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GENERAL MEETING
OF
BRITISH GUIANA INDIANS
IN TOWN HALL, GEORGETOWN,
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE EAST INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

RESOLUTION CARRIED.

Mr. M. Panday then moved the following resolution.

Whereas at a general meeting of the B.G.E.I. Association the Colonisation Scheme proposed by the Government for the introduction of East Indian settlers to this Colony was discussed.

And whereas after due consideration in its details, this Association in view of the conditions and benefits offered by the Government does not regard the Scheme as a Labour Scheme or a project for cheap labour.

Be it resolved that this Association after careful and serious consideration of the various conditions therein set forth, and the recommendations made by the Committee, respectfully support the same, and request His Excellency the Governor to forward a copy of this resolution to the Indian Government.

And further, this Association approves of the Delegates proceeding to India with this Resolution as a mandate from the Association.

MR. VIAPREE'S REMARKS.

Mr. Viapree seconding the Resolution said that he was one who had opposed the Scheme in the absence of the learned doctor and also in the absence of his learned friend Mr. Luckhoo because at that time the conditions were different to what they are at present, and they had an Administrator who did very little for the East Indians in the Colony. Appeals upon appeals were made to him but a deaf ear was always given to them. But conditions were going to change and they had an Administrator who was studying the condition of everything. His Excellency was trying to explore all parts of the Colony and was seeing everything for himself as to what was really wanted in every district. It was only shortly before then that His Excellency had promised to raise two million dollars for improvements within the Colony which will benefit the East Indian. As an East Indian himself he knew something of East Indians and the present Scheme was a good one and hoped that it would be carried through.

The motion was carried unanimously.

SUPPORT FROM NEGRO PROGRESS CONVENTION.

MUST INCLUDE RECRUITING OF AFRICANS AND WEST INDIANS.

The Negro Progress Convention held a Committee meeting at 1.30 p.m. November 22nd, 1923, in the Chambers of Mr. E. F. Fredericks, I.L.B., Barrister-at Law, in connection with the question of Colonisation affecting Africans and West Indians.

Dr. T. T. Nicholls presided, and there were also present Revs. J. Dingwall, H. W. Grant, Drs. F. S. Hunte and J. E. Fraser, Messrs. J. A. Spencer, C. A. Petrie, H. Critchlow, E. A. James, F. A. Egerton, S. A. Powell, E. B. Hazlewood, J. L. Griffith, S. J. Holder, H. A. Britton, H. L. Palmer, G. E. Edwards (barrister-at-law), W. Ogle (solicitor); with Messrs. E. P. Bruvning (barrister-at-law) Secretary, G. L. Bobb Minute Secretary, Charles O'Connor Recording Secretary.

The meeting considered and decided to support the Colonisation Scheme provided that it included the recruiting of West Indians and African families and that the same conditions which were offered the immigrants be extended to persons now resident in the Colony.

The Committee adjourned at 3 o'clock and resumed at 4 o'clock to meet Hon. Dr. J. J. Nunan, K.C., B.A., Attorney General. On the doctor's arrival he explained matters of vital importance touching the question at issue.

The Committee decided to request the Government to send a deputation to Africa and the West Indies to synchronise with the arrival of the Colonisation deputation in India and expressed a strong desire that no delay be entailed in conforming with the request.

Dr. Nunan concurred.

Telegrams were received from Rev. E. R. O. Robertson of Mahaica and Mr. P. B. Cholmondeley of Henrietta, Essequibo, members of the Convention, regretting their inability to attend the meeting and endorsing the attitude taken by the meeting.

The meeting terminated

EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM.

In view of the proposed introduction with State-aid of a considerable number of non-European British subjects it has been deemed advisable to make clear the legal status of all British subjects within the Colony, which status it should be said has never been questioned locally as equal rights for all races have existed since 1838. It is proposed by His Excellency in Council after the passing of the Declaratory Ordinance to notify the Government of India, with the approval of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, that the maintenance of this equality of status is the permanent policy of the Government and people of the Colony. It is also proposed to confer the same status upon subjects of native Indian States resident within the Colony.

DECLARATORY ORDINANCE AS TO STATUS OF INDIANS.

NOTE.—This Ordinance was passed unanimously by suspension of Standing Orders by the British Guiana Legislature on 22nd November, 1923.

ORDINANCE NO. OF 1923.

A BILL ENTITLED "AN ORDINANCE TO MAKE CLEAR THE STATUS OF ALL CLASSES OF BRITISH SUBJECTS OF NON-EUROPEAN RACE OR ORIGIN RESIDENT WITHIN THE COLONY.

WHEREAS under the Immigration Ordinance, 1891, and its amending Ordinances and under various Ordinances now repealed, numbers of British subjects of British Indian and other non-European race or origin have at various times been introduced into the Colony under Indenture; and whereas numbers of such persons have come into the Colony independently of any form of indenture; and whereas numbers of such persons and their descendants are now resident within the Colony; and whereas the Combined Court has provided funds for the colonisation of the Colony by British subjects of British Indian and other non-European race or origin without any form of indenture or other contractual obligation of service or residence; and whereas in view of such colonisation it is desirable to declare the status of such and of all other British subjects of non-European race or origin within the Colony and to extend the same rights to subjects of native Indian States:

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor of British Guiana with the advice and consent of the Court of Policy :

1. This Ordinance may be cited as the Status of British Subjects ^{Short} (British Guiana) Declaration Ordinance, 1920.

2. (1) All Ordinances, Regulations or Rules purporting to confer any franchise, vote, appointing or nominating power, or any right to be elected, appointed or nominated to any Government, Municipal or other public office of honour or emolument within the Colony, shall apply and since 1838 have always applied equally to every British subject of every race or origin within the Colony without any distinction whatsoever, and every British subject possessing the qualifications prescribed thereunder (if any) for exercising such power or holding such office shall exercise or hold the same as the case may be independently of race, origin or previous condition of indenture. ^{Decla}

(2) All Ordinances, Regulations or Rules purporting to confer upon British subjects any right of trade, commerce, land holding, land transfer, lease or mortgage of movable or immovable property, or any right of association or purporting to regulate the exercise thereof shall apply and have always applied to all British subjects resident within the Colony.

(3) From and after the date of this Ordinance all Ordinances, Regulations and Rules referred to in Subsections (1) and (2) hereof shall apply to all persons of East Indian race or origin (not being subjects of any non-Indian foreign State) whether such persons are British subjects or British protected persons or subjects of any Indian native State.

SUMMARY OF BRITISH GUIANA COLONISATION SCHEME.

The Committee appointed by the Legislative Council of India has been asked to deal with proposals set out in the British Guiana Deputation's pamphlet *British Guiana and the Empire*, which embodies the resolutions accepted by the Government and Legislature of British Guiana and by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and which is published by authority of the Guianese Government. As the letter of introduction of the Secretary of State for India shows, the Deputation is authorised to deal with any necessary details and supplementary arrangements. The Resolutions and Explanatory Memorandum in the pamphlet with any added details or arrangements form the Scheme.

NOTES.

1. British Guiana being a country as large as Great Britain with only three residents per square mile has set aside a sum of approximately £600,000 to offer inducements to tropical settlers of the agricultural class, basing all settlements on the family. The recent change in Imperial policy as regards preference and the urgent demands for foodstuffs all over the world enable it to incur expenditure and to see a prosperous future for agriculture and pasturage.

2. The Colony has entered into an arrangement which, if necessary, can be carried out as from 15th March, 1920, with the Nourse Section of the P. and O. line (Offices: Calcutta and London) to establish a regular passenger and cargo line of steamers directly between Indian ports and British Guiana, sailing at the outset once in two months and later monthly. Accommodation will include first and third class and later second class.

3. Suitable agricultural families (and if necessary to complete any list a limited number of male and female adults equal in amount) on applying to Official Information Bureaux to be maintained by the Guianese Government under responsible salaried officers in populous districts, will after Medical Examination be given free passage. Not more than five thousand adults per year for three years are contemplated. No recruiters will be employed. No contracts will be allowed. Settlers will receive temporary hospitality, most probably at the hostel now maintained near Calcutta by the Calcutta Municipality for workers going to Burma or in similar open hostels at Budge Budge or near Bombay or Madras.

4. On arriving in British Guiana they can if desirous of working land of their own forthwith obtain land (either agricultural or pastoral) on easy terms in small or large holdings. These terms are those of the Crown Regulations of the Colony. For ten agricultural acres (with a right to a second ten), these amount to about one hundred rupees spread over five years, on condition of beneficial occupation. Grants, Leases and Licences of larger areas are also to be had (*vide Compendium of General Information* published by the Lands and Mines Department). Assistance in selecting land will be given by Government Officers and financial assistance will be rendered through the Agricultural Banks and from the Colonisation Fund for the starting of homes and cultivation.

5. If the settler elects to accept employment to begin with, whether to gain local experience or because he prefers it, the Guianese Government guarantees him employment at the local rates of pay which for piece work (*e.g.*, on sugar estates) on a seven hours' day amount to about three rupees for males at the present time and for females at lighter work about half

of that. He is also provided with housing accommodation and with a garden plot and grazing privileges. Families receive a separate new and improved design of cottages.

COST OF LIVING.

6. The deputation's memorandum on the cost of living shows that it is under 40 per cent. of the ordinary wages for piece work and enables a male wage-earner to save at least a rupee a day. This can be supplemented by independent work, by cattle grazing and by the work of wife and family. A man can comfortably support a wife and family (non-workers) on his pay.

7. Wages are to be controlled by official Arbitration Boards to prevent variation unfair to the wage-earners. These Boards, therefore, in practice assure a maximum rate.

REWARD GRANTS.

8. Reward grants of five acres of coast or river land, specially protected if necessary by embankments from flood (prepared for irrigation and drainage and for cultivation), will be given to families who have completed three years of residence during which they have been engaged either for themselves or for employers in any form of agricultural work in the Colony. The cost to the Colony of this part of the Colonisation Scheme is estimated to be about one and a half million dollars or nearly five million rupees. This land will become the freehold property of the owner if beneficially occupied, on the same terms and conditions as the other Crown Lands. The cost of preparing the land, which may run to fifty rupees *per acre* will be a free gift to the claimant by the Colony. Further assistance will be given as regards housing accommodation and farming equipment. The necessary lands have been ear-marked by the Government or will be acquired under the Lands Acquisition Ordinance.

SUPERVISION.

10. The Indian Government has been asked to appoint its own official (at the cost of British Guiana) to watch the interest of the settlers.

The deputation has also welcomed the suggestion of Mahatma Gandhi that after a certain period, say six months or a year, an independent report should be made by a nominee of the popular leaders and the deputation offers to pay all his expenses.

The deputation now suggests that a Committee consisting of three persons, viz., an officer appointed by the Indian Government, a nominee of the unofficial section of the Indian Legislative Council, and Mr. C. K. Andrews should report on the working of the scheme. Such a committee could set out in December, viz., about six months from the inauguration of the scheme. Whatever Committee is appointed should not consist of less than three.

* NOTE.—The original misprint of "pounds per plot" for "rupees per acre" was corrected verbally and offers no difficulty. The words in brackets were based upon the Inter-Departmental Report and merely mean "suitable for cultivation." To avoid quibbling over interpretation these words can be substituted. In case of dispute as to what constitutes suitability for cultivation the India Agent can decide.

REPATRIATION.

11. Any individual or family will be sent back free of charge at any time if the Indian Government's supervising officer so requests. This applies to women or children whose husbands or parents die in the Colony or *en route*. Should such official's request not be made the individual or family can claim repatriation at half estimated cost to Guiana (such cost to be estimated at beginning of scheme) after three years' residence, one-quarter cost after five years and free of charge after seven years. Repatriation will not affect any land or other rights fully acquired. Cheap return tickets will be provided for individuals or families desirous of visiting India for family reasons, business, or pleasure. The object of the scheme is to promote a regular flow and reflow of colonists as well as a regular commercial intercourse between the two countries.

NON-AGRICULTURAL SETTLERS.

As first-class accommodation is being provided (eventually also second class) assisted passages or passages at very low rates (about one-third of the present cost of the unassisted journey) will be provided. A limited number of professional men (especially medical men and engineers) and a much larger number of clerks and schoolmasters are required. Applications will be considered on their merits and free passages will be given in some cases, assisted passages in others. One priest or minister of religion for each religious group will be taken free on each voyage with right of repatriation free. Traders and small capitalists will also be given cheap passages.

POLITICAL, MUNICIPAL, LANDHOLDING, AND TRADING RIGHTS.

Equality of rights of every kind exist in the Colony. There is an elected majority of 14 to 8 in the Legislature. The Franchise is very low. Settlers can obtain the Parliamentary vote after six months' residence and holding of the qualifications of the Political Constitution Ordinances of 1891 and 1909 which are easily within the reach of any settler whether working for himself or for an employer. Possession of three acres of cultivated land or the income of the average worker secures a vote.

English law has recently been introduced but Indian marriage law and custom are specially protected.

GUARANTEES.

12. Guarantees of the continuance of existing privileges (apart from the best assurance of all, viz., the existence of liberal institutions dating over a century in a British South American Colony) can be furnished by the Colony and the Colonial Office stating that their definite policy is the continuance of the political and commercial equality of all races.

If necessary a Declaratory Ordinance could be passed in Guiana recording the actual position, but of course one legislature cannot bind another. An official declaration of policy by the Secretary of State is the effective course. The Colonial Office can refuse to approve of legislation attempting to violate the accepted principle even if the Government of the Colony in view of such a policy would allow such a Bill to pass or even to be introduced. The consent of the Governor is necessary for the introduction or passing of legislation. Alteration of our settled working institutions without the

consent of the people of the Colony (already nearly half East Indians) and of the Colonial Office is unthinkable to anybody acquainted with the West Indian possessions.

HEALTH CONDITIONS.

The climate is a good one but unsuitable for manual labour on the coast lands by Northern Europeans. This is not the case for Southern Europeans. Health conditions are better in every respect than in India, Ceylon, The Straits Settlements, Mauritius, and most other tropical colonies. Much improvement, however, can be effected, and this is being done now by means of the united sanitary campaign by towns, villages, and estates which is part of our Scheme. Our worst death rate has never come to within three-fourths of the Indian rate. Our ordinary rate is about one-half of the Indian rate.

THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF INDIA.

REPORT OF BRITISH GUIANA AND FIJI COLONISATION COMMITTEE.

10th February, 1920.

We the Committee* appointed with reference to the Resolution of the Legislative Council on the 4th February, 1920 :—

(A) To examine the scheme of colonisation which the deputation from British Guiana desire to put forward and to report thereon and make recommendations to the Government of India ;

(B) To meet the deputation from Fiji and to examine any proposals which they put forward, and to report thereon and make recommendations to the Government of India ; and

(C) To examine the credentials of the deputations, have the honour to submit the following report.

2. The British Guiana deputation consisted of Dr. J. J. Nunan, LL.D., and Mr. Luckhoo, Barrister-at-Law. The members of the Fiji deputation were His Lordship the Bishop of Polynesia and Mr. R. S. D. Rankine.

We find that Dr. Nunan and Mr. Luckhoo are accredited to the Government of India by the Secretary of State for India on behalf of a representative deputation from British Guiana headed by the Governor of that Colony, which deputation was received by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and was introduced by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Secretary of State for India. The object of the deputation was to represent the needs of the Colony both for the maintenance of present industries and for their extension, and to show the advantages which this Colony affords to immigrants from other countries. The scheme of colonisation in respect of Indian immigrants is contained in Appendix A.† to this Report. This paper was handed to the Committee by Dr. Nunan.

3. As regards Fiji, we find the Mr. Rankine is an officer of the Government of Fiji sent by that Government, and that His Lordship the Bishop of Polynesia has been selected by the Government of Fiji at the request of the planting community of that Colony, to visit India and ascertain

(* The Hons. S. Sastri, Sir D. E. Wacha, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, S. Sinha, Asad Ali Khan, Mir W. E. Crum, N. E. Marjoribanks, K. Chanda, S. N. Banerjee, Mir B. N. Sarma.

The Hon. Dr. Sapru did not attend the meetings of the Committee.

For (†) see Summary printed at page 4.

whether a system of immigration of Indians into Fiji cannot be devised that would satisfy both the Government and public opinion in India. The proposals put forward for Fiji as handed to the Committee are in Appendix B.* to this Report.

4. Before dealing with the details of these schemes, the Committee would in the first place record their opinion that no scheme of emigration of Indians to either of these Colonies should be approved unless it is certain that the position of the immigrants in their new homes will in all respects be equal to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects resident there. Upon this point, therefore, the Committee questioned the deputations at some considerable length. So far as British Guiana is concerned, the deputation assured the Committee that East Indian Immigrants had now equal rights with all other classes of British subjects in the Colony which was under a liberal constitution giving the people large powers of self-government. The deputation went further and undertook to declare this equality in rights by legislative ordinance and to secure its continuance by obtaining an announcement of the Colonial Office that the maintenance of such status was a settled policy. A draft of the proposed ordinance has been handed to the Committee by Dr. J. J. Nunan, and is appended to this Report, Appendix "I."

5. In the case of Fiji, the form of Government appears to be less liberal than in Guiana. The guarantees, therefore, that the Fiji Government can give regarding equality of political rights are more limited in scope. The Fiji deputation, however, assured us (1) that Indians in Fiji are at present entitled to engage in professions and trade and commerce, and to acquire property, on the same conditions as other residents including Europeans, and that the Government of Fiji will undertake that these rights will not be altered in any way to the detriment of Indians as compared with other residents; (2) that the Government of Fiji will further undertake that the existing municipal rights enjoyed by Indians will not be altered, except in so far as municipal rights of other residents may be altered in the same direction, and that the political rights now being extended to Indians to elect two Indian representatives to the Legislative Council of Fiji will not be withdrawn.

6. While welcoming these assurances, the experience of the past in other Colonies compels the Committee to recommend further investigations of this aspect of the matter. It is possible that while political and economic conditions render the grant of equal political rights to Indians practicable and expedient at present, there may be (the Committee do not say there are) forces at work calculated to change this happy state of things, which forces may not be easily recognisable save by investigation and inquiries on the spot in British Guiana and Fiji respectively.

7. Coming now to the schemes themselves, the Committee consider, subject to the qualification expressed below, that the terms proposed are in themselves fair and reasonable. The Committee, however, feels that the effect of the scheme on the Indian immigrant will depend more on factors that can only be gauged on the spot rather than on written provisions of rules and laws. The Committee will endeavour to explain the difficulty it has in the matter by examples:—

(1) The most satisfactory feature of both schemes is the provision of land for settlement. But for this part of scheme to be real and

(*) Not printed.

not illusory, the land proposed to be granted must be of such quality and situation that a new Indian settler would not find it beyond his power to cultivate it successfully and maintain himself and family thereon. It seems to the Committee impossible to form an opinion on this part of the scheme without local inquiry.

(2) Wages are said to be much above the cost of living, but as it is not practicable to enforce the payment of wages irrespective of the works done, the Committee think that local inquiries into the tasks expected of a worker, the wages paid therefor and the cost of living by persons conversant with the capabilities and needs of Indian agriculturists, could alone elucidate whether the prospects of immigrants are really so good as they appear to be on paper. This appears to the Committee to be more particularly necessary in the case of Fiji.

(3) Health conditions in both colonies are reported to be good: and the Committee sees no reason to doubt this in the case of Fiji. In the case of British Guiana, notwithstanding the favourable (in comparison with India) death-rate, the Committee understands the East Indian population has been practically stationary. It is possible that this state of things is due to re-emigration or repatriation, or is explainable on other grounds than bad health and birth rates. But the Committee feels that it would be well to have the matter investigated on the spot.

8. For the reasons set forth in the above paragraphs, the Committee resolves to submit its conclusions in the form of the two following resolutions which have been passed by the members unanimously.

I. This Committee having heard Dr. Nunan and Mr. Luckhoo, is inclined to take a favourable view of the scheme of colonisation presented by them in view of guarantees and safeguards which they are prepared to provide by legislation and otherwise, but before recommending definite acceptance of it would advise the appointment of a deputation of three competent persons to proceed to British Guiana, investigate the conditions on the spot, and report to the Government of India.

II. This Committee recommends —

(1) (A) That the Government of Fiji be asked to give guarantees similar to those which the British Guiana deputation declared that their Government was prepared to give.

(B) That if the Government of Fiji do give these guarantees the Government of India should send a deputation similarly constituted to test the scheme generally and specially as to the question of the adequacy of wages; and

(2) Subject to the above guarantees being given and to a satisfactory report being made by the deputation, this Committee would recommend a favourable consideration being given to the Colonisation Scheme by the Government of India.

(Sd.) S. SASTRI.

D. E. WACHA.

ASAD ALI KHAN.

W. E. CRUM.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS.

K. CHANDA.

S. N. BANERJEE.

B. N. SARMA.

It seems to me that the British Guiana deputation was on a somewhat better footing than the Fiji one as regards binding their respective Governments. Political conditions in British Guiana also are more favourable

than in Fiji as regards Indians, but the climate of British Guiana is not very attractive, and the wages in Fiji are decidedly inadequate as the recent riots indicate. Land scheme seems to be a secondary consideration—in Fiji at any rate—real object is to obtain labour immediately.

I am not very anxious to give much encouragement to any emigration on a large scale on other grounds also.

However, I agree that definite guarantees being given, the matter should be investigated by a deputation, which we recommend before any definite recommendation be made.

(Sd.) KAMINI K. CHANDA.

1. I shall add a few lines by way of explanation. The two deputations have the moral support of the Governments concerned behind them, and the British Guiana deputation has a large body of colonial support, but I do not think that either of them has any authority to bind its Government.

2. It was not clear to me that the wages in British Guiana were adequate, and at the present rate of exchange the wage in Fiji appears to be inadequate. The wages promised to be guaranteed were not very definite. As regards housing, I believe the existing arrangements and the arrangements promised meet the requirements of those who may engage themselves to work on plantations. Free labourers may be afforded facilities, but it did not seem to be clear that any definite pledges were given.

3. Guarantees mentioned in the note should be given before any deputation is sent. The deputations were anxious about the importation of labour to work on plantations, and the scheme proper appeared to be a matter of secondary importance at the present moment. There seems to be no clearly planned arrangement already made for land colonisation. I am not in favour of encouraging emigration unless it be for the immediate land colonisation, but the possibilities are so great that if the necessary guarantees are given, deputations should be sent to investigate the problems on the spot.

(Sgd.) B. N. SARMA.

A BILL TO PROVIDE FOR THE MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE OF ASIATICS.

BE it enacted by the Governor of British Guiana, with the advice and consent of the Court of Policy thereof, as follows :—

† title. 1. This Ordinance may be cited as the Asiatic Marriage and Divorce Ordinance, 1922.

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of term
iatic.” 2. In this Ordinance unless the context otherwise requires, the term “ Asiatic ” means any person introduced or coming into this colony from Asia, whether directly or indirectly, and whether wholly or in part at the expense of the Immigration Fund or otherwise, and includes any descendant of such a person.

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m No. 1. 3. (1) The Immigration Agent General shall keep a Register of Marriages of Asiatics contracted in the colony (according to Form No. 1 in the Schedule to this Ordinance).

(2) In such register the number of any registration shall be the same for the husband and the wife, and shall be continued in regular sequence.

4. The Governor on the recommendation of the Immigration Agent General may appoint such Magistrates, Pandits, Moulvies or other persons as he may deem fit to be Marriage Officers for Asiatics for the purposes of this Ordinance and may prescribe from time to time a scale of fees to be charged by such Marriage Officers, and may revoke any appointment so made.

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5. (1) Before celebrating a marriage between Asiatics such Marriage Officer shall obtain from the Immigration Agent General a certificate according to Form No. 2 in the Schedule to this Ordinance signed by him to the effect that there does not appear from the records of the Immigration Department to be any impediment to the intended marriage.

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(2) The Marriage Officer shall thereafter require the parties to sign a notice, which shall be furnished to them free of charge by the Marriage Officer and which shall contain a declaration by the parties that, to the best of their belief, there exists no lawful impediment to their marriage, and, if the female is under fifteen years of age, that the consent of her father if alive and in the colony, or if he is dead, of her mother, if alive and in the colony, or if her father and mother are both dead or absent from the colony, of the Immigration Agent General, has been obtained. The Marriage Officer if not a Pandit or a Moulvie shall thereupon give notice according to Form No. 3 in the Schedule to this Ordinance of the intended marriage by posting or delivering the notice to the Magistrate's Clerk of the Judicial District who shall, as soon as possible after receipt of the said notice, exhibit the same for three weeks in a conspicuous place at the Court-house nearest to the place of residence of the parties or of one of them or at the Court-house nearest to the place of the intended ceremony, but where such Marriage Officer is a Pandit or a Moulvie he shall exhibit the notice for three weeks in a conspicuous place at the Mosque or Temple nearest to the place of residence of one of the parties. If the parties reside in different Judicial Districts, the proceedings as to notice of an intended marriage mentioned in this section shall be taken in each district.

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Provided that where objection has been raised to a marriage the Marriage Officer shall suspend the celebration of such marriage until he shall receive a further certificate from the Immigration Agent General under sub-section (2) of section eight of this Ordinance.

(3) Marriage Officers for Asiatics may perform the marriage ceremony in accordance with the rites of any religion to which the Marriage Officers belong.

(4) When a marriage is celebrated under this Ordinance the Marriage Officer, the parties to the marriage and the witnesses to the marriage at the time of the celebration shall in the presence of each other execute a certificate in the form set out in Form No. 4 in the Schedule to this Ordinance.

(5) Immediately after the celebration of a marriage, the Marriage Officer shall deliver to each of the contracting parties to such marriage a certified copy of the certificate thereof according to Form No. 4 in the Schedule to this Ordinance and shall within twenty-four hours after the celebration of the marriage forward a certified copy of the said certificate to the Immigration Agent General and the certificate to the Registrar General.

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(6) The Registrar General shall duly record all marriages celebrated under this Ordinance and duly file and safely preserve in his office the certificates received by him under sub-section (5) of this section.

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6. No marriage shall be celebrated under this Ordinance or if so celebrated, the same shall be null and void *ab initio*, where it is shown that the parties are within the prohibited degrees enumerated in section twenty-eight of the Marriage Ordinance, 1901, or in any Ordinance amending the said Ordinance.

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7. Where an Asiatic desires to be married by a Marriage Officer or Superintendent Registrar under the Marriage Ordinance, 1901, such Marriage Officer or Superintendent Registrar shall be subject to the provisions of section five of this Ordinance save that in the case of marriage by banns, the Marriage Officer may give notice of the intended marriage by the publication of banns.

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8. (1) Any person who desires to make objection to an intended marriage, of which notice has been given as hereinbefore provided, shall make such objection to the Marriage Officer or Superintendent Registrar before the expiration of the period of three weeks mentioned in sub-section (2) of section five of this Ordinance.

(2) If any such objection is made, the Marriage Officer or Superintendent Registrar shall immediately report the matter to the Immigration Agent General who shall fix a day for the hearing of such objection and shall cause notice thereof to be given to the parties to the intended marriage; and at such hearing the onus of proof shall rest upon the person making the objection to prove the existence of the alleged impediment to the marriage. Should the Immigration Agent General consider that the objection has not been established he shall issue to the Marriage Officer or Superintendent Registrar a certificate to this effect and the Marriage Officer or Superintendent Registrar may thereupon proceed to perform the marriage. If the Immigration Agent General shall allow the objection he shall certify the fact to the said Marriage Officer or to the Superintendent Registrar who shall thereupon return to the Immigration Agent General the certificate mentioned in sub-section (1) of section five, or in section seven of this Ordinance and the Immigration Agent General shall destroy the said certificate.

(3) If any party to an objection is dissatisfied with the decision of the Immigration Agent General he shall immediately upon the decision being pronounced give notice to the Immigration Agent General of his dissatisfaction and shall within one month thereafter apply to the Chief Justice to have the decision reviewed. After the said notice has been given the Immigration Agent General shall not certify his decision on any objection unless the party giving the notice has not made application for review of the decision within the said period of one month.

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9. No objection shall be allowed to any marriage proposed to be contracted under this Ordinance unless it is shown to the satisfaction of the Immigration Agent General that either of the parties thereto has a wife or a husband still living: or that the parties stand in any of the degrees of relationship within which it is hereinbefore declared to be unlawful for persons to celebrate marriage, or, in the case of a male, that he is under fifteen years of age, or in the case of a female, that she is under thirteen years of age, or, if she is under fifteen years of age, that the consent mentioned in sub-section (2) of section five of this Ordinance has not been obtained.

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10. Every Marriage Officer or Superintendent Registrar, who offends against the provisions of section five of this Ordinance shall be liable to a

penalty not exceeding forty-eight dollars; provided that no complaint shall be brought for the recovery of any such penalty without the sanction in writing of the Immigration Agent General.

11. No marriage shall be celebrated under this Ordinance after the expiration of three months from the date of the certificate issued by the Immigration Agent General either under sub-section (1) of section five or under section seven, or after the expiration of two months either from the date of the certificate of the Immigration Agent General under sub-section (2) of section eight that an objection to a marriage has not been established, or from the date of an order of the Chief Justice dismissing an application for review of any such decision as mentioned in sub-section (3) of section eight.

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DIVORCE.

12. (1) Where Asiatics are married and one of them is guilty of misconduct entitling the other to dissolution of the marriage, it shall be lawful for the spouse so entitled to apply to a Magistrate for an order dissolving the marriage.

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(2) The Magistrate shall, on receiving any such application, summon before him the parties, and such witnesses as they may desire to be examined, and any persons whom the Magistrate may think it expedient to examine, and the Magistrate shall reduce the statements on oath of the parties and the witnesses into writing, and shall transmit such application and statements to the Registrar in order that they may be laid before the Chief Justice for his decision.

(3) On such application and statements being laid before him, if it appears that the party applying is entitled to a dissolution of the marriage, the Chief Justice may deal with the application in a summary way and may make an order dissolving the marriage.

(4) The Chief Justice may require the Magistrate to take further evidence on the application and transmit the same to the Registrar, or may require the parties to appear before him and produce such evidence as may be necessary.

(5) On any such application and statements being laid before him, the Chief Justice shall have the same powers as the Supreme Court would have in a suit in the said Court for the dissolution of marriage and may make any such order, on such terms and conditions, as the said Court might make in such a suit.

(6) Every order dissolving a marriage made under this section shall have the same incidents and the same effect as a judgment of the said Court.

(7) The fee payable in respect of any such proceedings shall be the sum of twenty-four dollars, and such fee shall include all charges in the Office of the Registrar.

(8) The said fee shall be payable on making the application to the Magistrate: Provided that nothing in this section shall affect the right of any person to apply to be allowed to sue *in forma pauperis*.

(9) The provisions of this section shall apply to marriages contracted or registered under the provisions of Ordinance No. 10 of 1860 or of Part X. of the Immigration Ordinance, 1891, or of this Ordinance.

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13. Immediately on the making of an order under the last preceding section, the Registrar shall transmit a copy thereof to the Immigration Agent General, who shall cause it to be entered in a Register of Divorces of Asiatics to be kept by him.

OFFENCES.

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14. Every person who knowingly and wilfully inserts, or causes or permits to be inserted, in any register kept under this Ordinance any false entry of any matter relating to any marriage or to any dissolution of marriage shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being convicted thereof, shall be liable to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for any term not exceeding two years.

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15. Every person who makes, signs, or attests any declaration or certificate by this Ordinance required or authorised to be made or given containing a statement which is false, and which he either knows or believes to be false or does not believe to be true, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and, being convicted thereof, shall be liable to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for any term not exceeding two years.

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16. Every person who forges or alters in any material particular, or offers, utters, disposes of, or puts off knowing the same to be forged or altered in any material particular, any certificate by this Ordinance required or authorised to be given, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being convicted thereof, shall be liable to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for any term not exceeding two years.

SUPPLEMENTAL PROVISIONS.

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17. An entry whether purporting to be an original entry or not, in any register kept under this Ordinance shall be conclusive evidence until the contrary is proved of the marriage or dissolution of the marriage of the parties to whom the entry relates and also of the date of a marriage or of an order dissolving a marriage, if the same is specified in the entry : Provided always that the Immigration Agent General may correct any entry which he is satisfied from facts within his own knowledge is an error.

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18. (1) Where any entry is by this Ordinance required to be made in any register, *prima facie* evidence may be given of such entry in any Court of Justice and in any legal proceeding by production of an extract purporting to be certified by the Immigration Agent General to be a true copy of such entry.

(2) Where any certificate is by this Ordinance required or authorised to be given, *prima facie* evidence of such certificate may be given in any Court of Justice and in any legal proceeding by production of a certificate apparently in accordance with this Ordinance and purporting to be signed as required by this Ordinance.

(3) No proof shall be required of the handwriting or official position of the person signing any such certificate.

(4) Every certificate given under this Ordinance shall be *prima facie* evidence of any fact therein certified.

(5) The provisions of this section shall be deemed to be in addition to, and not in derogation of, any powers of proof under any existing law.

19. Where application has been made to the Chief Justice to review the decision of the Immigration Agent General on an objection to a marriage the Chief Justice shall make such order as to the objection and costs as may seem just.

Cost on appeal of a decision of Immigration Agent General

20. If the Immigration Agent General refuses to register any marriage or any order dissolving a marriage under this Ordinance, any person aggrieved by such refusal may apply to the Chief Justice to have such registration made, and on such application, if it appears that the registration ought to be made, the Chief Justice shall order the Immigration Agent General to make such registration, and may make such order as to costs as may seem just.

Appeal where registration refused.

21. Where registration under this Ordinance has been made of any marriage or any order dissolving a marriage, any person aggrieved by such registration may apply to the Chief Justice to have such registration cancelled, and on such application, if it appears that the registration ought not to have been made, the Chief Justice shall order the Immigration Agent General to cancel such registration, and may make such order as to costs as may seem just.

Cancellation of registration.

22. (1) Any application to the Chief Justice under this Ordinance and the subsequent proceedings thereupon shall be as prescribed by any general orders made by the Chief Justice under this Ordinance, or if no orders are made and subject to such orders, if any, the application shall be by motion, and the subsequent proceedings shall be in accordance with the usual practice of the Supreme Court on motions.

Procedure applicable to the Chief Justice.

(2) All general orders made by the Chief Justice under this section shall be published in the *Gazette*.

(3) In all proceedings before the Chief Justice in regard to any marriage or divorce of Asiatics the Immigration Agent General shall have the right to appear by counsel for the purpose of any application which he may see fit to make.

(4) The production of a copy of the *Gazette* purporting to contain any such orders shall be *prima facie* evidence of the due making and tenor of such orders.

23. Every order of a Magistrate made under this Ordinance shall be subject to the review provided by the Summary Jurisdiction Ordinances.

Right of appeal of Magistrate's order. See Ordinance No. of 1893.

24. It shall be lawful for any person, on the production of a receipt for the sum of one dollar from the Colonial Treasurer's Office, to have a true copy, certified under the hand of the Immigration Agent General, of any entry made in any register kept under this Ordinance: Provided that the public officer shall not be required to pay for any such certified copy required by him in his capacity as such public officer.

Furnishing of certified copy of register.

25. If any person who is not a Marriage Officer under this Ordinance, or a Marriage Officer or Superintendent Registrar under the Marriage Ordinance, 1910, shall celebrate a marriage between Asiatics, or if any person who is not a Marriage Officer or Superintendent Registrar under the

Penalty unauthorised person performing marriage No. 25 of 1901.

Marriage Ordinance, 1901, shall celebrate a marriage between an Asiatic and a person who is not an Asiatic, he shall be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars or to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months or to both such fine and imprisonment : provided that where an Asiatic other than a Marriage Officer or Superintendent Registrar performs a ceremony between Asiatics purporting to be a marriage according to any usage of Asiatics, and at the time of the ceremony he informs both the parties thereto that the ceremony does not constitute a legal marriage, such Asiatic shall not be guilty of an offence under this section.

General law
Colony.

26. (1) Save as herein provided every marriage contracted or registered under this Ordinance shall be subject to the general law of the Colony in all its incidents in like manner as if it had been celebrated under the Marriage Ordinance, 1901, or under any Ordinance amending that Ordinance.

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ii.

(2) Subject to the provisions of section nine hereof nothing herein contained shall be deemed to prevent any Asiatic from contracting a marriage in any manner prescribed by the Marriage Ordinance, 1901.

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ii.

(3) No marriage between an Asiatic and one who is not an Asiatic shall be celebrated under this Ordinance by a Marriage Officer for Asiatics, and no such marriage shall be celebrated until the Marriage Officer or Superintendent Registrar has obtained a certificate from the Immigration Agent General as in section five sub-section (1) provided.

Immigration
Agent
General may
delegate
powers.

27. The Immigration Agent General may by writing delegate to any Immigration Agent from time to time the exercise or performance of any of his functions or duties hereunder but without diminution of his own responsibility and in the absence of the Immigration Agent General anything which may by law be done or permitted by the Immigration Agent General may be done or permitted by the Senior Immigration Agent.

Repeal of
Sections 143
153, 162,
& of Ordin-
ance No. 18
1891.

28. Sections one hundred and forty-three to one hundred and fifty-three both inclusive and sections one hundred and sixty-two and one hundred and sixty-three of the Immigration Ordinance, 1891, are hereby repealed.

Forms.

29. The forms in the Schedule hereto shall be used for the purposes of this Ordinance but the Immigration Agent General with the approval of the Governor-in-Council may make, alter and repeal any forms from time to time.

Commence-
ment.

30. This Ordinance shall come into operation on such date as the Governor may fix by Proclamation in the *Gazette*.

[SCHEDULE.]

SCHEDULE.

FORMS.

FORM No. 1.

Section

Register of Marriages of Asiatics contracted in the Colony.

No.	Date.	Name.	Country.	No., Ship, and Year of Arrival Or No. and Year in Birth or (Creole register.	Place of Abode.	Place of Publication of Notice, if any.	Date and Place of Marriage.	Name of Officer before whom Marriage contracted.	Signature of Immigration Agent General.

FORM No. 2.

Section

CERTIFICATE.

Under Section 5 (1) of the Asiatic Marriage and Divorce Ordinance, 1922.

I HEREBY CERTIFY that there does not appear from the records of the Immigration Department to be any impediment to the intended marriage of

.....

and

.....

Immigration Agent General.

Immigration Office,
 Georgetown.

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FORM No. 3.

Section

Notice of Intention to Contract Marriage.

We, who are hereunder named and described, do hereby give notice of our intention to contract marriage, and do declare that, to the best of our belief, no impediment exists to such marriage, and *[if the female is under 15 years of age]* that the consent of the Father *[or as the case may be, of* *]* *[has been obtained.]*

Name.	Age.	Country.	No., Ship, and Year of Arrival. Or No. and Year in Birth or Creole register.	Place of Abode.

Date this day of 1

Witnesses to signature :—

E. F.

G. H.

(Signed.)

A. B.

C. D.

If the female is under 15 years of age the following declaration must be added :—

I, Father *[or as the case may be]* of do hereby signify
 my consent to the marriage of the said to

Dated this day of 1 .

(Signed.)

I. J.

*Extract from "The Liberal" (Lahore), Monday, December 29th, 1919
(Congress Special Number).**

BRITISH GUIANA COLONISATION SCHEME.

ATTRactions FOR INDIANS.

Sir George Barnes, K.C.B., Secretary to the Indian Government in the Department of Industry and Commerce, received the British Guiana Imperial Colonisation Deputation on 5th December, 1919, at the Government Buildings, Delhi. The Deputation was introduced by the Hon. Joseph J. Nunan, K.C., LL.D. (Attorney General) representing the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of British Guiana. It consisted of himself, Mr. Thomas Greenwood (Representing the West India Committee) and of the Indian Section, Dr. W. Hewley Wharton (Medical Practitioner), Chairman, Joseph A. Luckhoo, F.R., Member of the British Guiana Legislature, and Parbhu Sawh, Merchant and Planter. In the course of his introductory remarks Dr. J. J. Nunan stated that the Colonisation Scheme which they wished to place before the Indian Government and people had been referred by the British Guiana Legislature (in which there was a popularly elected majority in the financial chamber) to a large committee consisting of members of the various representative bodies. This Committee divided itself into sections covering all the industries of the colony and reported last April after three months' careful study.

It is not a labour scheme or a project for securing cheap labour. Cheapness does not enter into it at all. The colony in all its races and classes and in all the capital invested, is in favour of it because it is a question of vital importance for a British possession as large as Great Britain and calling out for population.

It is based upon free immigration of Indian agricultural families. The emigration and settlement will, we hope, be supervised by officers of the Indian Government, at our own expense. We provide free passages, guarantee employment at the locally current rates which are now about two rupees a day (the cost of living amounting to a little over one-third of the average earnings). We provide free repatriation at any stage whenever required by the officers of the Indian Government and free repatriation at the option of the individual or family after a short period of years. Those who engage in agricultural work either for an employer or on their own behalf for three years will receive reward grants of five acres of land on nominal terms. This land prepared by an expensive process for immediate utilisation at the cost of the colony, is situated in the immediate neighbourhood of markets and factories. Other lands can be bought or leased on easy terms. No contracts of any kind are required. There is to be no trace of the old indenture system. There is no compulsory residence or service or other element of compulsion. Settlers can choose their own employers. Regular steamer communication with two classes of passenger accommodation will be provided by the aid of colonial subsidies between

* NOTE.—This account of the reception of the Deputation had already been given to the Press by the Official Press Bureau but advantage was taken of the issue of a Congress Special Number of *The Liberal* to have it republished. This issue was the official organ of the Amritsar Congress and published the speech of the Chairman, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. The account and also the address of the Indian Section which accompanies it were thereby placed in the hands of the twenty five thousand Delegates and of hundreds of thousands of other readers.

Indian ports and British Guiana. The Indian Government or people will incur no expense. As our population is now about 45 per cent. Indian (145,000) and as our constitution involves political equality of all races we are really offering India a colony of its own on the North Eastern coast of South America, with fertile soil and a healthier climate than that of India or of any large tropical colony.

Our immediate scheme is limited to five thousand adults of both sexes a year. We offer medical supervision, improved sanitation and improved dwellings, families to be housed in good separate cottages. Other details we are prepared to discuss with the Indian Government and Legislatures or any popular representatives of the people. We may add that our principal produces are sugar, rice, coconut, coffee and cattle.

REPLY BY SIR GEORGE BARNES, K.C.B.

GENTLEMEN,

I am very glad to receive you formally on behalf of the Government of India. I understand from what you tell me that your Government has prepared a scheme of colonisation for Indians to British Guiana which you hope may tempt them to move to British Guiana. You tell me also of the various inducements which your Government hold out—that there will be ample opportunities of purchasing or leasing land on the part of those who wish to cultivate on their own behalf, and there will be opportunities for work at good wages on the part of those who wish to emigrate as free colonists, accompanied by reward—grants of land on nominal terms after a short period of work either for employers or independently. I understand that your Government is as much against any renewal of the old indentured system as we are here and that you insist that your colonists shall be families and not single individuals. I understand also that your colony guarantees the continuance of the equal political rights and status of all the inhabitants of the colony without discrimination of race. This equality, you tell me, has long existed under your constitution.

I am not willing to express any opinion on your scheme at the present time, and before it can be considered by the Government of India, I must lay down as a condition that you must have first obtained the support of the Province from which you hope to draw your colonists and of the leaders of public opinion in the country. The question is one on which the Government of India will be largely, in fact, I may say, entirely, guided by Indian opinion, and consequently you will have to make it your business to ventilate the subject with the thinking men of this country and the leaders of public opinion. When you have done that and secured their support and the support also of the local Governments, I shall be very glad to see you again and discuss the matter with you. I think that it would be well that you should meet a representative committee of the Imperial Legislative Council.

You will then have an opportunity of laying your proposals before the Committee and of proving that your proposals are to the advantage of the Indian people.

Dr. J. J. Nunan thanked Sir George Barnes, K.C.B., on behalf of the Deputation which then withdrew.

The Congress Special Number also contained the following address :—

AN INDIAN COLONY.

INDIAN HOMES IN BRITISH GUIANA (SOUTH AMERICA).

Status and Prospects of Indian Settlers in the New World.

In the interests of the Imperial Colonisation of British Guiana we desire to direct the attention of the General Public in India to a few important facts relative to the status and prospects of Indians in that colony.

Indians were first introduced into British Guiana in the year 1838 under a system of indenture which came to an end in 1917. For the cessation of this vicious system which existed for 79 years, we feel proud to place on record the excellent patriotic work in this connection of the late revered Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Gandhi and others. We must, however, mention that even under the old system, the treatment bestowed to Indians was better in British Guiana than that given them anywhere else.

We are in a position definitely to state that the Indians now resident in British Guiana comprise about 45 per cent. of the entire population of the Colony, and they are better, safer, happier, and more prosperous there than those residing in other parts of the world, and even we venture to say in India itself. It may be well to mention that in the social and religious aspects Indians enjoy perfect freedom. Their general ideas in these respects are somewhat more westernised than in India. All children in the Colony are entitled to receive free and compulsory education.

No barrier of any kind is erected against Indians in British Guiana as is the case in Natal, South Africa, etc. Here they enjoy equal rights and privileges in the truest sense of the words—on the principle of “Man and Brother.” It proceeds from the Colony as a whole represented by its legislature and its various public bodies, municipal and otherwise. The facilities granted for developing the resources of the Colony will be available for Indian capitalists on precisely the same conditions as for others. The constitution of the Colony is of ancient date, based upon treaties first of surrender and ultimately of purchase from the Dutch by the British Empire and provides for a popular majority.

Indians and their local-born descendants are to be found in all the professional, industrial, agricultural and commercial ranks and they participate in the municipal and political life of the Colony. We have at the present time an Indian mayor in our second city and an elected Indian representative in the Legislature of the Colony.

There is absolutely no distinction between Indians and the other races of people in British Guiana. In other words the Indians like the rest of the community are treated on a footing of complete equality. There is no race feeling.

We, the Indian representatives of the Imperial Colonisation Deputation of British Guiana, now formally state that it is our desire, aim, and our object, if possible, to induce more Indians from the Motherland to join our ranks, increase our numbers and so help us to make British Guiana an Indian Colony. This is really the Empire's clarion call to India.

The potentialities of British Guiana are immense and the local Government is now prepared to offer such unconditional terms for settlement in

the country as would, if properly known to the Indian public in India, make them co-operate with us by coming over to British Guiana, and sharing with us some of the great benefits which we ourselves enjoy. British Guiana is the land of freedom, equality, liberty and prosperity for one and all.

The wonderful resources of the Colony we may incidentally mention, if properly developed and for this capital and labour are required, would in a very short time enable British Guiana alone to defray the Empire's present indebtedness to the United States of America, which was incurred in order to win the World War for freedom and liberty.

The welfare of the Empire really means the Imperial welfare of all its component and inter-dependent parts. Prominent capitalists in England are now interesting themselves in the development of the rich resources of British Guiana. The most vital question with us at the moment is that of Indian Settlers. Indian settlers we know by experience are best suited to agricultural conditions existing in the Colony, the settlers' health and general welfare are scrupulously safeguarded and protected by the Government. Purchase, grants, and leases of land on nominal terms are easily available in close access to factories and markets. The principal crops are sugar-cane, rice and coconuts, which Indians are accustomed to raise. Cattle rearing possibilities are large. The soil is the rich alluvium of the mighty Amazon River.

The Government of British Guiana intend to bridge the seas with a regular line of steamers to India, and so to enable intending Colonists direct opportunities to travel to and fro, to mutually benefit themselves and their brethren. Arrangements have already been made for a two-monthly service but we aim at a monthly service.

Every encouragement is being offered to Indian agricultural families and Indian capitalists, both large and small, for settlement in the land under an absolutely free and voluntary system of Colonisation, which places the people in a good position from the start and enables them to improve their general condition.

If our Colonisation proposition be disinterestedly approached by the Indian labour reformers in India, we have no doubt that they will approve of our Scheme, and that in the very near future the Colony will be in a position by the introduction and utilisation of Indian agriculturists and Indian capitalists to place British Guiana in the front ranks of British Colonial possessions. The vast political and national advantage to India of having an Indian Colony on the South American Continent need not be emphasised.

We would then have hundreds of prosperous villages and thousands of square miles of flourishing crops springing up from the fertile soil of the Colony, and by the exploitation of the Gold, Diamond, Aluminium (bauxite ore) and other mineral and forest wealth of British Guiana, the three century old dream of Sir Walter Raleigh regarding our Magnificent Province, the fabled land of El Dorado, would be realised.

W. HEWLEY WHARTON, Chairman.

PARBHU SAWH, Member.

JOSEPH A. LUCKHOO, Secretary,
Indian Section Imperial Colonisation
Deputation of British Guiana.

MR. GANDHI'S VIEWS.**LAHORE,****1st February, 1920.**

From the outset Mr. Gandhi made it perfectly clear that he was not prepared to take any step that could be construed as a personal encouragement by him to Indians to leave India. He was not in favour of the emigration of Indians. At the same time he realised that many held different views on this point and he was equally not in favour of using compulsion by legislative or executive action to compel Indians to stay at home. They should be treated as free citizens at home and abroad. They should certainly, however, be protected from misrepresentation. He knew nothing to prevent people emigrating now except a Defence of the Realm Regulation which would expire six months after the war. (This is the regulation preventing the emigration of unskilled labourers for work abroad until six months after the war unless under special or general licence.)

Once assured that equal rights for Indians existed in regard to political, municipal, legal, commercial, and industrial matters in British Guiana, and that they were not alone receiving fair treatment from the administration and the general community but would be guaranteed the continuance of such fair treatment, he would not oppose any scheme of free colonisation by Indian agricultural families.

He was satisfied that the Colony had a liberal constitution, and that Indians could be and were elected to membership of the legislature and to municipal office. He was satisfied that they had equality of rights with other races, and that there were opportunities of acquiring land for settlement. He was in favour of allowing a test of the scheme subject to a report at the end of six months on its working by Mr. C. F. Andrews or some other representative of the Indian popular leaders. The deputation accepted this proposal of a report by a popular representative independently of any supervising officer nominated by the Indian Government and offered to pay all expenses.

Mr. Gandhi agreed that all necessary guarantees for the continuance of equal treatment could be furnished by the Colonial Office and British Guiana Government through the Government of India to the Indian people and its popular leaders.

M. K. GANDHI.

The above was signed by Mr. Gandhi in duplicate and handed to Dr. Nunan. It was communicated (1) to the Viceroy and Sir George Barnes; (2) to the Imperial Citizenship Association of Bombay, and to the Select Committee; (3) to the Press. So far as is known it still expresses Mahatma Gandhi's attitude towards British Guiana.

REPORT OF HON. DR. NUNAN ON BEHALF OF BRITISH GUIANA
DEPUTATION TO THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

AUTHORS CLUB, LONDON,

31st March, 1920.

MY LORD,

On behalf of the British Guiana Deputation to India I have the honour to report as follows :—

Mr. Thomas Greenwood, representative of the West India Committee, and I, arrived in Bombay by the transport "Leicestershire" on the 18th November, 1919, and were joined by the three members of the Indian Section, Messrs. Wharton, Luckhoo and Parbhu Sawh on the 27th November. In the interval, Mr. Greenwood and I interviewed the Bombay Editors and Newspaper Managers, the Secretaries of the Imperial Citizenship Association of India and other Native Associations. We also had two hours discussion of British Guiana Colonisation matters with Mr. C. F. Andrews on board the steamer, on which he was about to sail for East and South Africa. Mr. Andrews, it will be remembered, was formerly a Church of England clergyman and was a protagonist in the campaign against the Indenture System, basing his views of it upon the result of two visits to Fiji. He had just issued a second pamphlet directed against the treatment of Indians in Fiji, and he was regarded in India as the leading champion of the Indians abroad. Mr. Andrews expressed himself in favour of the general principle of the British Guiana Scheme, and promised to come out in public in support of it by writing from East Africa after going more carefully into the printed documents in case he approved of its details. He gave us various pieces of advice, which proved of some service, and promised to write to Mahatma Gandhi, recommending the favourable consideration of our proposals. Up to the time I left India on the 12th February, he had not carried out his promise of public support, but Mr. Gandhi informed me that he had received a letter from him.*

It became clear at an early stage that the Indian attitude on any question of colonisation would be entirely guided by the publicly expressed opinions of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Andrews, Mr. Gandhi, of course, being much the more important of the two. My main efforts were therefore directed to securing as early as possible a public expression of support from Mr. Gandhi. This I only succeeded in securing on Sunday, the 1st February at Lahore.

All matters relating to colonisation had been entrusted by the Indian Government to Sir George Barnes, K.C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Industry and Commerce. While waiting for my Indian colleagues, I forwarded a personal letter of introduction from Sir Malcolm Seton (Assistant Under-Secretary of the India Office) to Sir George Barnes at Delhi, and asked him to be good enough to fix a date for the presentation of the letter of introduction from the Secretary of State for India. Sir George, however, before replying, shortly afterwards visited Bombay, and on learning this, Mr. Greenwood and I on the 26th November secured a personal interview with him at the Bombay Yacht Club, which lasted more than an hour.

Notwithstanding previous correspondence between the Secretary of State for India (Mr. Montagu) and the Indian Government, reference to which was made in the official letter of introduction, Sir George † was not

* Mr. Andrews informed me on 18th December, 1923, that he had cabled me from South Africa. The cablegram had miscarried.

† Lord Sinha, on August 7th, 1919, in his reply to the British Guiana Deputation, had said: "We have been greatly impressed by what you have pointed out as regards the present position of Indians in British Guiana and also as regards what their future position will be if there is further emigration into British Guiana from India. The Secretary of State for India will communicate with the Indian Government with regard to the proposals which you have made. He will certainly commend your proposals to them and ask them to consider them and if they can to further your wishes in any of the ways you suggest. I think I can say that for him and that it will be done as early as possible."

at this time acquainted with the nature of our proposals, as may be seen from the letter marked (A) attached to this Report. The Indian Office had forwarded them on 18th September in full, including the reports of our interviews with Lords Milner and Sinha. Personally he regretted that the question of emigration from India should be raised in any form, as the subject was most controversial and Indian feeling very strong. He regarded our enterprise as hopeless. Eventually, however, he promised neutrality in the matter, and agreed to receive the Deputation on the 5th December. The Deputation lunched with Sir George Barnes on this date at his residence in Delhi, and was afterwards received by him at his Office in the Government Buildings.

My speech and Sir George's reply were widely circulated through the Official Press Bureau (Appendix "B") and were ultimately printed by the Deputation in the form of a pamphlet. The report was corrected for the Press by Mr. Greenwood. It will be noted that Sir George Barnes expressed the policy of the Government as follows :—

" I am not willing to express any opinion on your scheme at the
 " present time, and before it can be considered by the Government of
 " India I must lay down as a condition that you must have first obtained
 " the support of the Province from which you hope to draw your
 " Colonists and of the leaders of public opinion in the country. The
 " question is one on which the Government of India will be largely,
 " in fact, I may say, entirely guided by Indian opinion, and consequently
 " you will have to make it your business to ventilate the subject with
 " the thinking men of this country and the leaders of public opinion.
 " When you have done that and secured their support and the support
 " also of the local Government I shall be very glad to see you again
 " and discuss the matter with you. I think that it would be well that
 " you should meet a representative committee of the Imperial Legis-
 " lative Council.

" You will then have an opportunity of laying your proposals
 " before the Committee and of proving that your proposals are to the
 " advantage of the Indian people."

I had an interview with His Excellency, the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, at the Belvedere, Calcutta, on the 5th January, but he had not as yet had an opportunity of considering the question. Sir George Barnes had not seen him on the subject, but His Excellency told me that he was to do so that very afternoon. His Excellency, however, assured me that the views expressed by Sir George Barnes were also his own, and that I should consider them as those of the Government. The Viceroy at the same time confirmed the promise that a resolution would be officially moved in the Legislative Council for the appointment of a Select Committee, that this would be done immediately the Council met, that on the passing of the resolution the Committee would be immediately appointed, and that no delay would be allowed which the Indian Government or its officials could prevent.

It will be seen, therefore, that the first task of the Deputation was defined to be that of obtaining the support of the Provincial Governments and of those whom Sir George Barnes described as the leaders of public opinion in India.

Sir George expressed the opinion at which we had already arrived, that the views of Mr. Gandhi would be of the greatest importance in this connection. His Excellency the Viceroy took the same view. Experience of the Indian Leaders only confirmed the soundness of this opinion. Mr. Gandhi was their specialist in emigration questions owing to his South

African experiences. As far as unofficial opinion in India is concerned. I did not gather that Mr. Gandhi's influence, however respected, affected the Mohammedan element seriously or the Mahrattas at all (whose leader was Mr. Tilak) or Southern India in general; but it was soon made clear that, however friendly to the scheme outstanding and independent Indian leaders like Mr. Srinivasa Sastri might be, public expression of that friendliness would have to wait almost in every case until a lead was given publicly by Mr. Gandhi, however much they might disagree with his views on general questions. This also accounts for the delay in the public expression of support by Mr. Andrews. Mr. Tilak we had seen in London and he was one of our warmest supporters but he was in a dying condition during our stay in India, otherwise he would have taken independent action as indeed the Calcutta Mohammedans actually did.

The Deputation saw Mr. Gandhi in the Great College of St. Stephen at Delhi on the 11th December, again by appointment in the Hindu Temple of Krishna at Amritsar on the 26th December, the day fixed for the opening of the Indian National Congress. We had to motor from Lahore on account of the crowds. Mr. Wharton and Mr. Parbhu Sawh saw him at his house at Ahmedabad on the 5th January, and two Indians who had returned from British Guiana by the "Sutlej" were sent by me to report on the condition of Indians in British Guiana, and interviewed him at Ahmedabad on the 10th. At all these interviews Mr. Gandhi stated that he was not in favour of Indians leaving India, but would not publicly oppose our Scheme. On being satisfied that the political and commercial equality which we claimed as existing in British Guiana was really to be found there, and if guarantees for its continuance were forthcoming, he would be inclined to favour or at least not to oppose a trial of the Scheme, subject to an independent—that is, non-official—report of its working after six months. He offered to place the matter before the Imperial Citizenship Association of Bombay, through Mr. Jehangir Petit, its Secretary, a leading Parsee merchant and Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce of Bombay, whom Mr. Greenwood and I had already interviewed. He also promised to write to me personally his final views. As I did not receive any letter, and as the public expression of his views was of such great importance, I went to Lahore again, and saw him on Sunday, the 1st February, at the house of a Pandit just released from jail in connection with the Punjab outbreak. Mr. Gandhi signed in duplicate for publication a statement of his opinion (Appendix "F") which I had prepared, and which set out that he was satisfied that political and commercial equality existed in British Guiana, that the necessary guarantees could be provided, and that the British Guiana Scheme should be given a fair trial subject to independent report after it had been in operation six months. I sent the original to the Imperial Citizenship Association at Bombay, which, on the 11th February, passed a unanimous resolution in support of the British Guiana Scheme. The duplicate I took to Sir George Barnes' Office, to be shown to the Viceroy, and had some certified official copies made through the courtesy of Hon. Mr. Ley which I sent to the Press and to other useful quarters. The duplicate I eventually handed to Mr. Surend-Ranath Bannerjee, Leader of the Moderate Party and Chairman of the Select Committee, which was just about to begin its sittings.* On the 7th February, Mr. Gandhi

* NOTE.—It does not appear that Mr. Gandhi has materially altered this attitude as regards British Guiana. Subsequent occurrences in East Africa and Fiji led him to declare absolute hostility to Fijian emigration (September, 1920), but as regards British Guiana he made no such declaration merely stating that he would not favour emigration. He had never favoured emigration. His benevolent neutrality was all that was required.

published a statement in similar terms of acceptance in his paper *Young India*.

I should mention that nobody appeared to believe that it would ever be possible to secure any public support of the kind. The Deputation, however, had paved the way by securing a unanimous resolution of the Central National Mohammedan League at Calcutta in favour of the Scheme, on 9th January, Nawab Chaudhuri, a member of the Indian Legislative Council, in the Chair. This was the first formal expression of support by any representative body, and as publicity was immediately given to it by the Association itself, and a copy of the resolution sent by it to the Viceroy, it was of extreme importance. Messrs. Greenwood, Luckhoo and I were present at the meeting, which lasted over three hours. (It was a body of wealthy merchants and landowners of an exceptionally intelligent kind. They explained their prompt support by the frankness with which we had dealt with the points that seemed to tell against the colony.)

Between our interview with Mr. Gandhi on the 11th December at Delhi, and my own interview with him at Lahore on the 1st February, I visited Sir Harcourt Butler, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces at Lucknow, Sir Edward Maclagan, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, at Lahore, His Excellency Lord Willington, Governor, at Madras, and His Excellency Sir George Lloyd at Bombay. Messrs. Greenwood and Luckhoo and I saw Lord Ronaldshay at Calcutta, and Mr. Greenwood saw Sir Edward Gate, Lieutenant-Governor of Behar, at Patna. All gave cordial acceptance and promised hearty support to the scheme, as not alone fair but generous, and as likely to be as beneficial to the people of India as to British Guiana and to the food supply of the British Empire. They regarded it to be of some political importance as helping to solve a serious Indian problem as to the relationship of India to the British Colonies, and as giving Indians an opportunity to show what they could accomplish in a Colony where absolute equality and liberal constitutions had long existed. To Lord Ronaldshay and Sir George Lloyd I outlined a scheme of transportation and lodgment which they approved. The Provincial Governors authorised us to notify the Viceroy and Sir George Barnes of their acceptance. This included the consent to use Bombay as an additional or alternative port of shipment.

Dr. Wharton left India on the 10th of January, and, on the same day, Mr. Parbhu Sawh was relieved of any duties in connection with the Deputation. Mr. Greenwood on the same date left Calcutta to return to England by Ceylon. We thought it advisable to reduce the number of the Deputation in view of the unexpected delay, owing to the necessity of waiting for the meeting of the Indian Legislative Council, and the heavy cost involved by the rise of the rupee from 1s. 4d. to 2s. 5d. and eventually to 2s. 11d. I accompanied Mr. Greenwood as far as Colombo in order to visit some of the estates there in accordance with Mr. Andrews' advice, and Mr. Greenwood and I *en route* interviewed the Madras Editors and public men and also the Roman Catholic Bishop of Trichinopoly, who promised his support among his flock. We had been encouraged by Mr. Andrews to consider the transportation of entire Christian village communities with their pastors to the more congenial theological atmosphere of Guiana. We found this to be feasible and worthy of working out in detail. To Lord Willington and Mr. Marjoribanks (Chief Secretary of Madras) I owe special acknowledgment for practical assistance. (At Colombo I was the guest of His Excellency Sir Wm. Manning, G.C.M.G., and studied with Mr. Greenwood the Ceylon emigration system.)

With only a couple of exceptions, we secured the active support, or a friendly attitude, of the entire Indian Press, both English and vernacular. On the few occasions where attacks were made, detailed replies were published by the Deputation and served a useful purpose. (Mrs. Besant had supported us in London and she repeated in Madras to Mr. Greenwood and myself her promise of support in her paper *New India*. Her influence, however, had largely passed to the extremist leaders.) The greatest publicity was secured throughout India, and the pamphlets in English and the vernacular languages, published by the Deputation, received a very wide circulation, especially on the occasions of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar, and the Moderate Congress at Calcutta. I should mention that, for the purpose of propaganda, a British Guiana Tent flying the Colony flag was set up within the grounds of the Congress at Amritsar, and the Indian Section of the Deputation were present, on the days of the Congress, for the purpose of meeting the extremist Leaders and circulating the pamphlets. The Indian Government was made aware of our intention and they stated that they had no objection. Needless to say, this section took no part in the Congress proceedings. At this time, Mr. Greenwood was attending the Moderate Congress.

On the 26th December at Amritsar we saw the Congress Chairman, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, the ex-Chairman, Pandit Malavia, the ex-Chairman, Hassan Omar, and many other prominent members of the Congress, also Mr. Shasperi, of the Legislative Council, one of the few Moderates who attended the Congress. Some of these gentlemen we had already seen in London during the visit of the British Guiana Deputation. Mr. Shasperi, a man of very considerable influence, told me that, at first, he had been very suspicious of the British Guiana proposals in view of the general treatment of Indians in the Colonies, that our assurance seemed to be too good to be true, but that he had made inquiries and he was now prepared to support us in or outside the Legislative Council. This, however, would be subject to the views of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Malavia said that while very suspicious, especially in view of the news from East and South Africa, if Mr. Gandhi approved of it, he would accept the Scheme on trial, provided that ample guarantees were forthcoming. This attitude he subsequently departed from at least temporarily, by opposing single-handedly the appointment of the Select Committee in the Legislative Council. He subsequently explained that his attitude on that occasion was owing to a misunderstanding of the British Guiana situation. His temporary opposition, as a matter of fact, was mainly due to our apparent association with the Fijian Deputation, which the Committee was also being asked to deal with. At Amritsar I received a renewed promise of support from Mr. Sastri. The political atmosphere was highly surcharged as it was the very month of the hearing of the evidence before the Hunter Commission as to the Jaliannwallabagh shooting but, although probably the only European (except Mrs. Besant and an Irish lady) not on police or magisterial duty in the city at the time, I was treated with courtesy on all occasions.

The news from East Africa consisted of a cable communication from Mr. Andrews relative to a report by an Economic Commission in that Colony, in which the colonisation of East Africa by Indians was referred to in unfavourable terms, and relative to a resolution of the European Association of East Africa to the like effect. A copy of the document sent to the Congress by Mr. Andrews is attached and marked "C."* This created a

* Not printed.

sensation, and produced a sceptical, though, fortunately, not a hostile attitude to the Deputation. A little later, Mr. Andrews cabled from South Africa that the position of Indians there was "worse than ever."

The position was by no means improved by the unexpected arrival in India of the Fijian Deputation, consisting of the Bishop of Polynesia and Mr. Rankine, C.M.G., Receiver-General. They came with a personal introduction to the Viceroy from the Governor of Fiji. They called on me in Calcutta on 5th January and I placed all the documents and correspondence, affecting the British Guiana Scheme, at their disposal, and then and on all subsequent occasions, gave them every assistance in my power, and the benefit of our dearly-bought experience. My colleagues did the same. It did not appear that they had any Scheme, but they were prepared to follow ours, as far as the circumstances of their Colony permitted. From the evidence which they subsequently placed before the Select Committee it will be seen that they did so in the fullest way. They had the advantage of communication within a few hours, by cable with Fiji, and, although arriving with very limited authority, they were subsequently able to place a Scheme before the Committee which in nearly all respects, except full equality of Municipal rights, is based upon the British Guiana printed Scheme. I think that they will freely acknowledge the great assistance given them by the British Guiana Deputation, but unfortunately, the unfriendliness to Fiji, due to Mr. Andrews' campaign, and especially to his last pamphlet, published only a few months before, prevented the Fijian Deputation from being unwittingly anything but the greatest hindrance to our own propaganda, which had been so carefully and elaborately prepared, by heavy expenditure and wearisome travelling, and preceded by interviews with the Colonial and India Offices.*

The Viceroy referred to the two Deputations in his speech to the National Congress on the 30th of January. He said that British Guiana had put forward a scheme of free State-aided colonisation and that Fiji desired to enter into new and more satisfactory relations with India. He said he was personally in favour of allowing emigration under proper safeguards. He said that Sir George Barnes would give notice of a resolution for the appointment of a Select Committee to meet the Deputations.

The Select Committee was moved for, not by Sir George Barnes, but by Mr. Bannerjee, and adopted, Mr. Malavia alone dissenting. Mr. Malavia's opposition, I understand, is not likely to continue as regards British Guiana. He was seriously misled as to the exact position of Indians, who he thought consisted exclusively of 70,000 day labourers, *ascripti glebae*.

Such a Committee reports direct to the Viceroy in Council and not to the Legislative Council. Executive action can therefore be at once taken on any Report.

His Excellency, the Viceroy, at our request graciously waived the 15 days' notice ordinarily required for the consideration of a resolution, and the Select Committee was immediately appointed. On our representing that if the Deputation, now consisting only of Mr. Luckhoo and myself, was unable to leave by a steamer on the 12th February from Bombay, they would be unable to obtain passages until some time in May, owing to the crowded condition of the few steamers available so soon after the War, Mr. Bannerjee summoned the first meeting for Thursday, the 5th. On that

* Had I known in London that such a deputation was to be sent at that time direct from Fiji to India I would have advised the abandonment of the British Guiana deputation as hopeless.

day the credentials of the Deputation were examined and verified. An amendment had been carried in the Legislative Council to the resolution for the appointment of the Committee, requiring the Deputations to establish their credentials. Sir George Lowndes, the Legal Member, afterwards assured me that had he known that the British Guiana Deputation had an introduction from the Secretary of State for India, he would have opposed the amendment, and he regretted that he was unaware of the position. As it was, by some oversight, no official intimation was made to the Legislative Council as to the circumstances of our presence in India. The Select Committee, however, subsequently expressed itself perfectly satisfied that we represented the Government and the people of British Guiana, including the East Indian community.

The Select Committee sat for three days—Mr. Luckhoo and I being present each day—and on the 10th February unanimously expressed approval of the British Guiana scheme, and its recognition of the fact that Indians were treated on terms of equality with other races in the Colony. It requested the Government, however, “before final acceptance” of the Scheme, to despatch immediately a Committee of “three informed persons” to British Guiana to report by cable, if possible, as to whether, from an agricultural point of view, the scheme was applicable in the Colony. Two at least of these persons are to be skilled agriculturists, and the Inquiry is to be confined to the particular economic question. We accepted this stipulation at once agreeing that the Colony should share any expense except salaries or special remuneration.*

Meanwhile the British Guiana Propaganda and Organization are to be allowed to proceed, including the enrolment of any intending emigrants, and the individual licences to emigrate are not to be interfered with.†

After six months from the end of the Great War, apparently about the 15th July, as peace was celebrated in India on or about 15th January, all restrictions on emigration to British Guiana should cease mechanically. It is, however, possible that the postponement of peace with Turkey may lead to the continuance of the Indian Defence of the Realm Regulations for some time longer. At present the only restriction consists of one of the Defence of the Realm Regulations (*v. Appendix “D”*) prohibiting for the period of the War and six months after, the emigration of unskilled labour for work beyond the seas. Sir George Lowndes agreed with me that the Indian Emigration Acts do not apply to our scheme as it involves no contracts. I received an assurance from the Viceroy that no special legislation, aiming at the prevention of free emigration to British Guiana, would be passed, and that he was concerned only with the safeguarding of the interest of the emigrants.‡ The despatch of this Committee to British Guiana probably will directly only affect operations during the next four months, but it will have the powerful political effect of preventing attack

* The actual resolution is printed as Appendix C. (It had not reached London when above report was written.)

† This promise was subsequently withdrawn by the Indian Government on political grounds pending the Indian Committee's Report on the Colony

‡ NOTE.—Emigration for the purposes of unskilled labour in British Guiana by the Indian Emigration Bill, introduced on 21st March, 1921, required approval by Resolution of both Chambers of the Indian Legislature. The writer assumes that this proposal is now in force. The despatch of the Indian Committee was postponed in September, 1920, on political grounds and it eventually reached the Colony in January, 1922, two years after the Select Committee's resolution and at a time of severe agricultural depression caused by the prices of the colony's staple products having reached bedrock and by the temporary loss of the export market for rice

NOTE.—The new Indian Emigration Act came into force in March, 1922. It forbids emigration of persons engaged in agriculture unless in accordance with a Resolution of both Chambers of the Indian Legislature.

upon the scheme by such of the extremist section as may not have been converted. Its prompt acceptance by the Deputation, I believe, has already had an excellent effect in establishing the *bona fides* of the Colony, in regard to colonisation from India.

Some of our special difficulties may be briefly mentioned :

(1.) There was at the time serious disappointment at the non-realisation of the hope, entertained in India in some quarters, official and unofficial, that East Africa would be handed over entirely to India. There was not the slightest realization of the Colonial Office difficulties in that form of solution of the Kenya question.

(2.) I have already referred to the excitement created by the evidence at the Hunter Commission on the Amritsar shooting.

(3.) Before the Deputation left London, a resolution of the newly-formed British Guiana East-Indian Association, of which Dr. Wharton and Mr. Luckhoo were honorary President and President respectively, had been cabled on October 11th by Mr. Clementi, the Officer administering the Government, to the Colonial Office for communication to the India Office. This resolution condemned as unauthorised by the Association, a pamphlet issued in London by Dr. Wharton, and Mr. Luckhoo, attached marked "E." This pamphlet was also unauthorised by the British Guiana Deputation, and expressed merely the personal views on wages and similar questions of two members of the Indian Section. This had been pointed out by His Excellency, Sir Wilfred Collet, to the East Indian Parliamentary Committee at a Meeting of the Deputation with that Committee in July, Mrs. Besant in the chair. I did not consider (and I do not now consider) that it was necessary to call the special attention of either the India Office or the Indian Government to a pamphlet which did not contain the official programme of the Deputation to India. The official programme was embodied in the British Guiana pamphlet called "Imperial Colonisation." When leaving London, I did not know that another view had been taken, or I would have arranged by cable for a meeting of the British Guiana East Indian Association for the purpose of establishing the fact that they had not repudiated the Colonisation Scheme to which they had given their approval in April, and to which, as members of the East India Committee of the Colonisation movement, a large number of them had actually appended their signatures. As has since been made clear, by His Excellency Sir Wilfred Collet, the resolution was merely a personal snub to Messrs. Wharton and Luckhoo, engineered by a disappointed candidate for the Deputation who had tried unsuccessfully to attach himself to the Deputation in London. The Indians of British Guiana have never dissociated themselves from the actual Colonisation Scheme. The resolution of the Association, cabled to India, was published there and met us on all occasions. It easily lent itself to the interpretation of being a repudiation of our Mission by the East Indians of British Guiana, and it was only when the wording of the Resolution was been carefully perused that the actual facts were made clear.

Such careful perusal could not always be expected, and at the meeting of the Select Committee it was necessary, after two previous explanations, to make a third, on the last afternoon, owing to the arrival at the last moment of Sir Dinshaw Wacha from Bombay. (Sir Dinshaw, a leading Parsee, originally friendly, had under the influence of this resolution and of the East African news become for the moment fiercely hostile.) The incident had also to be explained a second time to Mr. Gandhi even after my final visit to Lahore. (Letter of Mr. Gandhi in Miscellaneous Appendices.) Fortunately

the explanation was in all cases accepted, namely, that no attack was being made upon the Colonisation Scheme, but that the pamphlet of two members of the Deputation was being repudiated as unauthorised and as setting out a Labour rather than a Colonisation Scheme. Copies of the pamphlet were available, and its innocuous character made clear the fact that the attack was a purely personal one. Nothing caused more difficulty than this communication from British Guiana.

(4.) About [the 20th of December [the 'Steamer "Sutlej" arrived at Calcutta with those emigrants who had claimed repatriation under the Indenture System. Unfortunately, the Deputation did not learn of this from any quarter until Mr. Greenwood arrived in Calcutta on the 24th of December, by which time the emigrants had dispersed, leaving no record of their destination. An attack was made in a Calcutta native paper, "The Amrita Bazar Patrika," on the Colony as a place for Indian emigrants in the light of the alleged condition of this returning shipload. The attack, which was clearly inspired from a British Guiana source, obviously non-Indian, was very exaggerated, and its exaggerations were easily exposed both in the same paper and in the European press. The actual facts, however, were unfortunate. While not enough emigrants had returned to fill the steamer, 25 persons had died on the winter voyage, general health was bad, some persons being removed to hospital immediately on landing, and a large number of very old and sickly people was included. This lent colour to a charge that British Guiana, to save expense, had cleared out its Alms Houses and Hospitals of the Indian emigrants. Of course, it would have been difficult to refuse to repatriate any elderly or sickly persons who claimed to exercise their right, but it was unfortunate for the Deputation that such a number of elderly and decrepit persons should have been landed at this critical moment. Mr. Gandhi requested that a number of the returned emigrants be examined by his son Harilal in Calcutta, and then sent by his son to him for further investigation. This at first seemed impossible to secure owing to the immediate dispersal of the emigrants, but the fortunate accident that two educated British Guiana Indians who had returned by the "Sutlej" were bearers of a letter addressed to me, and found me eventually in Calcutta enabled us to comply in part with Mr. Gandhi's request. They were examined by young Mr. Gandhi, who told me he was satisfied, and despatched to Ahmedabad to see Mahatma Gandhi, who by their account expressed himself to them as perfectly satisfied with their statement, but he subsequently expressed to me his doubts of their sincerity, on the ground that their narrative seemed to him too good to be true.

(5.) I should add that a cablegram, signed by all the members of the Deputation, recommending the immediate cancellation of the existing Indentures in British Guiana, for the purpose of creating a favourable atmosphere, was despatched on the 12th of December, on the advice of Sir George Barnes, Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. C. F. Andrews. A notification by Sir Wilfred Collet to the Government of India stating that this would be done, communicated to the Colonial Office by cablegram, dated the 28th of December, apparently miscarried. An enquiry by Sir George Barnes, dated the 2nd of February, called attention to the fact that no statement had been received as to the release of the indentured labourers. When we sent the cablegram, we were aware that pressure was being brought to bear upon Fiji by the Indian Government to release those Indian labourers indentured in Fiji, and a couple of weeks after our cablegram the news arrived that Fiji had arranged for their release. It was not until the 9th of February, owing

partly to cable delays and partly to telegraphic delays in India (where telegraphic as well as railway conditions were suffering from the postponement of repairs by the war) that we learned by cablegram from the Colonial Office, dated 17th January, that British Guiana had already taken steps pursuant to our request. Luckily, it arrived in time to remove in the Select Committee the obviously bad impression created by our failure, up to that date, to give any assurances on this question. At that date the quickest telegraphic communication with England was fifteen days for which double rates were charged.

After the Committee had announced their Resolution on the afternoon of February the 10th, it was necessary for Mr. Luckhoo and me to leave that night to catch the only available steamer at Bombay on the 12th, otherwise we should have been detained, for lack of accommodation, until some time in May. I had, however, previously interviewed every member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, who all expressed themselves in active sympathy with our proposals, and Sir George Lowndes, the Legal Member, with whom I lunched, promised to see the matter rapidly through its final stage. This final stage means formal consideration by the Viceroy in Council and the appointment of the three informed persons as recommended by the Select Committee. The Members of the Executive Council individually expressed surprise at the success we had achieved, and offered their congratulations at the result. They had watched the struggle against odds with interest. All shared the Viceroy's view that emigration should be allowed under proper safeguards. The view of the Department of the Indian Government concerned may be seen from Sir George Barnes' letter attached (Appendix "H"), to which I replied from Bombay thanking him and impressing the urgency of the matter in the interests of the Colony, of the food supply of the British Empire, and general Trade relations between India and the West Indian Possessions.

Owing to the Viceroy being engaged that afternoon with His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, I took my farewell of the Private Secretary, Mr. Maffey,* to whom I subsequently sent a wireless message, asking him to convey my thanks to the Viceroy and his Staff, and the Delhi Officials, for the many courtesies the Deputation had received. Unfortunately, the necessity of leaving on the 10th prevented me from dining that night with the Viceroy who had sent a kind invitation. (There was nothing I regretted more than the loss of this opportunity of seeing His Excellency the Viceroy again with a view to enlisting his personal interest in a rapid solution as an Imperial Statesman now that the Deputation had removed the political difficulty.)

It will be seen that a very great deal of travelling was made necessary for all the Members of the Deputation by the programme of propaganda among Indian Leaders, and by the necessity of securing the consent of the Indian Provincial Governments. The provincial Governors and Lieutenant-Governors are ex officio members of the Viceroy's Council and it could not be determined beforehand whether we could confine recruiting to any particular province. I divided up the Deputation on various occasions, assigning in particular the visit to the Moderate Congress to Messrs. Greenwood and Luckhoo, the Amritsar Congress, composed almost entirely of extremists, to Dr. Wharton and Mr. Parbhu Sawh. A preliminary visit, to ascertain Mr. Gandhi's very rapid movements involved a visit by Dr. Wharton and Mr. Parbhu Sawh to the Kashmirian Border, Mr. Luckhoo was sent to Madras at an early stage and considerable publicity was secured through the Madras Publicity Department. Lord Willingdon

* Now Lieutenant-Governor of the Frontier Province.

later informed me that he had given personal directions in the matter as the Scheme attracted him from the outset. I had myself to visit Lahore twice and to see all the Indian Leaders of the various Provinces personally, sometimes more than once. (Mr. Greenwood estimated his railway journeys at ten thousand miles. Mr. Luckhoo's and mine were even much greater.)

The desire on the part of the popular Leaders to avoid any direct responsibility in the matter by any public utterance was a great source of difficulty. The question was regarded as highly controversial and there was a general lack of information as to the status of Indians beyond the Seas, except through the Reports of Mr. Andrews, from Fiji and East and South Africa, those of Mr. Gandhi as to South Africa, and those of Mr. Polak, contributed from London to Mr. Gandhi's Paper, "Young India." Mr. Polak is or was hostile to emigration from India in any form. Like Mr. Andrews he is not an East Indian. The fact that British Guiana is willing to accept Indians on equal terms with European and other Colonists seemed to each and all to be too good to be true. The Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, meeting me in Delhi on the evening before the last session of the Select Committee, told me that even he, after having perused many documents, including the Constitution Ordinance, was scarcely able to realise that such equality could exist, in view of the attitude of South and East Africa and the Self-Governing Dominions. In consequence, every expression of approval, from any influential source, was always accompanied by a request for guarantees. We placed a summary of the British Guiana Scheme, hurriedly prepared and printed the previous night, before the Select Committee at its last meeting, at its request. (Appendix "G.") In this,* we refer to the possibility of a declaratory Ordinance, pointing out, however, that one Legislature cannot bind its successor, and that the only real security would be the good faith of the Colonial Office. I found it necessary to put forward a draft of an Ordinance forthwith. (Appendix "I.") I submitted this to Sir George Lowndes, who expressed approval, saying that it was merely a statement of the actual legal position of all British subjects in the Colony at the present time. He even accompanied me to the Committee to say so personally. (A shorter Ordinance would have sufficed but its more elaborate form was, adopted for special reasons, chiefly psychological.)

In view of the limited character of the Reference of the proposed Committee of Three, and the certainty of its cabling a favourable reply as to the suitability of British Guiana for Colonisation by Indian Agricultural Families, I regard the immediate work of the Deputation as accomplished. The necessity for engaging upon a much larger field of propaganda than originally contemplated, while involving great personal hardship on all the members of the Deputation, I regard as a blessing in disguise. A degree of publicity was attained for British Guiana and its attitude towards Indians, political, commercial and social, which could never have been otherwise obtained. The matter was threshed out by articles and correspondence in the entire Indian Press, both English and vernacular. All attacks were promptly and conclusively met, and at the close we found the tone of the entire Press exceedingly friendly. We attempted to conceal nothing, and had put forward all the documents on the subject of Colonisation, even where, as in the case of a couple of speeches in British Guiana on health conditions they, at least at first sight, seemed eminently unfavourable or

* There were some obvious misprints which were pointed out orally to the Select Committee, *e.g.*, pounds for rupees. It was clearly understood that there were large areas of suitable land where no expenditure was necessary on empoldering. What was promised was land suitable for immediate cultivation protected from or not liable to flood.

even unfair to that Colony and very injurious to any campaign for colonisation. I believe that this frankness on all subjects secured for the Deputation friends in many unexpected quarters.

As far as British Guiana is concerned, I believe we can claim that the Colonisation question is no longer a political one in India. The Indian Government is not likely to be subject to attack from any quarter by permitting free emigration, under proper supervision, to a Colony where Indians enjoy equal rights. In case the Viceroy-in-Council has not yet appointed a Committee, it would be advisable to represent the urgency of the matter. To mention only the supply of sugar, India itself is greatly concerned. It does not furnish even one-fourth of its own sugar supply, and there are many reasons for supposing that no matter what efforts may be made to increase its own production, it will continue to be a large importer of sugar.

I am addressing your Lordship independently on the subject of the necessary organisation under the new Scheme. The old methods, that is of recruiting by Sub-Agents and Sirdars, will have to be frankly abandoned. I am satisfied, by personal investigation at Benares and elsewhere, that they were subject to serious abuses, and Indian opinion would no longer tolerate them. Propaganda by means of Information Bureaux, Cinema Films, pamphlets and a native staff acquainted with British Guiana will have to be substituted. In the new and friendlier atmosphere now existing, there would be no difficulty in securing the proper complement of Agricultural Families of a very much better class than those who formerly came under indenture, of whom 70 per cent. were unskilled labour from the towns. As a slight indication of this, I enclose (Appendix "J") a letter from the Principal of the Khalsa College, in which he indicates the Scheme might be of interest even among the Sikhs, the best agriculturists in India. Needless to say, the new system will impose much heavier work and much greater responsibility upon the representatives of British Guiana in India. The correspondence from native sources would have taken a well-equipped secretarial staff to cope with. The Deputation had no clerk or secretary which was a serious omission. The result was exhausting strain.

The Parsee steamer "Loyalty," by which Mr. Luckhoo and I returned to England, called at Malta on the 27th of February, where I saw the Lieutenant-Governor, pursuant to a request of Colonel Amery (Under Secretary) that I should make inquiries. While I approached the matter with grave doubts as to the possibility of securing suitable Maltese emigration to British Guiana, I am now satisfied that, although Maltese Labour is out of the question, considerable numbers of Maltese Agricultural Families could be obtained as small peasant proprietors. It seemed that the Colonisation Scheme could easily be adapted to such a project. The Lieutenant-Governor and his immediate subordinates were in favour of the proposal, and undertook to communicate the matter to the Governor, with a copy of our Scheme, and to make all necessary inquiries as to the possibilities. I pointed out that a letter which he had received from the Colonial Office, communicating the view of Sir Wilfred Collet, that the Maltese would not, in his opinion, be suitable as labourers for British Guiana, did not refer to a Maltese peasant proprietary. I believe that, apart from the possibilities of Crown Lands, there are several British Guiana employers who will be glad to settle Maltese Families on their own land, either as proprietors or as

* NOTE.—We reached Marseilles on 7th March at the time of the railway strike. The return voyage, like the outgoing in an overcrowded ship, was one of the most trying experiences of the entre journey.

lessees for a long term, of years on nominal terms, for the purpose of cane-farming. It will be necessary to establish regular settlements and make special provision for the religious worship of the settlers. A steamer load of 300 or 400 families is, in my opinion, within the bounds of possibility.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's Most Obedient Servant,

JOSEPH J. NUNAN.

March 31st, 1920.

RT. HON. LORD MILNER,
H.M. Secretary of State for the Colonies.

NOTE.—In regard to the cost of the Deputation, a sum of £5,000 was allocated by His Excellency out of the Colonisation Fund being the amount of his Estimate. My own Estimate, however, was for an expenditure of only £3,000 (v. correspondence). This latter Estimate was exceeded by a little over £500 in consequence of the unexpected rise in value of the Rupee, which in most cases, made our drafts realise only about 50 per cent. of their par value, sometimes even less. The cost of living in India, especially in Cities like Bombay, Calcutta, and Delhi was far ahead of anything we had contemplated, the room alone generally costing 25 Rupees, or about £2 10s. per night. Motor cars, which had sometimes to be employed, were correspondingly expensive, and the amount of travelling, printing and typing necessary was far in excess of my estimate. The printing and typing had generally to be done under circumstances of great urgency and haste and had to be paid for accordingly, the Amritsar printing bill alone working out at about £150. We all think, however, that a direct publicity campaign such as that contemplated by the West Indian Committee before the scheme was drawn up, would not have secured the same advertisement for the Colony for many times the amount, or produced throughout India a similar acquaintance with Guiana's conditions.

J. J. N.