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Memorandum by the British Guiana Deputation

Delhi, February 4th, 1924.

INTRODUCTORY.

The Select Committee of the Imperial Indian Legislature accepted the summary of the British Guiana Colonisation proposals known as the Nunan-Luckhoo scheme, on the 10th February, 1920, subject to a report by an Indian visiting Committee. The visit of this Committee was postponed indefinitely on the recommendation of Mr. Montagu, dated 18th August, 1920: (India Office printed paper No. J. and P. 2498, dated 3rd May, 1921). The visiting Committee eventually arrived on the 12th February, 1922, that is, two years after the conditional acceptance of the Nunan-Luckhoo scheme years after the conditional acceptance of the Nunan-Luckhoo scheme.

On being notified of the postponement of the despatch of the visiting Committee and of the late Indian Government's refusal to allow emigrants to leave for British Guiana on individual certificates, which the Select Committee was willing to permit, the late Governor, His Excellency Sir Wilfred Collet, K.O.M.G., had replied to the Colonial Office on the 27th October, 1920, that it would be preferable that the proposals should be settled after the Committee had arrived. (See India Office paper shows referred to). The context shows had arrived: (See India Office paper above referred to). The context shows that he referred exclusively to the offers of land made to those not coming to work for registered employers. On the arrival of the Committee, which then heard for the first time of this new attitude, he submitted a document known as Memorandum 'B' (Pillai-Tivary Report, para. 182), differing in some material respects from the scheme conditionally accepted in India. His Excellency wrote on 28th April, 1922, to the Colonial Office (B. G. No. 164): "I enclose copy of minute I sent to the Delegation with regard to Indian immigrants not coming out to work for registered employers. I believe that they consider that this is a variation of the terms placed before the Indian Government. I do not know that it is." Messrs. Pillai and Tivary report that His Excellency informed them that his Memorandum 'B' should be regarded not as a definite offer but only as a proposal for discussion. They have reported against it, and on page 99, para. 207 their report reads:—"If and when the Government of British Guiana make a definite offer, we would recommend that a satisfactory solution of the various points raised in the body of our report should be a condition precedent to the consideration of that scheme."

Proposed Departure from Original

DEFINITE OFFER.

On his arrival in the Colony on the 4th April, 1923, the new Governor, His Excellency Sir Graeme Thomson, K.C.B., took steps to put forward a definite offer. This consists in the re-affirmation of the original scheme by His Excellencyin-Council and by the Legislature of the Colony at the request of the Chamber of Commerce and other public bodies, accompanied by the unanimous resolution of the British Guiana India Association.

His Excellency's letter of authorisation, dated 23rd November, 1923, signed by the Colonial Secretary and addressed to the Hon. (Sir) Joseph Nunan, K.C., LL.D., Chairman of the original Deputation, reads as follows:

"You will understand that the colonisation scheme re-affirmed by the Colony is that set out in the summary of the original Colonisation Report of April, 1919, accepted by the Select Committee of the Imperial Indian Legislature, on February 10th, 1920, and explained more fully in the Supplementary Note to your Indian report (Combined Court No. 12 of 1923). For any alterations proposed by the Indian Government or Legislature which you consider should be accepted you should if possible obtain confirmation by cablegram and in other cases only accept subject to confirmation."

The recommendations of the Pillai-Tivary report comprise-adopting the order of Section 13 of the report :-

- (1) Provision of areas of suitable land for settlement, along with the necessary organisation for assisting the settlers in their initial difficulties:
- (2) Improvement of sanitary conditions, including the drinking water supply:

Recommend-ations of the Pillai-Tivary Report.

of Deputation.

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- (3) Passing of the Declaratory Ordinance as to status and the adoption of measures for securing fair and adequate representation for Indians in both Courts of the British Guiana Legislature:
- (4) More rigid enforcement of the present Education Ordinance:

 (to which must be added from other passages of the report:)

Suitable provision for vernacular education:

- (5) Special provision for marriages of Hindus and Moslems:
- (6) Right of cremation of their dead by the Hindus:
- (7) Improvement of housing arrangements, especially as regards married immigrants:
- (8) Non-employment of children in 'creole gangs' on estates:
- (9) Independent boards of arbitration as regards wages:
- (10) More generous measures as regards repatriation, including more frequent return ships with improved arrangements.
- frequent return ships with improved arrangements:
 (11) Official representation of India in British Guiana:

Funds.

The report expresses doubt as to whether the Colony would in the near future be able to find funds necessary for land settlement and the improvement of sanitary conditions. I may say that on this point we are in a position to give satisfactory assurances to the Government, Legislature and people of India.

Recommendations of the Pillai-Tivary Report accepted. It may be mentioned that every one of the recommendations of the Pillai-Tivary report is included in the original Nunan-Luckhoo scheme and they are therefore included in its re-affirmation. In short, the Colony is prepared to carry them all into effect.

Present Condition of Colony.

In the general and entirely unforeseen collapse of the price of tropical agricultural products in 1921-1922, notably sugar, rice and coconuts, a period of intense depression seized on British Guiana as well as nearly every other country. India itself suffered heavily. The tendency everywhere is to regard such periods of depression, like periods of prosperity, as permanent. The Colony rapidly recovered at the end of 1922 and 1923. Rice, an exclusively Indian matter in origin and cultivation, is being rapidly restored to its former position. Present sugar prices make that industry remunerative, and coconuts are also recovering. Diamond working has progressed by leaps and bounds and it is a small man's industry. Some 18,000 men (so far only those of African race) are engaged chiefly as independent miners on the large alluvial diamonds areas, and the capitalist comes in principally as the purchaser of the diamonds or the owner of shops for the supply of goods to the workers. Owing to the large diamondiferous area, there is room for a much larger number of workers. The export for this last year was valued at over a million sterling. A survey for a railway to open up the district is being made. The timber industry also offers vast possibilities. The Colony's finances are again in good order. The recent Civil Service Commission has effected necessary economies. The loan charges of the Colony are small and its credit is good for several millions sterling. The budget has been balanced and the future is promising.

. Land Available, The seven areas of land suitable for preparation for settlement indicated in the original scheme were not shown to the visiting Committee. Since then other areas immediately suitable for settlement, (e.g., Anna Regina Estate and Essequibo of 10,000 acres) have been purchased by the Guiana Government, or they hold an option over them, (e.g., Nismes and Abari in Demerara and Berbice Counties 8,000 acres)—enough to provide immediate accommodation for several thousand families.

Finance.

The original scheme was to be financed by a loan of £500,000/£600,000, based upon an existing export tax of one per cent. Of the necessary sum about one-half has already accumulated in the Colonisation and Immigration Funds without any loan. The proposal was confined to 7,500 agricultural families introduced within three (now four) years. No unlimited immigration or expenditure was or is projected.

Child Labour. Wages.

No child labour exists in the Colony at the present time. Wages offer a substantial balance above the cost of living. Our offer is an offer of current wages—no minimum wage being in contemplation. A dollar (three rupees) can still be earned in a seven-hours' day at piecework. The average pay actually earned is however about three shillings. Our proposal includes the appointment

of independent arbitration boards for wages, which will be subject to the criticism of the Indian representative (Commissioner, Agent of Consul General, whom we ask the Indian Government and Indian Legislature to appoint, who may sit on all such boards. He will also be member, and if an expert may even be chairman, of the special Land Settlement Commission, which will arrange details of settlement.

As regards education, the schools of the Colony have always been open to Indians on the same terms as other residents; and there are some Indian vernacular schools and an Indian High School. At the same time, it is true that in the absence of any considerable voiced demand; no elaborate provision has been made for vernacular education in past years. It was arranged last November to deal with this by the appointment of a sub-committee consisting of two Hindu and two Mohammedan members, along with two Christian clergymen (Rev. Mr. Cropper, Presbyterian, and Rev. Mr. Yeates, Wesleyan), who are specially identified with Indian education, to make recommendations through an official chairman as to what steps should be taken to deal with vernacular and other Indian educational requirements, including the provision of trained Indian teachers. Even in the years of depression a certain amount annually was provided for vernacular education in the estimates, which in the past was found adequate. We are prepared to recommend the appointment of an Indian Assistant Inspector. Later Belle

Voting papers have now to be printed in Hindi and Urdu as well as English. They will be printed in Tamil and Telugu whenever a demand exists.* An arrangement is perhaps possible by which the Indian representative should have a seat in the Legislature during the period of immigration and settlement. Whether he should replace the Immigration Agent General or sit without a vote but with the right of speech can be discussed. Any formal proposal would of course require approval by cablegram from the British Guiana Government.

DECLARATION OF STATUS AND MARRIAGE LAW.

A Declaratory Ordinance has been passed setting out the equality of status of all British subjects and this equality has been extended to subjects of native Indian States. An Ordinance to regulate the marriage and divorce of Asiatics has been introduced into the Legislature in accordance with the recommendations of the visiting Committee and the wishes of the local Pandits, Moulvies and general Indian community. Indians desirous of cremating their dead will have opportunities afforded for so doing. There has never been any legislation prohibiting cremation. "It is a mere question of arrangements.

HEALTH CONDITIONS.

As regards sanitation, substantial progress has been made since the Indian Committee's visit in February/March, 1922. To begin with Georgetown, the capital, where over 20 per cent of the population lives; on the recommendation of joint committees of the Government and Municipality presided over by the Chairman of the present Deputation and following the plans of an eminent Consulting Engineer, Mr. H. Howard Humphrys, of Victoria Street, Westminster, the work has already begun on schemes of sewerage, water supply and roads, involving an expenditure of £600,000 sterling, for which sanction has been obtained. The British Guiana Government has also obtained the approval of the Legislature for a loan of £500,000 sterling for the purpose of the irrigation, drainage and water supply of the Coast lands, on which some 100,000 Indians are now settled. The plans are ready and the work has already begun. These schemes are independent of the special expenditure of the Colonisation Fund for the irrigation, drainage and water supply of the lands for the settlement of the new Indian immigrants under the present proposals. Health conditions will no doubt be greatly improved by the working of all three schemes. The total expenditure in contemplation runs to over 1½ millions sterling, or about 20 million rupees. It is true that for some years the health conditions, although better, have not been much better than those of India as a whole. The defects of the indenture system included the importation of the dregs of Indian towns, with at the outside four females to ten males. The rice industry is not a specially healthy occupation anywhere. Our African population has also much progress to make before conditions are really satisfactory! According to the Guiana Official Handbook of the year 1922, during the decade 1911—1921, the births

Arbitration Boards. Official Indian Rrepresenta-tive. Settlement Commission.

Education.

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Voting papers Representa_{7 1} tion.

Declaratory Ordinance. Marriage and

SHIP OF SHIP

Cremation.

Sanitation and drinking water supply.

^{*} Voters' lists will be drawn up like those of jurors.

exceeded the deaths by only 34. It goes on to state: "The population of the Colony at the taking of the 1921 census was 297 691, which shows an increase of 1,650 since 1911, the year of the previous census. Of this number, no less than 124,938 or 41 97 per cent are East Indians." The Influenza Epidemic in 1918 and 1919 however was responsible for 12,000 deaths in the Colony and mainly accounts for the smallness of the increase shown. Our normal health returns should be compared with ordinary Indian and general tropical returns and not with those of health resorts like Barbados, Jamaica, and most of the West Indian Islands, which have a small area and a non-migratory and almost homogeneous population.

Request of Deputation.

The present Deputation, which consists of those who placed the original scheme before the Select Committee of the Indian Legislative Council in February, 1920, and also of the Vice-President and ex-Vice-President (Hindu and Mohammedan respectively) of the British Guiana India Association chosen from a small list elected by the Association itself, hopes to have the opportunity afforded it of re-affirming the original proposals before the Emigration Committee or before any special committee appointed by the two Chambers, also before the Legislature itself. The disapproval expressed by the British Guiana Indian community in February/March, 1922, referred solely to the late Governor's scheme, (vide para. 196, sub-para. 3, page 97, Pillai-Tivary report). We trust that an invitation will be issued to Messrs. Pillai and Tivary to give their views on the original.

Offer of Guarantees

The Deputation is here solely on the initiative of the Government and people of British Guiana, which is not a Crown Colony but an Imperial possession of which the popular constitution was guaranteed by the Treaty which transferred it to the British Crown from the Dutch in 1803. The control of the budget is therefore permanently in the hands of an unofficial elected majority. In case further guarantees beyond the Declaratory Ordinance are required for the preservation of the existing equality of status, an agreement in the nature of a Treaty between the Indian and British Guiana Governments can no doubt be arranged. The Ordinance is printed in the Deputation's pamphlet, entitled 'Status of Indians Abroad'—'A Colony for India'.

Regular Line of Steamers.

Report.

We wish especially to emphasize the proposal to establish regular communication between Indian ports and the Colony by means of steamers under Government control or ownership carrying passengers and freights at cost.

The Pillai-Tivary report summarizes as follows the difference between the Nunan-Luckhoo and the late Governor's scheme:—

- 'The following important features of the Nunan-Luckhoo scheme
 - are not to be found in the Governor's scheme:-(a) It provides for large schemes of irrigation and drainage. (Vide 'British Guiana and the Empire, 1919,' pages 4-5).
 (b) The inducement of land settlement is to be offered to old
 - settlers as well as to fresh emigrants on similar terms of service. (Vide 'British Guiana and the Empire, 1919,' pages 4-5)
 - (c) The organised campaign of sanitation is to be initiated. (Vide British Guiana and the Empire, 1919, pages 4-5).

 (d) Water supply is to be improved. (Vide British Guiana and (d) Water supply is to be improved. the Empire, 1919, pages 4-5).
 - (e) Agriculturists with families, if any, emigrating from India, and desirous of working on land of their own, immediately on their arrival in the Colony, are to be given free passage to British Guiana. As regards repatriation, they are placed on terms of equality with those that start as labourers.
 - (f) Similarly, reward grants of five acres of land, specially prepared, are to be given to both classes of agricultural settlers on the completion of three years' residence, during which time they may have been engaged either on their own account or as labourers, in any form of agricultural work in the Colony.
 - (g) Non-agricultural settlers are also to be encouraged to emigrate by providing free passages for them in some cases and assisted passages in others. Traders and small capitalists will be given cheap passages.
 - (h) One religious minister for each group will be taken free on each voyage with right of repatriation free.'

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GENERAL MEETING OF BRITISH GUIANA INDIANS

IN TOWN HALL, GEORGETOWN,

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE INDIA ASSOCIATION.

. 22nd November, 1923.

RESOLUTION CARRIED.

Mr. M. Panday, Vice-President, moved the following resolution:-

Whereas at a general meeting of the B. G. I. Association the Colonisation Scheme proposed by the Government for the introduction of 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.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO HON. Dr. NUNAN'S REPORT OF 31st MARCH, 1920.

Note.—A few passages of purely local interest have been omitted.

Georgetown British Guiana, 30th April, 1923.

The British Guiana Deputation to India was sent on the recommendation why Original of the India Office represented by Lord Sinha, K.G., of Raipur and the Indian Members of Council at a meeting held at the India Office, on the 7th August, 1919. Dr. (now Hon'ble Sir Joseph) Nunan, K.C., LL.D., draftsman of the Colonization Scheme, was nominated by the Governor (His Excellency Sir Wilfred Collet, K.C.M.G.) as Chairman of the Deputation and was specially authorised by the British Guiana Government and the Colonial Office "to authorised by the British Guiana Government and the Colonial Office "to enter into negotiations with regard to the conditions under which intending emigrants from East India may be enrolled in India and the terms of their residence in British Guiana." "Any agreement entered into will have to be subject to the approval of the Secretary of State and the Government of British Guiana." (Letter of His Excellency to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 22nd August, 1919.) He was provided with letters from the Colonial and India Offices to this effect. As the Colonization Scheme "Imperial Colonization British Guiana and the Empire" printed in British Guiana and placed before the Colonial and India Offices was the brief of the Deputation, this authorisation referred mainly to any necessary details and supplementary arrangements."

VIEWS OF INDIA OFFICE, 1919.

During the discussion of the Colonization Scheme at the India Office Lord Sinha and the three Indian Members of Council indicated clearly that no sup-Lord Sinha and the three Indian Memoers of Council indicated clearly that no support could be expected either from themselves or from the Indian Government and leaders, for anything, however plausibly put forward and masked by promises of land, which could be interpreted as a disguised form of indenture or a mere scheme "to provide labour for sugar planters." The emigrants must come in with the right to choose for themselves the method of earning their livelihood. The Deputation consequently explained through His Excellency the Governor and three other spokesmen that on arrival an emigrant would be free to work either for an employer or on his own account and that if he decided to take advantage at once of the very liberal Crown Land Regulations he could do so on the same footing as anybody else in the Colony, viz., by application to the Lands and Mines Department. The prospect of some financial assistance was held out but details of this were not entered into pending acceptance of the principle. Sir Wilfred Collet emphasised the fact that the Scheme was based upon free emigration of agricultural families without preliminary contracts or conditions.

INTER-DEPARTMENTAL REPORT.

As Lord Sinha and his colleagues enquired particularly and repeatedly as to the Colony's preliminary acceptance or non-acceptance of the Inter-Departmental Committee's proposals (14th July, 1917) inasmuch as some other Colonies had already rejected them as too expensive, the Deputation replied that its Scheme was based upon them as a starting point but that it went further as regards the freedom of the individual. The proposals of the Inter-Departmental Committee involved a of the individual. The proposals of the Inter-Departmental Committee involved a special rewards of five acres of prepared and cultivable land for an emigrant (families not being stipulated for) after three years' work in the Colony. The land of the Inter-Departmental Scheme was to be made available at once "in the simplest and cheapest manner" and a Department was to be made responsible "for rendering the land suitable for agriculture by adequate clearing, irrigation and drainage where this is considered necessary." The charges might vary according to the position and fertility of the land and it was contemplated in view of the varying conditions of the different colonies that it might be leased instead of sold. instead of sold.

The principle of such a settlement had been indorsed in a printed Memorandum of the British Guiana Sugar Planters' Association (paragraph 12), dated 3rd April, 1917, in the report of a British Guiana Committee, 16th principle.

Lord Sinha and his colleagues infromed the Deputation that the Secretary of State for India (Mr. Montagu) would immediately recommend the Deputation's proposal to the Indian Government for their early and favourable consideration.

August, 1918, in which the planters were represented by Messrs. Garnett, Sherlock and Brassington, in a special resolution of the British Guiana Planters' Association in April, 1919, and finally by the Colonization Committee's Report, dated 23rd April, 1919.

REWARD CLAIMS.

General Scheme.

In the Colonization Scheme a certain sum was to be set aside for empoldering or otherwise preparing in considerable areas, in the most economical and efficient manner, by the use of mechanical trench-diggers and dambuilders, a total of 20,000 acres for the purpose of settling four thousand families. The total of emigrant families aimed at was 2,500 a year for three years but it was calculated that allowing for deaths, returns, preference of some for work under employers or on land leased or bought directly from landowners or on ordinary Crown lands and allowing for drifting to non-agricultural pursuits or town life, no greater number than 4,000 would have to be provided for in this way. The cost of this empoldering or preparation was to be borne by the Colonization Fund and was estimated not to exceed \$25 an acre for large areas especially taking into account the fact that some of the suitable land did not require any large expenditure. No conditions were then or subsequently prescribed except those of the Crown Lands Regulations in force from time to time and no payments other than those therein provided which on the basis of the current payments for the ten acres of the ordinary Crown land grant would work out at about twenty dollars for each reward grant. The cost of preparing the lands was to be the reward of the emigrant family for three years agricultural work in the Colony. On the other hand the head of the family would have to occupy beneficially the land for four years and reduce half of it to cultivation before he could obtain the land in fee. (Note:—The new Regulation of 1919, prescribed five years but the deputation's offer was made under the Regulation of 1903). An expert Commission would take charge of the settlement. The Crown land charges would contribute \$80,000 towards the expenditure. The Colony did not propose to make any direct profit out of the settlement. It is repeatedly stated that the cost was to be borne by the Colony. Its return would be the increased production and the larger and more widely distributed revenue from an increase of population by probably 30,000 souls or ten per cent of the present 3,00,000.

Land terms agreed upon. While it was within the authority of the Deputation to put forward other terms to the Indian Government and leaders beyond those of the Crown Land Regulations, it was not possible to do so from the outset and least of all in so critical and unsympathetic an atmosphere as that of the Indian Legislative Council. The offer of land in India at the outset had specified "nominal terms" with beneficial occupation, the cost of preparation to be borne by the Colony (Address of the Deputation to Sir George Barnes, 4th December, 1919). When pressed subsequently for the actual terms by the Select Committee the Deputation mentioned the only terms which would really make the preparation of the reward claims appear as a clear cut reward, viz., Crown Land conditions for unprepared land applied proportionately to the five acres. This was justified by the Colonization Scheme which placed the cost of preparation on the Fund but the elasticity for discussion of "reasonable terms" allowed for on page 6 of the Scheme vanished before the peremptory refusal of the Indian Government in its Department of Commerce to discuss any Scheme at all on its merits, and a hard and fast offer was all that the leaders or the Select Committee would look at. The Deputation had to propose the Crown Land terms without further discussion.

If full advantage to the estimated number of 4,000 families is taken of the offer the Fund may have to incur a net expenditure of \$420,000. The Colony must look outside of rents or purchase moneys for its offset or profits on the transaction.

Locai Government In British Guiana, To meet local requirements and political conditions and to unite the whole community on this subject it was provided that if local resident families to a number not exceeding that of the new-comers in the Colonization Scheme were willing to comply with like conditions they could also claim reward grants. A sum of money was to be set aside out of the Fund to provide prepared land of a similar acreage, viz., 20,000. Claimants would have to register on the inauguration of the scheme as agricultural families prepared to engage steadily in agricultural pursuits for three years in return at the end of that period for prepared land of five acres on which they will have to live for four (now five)

years and of which they will have to cultivate nair before acquiring account.

Families of the class are already for the most part in possession of adequate land of larger area which they would not be tempted in this way to sell or abandon with a view to acquiring a title to other land at so long a distance of ears and of which they will have to cultivate half before acquiring title...... They would be quite content with assistance for irrigation and drainage

of which various projects exist. (Note:—Sums amounting to about 20 million rupees are now being devoted to irrigation, drainage, drinking water supply and land settlement). It rests however with the planters to take precautions to prevent any exodus from their estate by offering counter inducements if necessary.

LAND SETTLEMENT.

The Scheme contemplated that the areas of land would be selected by the Lands and Mines Department with the assistance of the Indian Government representative as far as possible in the neighbourhood of the sugar plantations and markets and that no obstacle would be placed in the way of separate arrangements being made by the emigrants for acquiring local from land-owners. As the word "empoldering conveys nothing in India and the words "prepared for irrigation and drainage" in the Summary (prepared and printed during the night before the final meeting of the Select Committee at the Committee's request and in which there were obvious misprints which had to be corrected orally) may require explanation, it should be pointed out that what was offered was clearly explained orally and understood to be land suitable for cultivation. The Lands and Mines Department was to select the land on the advice of a

special Land Settlement Commission and the Indian representative was to be satisfied that it was protected from or not liable to flood and generally suitable whether it consisted of empoldered coast or unempoldered river or North West District land. It was not to be water-logged or covered with forest or bush. The Select Committee's report on the British Guiana and Fijian proposals sets out their understanding of the offer.

- The Committee consider subject to the qualification expressed "7. "below that the terms are in themselves fair and reasonable. The Com-"mittee however feels that the effect of the scheme on the Indian emigrant
- "will depend more on factors that can only be gauged on the spot than on written provisions of rules and laws. The Committee will endea-"vour 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 the scheme to be "real and 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 enquiry."
 - (2) and (3) relate to wages and health conditions.

As to the selection of the lands, the Colonization Scheme stated that it contemplated mainly a coast settlement. "Empoldered areas and supervised drinking water supply will not easily be arranged for elsewhere in the early stages and in order to be cheap and efficient areas must be large and populous. The Lands and Mines Department specified seven areas, viz:

- (1) 6,800 acres on the Pomeroon behind Hampton Court Estate, east of the projected water supply canal of that company.
 - (2) 8,000 acres on Hog Island on the steamer route to east and west Essequibo.
 - (3) 2,108 acres from Philadelphia to Bonsika Creek adjoining the Boerasirie Creek and Warimia Conservancy.
 - (4) 7,500 acres on or adjoining the Canals Polder.
 - (5) 32,500 acres on the Mahaica.
 - (6) 14,854 acres on the West Coast and Abary.
 - (7) 7,450 acres on the Corentyne Coast.

In addition there were the lands of the N. W. District which required no

empoldering over at least 100,000 acres.

In most of these cases the areas are closely adjoining flourishing sugar plantations and modern factories and are or could easily be made accessible in regard to such estates. (Note:—Since then the Colonial Government has purchased Anna Regina Estate 10,000 acres and holds options or another 8,000 acres these lands are ready for immediate settlement).

SUMMARY.

What was offered in England and India was (1) employment to heads of families at the current rate of wages, confidently stated to be well above the cost of living; (2) the right to work for an employer or for oneself; (3) the right to apply for Crown land at once on the terms open to everybody in the Colony; (4) the right of a reward claim of five acres in return for three years' agricultural work in the Colony subject to beneficial occupation for four years and the payment of whatever sums were being currently charged for Crown land; (5) a promise in any case of some assistance (undefined) in starting a home by the machinery of the Agricultural Loan Banks or Colonization Fund. (The possibility in certain cases and in favourable years of a special vote of the Combined Court was subsequently mentioned by His Excellency Sir Wilfred Collet, 9th March, 1922); (6) repatriation under certain conditions but repatriation before seven years to involve forfeiture of the reward grant.

The offer was strictly limited in numbers and expenditure viz, 7,500 families and maximum expenditure £6,00,000 or about nine million rupees.

The selection of families was to rest with the Colony's Agents in India. Their duty would be to protect the Colony's interests by a careful exercise of their choice. It depended primarily on a regular steamer service being established which would reduce the expense of any undertakings as regards repatriation. The object of these specially generous terms was to induce a regular flow of colonists from India under ordinary conditions of emigration. We asked for special state-aided emigration of 2,500 families a year for three years. We hoped eventually to get at least fifty thousand by means of cheap passages without further state-aid or only a much more limited assistance.

Whether the terms require confirmation or not they require to be repeated. It is for the Colony to decide whether the scheme accepted in India is too expensive. (Note:—The Government Legislature and Public Bodies including B. G. India Association unanimously expressed their approval of the re-affirmation of the scheme at various dates between 4th May, and 22nd November, 1923). It is clear that no other terms have a chance of acceptance now or in the near future.

Political conditions and Indian psychology have not altered in favour of India emigration since February 10th, 1919. The Kenya difficulty still exists.

INDIA.

It may be briefly stated that the solution of the problem in India involved:--

- (1) Mahatma Gandhi's approval or benevolent neutrality expressed in writing. (This was secured at Lahore, 1st February, 1920). (Note:—Mr. Gandhi was regarded in political and also in official circles as the leading authority on emigration questions).
- (2) The absence in the scheme of anything offending the newly revived and highly sensitive nerve of Indian national dignity.
 - (3) Equality of political conditions for all races.
- (4) Freedom of choice of work involving the absence of the remotest suggestion of indentured or contract labour.
- (5) Land Settlement, immediate, at will, or after a term of employment.
 - (6) Wages at current rates with a margin for saving.
 - (7) Safeguarding of national religion and customs.
 - (8) Repatriation if required.

The Colonization Scheme met all these requirements.

JOSEPH J. NUNAN.

Regular Steamer Service.