of the area available for settlement should be thrown open, the remaining one-fourth kept as reserve for the future settlements of the descendants of the colonists. In each colony an Indian Colonization Act should be passed setting apart the maximum land available for colonization either by purchase or by free grant to the intending settlers. This would enable the colonies to determine the maximum population it would hold on a decent scale. The Government of the colony should spend a portion of the revenue for agricultural improvements as drainage, irrigation, supply of seeds to cultivators, etc. Tenures should be under two kinds, ordinary and special. The ordinary tenure will be held out to those who possess capital and who purchase lands with rights of occupation and purchase or with renewable leases. Special tenures are for those (who have no capital but yet wish to settle down) who have completed two years' residence in the colony as labourers or otherwise, preference being of course given to the former class and they should be given financial assistance as advances for building, implements, seeds, etc., recoverable in 10, 15 or 20 years as the case may be, prohibiting the transfer of these lands until the whole amount is paid up. It must however be seen that labourers are able to save at least Rs. 75 a year during every year of residence and work. In addition to this system of land settlement, finance associations or special Small Farm Associations as in New Zealand should be permitted to be formed in the colony or in India for promoting closer settlement of land by enabling groups of purchasers to buy land under ordinary tenure for subdivision among the members, all subject to the provisions contained in the Indian Colonization Act to be passed. The object of such a system will be not only to attract high and middle class men with capital into the colony but also to allow the necessary labour to flow into the colony through the medium of the better class men and in their wake. The details of the scheme as to how the purchase money is to be raised, how the Government is to guarantee its members are all matters of detail which may be left to the Government of the colony for consideration. The inauguration of such beneficent laws would induce a large class of landless agricultural labourers to turn their attention to the colonies for their prospects and the colonies will be supplied with a large amount of earnest and hard-working labour population who would be pleased to seek homes of comfort and fresh fields of enterprise, instead of the vagabondish class of men now obtained through fraudulent recruiting.

Minimum wage.—The way in which wages, hours of labour and conditions of employment are regulated in some of the industrially advanced countries is by a system of Wages Board and Arbitration Acts. It cannot be denied that the introduction of these Acts has produced most favourable results in the improvement of wages and the general condition of labour. It is often overlooked by capitalists that a good wage system is an index for efficient work. Mr. MaCulloch in his principles of Political Economy points out that "whenever wages of labour are so low as to render it

impossible for an ordinary increase of exertion to make any material visible addition to their comforts and conveniences, the labourers invariably sink into a state of idleness and of sluggish and stupid indifference." Proceeding further he asks, "have the low wages of the peoples of Ireland, Poland and Hindustan made them industrious ? or the high wages of the Americans, the English and the Hollanders made them lazy, riotous and profligate. Just the contrary. The former are as notoriously and proverbially indolent as the latter are laborious, active and enterprising. The experience of all ages and nations proves that high wages are at once the keenest spur, the most powerful stimulus to unremitting and assiduous exertion and the best means of attaching the people to the institutions under which they live."

I am forced to make this extended quotation as it was impossible for me to follow the report on its circumlocutory method of fixing a minimum wage. In fixing minimum wages regard must be had to the consideration of two factors, viz., efficiency and the purchasing power of wages. Finding that high wages alone lead to efficiency, the question to be asked is, 'What is the high wage'? It is the wage which should enable a family (husband, wife and a child) to lead a normal existence with a minimum standard of comfort. The family is the necessary unit or standard of comfort and not the individual, for it is one of the economic principles exemplified by Adam Smith in the case of the pin manufacture. In the case of a family, if these two men combine their labour and divided their employments, one occupying himself solely with household cares for both and the other with earning wages for both, then might the produce of their united labour be equal to more than two men each engaged in the entire work himself. In other words if two men perform each for himself all the work that women have to perform for men, i.e., divide their work between cooking their food and working in the field, they would produce less than one man giving the whole of his time to field work. This principle is well realized by the Chinese labourers. The Chinese in Malaya working by gangs have engaged one cook and a servant for every dozen or ten men, so that the cares of the kitchen do not worry the Chinese men during their work. It is a different story with the Tamil coolie. After completing his work for the day, he has to cook his own food in the evening. Next day he is unable to put forth his entire energy for the field and at this rate of work he is eventually enfeebled and falls sick and is thus rendered unfit for further work. This accounts for the eventual efficiency of the Chinese and the deficiency of the Indian labourers. The best way therefore of getting the maximum work with minimum cost is to get married couples and pay for both sufficient wages which will keep them both above the necessaries of life and get the full work out of the man alone.

It is a false economy that planters have adopted all along that men alone should be paid for their work and not for his wife also. Imagine how much work we can turn out in our office if we should cook our own food at home after office hours.

The second point is about the purchasing power of wages. It may generally seem that wages have risen all along, but if the cost of food, groceries and clothing have all increased more than the purchasing power of the nominal wage its purchasing value is reduced, i.e., a reduction is caused in the real wage. To illustrate it, supposing there is a rise of 5 per cent in the nominal wages, and the cost of food grains, etc., have increased by 15 per cent; the purchasing power of the wage is reduced by 10 per cent or a reduction of 10 per cent in the real wage. The minimum should be determined according to the prices prevalent in the necessaries of life. To fix a minimum wage, a Wages Board may be appointed composed of Indians, the

Protector and some employers and it should be revised at least once every six months instead of five years. If however labourers are engaged for a year or two a graded system of wages based on length of service and experience may be introduced.

The other points mentioned in the report do not require any elaborate criticism and they may be passed as satisfactory. Finally I would suggest the following in addition to what are contained in the report:—

Suggestions—(1) For a speedy cancellation of indenture, opinions may be invited from planters and other employers of labour in the colonies if the present scheme would not be acceptable; in which case the indenture system may be cancelled forthwith instead of allowing it to continue any longer.

(2) No discrimination should be shown in the selection of colonies for the settlement of Indians. The British Empire (including the self-governing colonies) must be thrown open for settlement and colonization by Indians. It seems as though it is a travesty that an Indian British subject could get all the facilities for settlement in countries other than the British Empire, as Argentine, Brazil, but not within the British Empire itself. Special attention of the Government of India should be drawn to this important aspect of the problem. Even if this concession is shown very few Indians will take advantage of it and the British public need not grow uneasy about the colonies being flooded by Indians.

(3) Communities should be settled in one block, i.e., groups of Indians of different provinces speaking different languages should not be mixed up. The settlement should be divided on linguistic basis as this will facilitate working of educational institutions.

(4) In addition to the Protector of Immigrants in the colonies, an *Indian Consul* responsible to the Indian Government should be appointed in all colonies containing more than 10,000 Indians to safeguard the interest of independent men as traders, bankers and other business men and occasionally supervise labour, something on the nature of a Chinese Protectorate in Strait Settlements and Federated Malay States.

(5) Free or reduced passages should also be given to men with capital.

(6) The formation of private associations should be encouraged having for their object the settlement of labour and middle class men, as intending settlers would be willing to go through the medium of private bodies than Government agencies involving considerable delay and inconvenience.

(7) The passing of an Employer's Liability and Workmen's Compensation Act is highly desirable.

(8) Religious and educational institutions should be ample and grants to be given for starting schools and building temples, etc.

(9) As there is a dearth of qualified medical men in the colonies large numbers of them should be requisitioned from India.

(10) There ought to be direct steamship service from India to the colonies once in every month at least.

(11) Indian members in the Legislative Councils of the colonies should be elected and not nominated. There ought to be one in Malaya and in Ceylon where the Indian population exceed even the native population.

(12) The free system of labour now current in Ceylon and Malaya should also be brought under control.

I trust that the above suggestions for the welfare of India, the colonies and British Empire will be sympathetically considered by the Government.

T. K. Swaminathan.

VIII

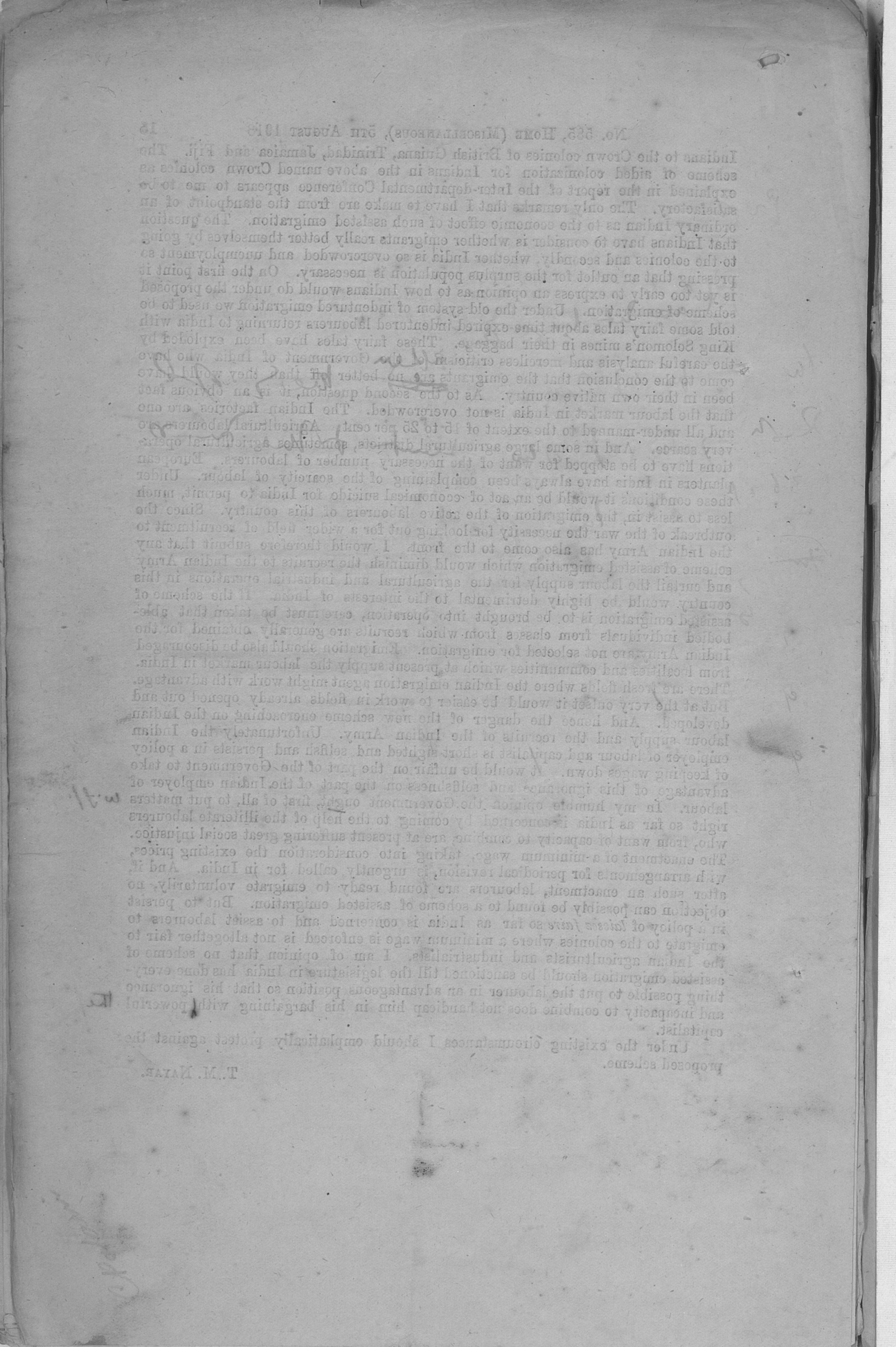
Opinion of Dr. Nayar.

I am sincerely glad that the Secretary of State in agreement with the Government of India has decided that indentured emigration is not to be reopened. That finally closes a black chapter in the British administration of India never to be re-opened. And what is now proposed is a sort of colonial assisted emigration of

Indians to the Crown colonies of British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji. The scheme of aided colonization for Indians in the above named Crown colonies as explained in the report of the Inter-departmental Conference appears to me to be satisfactory. The only remarks that I have to make are from the standpoint of an ordinary Indian as to the economic effect of such assisted emigration. The question that Indians have to consider is whether emigrants really better themselves by going to the colonies and secondly, whether India is so overcrowded and unemployment so pressing that an outlet for the surplus population is necessary. On the first point it is yet too early to express an opinion as to how Indians would do under the proposed scheme of emigration. Under the old system of indentured emigration we used to be told some fairy tales about time-expired indentured labourers returning to India with King Solomon's mines in their baggage. These fairy tales have been exploded by the careful analysis and merciless criticism of the Government of India who have come to the conclusion that the emigrants are no better off than they would have been in their own native country. As to the second question, it is an obvious fact that the labour market in India is not overcrowded. The Indian factories are one and all under-manned to the extent of 15 to 25 per cent. Agricultural labourers are very scarce. And in some large agricultural districts, sometimes agricultural operations have to be stopped for want of the necessary number of labourers. European planters in India have always been complaining of the scarcity of labour. Under these conditions it would be an act of economical suicide for India to permit, much less to assist in, the emigration of the active labourers of this country. Since the outbreak of the war the necessity for looking out for a wider field of recruitment to the Indian Army has also come to the front. I would therefore submit that any scheme of assisted emigration which would diminish the recruits to the Indian Army and curtail the labour supply for the agricultural and industrial operations in this country would be highly detrimental to the interests of India. If the scheme of assisted emigration is to be brought into operation, care must be taken that able-bodied individuals from classes from which recruits are generally obtained for the Indian Army are not selected for emigration. Emigration should also be discouraged from localities and communities which at present supply the labour market in India. There are fresh fields where the Indian emigration agent might work with advantage. But at the very outset it would be easier to work in fields already opened out and developed. And hence the danger of the new scheme encroaching on the Indian labour supply and the recruits of the Indian Army. Unfortunately the Indian employer of labour and capitalist is short-sighted and selfish and persists in a policy of keeping wages down. It would be unfair on the part of the Government to take advantage of this ignorance and selfishness on the part of the Indian employer of labour. In my humble opinion the Government ought, first of all, to put matters right so far as India is concerned by coming to the help of the illiterate labourers who, from want of capacity to combine, are at present suffering great social injustice. The enactment of a minimum wage, taking into consideration the existing prices, with arrangements for periodical revision, is urgently called for in India. And if, after such an enactment, labourers are found ready to emigrate voluntarily, no objection can possibly be found to a scheme of assisted emigration. But to persist in a policy of *laissez faire* so far as India is concerned and to assist labourers to emigrate to the colonies where a minimum wage is enforced is not altogether fair to the Indian agriculturists and industrialists. I am of opinion that no scheme of assisted emigration should be sanctioned till the legislature in India has done everything possible to put the labourer in an advantageous position so that his ignorance and incapacity to combine does not handicap him in his bargaining with powerful capitalist.

Under the existing circumstances I should emphatically protest against the proposed scheme.

T. M. Nayar.



Please let me have two
the copy of the
Resn of the 30th Dec.
3691
23.3.18

IX

Letter—from G. S. Hardy, Esq., I.C.S., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry.
To—the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
Dated—Simla, the 2nd April 1918.
No.—906.

With reference to this department Resolution No. 3691-D., dated the 23rd March 1918, I am directed to request that the Government of India may, with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council, be furnished with such observations on the correspondence with His Majesty's Secretary of State for India as the Local Government may desire to offer.

X

Letter—from G. S. Hardy, Esq., I.C.S., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry.
To—the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
Dated—Simla, the 6th July 1918.
No.—6180.

With reference to my letter No. 906, dated the 2nd April 1918, I am directed to forward copy of a Dispatch No. 40 (Public), dated the 17th May 1918, on the subject of emigration to Fiji for consideration in connexion with correspondence published with this department Resolution No. 3691-D., dated the 23rd March 1918.

Enclosure

Dispatch—from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.
To—His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council.
Dated—India Office, London, the 17th May 1918.
No.—40 Pub.

Probable effect on the sugar industry in Fiji of the conditions proposed in the scheme set out in the report of the recent Inter-Departmental Conference.

With reference to my Public Dispatch No. 117, dated the 21st September 1917, I enclose for the consideration of your Excellency's Government, copy of a letter * from the Colonial Office, on the subject of the probable effect on the sugar industry in Fiji of the conditions proposed in the scheme set out in the report of the recent Inter-Departmental Conference.

* Dated 28th March 1918 with enclosure.

2. Copy of the reply returned to the Colonial Office is also enclosed.

Sub-Enclosures

(1)

Colonial Office to India Office.

No. 8539.

Downing Street,
28th March 1918.

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence which has passed on the subject of the scheme for assisted immigration into British sugar producing Colonies from India, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Long to request you to inform Mr. Secretary Montagu that a certain amount of information is now available with regard to the probable effect of the proposed new conditions, if adopted, on the industry in Fiji.

2. As Mr. Montagu is aware, the industry in that Colony is dependent upon outside labour, as the natives own large areas of fertile land which render them independent of employment. The introduction of alien Asiatic labour is undesirable on political grounds, so that the European planters can only carry on if assured of a supply from India. Local Indian labour is usually unobtainable except for special types of work, as the extremely favourable arrangements made by the Colonial Government and the employers have enabled practically every Indian, who has completed his indentures and desires to remain, to secure cheap and good land on which he can grow sugar or other produce profitably, his savings during the period of indenture providing him with sufficient capital.

3. The production of sugar by these settlers, now amounting to about 30 per cent of the total, should enable the manufacturing industry to be carried on on a restricted scale, even if the European planters have to retire. But should such an unfortunate result come of the new scheme or some modification of it, the effect on the Colony as a whole must be disastrous.

4. The attitude of the Vancouver-Fiji Sugar Company is indicated by the following extracts from a letter dated 26th November last:—

"It is our firm belief that we shall be unable to make use of immigrants arriving in Fiji from India under the scheme as recommended by the Inter-Departmental Conference on assisted immigration from India.

". . . With the cost of labour increased to the extent we fear the scheme promises, we feel positive that we shall have to manage the best way possible without employing these assisted immigrants."

5. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company, Limited, which produces about seven-eighths of the total output of sugar in Fiji, is of the same opinion. It is clear, from a letter addressed to the Governor on 13th November 1917, of which a copy is enclosed, that they do not anticipate that the planting industry can be carried on in the future.

6. The Company is already acting on this view. They have resumed the various estates they had leased out to European cane growers in the Rewa district and have already surveyed some of them into blocks for Indian settlement. Lieutenant B. H. Holmes, Royal Field Artillery, who has represented a section of the planters while in this country, has informed this office that planters at Nausori and Labasa are giving up their estates, but that those he represents intend to carry on as long as they can. A number of them, however, are of the opinion that a year will be as long as they can hope to continue unless there is a prospect of more labour.

7. In connexion with the state of affairs at Labasa, I am to observe that, should the factory at that centre be closed, in accordance with what is understood to be the intention of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, the entire sugar industry of the island of Vanua Levu will be destroyed, including that carried on by Indian settlers.

8. Mr. Long cannot but think that it is unfortunate that the entry of India into the Imperial conference should synchronise with an alteration of policy which seems likely to ruin a Colonial industry, which has been a model of scientific development, and a British community which is believed to have sent as large a proportion of men into the Army and to have suffered proportionately as heavy losses, as any other part of the British Empire.

I am, etc.,
Henry Lambert.

The Under Secretary of State for India.

Annex—Colonial Sugar Refining Company to Sir Bickham Escott.

Sydney,
13th November 1917.

Dear Sir Bickham Escott,

The last English mail brought us the text of the report of the London Conference on Indian Labour, and we received by the "Atua" the dispatches from London you were good enough to send us.

These show the position to be even worse than we had feared from the telegraphed summary of the report, and though we have not got over Mr. Hughes' written statement about the meeting of the Conference, we think it well to let you know informally, without delay, how we regard the proposals made at that meeting.

To us it would seem that these are impossible of application in so far as the sugar industry in Fiji is concerned, because the cost of the labour unit would become prohibitive and that the Colony, if it accepted the scheme, would find itself saddled with very serious obligations in respect of the Indians already resident there, without having in any way improved its chances of obtaining additional labour.

And anyone holding this belief would not feel justified in advising my company to apply for labour under the conditions proposed, nor to guarantee, as hitherto, the charges in respect of

Indians requisitioned for by their tenants and contractors. Any such guarantee would imply the hope that the planters would be able to carry on or that the company meant to see them through their difficulties by an increase in the price of cane, and the hope would be, in my opinion, illusory, for, in the first case, the planters could not meet the higher costs involved, and, in the second case, the possibility of a higher price for cane depends entirely on the market value of the sugar produced. This value is controlled, not by the manufacturers but by the price at which competitors can place their sugar in the same market. Our principal competitor is Java, with unlimited supplies of cheap labour, and then come Mauritius and Formosa with the same advantage. Java has profited very greatly by war prices, and there is reason to believe that surplus gains have been used to place the factories there in a position to turn out sugar more cheaply than ever after the war is over.

In these circumstances we view with much concern the tendency manifested in some quarters to regard the sugar industry in Fiji as able to carry any load that may be imposed on it. Indeed we look for hard times to come when those concerned will need all their resources to keep their heads above water.

These remarks are not, however, to be read as indicating a fear on our part that, in consequence of labour difficulties, we shall have to write off our Fiji investment forthwith. We hope to be able to carry on, though on a restricted scale, with the labour now in the country until their number can be reinforced by people emigrating from India under free and reasonable conditions. We have no illusions as to any possible modification by the British Government of the terms now proposed (despite Mr. Long's protest against them as penalising producers of sugar), and we think there is no chance of this after the publication in India of the report of the Conference. But as emigration has not been absolutely barred, some method may be evolved later on of turning a small stream towards Fiji to provide a supply of labour available on terms corresponding with the capacity of the men in question as against that of Europeans producing sugar in their own countries.

Meanwhile, there can be no extension of our business, and we must concentrate our efforts on the attempt to render the industry, as far as practicable, independent of further immigration by settling the lands with growers who will constitute their own labour force for the cultivation and harvesting of the crops.

Although this letter is addressed to you privately, it represents the views of the Board, and may, therefore, be treated by you as an official communication from the Company if you so desire.

I have, etc.,
Edw. W. Knox.

Sir Bickham Escott.

(2)

India Office to Colonial Office.

J. and P. 1157.

India Office,
9th May 1918.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 8539, dated the 28th March 1918, regarding the probable effect on the sugar industry in Fiji of the conditions proposed in the scheme set out in the report of the recent Inter-Departmental Conference, I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to say that a copy of your letter, with its enclosure, is being transmitted to the Government of India for their consideration.

The Secretary of State for India shares Mr. Long's regret that the scheme for assisted immigration into British sugar-producing colonies from India which was framed last year by an Inter-Departmental Conference, is considered by the planters of Fiji so prohibitive in its cost that they cannot see their way at least to give it a trial before deciding that the sugar-planting industry of the island is in danger of destruction. But with reference to the remarks in the last paragraph of your letter, I am to say that though the coincidence may be unfortunate, a change of policy was inevitable, and was, in fact, overdue, since the hitherto existing system of indentured immigration had both been condemned by Indian opinion, and had been admitted to be imperfect in many respects by the planters themselves.

I have, etc.,
T. W. Holderness.

The Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office.

Order—No. 585, Home (Miscellaneous), dated 5th August 1918.

The following reply will be despatched to the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry.

(True extract)

R. Ramachandra Rao,
Secretary to Government.

Supl:

Proof for approval

S.P.
25/8/18.

Copy, 17-8-18

NOTES CONNECTED WITH G.O. Nos. 585–86, HOME (MISCELLANEOUS), DATED 5TH AUGUST 1918

[SUBJECT.—*Report of the Inter-Departmental Conference on Assisted Emigration from India.*]

Previous papers:

Report of Messrs. Marjoribanks and Marakkayar.

Mr. Gray's report on the amelioration of the depressed classes in certain districts.

Mr. Gray's report on statistics of wages and their accuracy.

Minutes of proceedings of the Inter-Departmental Conference on Assisted Emigration.

Notifications issued under the Assam Labour and Emigration Act.

G.O.	585,	*Public*,	*10th May* 1913	G.O.	281,	*Home (Mis.)*,	*3rd Nov.* 1916
,,	147	,,	*3rd Feb.* 1914	,,	342	,,	*21st* ,, ,,
,,	391	,,	*30th Mar.* ,,	,,	37-*A*	,,	*17th Jan.* 1917
,,	581	,,	*12th May* ,,	,,	239	,,	*9th Mar.* ,,
,,	642	,,	*27th* ,, ,,	,,	285	,,	*18th* ,, ,,
,,	853	,,	*1st June* 1915	,,	326	,,	*30th* ,, ,,
,,	1295	,,	*3rd Sep.* ,,	,,	415–16	,,	*26th Apr.* ,,
,,	230	,,	*10th Feb.* 1916	,,	502	,,	*28th May* ,,
,,	685	,,	*8th Apr.* ,,	,,	512	,,	*29th* ,, ,,
,,	952	,,	*16th May* ,,	,,	679	,,	*28th June* ,,
,,	1046	,,	*30th* ,, ,,	,,	187	,,	*4th Mar.* 1918
,,	150,	*Home (Mis.)*,	*17th Sep.* ,,	,,	421	,,	*6th May* ,,

From the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry No. 10294, *dated the 1st September* 1917.

HOME (MISCELLANEOUS) DEPARTMENT.

The suggestions made by this Government for the regulation of emigration after the discontinuance of the system of indentured emigration will be found in letter No. 239, Home (Miscellaneous), dated the 9th March 1917. A précis of the suggestions is given below, a comparison of which with the scheme of assisted emigration formulated by the Inter-Departmental Conference held in London shows that the views of this Government have generally been taken by the conference in the drawing up of the scheme.

Views of this Government.	Scheme of the Conference.
I.—The new system.	
(i) Aided emigration to take the place of indentured emigration. The criterion suggested is that a labourer should be assisted to emigrate, the assistance consisting in the grant of free or aided passages or of money.	The system to be followed in future will be one of aided colonisation, its object being to encourage the settlement of Indians in colonies after a probationary period of employment. The emigrant will as at present arrive in the colony free of debt and of any financial liability connected with the cost of his introduction into the colony.
(ii) An emigrant labourer should not be bound to serve a particular employer for longer than some very short period such as a month.	The emigrant will, in no way, be restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months. He will be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries by the offer of important benefits as a colonist.

GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS
23 AUG 1918
OOTACAMUND

II.—Method of financing the scheme.

Views of this Government.	Scheme of the Conference.
The cost of recruiting labour in India and of transporting it to a colony should be borne by a common fund managed by the Colonial Government and subscribed to by all employers of Indian labour in the colony and no part of such cost should be recoverable from the emigrant.	The expenses of introduction of any particular emigrant should be borne by the Government of the colony concerned out of a common fund raised by rateable contributions from the employers.

III.—Land settlement.

If a good class of emigrant is to be induced to go to and stay in the colonies facilities should be given for acquiring land, keeping cattle and setting up shops.	Steps will be taken to ensure that land may be available at once for all immigrants who desire it and who have completed a qualifying period of three years' employment under employers. To secure this end a department in each colony will be responsible for the provision of sufficient land and to render it suitable for agriculture and for the distribution of it among applicants. This department will advise immigrants on questions relating to the acquisition of land, explain fully to them the conditions upon which land can be obtained and assist them in every possible way to obtain it. Land not exceeding 5 acres will be granted to an immigrant after three years subject to a reasonable annual rent. Every adult male emigrant employed in agricultural industries will be granted for his personal use and cultivation a garden plot of $\frac{1}{10}$ acre, if he desires it after six months' service. A larger plot up to $\frac{1}{3}$ acre will be made available to industrious workers in the nature of a reward.

IV.—Conditions of employment.

(i) An emigrant labourer should be prohibited from entering into long term labour contracts either before or after emigration. The status of the Indian labourer should be defined by the law of the colony to be that of a monthly paid servant free to leave his employer and take service elsewhere at a month's notice.	At no time will the immigrant be under any indenture or any contract other than that he will be required to remain with an employer for six months in the first instance. An employer will be selected by the Protector of Immigrants on arrival. The Protector of Immigrants has power to sanction or require during the first period of six months a change of employment should he see reason to do so. After the first period of six months the immigrant will have perfect liberty to move from one employer to another on one month's notice. The relation between the immigrant and his employer will be purely that prevailing in the colony between any master and servant.
(ii) The regular monthly payment of an immigrant's wages in full legal tender should be made compulsory.	A minimum wage will be fixed which will be revised every five years. All wages will be paid regularly and in full, i.e., without deductions. The wage will bear the same proportion to the minimum wage at the time of Mr. McNeill's visit that the cost of living when the wage is fixed bears to the cost of living at the time of Mr. McNeill's visit.
(iii) It is desirable to encourage the nurture of children.	Rations for children and pregnant and nursing women will be given.
(iv)	Provision for married quarters is made compulsory. Existing arrangements in regard to medical treatment will continue.
(v) In the matter of legal punishment for neglect of work, for leaving an employer without notice or for similar labour offences the general labour law of the colony should be applied and imprisonment should not be prescribed as a substantive punishment for labour offences.	The immigrant can only be proceeded against for any breach of engagement by way of a civil suit in the ordinary course of law and will be liable to no criminal penalties.

V.—The employer.

Views of this Government.	Scheme of the Conference.
No remarks.	Employers should be approved by the Governor in Council. An employer not fulfilling the conditions relating to terms of employment, etc., will be liable to a fine on prosecution in a criminal court.

VI.—The emigration staff and Supervising Agency.

No objection to the present system of employing licensed recruiters to gather emigrants for distant colonies. The present system of payment per capita is open to objection but no alternative satisfactory method of payment was suggested. A whole-time Protector of Emigrants would be necessary if the control of recruitment of emigrant labour were made general and not restricted to recruitment for distant colonies only. Arrangements may be provided for the periodical inspection of emigrants in each of the colonies on the spot by an officer appointed by the Local Government or by the temporary or permanent location of such an officer in each colony.	Emigration agents on a fixed salary will recruit labour. They will be licensed by the Emigration Commissioner appointed by the Colonial Governments with the approval of the Local Government in India. There will be inspectors of emigration who may be Indians on a graded scale of pay to supervise the work of emigration agents in villages. A Protector of Emigrants will supervise emigration in this Province and a Protector of Immigrants in the colony. (The Emigration Commissioner corresponds to the present Colonial Government Emigration Agent). An officer of standing from India or a non-official will be deputed every three years by the Government of India to visit the colonies and report upon the conditions prevailing.

VII.—Depots.

No remarks.	There will be a depot in each district and a central depot to which all emigrants will be sent down from the district depots. Non-official gentlemen of standing will be appointed visitors to these depots. Emigrants will be examined medically at the central depot. District depots will be open to inspection at any time by the District Magistrate or any Magistrate deputed by him but the production of emigrants before a Magistrate in India will not be required.

VIII.—Conditions of emigration.

Emigration of families to be encouraged. Strict medical examination of old and feeble dependents should be relaxed. No need for a rule prescribing the proportion of women to men among emigrants. Coolies should understand the nature of their destination and their work before emigration. An emigrant should be given an assurance that free passages from India will at any time be given to his wife and children or other near relatives to join him in the colony.	All these suggestions find place in the scheme and it is further proposed (1) that persons below the age of 18 will be assisted to emigrate only when they are accompanied by their parents or guardians, (2) that emigration of women, unaccompanied by their families, will not be assisted, (3) emigration from pilgrim centres will be prohibited during times of pilgrimage or festivals and (4) that a written statement should be given to each intending emigrant the terms of his employment and the condition of life in the colony being explained.

IX.—Surgeons on emigrant ships.

No remarks.	If the Government of India so desire, a proportion of the surgeons employed on emigrant ships shall be Indians.

X.—Facilities for repatriation.

Facilities must be secured by a provision that an Indian labourer wishing to return to India should be entitled to receive from the immigration fund. One-third of the cost of the passage after he has been one year in the colony. Two-thirds etc., after two years. The whole cost after three years. There should be at least one steamer sailing from the colony for India in a year.	An emigrant wishing to return to India will be granted for himself and his dependents— half the passage after three years' continuous residence in the colony ; three-fourths after five years, whole after seven years. The acceptance of a grant of land under the special facilities will be held to extinguish all claim to a free or assisted return passage. An

X.—Facilities for repatriation—cont.

Views of this Government.	Scheme of the Conference.
Emigrants declared by a Medical Board to be incapacitated for further labour should be repatriated at any time at the expense of the proposed immigration fund.	emigrant who has availed himself of a free or assisted return passage shall have no right to a second free or assisted passage to India. Six months' previous notice must be given by any immigrant of his intention to claim a free or assisted passage. The Protector of Immigrants shall have the right subject to the approval by the Governor in Council to grant at any time free return passage in full in cases where he deems repatriation desirable. This right will extend to cases of immigrants whose claim to a return passage has been extinguished by the grant of land or who may have been reduced subsequently to indigent circumstances.

3. It will be seen from the above that the conclusions arrived at by the conference agree in most respects with the views of this Government except on the following points :—

(1) Suggestion that an emigrant should not be bound to serve a particular employer for a longer period than a month.

(2) Concessions in the matter of free return passage.

(3) Grant of free passages to females and children and near relatives of an emigrant wishing to join him in the colony.

(4) Stipulation that at least one steamer should be sailing in the colony for India.

In other respects, especially in land settlement, in requiring employers to be approved by the Governor in Council, and in providing for the appointment of Inspectors to supervise emigration, the scheme of the conference appears to be very favourable from the immigrants' point of view. It is explained that for the protection of the immigrant it is proposed to attach him to an employer for six months in the first instance. It will be seen that under the scheme worked out by the conference an emigrant will be eligible for full passage money only after seven years, while according to the proposals of this Government he will be eligible for full passage after three years. The scheme of the conference does not also provide for the grant of free passages to women, children and near relatives of an immigrant wishing to join him. No mention is also made of the stipulation suggested by this Government that there should at least be one steamer in a year sailing in the colony for India.

I think we might re-emphasize these points.
E.A.H.—25-9-17.

4. As regards depots, the proposal to appoint non-official visitors to district depots and the central depot is only an extension of the policy already adopted by this Government in this respect. Recently three non-official visitors were appointed as an experimental measure to the central depot at Cassimode. Before the experiment could be given a trial indentured emigration was prohibited (G.O. No. 285, dated 18th March 1917).

5. The conclusions arrived at by the conference regarding marriage laws of immigrants, educational facilities and political rights seem to be satisfactory.

6. One or two points in the scheme seem to call for remarks. These are mentioned below: at present licences are granted to recruiters by the Protector of Emigrants and countersigned by District Magistrates. Under the proposed system, Emigration Agents who will correspond to recruiters, will be licensed by the Emigration Commissioner who is a Colonial Government official and these licences will be countersigned by the Protector and the District Migistrates. There is however no provision for District Magistrates or the Protector for the withdrawal by them of the countersignature of licences if they find any particular emigration agent to be undesirable to hold a licence which has been already countersigned. There is such a provision in the existing Act and a somewhat similar provision in the rules under the Assam Labour and Emigration Act. It is for consideration whether the possession of some such control by District Magistrates and the Protector over emigration agents would

not be useful. As regards the proposal that a written statement should be given to each intending emigrant stating the conditions of his employment, etc., it is not stated who should give the statement and who is responsible to see that it is properly explained to the emigrant. The conference is distinctly of opinion that the production of emigrants before a Magistrate at any time will not be required. It is therefore clear that the entire control of recruitment will practically be mainly in the hands of Colonial Government officials.

District Magistrates and the Protector should have certain powers of control and interference.

E.A.H.—25-9-17.

7. Submitted for orders whether the views of any public body or association or non-officials should be invited. The remarks of the Board of Revenue, the Protector of Emigrants and Mr. Marjoribanks may be invited.

E.A.H.—25-9-17.

T.C.N.—14-9-17.

P.DE.R.—18-9-17.

To deal with hostile criticism of these proposals first :—

The *New India* has nothing very helpful to offer us ; its only constructive suggestion seems to be that the privileges of the franchise should be more fully extended to Indians in the colony in order that their interests may be more fully protected. Looking solely to the interests of the Indians I submit that a nominated representative, one who is persona grata to the Government, is likely to render greater protection than an elected one, who may be an agitating and irritating vakil who left India for his country's good. The question of the municipal franchise may be left to the colonial Governments concerned who have shown no disinclination to dealing fairly with Indian settlers in such matters.

The *New India* is of course against emigration in toto—

(*a*) because the wide dispersal of Indian labour causes a general impression abroad that India is inhabited chiefly by coolies—as it is ;

(*b*) because the employers of the Indian labourers abroad are ' colourless.'

As regards (*a*) the contempt for manual and productive labour evidenced in this point of view—probably common to all readers of the *New India*—is noteworthy ; the dignity and honour of the ' nation ', which are very dear to them, can only be worthily upheld by students and vakils ; the fact that India produces what has been called by planters ' the finest labour force in the world ' is as less than nothing to them, a reproach.

As regards (*b*) the *New India* and its supporters have done little or nothing to emancipate the Indian labourers who remain in a condition of serfdom under Indian masters in their own country ; the gravamen of the objection to emigration is not that the conditions are hard but that the masters are colourless. Though we may agree with the opinion expressed in the *Mail* that Indians are best at home, yet the objections to emigration advanced by its out-and-out opponents deserve no serious consideration ; while there are a number of definite factors in its favour.

To turn to the *Hindu* :—

This paper extends its qualified approval to the scheme but points out defects and suggests remedies which can hardly be ignored. The chief points are (*a*) housing, (*b*) hours of work, (*c*) holidays, (*d*) provision for education and (*e*) social amenities and (*f*) the moral and intellectual development of the emigrant, (*g*) facilities for the purchase of foodstuffs at a reasonable price and (*i*) the tenure under which they will hold the land allotted to them at the expiry of their term of labour.

So far as (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*g*) are concerned we are not aware that conditions are unsatisfactory ; the writer of the article does not appear to have studied the labour codes of the colonies, which will certainly not be amended for the worse in respect of the Indian settlers ; as regards (*e*) and (*f*) it is characteristic of the Indian critic of the Government that the Government itself should encroach on such obvious provinces of private enterprise ; perhaps however this Government might express itself ready

to assist any recognized body in India prepared to help settlers from this Presidency to provide themselves with 'amenities.' Definite proposals would have to materialize before anything could be done.

Education of settlers and conditions of land-tenure in the colonies seem to be matters of greater importance ; the recommendations of the conference are somewhat vague especially in regard to education ; and it is doubtful whether the Indian settlers should not receive certain special facilities, such as are given to backward tribes and castes in this country, in the shape of reduced fees, special scholarships and the provision of schools in the estates and districts occupied by Indians where there are none ; we might ask India at once whether more information cannot be furnished on the subjects of education and land-tenure.

It will be seen that if anything the decision of the conference goes beyond the recommendations of this Government and when the former and the latter are not in complete accord there is little to complain about. I would however refer in our letter to India to the two points (3) and (4) in paragraph 3 of the office note. Of course the removal of the compulsory sex-percentage and the prohibition to embark single women is criticized ; but there can be no doubt that the new conditions will be much healthier than the old.

Mr. Marjoribanks may be consulted ; also perhaps Mr. Swaminathan, Editor of the *Indian Emigrant* ; I hear there is an 'Emigration Society' probably run by Mr. Swaminathan.

It is useless to consult persons or societies who, it is known in advance, will merely reply with a bottle of vitriol. Perhaps one or two of the saner critics of the indentured system such as Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai, Dr. Nair, Hon'ble Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao and the Bishop of Madras may be consulted.

E. A. HARVEY—25–9–17.

This question has been very much to the front. It seems to me that subject to a few amendments the new scheme is far better than the system of indenture. If the critics be faced in advance with the scheme they are likely to approve of most of the new scheme.

I would therefore consult the persons named by the Under Secretary. ; also Mr. G. A. Natesan and Mr. S. Kasturi Ranga Ayyangar both of whom take considerable interest in emigration.

R. RAMACHANDRA RAO—8–10–17.

May be referred for opinion to the persons named in Mr. Harvey's note, except Mr. Kesava Pillai. I don't approve of Mr. Natesan or Mr. Kasturi Ranga Ayyangar ; we cannot expect a dispassionate opinion from either of them.

H. F. W. G[ILLMAN]—23–10–17.

Drafts are submitted.

A.R.—26–10–17.

P.DER.—26–10–17.

C. H. BROWN—29–10–17.

R. RAMACHANDRA RAO—29–10–17.

(1)

Demi-official—from the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur R. RAMACHANDRA RAO, Secretary to Government, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.

To—the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO Pantulu Garu, Dr. T. M. NAIR, Mr. T. K. SWAMINATHAN, Editor, *Indian Emigrant*, Madras.

Dated—the 29th October 1917.

No.—3083–2.

I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of a Resolution of the Government of India in the Department of Commerce and Industry, No. 10294, dated the 1st September 1917, containing the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration from India to West Indies and Fiji, and to request that you will be so good as to furnish Government at an early date with such observations as you may have to offer thereon.

(2)

Letter—from Mr. T. K. SWAMINATHAN, Editor, *Indian Emigrant*, Madras.
To—the Secretary to Government, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.
Dated—15th January 1918.

In reply to your demi-official No. 3083, dated 29th October 1917, I have the honour to submit herewith my observations on the report of the Inter-departmental Committee on the scheme of aided colonization from India to the colonies. Considering the magnitude of the subject, it is impossible to do anything more than merely sketch in this little memorandum the broad outlines of the methods of colonization and the means whereby emigration may be made more attractive and acceptable to the Indian public and the welfare of the colonies maintained at the same time.

(3)

Letter—from Dr. T. M. NAIR, Madras.
To—the Secretary to Government, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.
Dated—13th January 1918.

In accordance with your demi-official No. 3083-2, dated 29th October 1917, I have the honour to enclose herein my opinion on the Resolution of the Government of India in the Department of Commerce and Industry, No. 10294, dated the 1st September 1917, containing the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration from India to West Indies and Fiji.

(4)

Demi-official—from the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M. RAMACHANDRA RAO Pantulu Garu, Non-official Additional Member of the Madras Legislative Council.
To—the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur R. RAMACHANDRA RAO, Secretary to Government, Home (Miscellaneous) Department.
Dated—Ellore, the 16th January 1918.

I am in receipt of your demi-official No. 3083-2, dated 29th October 1917, asking for my opinion on the report of the Inter-departmental Conference on assisted emigration from India to West Indies and Fiji.

2. We are thankful for the assurance now given that His Majesty's Government are now in agreement with the Government of India that indentured emigration shall not be re-opened. The report says that "Under the new system emigration will be entirely free and the indenture system together with the titles and characteristics attaching to it will be abolished. The system followed in future will be one of aided colonization and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indian in certain colonies after a probationary period of employment in those colonies to train and fit them for life and work there and at the same time to afford a supply of the labour essential to the well-being of the colonies themselves."

3. The point for consideration is whether in India there has ever been a genuine demand by the people for an outlet to the surplus populations. It has never been suggested that the emigration was necessary in the interests of India and such emigration as has taken place in the past is not a genuine overflow of the population of this country for a living elsewhere. It has been stimulated by artificial means by a glowing account of the high wages, by fraud and misrepresentation and other questionable means.

Looking at the question therefore broadly I believe that unless the Government is satisfied that the present arrangements for assisted emigration is in the interests of the population of this country, the Government of India should not sanction these new arrangements. The description of the new arrangements as aided colonization is not, in my opinion, accurate and the primary object of the arrangement is the supply of the labour to the four colonies referred to in the resolution.

4. The system proposed by the Committee no doubt avoids some of the evils of the indenture system but I feel that by whatever name it may be called the assisted emigrant will in the long run be in the same position as the indentured emigrant. Even under the indenture system the emigrant was protected by numerous safeguards which had proved ineffective. The emigration to Ceylon is in some respects as bad as the indenture system and the safeguards proposed in the new system will not prove in the long run to be any better than those hitherto adopted. The chief reason for this state of things is that the emigrant has not the same protection against oppression as he has in his own country and it is impossible to afford them adequate safeguards against chicanery, fraud and intimidation.

On these grounds I object altogether to any system of assisted emigration. The scheme reads well on paper but I feel grave doubts whether in the working of it much benefit will accrue to the emigrant.

The opinions of the officials and non-officials consulted have been received.

2. The Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao altogether objects to any system of assisted emigration, and doubts whether in the working of it much benefit will accrue to the emigrant. He states that, unless the Government are satisfied that the arrangements for assisted emigration are in the interests of the population of this country, the Government of India should not sanction the new arrangements. He admits that the new scheme avoids some of the evils of the indenture system but states that the safeguards proposed in the new system will not prove in the long run to be any better than those adopted. Submitted that the Government have all along consistently held that emigration is in the interests of the Indian labourer. Mr. Harvey has already noted with reference to ~~similar~~ remarks that appeared in the columns of *New India* that they do not deserve serious consideration.

3. The opinions of others are noted on below, each suggestion being dealt with separately.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.
P.S.R.—26-2-18.

Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao is beside the point.

C. H. BROWN—12-3-18.
L. D. SWAMIKANNU—20-3-18.

Parts I and II.—The new system and the method of financing the scheme.

A

Mr. Marjoribanks states (1) that the root of abuses there may be in the present system is the feeling of the individual employer that a particular labourer whose cost of immigration he has paid is or should be his labourer, (2) that the only way to remedy this is to adopt the system of the Malay Peninsula where the whole cost of recruitment and immigration is borne by a general fund to which all employers of Indian labour contribute in proportion to the amount of Indian labour they employ, the labourers being at the same time free to leave any employer at a month's notice and take employment elsewhere. He is accordingly opposed to the provisions in the scheme for a register of approved employers and for an initial six months' term with some one employer. He is of the opinion that the provision of alternatives (2) and (3) for financing the scheme will almost certainly lead to trouble. He does not however suggest that the scheme should be amended in these respects. He considers that it may be tried with confidence and amended in time as the result of experience. The provision in the scheme that it rests with the Protector of Immigrants to choose an employer for an immigrant on arrival may tend to prevent an employer from feeling that he has paid the cost of introduction of the particular immigrant.

(2) Recovering cost from employers of an immigrant during first three years of his residence.

(3) Recovering cost from the employers for the period necessary to qualify immigrant for a free return passage.

T.C.N.—21-2-18.
P.S.R.—26-2-18.

A co-operative purchase is a purchase all the same.

L.D.S.—21-3-18.

PRESS SLIP.

Scott. II-38—1,703—17-1-18.

~~ORDINARY~~. ~~PRIORITY~~. URGENT (a).

..... Home (Ship) DEPARTMENT.

26 APR 1918

To be printed at the Branch Press Ooty

Current No ....., dated..... 191

G.O. No....., dated..... 191

Number of MS. pages sent (b) { Correspondence..... (b1) Notes..... 44

Brief subject..... Emigration to Distant Colonies.

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Brief subject Emigration - Distant Colonies

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS.

Press

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6.8.18

53
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