

HILL COOLIES.

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 29 January 1841;—for,

COPIES of a LETTER from the Secretary to the Government of *India* to the Committee appointed to inquire respecting the Exportation of HILL COOLIES, dated the 1st day of August 1638 :—Of the REPORT made by that Committee ; with the MINUTES of EVIDENCE and APPENDIX :—Of any MINUTE recorded on that Report by any Member of the Committee :—Of the LETTERS from the Government of *India* to the Court of Directors of the *East India* Company, dated the 16th and 19th days of October 1840, on the same subject.

East India House, }
10 February 1841. }

JAMES C. MELVILL.

(*Lord Seymour.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
12 February 1841.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

L I S T.

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EXTRACT PROCEEDINGS of the GOVERNOR of BENGAL, in the Public
Department, 1 August 1838.—(No. 873.)

(No. 6.)

From *H. T. Prinsep, Esq.*, Secretary to Government, to *T. Dickens, Esq.*, Rev. *James Charles, W. Dowson, Esq.*, Major *Archer, Russomoy Dutt, Esq.*, and *J. P. Grant, Esq.*, C. S.

Gentlemen,

1 August 1838.

1. THE attention of the Government of India and of the Deputy-governor of Bengal having been drawn to the circumstances under which Indian labourers are procured to engage for service in sugar producing and other of Her Majesty's colonies, it has been determined to make the alleged abuses of the existing system the subject of specific investigation, with a view to their correction as far as may be found practicable. The Honourable the Deputy-governor has accordingly selected you, as persons taking an interest in the question, to be a committee for the purpose stated; and I am directed to transmit to you copies of representations which have been addressed to government; the one soliciting an entire discontinuance of the permission for labourers to embark under engagements to serve in Her Majesty's colonies, and the other deprecating such an interference with the authority of government to stop the practice. Letters have been addressed to the Governors of the Mauritius and to other governments, suggesting the appointment of local committees to investigate, on the spot, the condition and treatment of the labourers at the places of their destination. Your inquiries, therefore, should be chiefly directed to the nature and extent of the abuses alleged to exist in this presidency; and, when satisfied on this point, I am directed to request that you will advise government as to the best means of applying a remedy, and preventing the recurrence of similar abuses. You will of course obtain from the superintendent of police and magistrates of Calcutta, and likewise from the magistrates in the interior, any information which the records and correspondence of their respective offices may furnish; and his Honor thinks that it may be useful that you should examine any returned labourers who may be forthcoming in Calcutta upon all points connected with their engagement and treatment.

2. In order to make you acquainted with the views entertained by the government on the subject of the practice of exporting labourers, I am directed to transmit copy of a resolution recently passed on the 11th ultimo, upon the occasion of the Deputy-governor of Bengal having refused to allow permits to be granted for exportation to any colony of the West Indies, pending the inquiry about to be instituted by the Parliament of England into that branch of the subject.

I am, &c.

Council Chamber, }
1 August 1838. }

(signed) *H. T. Prinsep,*
Sec. to Govt.

(No. 7.)

To *J. C. Melvill, Esq.*, Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Sir,

1. I AM directed by the Right honourable the Governor-general of India in council, to transmit to you, for the purpose of its being laid before the Honourable the Court of Directors, the accompanying copy of a Report from Messrs. Dickens, Charles, and Baboo Russomoy Dutt, chairman and members of the committee appointed to investigate the circumstances attending the exportation of Indian Coolies to the British colonies.

General Department.

2. I am directed by the Governor-general to observe, that the report is yet deficient in the minutes promised by two of its members, and that it has been received at so late a date as to give no time for that consideration which the government would wish to apply to it, or for any matured expression of opinion upon its part. It has, nevertheless, in the knowledge of the interest which is felt in England upon the subject, been thought best that the report should at once be forwarded for the information of the honourable court.

I have, &c.

Fort William, }
16 October 1840. }

(signed) *G. A. Bushby,*
Secretary to the Government of India.

4 CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

REPORT of the Committee appointed by the Supreme Government of India to inquire into the Abuses alleged to exist in exporting from Bengal HILL COOLIES and INDIAN LABOURERS, of various Classes, to other Countries; together with an APPENDIX, containing the oral and written Evidence taken by the Committee, and official Documents laid before them.—Calcutta, 1839.

To G. A. Bushby, Esq., Secretary to Government of Bengal, in the General Department.

Sir,

Report.

1. IN compliance with the desire of government, intimated in your letter to the address of Mr. Dickens, late chairman of the committee, appointed in August 1838 to inquire into the abuses alleged to exist in the report of Coolies to the colonies of Mauritius and Demerara, we, the undersigned, forming a majority of the committee now present in Calcutta, have the honour to forward our report, in order that it may be laid before government for transmission to England.

2. We have to regret that the departure of Major Archer (one of the original members of the committee) at an early period of the investigation necessarily deprived the committee of his assistance, and government of the benefits, that his talent and knowledge of the colonies of Mauritius and Bourbon might otherwise have afforded.

3. We have further to regret that some differences of opinion which still exist between us and our colleagues, Messrs. J. P. Grant and W. T. Dowson, will prevent those gentlemen from affixing their signatures to this report. In many essential points, however, we believe that it will be found there is an entire agreement of opinion, and those gentlemen will each send in a separate letter to government a statement of the points on which they differ from the views and opinions entertained by the majority.

4. The Evidence, oral and documentary, taken by the committee, together with a somewhat voluminous Appendix accompanying, were, after being printed under the superintendence of the chairman, placed in the hands of government in March 1839, and to this volume our report bears constant reference throughout; and it cannot be perfectly understood, without a careful perusal of that Evidence and Appendix, and also of the papers relative to Mauritius and British Guiana, published in obedience to an order of the House of Commons, to which frequent reference is also made.

5. It will be seen that almost immediately after its appointment, and on the 22d August 1838, the committee commenced its labours, which did not close until the 14th of January 1839. The intervals being absolutely unavoidable, partly from the circumstance that all the members of the committee had other important public duties to perform, except Mr. Dowson and Major Archer, and both those gentlemen, and especially the first, had extensive private business to attend to; and partly also from the difficulty of procuring the attendance of many of the witnesses, such as pilots (often absent on duty), captains of ships, natives returned from Mauritius, &c.

6. The number of witnesses orally examined was between 30 and 40 of all ranks, classes and situations in life; a considerable correspondence was carried on, and a large mass of written evidence and public documents received and classified. The number of sittings recorded in the printed volume is 43; but in addition to these, there were several other meetings of a preliminary nature, and at the close of the proceedings, making the number not less than 50 in all. On the whole, we trust it will be apparent to his Lordship in council, that the committee has not neglected the important duties which government did them the honour to intrust to their care; complete unanimity, however desirable, was hardly to be expected, for the original composition of the committee, a voluntary body of mixed opinions, was purposely calculated to embrace and represent the different views and interests to which the existence of the trade of exporting Coolies had given birth in this city. After these preliminary remarks, we proceed to state the result of our concurrent judgments on the important questions submitted to us.

7. For the sake of facilitating the transit of this communication by the overland express to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, we have endeavoured to condense the facts and reasons which we shall adduce in support of our conclusions into the smallest possible compass, but fear, nevertheless, that they may have run to an inconvenient length. This the nature and importance of the matter to be treated of rendered unavoidable.

8. The following arrangement of the subject seems to us the most conducive to brevity and clearness:—First, that we should give a statement of the conclusions of fact which we find to be strictly warranted by the Evidence and Appendix; and, secondly, to state in our judgment what will be the necessary or probable consequences of permitting the resumption of this trade (mainly drawing our inferences as to the future conduct and consequences of the trade from a reference to the past); and, thirdly, to suggest what would be fitting measures to adopt in the event of the re-opening of this trade.

9. We

9. We conceive it to be distinctly proved beyond dispute, that the Coolies and other natives exported to Mauritius and elsewhere were (generally speaking) induced to come to Calcutta by misrepresentation and deceit, practised upon them by native crimps, styled duffadars and arkoties, employed by European and Anglo-Indian undertakers and shippers, who were mostly cognizant of these frauds, and who received a very considerable sum per head for each Coolie exported.

10. That if the natives in the interior, Hill Coolies or others, had been distinctly made aware that they were to go beyond seas to a great distance, and to remain absent for five years, it is probable that not one, or at least that very few, would have been induced to take such an engagement.

11. That the Coolies seem generally to have been induced, by the duffadars and others employed in that business, to come to Calcutta by being persuaded that they should find employment as peons under the Company, work on the public roads, or as gardeners, porters, &c.

12. That in the cases of the Hill Coolies especially, and in many other instances, the parties were really incapable of understanding the nature of the contracts they were said to have entered into, even when an opportunity of explanation had been afforded apparently sufficient for the purpose.

13. That in despite of the regulations of 1837 and the interference of the police, an impression was successfully created and maintained up to the date of the suspension of the trade among the Coolies, that they would be liable to penal consequences if they expressed dissatisfaction at being sent on board ship; and this seems to have induced them, both previous to their departure and after their return, to suppress the mention of their grievances wherever they conceived themselves interrogated by government officers.

14. That kidnapping prevailed to a very considerable extent; and the Coolies, while kept in Calcutta itself and its neighbourhood, were actually in a state of close imprisonment.

15. That, notwithstanding the existence of these practices of kidnapping and illegal imprisonment to a very great extent within the local limits of Calcutta itself, the police authorities of the town do not seem to have been well-informed of the facts; and it is certain that whatever measures were adopted, such measures were completely ineffectual as a check upon these abuses.

16. That the advance, as it was called, of six months' wages seems to have been real as far as the planter wishing to import Coolies was concerned, and nominal as far as the Coolie was concerned. The planter paid the whole money, yet the Coolie received but little or nothing until Serjeant McCann's interference. His mode of adjusting the accounts between the Coolie and the agent or person that shipped the Coolies was, in all cases, to allow the latter to retain 20 rupees of the money of each Coolie, out of which the trifling articles of clothing and utensils furnished to him were paid; the charges of Mr. Hughes and other intermediate and subordinate crimps, such as the duffadars and arkoties; and lastly, the charge of Serjeant McCann himself. This system of nominal allowances to the Coolie was a source of fraudulent and dishonest gain to all the subordinate agents engaged in the export; and it is certain that if advances were forbidden, the prop and mainstay of the Coolie trade, as heretofore carried on, would be at once removed. It will be observed, that of the different parties engaged in the procuring and shipment of Coolies, not one tendered the production of his accounts. The committee itself being, as already observed, a voluntary body of mixed opinions (two being favourable to the trade, and one of these actually engaged in it), had not the power of examining witnesses on oath, or of compelling the production of any kind of evidence or documents.

17. That the legislative enactments and regulations of police made and passed for the prevention of abuses and due regulation of the trade in Calcutta were of very little effect when enforced at all, for though it appears that some amelioration was effected after the Act of 1837, yet the foregoing well-established facts abundantly bear out the general conclusion. We may further remark, that it has been proved by the evidence of Captain Rapson (answer to question 39), that out of 336 Coolies which he carried to Mauritius in the Sophia in October 1836, only 140 were embarked while the ship he commanded was at her moorings, and the rest (that is to say, very nearly two-thirds) during her progress down the river, and without any pass or permit from the police at all. The only inference to be drawn is, that the laws and regulations of Calcutta restrictive of the illegal export of Coolies can be evaded to any extent the shipper and captain may choose, and this with the utmost ease and impunity. It may be useful to call to mind here, in order to obviate misconstructions and prevent the casting of blame unduly upon any one, that the date of the voyage of Captain Rapson in the Sophia is anterior to the Act of 1837, and Captain Birch was not in office till May 1837; but the rules and orders in force in Calcutta did, as notified by Mr. Secretary Prinsep in paragraph 6 of a letter to Mr. Colonial Secretary Dick, dated 29th June 1836, and which must have been received before the arrival of the Sophia at Port Louis, require that the police of Calcutta should ascertain, in

Conclusions drawn from the evidence contained in the Committee's Report and Appendix.

Fide deposition of Captain Rapson, A. to Q. 49; and answers of Captain Birch, A. to Q. 100, 157, 158, 159, 160, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168; of Serjeant McCann, A. to Q. 254; Deposition of Mr. John Hughes, pp. 43, 44; of Brodoo Khan; of J. M. Patton, Esq.; of Karoo; of Suboo; of W. F. Dowson, A. to Q. 940, 941, 942, 943, 944; of T. W. Smyth; of George Withlow, A. to Q. 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015; of W. Crocroft, Esq., A. to Q. 1027; of Rajcomar. Returns of Mr. C. B. Taylor, Appendix, pp. 184 to 188.

See letter addressed to Mr. Dowson by Mr. Carapier, printed in Appendix, page 139, and evidence, *passim*.

Fide depositions of Karoo and Suboo, pp. 72, 73; of the Report of Mr. Patton, p. 58; of Mr. Roger Dias, p. 62.

Fide the whole evidence above cited in the margin, and Pitt's evidence in the Appendix, *passim*.

Fide evidence above cited in margin, and that of the Rev. T. Buaz, p. 87 of the Report.

Fide evidence in the margin above cited, and the deposition of Messrs. Longueville Dias, and Serjeant Floyd.

Fide evidence above cited, but especially the entire depositions of Captain Birch, Serjeant McCann, and the chief magistrate, Mr. McFarlan, of Mr. Patton and Serjeant Floyd.

Fide evidence above cited.

See his deposition.

Fide evidence above cited, and evidence and Appendix, *passim*.

Printed in the Parliamentary Paper relative to British Guiana and Mauritius, 107.

Report.

every case of embarkation of Coolies, that the parties went voluntarily, and with a full understanding of the nature of the engagements they might have entered into.

18. It may be further inferred, that the laws and police regulations of Mauritius were not of much greater practical utility in restraining the illegal importation of Coolies, because if strictly observed, the greater number of the Coolies carried by Captain Rapson in the *Sophia* must have been sent back, as shipped against the restrictive laws and regulations of Calcutta, of which the Mauritius police authorities were, as already observed, previously made aware; but it appears from Captain Rapson's deposition (answers to questions 21, 22, 23), that they were all received and divided equally among the planters.

Vide Mr. Secretary Finney's letter to Mr. Dick, Colonial Secretary to the Government of Mauritius, dated 9th June 1836, printed in the papers relative to masters and employers in British Guiana and Mauritius, published in pursuance of a Return to the House of Commons, dated 23d February 1838.

See depositions of Illice Zuboorin, p. 45; of the Report of Shaik Munnick, p. 48; of Boodoo Khan, p. 60; of Karoo, p. 72; of Suboo, 73.

These and the subsequent papers mentioned in this paragraph are printed in the papers relative to masters and employers in British Guiana and Mauritius, published in a Return made by order of the House of Commons, dated 2d February 1838.

Mr. Dowson says more than about 10,000 to Mauritius from Pondicherry, and 7,000 from Madras to Bourbon.

See the evidence of the natives and the commanders of the vessels and pilots, *passim*.

* And see evidence of the Rev. T. Bosu, as throwing light on the subject.

19. It further appears from the evidence of the native witnesses, taken as a whole, and after all due allowance made for a habit of exaggeration prevalent among Bengalees and Hindoostances, that the local police of the interior of Mauritius was not very accessible to complaints; that the regulations of the plantations are such as closely to resemble imprisonment within their boundaries, and that the magistrates of the interior are not very cordially disposed to enforce those provisions of the contract inserted for the advantage of the Coolie. The evidence of the native witnesses, to thinking men acquainted with human nature and the ordinary working of human interests and human passions in such relative situations, would seem to require little confirmation; it is however strongly, though indirectly, corroborated in many particulars by the circular of the Mauritius government addressed to applicants for leave to import Coolies, dated Colonial Secretary's Office, Port Louis, 1837, and printed page 161 of the Appendix to the Report of the Calcutta committee; by the letter addressed by that government to the government of Bengal, dated 12th September 1838; by the disallowance by his Majesty in council of the ordinances 16 and 17 of the year 1835, passed by the Mauritius government; by the despatch of Lord Glenelg to Sir William Nicolay, dated 25th May 1836; and especially by the emphatic injunction contained in the concluding paragraph of that despatch; and lastly, by the paper published in the Parliamentary Return above quoted (laid by Mr. T. C. Scott, of the Bengal civil service, before the Governor-general of India in council), on the subject of the introduction of free labourers into Mauritius.

20. It further appears (although the despatches of the Mauritius to the Bengal government would seem to make it doubtful whether these persons were imported in French vessels) to be distinctly proved by Mr. Dowson's evidence (answer to question 1047), that since this export trade in Coolies from India to Mauritius began, more Coolies were exported from Pondicherry than from Calcutta and other Indo-British ports, or at least as many, and great numbers from Madras to a French colony in which slavery prevails. It follows that all precautionary and restrictive measures adopted merely in British ports are but of comparatively small utility, and will, if they should prove effective in any great degree, end in driving the trade to foreign ports, if Mauritius or the West Indies are permitted to receive Coolies from them as well as from our own.

21. The hardships and miseries endured by the Coolies in the passage to Mauritius are proved to have been very great under the most favourable circumstances, and with the most humane commanders, acquainted with the language and manners of the natives, the mortality from drowning and other causes was most serious. We are fully persuaded, that if the emigration to Demerara and the West Indies were permitted, the mortality in the voyages, taken together, would not fall much short of 10 per cent. on the numbers exported. Mr. Dowson, with great candour, admits that the most stringent regulations would be necessary for the trade beyond the Cape and for such a voyage, and thinks the numbers that might be exported are almost illimitable, in which opinion we concur, especially if the back countries of the British colonies in Guiana are to be cleared and cultivated by this means.

22. It appears in evidence that no restraint has at any time existed on the emigration of women, yet very few have gone. The Mauritius government has really been desirous that they should be sent; but I think it may be fairly inferred that the planters have not. The result of the emigration that has already taken place has been most disastrous to the families of those who have emigrated; and it is shown by the memorandum furnished to the Landholders' Society by Mr. Taylor, and printed in the Appendix to the Calcutta Report (pages 184 *et seq.*), that the districts of Bancoorah and Maunbloom have been burdened with a vagrant and mendicant population of paupers, composed of the deserted families of emigrant Coolies.

23. On the subject of the condition of the Coolies in Mauritius, there is contradictory evidence. Mr. Onslow, of the Madras Civil Service, the Rev. Mr. Gurstin, Dr. Wise, Captains Mackenzie and Rayne (all unexceptionable witnesses in point of good faith, character and veracity), bear testimony to their general healthy appearance and their apparent contentment, and seem to consider them as improved in condition. The natives, however, who have returned, with the exception of one Ramdeen, gave evidence the other way.* It must be admitted, on such questions, these persons, however ignorant, are really the best judges. The European gentlemen would, from their own position in society, and their natural dispositions, associate probably only with planters of the superior classes and of humane tempers, and whose treatment of their Coolie labourers would, it may

be reasonably presumed, be liberal and considerate. And when an opinion is pronounced that the condition of a Coolie is bettered at Mauritius, it should be first ascertained what that condition was in India, and what is the condition of his wife and children, or those of his family dependent upon him, when left behind. Any benefit derived from the superiority of climate at Mauritius or elsewhere may, we think, very reasonably be put out of question, as a mere European notion. It is clear, however, that if the contracts be fulfilled with perfect good faith, the individual Coolie temporarily betters his condition by emigrating to Mauritius, because he gets higher money wages, and food and clothing found him beside, though he has to work harder than in India. But it is clear also from the evidence, that the contracts, generally speaking, are not fulfilled by the planters. The conclusion of our minds from the whole evidence is, that these contracts have been strictly and literally fulfilled in no instance. Under good masters, there may be substantial fulfilment in good faith, as far as the circumstances of the island, in respect of imports of the kind of food stipulated for, permit (an equivalent being provided when the thing stipulated for cannot be afforded). In the majority of cases, however, there is nothing like that kind of performance shown; but, on the contrary, rice and salt and clothing seem to be all that the Coolies do actually receive from bad masters; and no money wages at all seem to be paid in the majority of instances. The average rate of wages paid to Hill Coolies and others at European factories and establishments in Bengal, Tirhoot, Assam and Goruckpore is three and a half rupees to five rupees a month; less than three rupees is rarely paid; and they very often receive four rupees. These wages, when received by Dhangas or Hill Coolies, are sufficient to enable them to save money to return periodically and every year to their families.

24. We believe that a general persuasion exists in England, both in Parliament and out of it, that there is a superabundance of labour in British India. As far as this presidency is concerned (of which alone we can speak with any knowledge of facts), we are by no means convinced that such supposed superabundance exists, but are rather persuaded that the contrary is the fact, and would soon become apparent if any decided stimulus were given to agricultural production, such as the late rise in the prices of sugar has temporarily created, and if such stimulus were continued for a sufficiently long period to make it extensively felt. The famines prevalent in the north-western provinces have, for their primary cause, long-continued droughts, and for their ultimate and permanent cause, the minute division of land, and the existence of a very large body of small proprietors or occupiers, composed of the Brahmin, Rajpoot, Rajcomar and other caste, who would rather starve than work as hired labourers on the land of another.

25. Before we quit this branch of the subject, however, it will be useful to consider the practical working of the contracts as heretofore framed, and the advantage they secure to the master even when strictly fulfilled. According to Mr. Dowson's evidence, taken 27th November 1838, the highest commission the superior agent of the exporters receives is 30 rupees per man, when he makes the whole advances, that is, net profit, and paid by the planter; but it by no means comprises the whole gain of the inferior agents; for, according to Serjeant McCann's evidence, three rupees per man were allowed by him for agency out of the advance to the Coolie, who, besides, paid two rupees for duffadaree; and, according to Mr. Dowson (same deposition and answer to Q. 942), Mr. Hughes received at least six rupees per man from the same source; besides, the whole settlement of accounts between the agents, the cripps and duffadars, and the Coolie, seems to have rested with the agents in all cases, and practically, probably, with their native banian, Mr. Hughes, and other undertakers. It may be again usefully remarked, that no accounts were produced or volunteered by any person concerned in the shipment or procurement of Coolies; and it is certain, notwithstanding the evidence of Serjeant McCann, that the Coolies, after his interference, did not receive the 10 rupees he proposed to secure to them, for Captain Rayne (answer to Q. 822) proves distinctly, that in one case the money sent on board by Serjeant McCann for 250 Coolies was but seven rupees a head. The sum of 30 rupees is the highest sum that the planter ever pays under this system, so burdensome and fraudulent to the Coolie; and if the planter is opulent enough to bear the burden of advances, the commission is only 10 rupees; but the Coolie derives no benefit from that reduction of charge. It does not appear in evidence who is the actual insurer of the Coolies on the outward voyage, or, in other words, who bears the loss if they die, and we believe that varies according to the agreements between the shippers and the planters, though, in general, the burden may fall upon the latter. When the Coolie arrives he undergoes, according to the evidence of a witness well disposed towards the planters, and one who received much higher wages than ordinary, a stoppage of one rupee a month out of five, for the expense of his return passage, &c., which, be it remembered, is, according to Mr. Dowson's evidence, already quoted, 10 rupees a head; thus the Coolie pays, during his servitude, about 54 rupees for the risk to the master, who can but pay 10 for that risk; and, even supposing the money thus stopped out of the Coolie's wages to be refunded to him on going away (which there is great room for doubting), he is a great loser, and insures the master at an exorbitant rate. It is true that the terms of the contracts in general only provide for stoppages until a sufficient fund for return passages be realized; but the master is the sole judge of the sufficiency, and the practice seems to be to retain one rupee in all cases. The Coolie, by the general terms of the contracts, is not allowed wages when sick; often engages to work on Sundays, though that is against the laws of the colony; and pays two days' wages for every day of absence without leave; he was, besides, in many cases, by the terms of his contract, made transferable by assignment to others. The master, it is stated in a

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See the evidence of Ramdeen, a witness favourable to the planters, and of Zuhoorun, Manick, Suboo, Karoo and Boodoo Khan, before cited.

Vide evidence of Ramdeen, answer to question 929, and the native evidence generally.

Vide evidence of the native witnesses, *passim*.

Vide circular of the Mauritius government, dated Colonial Secretary's Office 1837.

Report.

Take evidence of the native witnesses, *passim*.

Necessary or probable consequences of permitting a resumption of this trade.

* See the evidence of Captains Rapson, Mackenzie and Rayne, and Mr. Brown.

circular of the Mauritius government, is to give a guarantee to government to provide for the return passage, but the nature of that guarantee is not stated. It is evident that nothing short of a lien on the land, made to overrule all others, or a lodgment of the money, would be any real security; and it is also difficult to give a satisfactory reason why the money should not be lodged with government when it is paid by the Coolie. Thus the Coolie receives for his labour during the period of the contract (supposing him never to be sick, and under no other stoppages than the one rupee for return passage) four rupees, or 8s. a month, and his food and clothing. His food on the outward passage, when laid in by the captain, and that, of course, is not the most economical method to the planter, costs about two rupees 12 annas a head (see Captain Rapson's evidence, answer to Q. 66) per month, and the allowance is much more liberal than planters' allowance. The cost of clothing cannot, judging from the five rupees allowed in Calcutta for that purpose, and which may be supposed to be calculated for one year's wear, cost more than that sum on an average of four years in the island. The total annual receipts, then, of a healthy Coolie (when fully paid), in wages, food and clothes, amount to 48 rupees, or 4*l.* 16*s.*, for wages; 3*l.* 12*s.* for food, and 10*s.* for clothing; in all, 8*l.* 18*s.* a head.

26. We come now to the second division of the subject; let us contrast the actual amount received by the Coolie under the contract system with the wages of free labourers and apprentices at Mauritius (as to the West Indies we are uninformed by evidence), and the enormous disadvantage to the Coolie of that system is at once made apparent. The wages of free labour at Mauritius, according to the evidence cited in the margin,* varied at that time from half a dollar, or 2*s.*, to one dollar, or 4*s.* a day; and they are likely to be higher now, for Mr. Dowson admits they were rising rapidly when he gave his evidence; and since that period the emigration has been stopped, and the price of sugar also has been very greatly enhanced.

Net wages of the Coolie, at 8 <i>s.</i> a month - - - - -	£. s. d.
Food and clothing - - - - -	4 16 -
	<hr/>
Gross annual receipts of the Coolie - - -	£. 8 18 -
	<hr/>
Wages of the free labourer, negro or mulatto, at one dollar, or 4 <i>s.</i> a day - - - - -	73 - -
Deduct necessary cost of food and clothing - - - - -	4 2 -
	<hr/>
Net receipts - - -	£. 68 18 -
	<hr/>
Wages of the free labourer, negro or mulatto, at half a dollar a day, 3 <i>s.</i> 6 -	36 10 -
Deduct necessary cost of food and clothing - - - - -	4 - -
	<hr/>
Net - - -	£. 32 8 -
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We find that Mr. Dowson's estimate, in his answer to question 1050, is seven dollars, or 28*s.* a month, for the total cost of a Coolie to his employer, and of a negro apprentice seven to eight dollars, or 28*s.* to 32*s.* a month. This would seem to show that our estimate of what the Coolie actually gets under the contract system, both in food and money, in any case is too low; but we presume, as a matter of course, that Mr. Dowson includes the cost of the outward and return passage, and outfit of the Coolie, and of all losses by death, and all other risks, in his estimate of cost to the planter, and on a very liberal scale of allowance to the latter; and even then, as the items are not given by him, we are wholly unable to make out how the cost can reach such an amount. We have stated our reasons as well as figures, and the cost of food and clothing, which we have assumed would very well bear to be trebled, and yet have a large balance in favour of the planter and against the Coolie, when putting his condition in comparison with that of the free negro. We think that common justice to the latter requires that the contract system and these rates of wages should not be renewed. We cannot here omit to remark, that Captain Rayne deposes, that for field labour the Dhanga or Hill Coolie is equal to the negro; and one of the planters, M. de la Riviere (see the evidence of the Rev. A. Garstin), spoke "of the Coolies from Calcutta as being the best workmen employed in the island, whether Coolies from other parts of India, or Africans. We said the Calcutta Coolies were more docile and worked harder than any other labourers." The question, therefore, is not simply whether the Coolie gets better money wages in Mauritius, when unencumbered with his wife and children, than he would in India, but whether, if contracts were abolished, as being made between parties of unequal understanding and knowledge, and merely voluntary emigration took place, the Coolies would go to Mauritius in such numbers as to reduce wages to the contract level. It is, besides, a further question, whether an African free labourer, who was taken to Mauritius as a slave, ought not to be protected from any other kind of competition than that which arises from a really free emigration of other labourers, well enough informed to understand, previous to leaving India, what they are about, and where they are going, and willing to better their own condition by expatriation. What would be said in England to a combination between landlords and farmers to lower the rate of agricultural labour by importing Irish labourers on contracts, for a period of time too short to give them settlements in any parish;

parish, and on a system of advances and agreements to feed them on potatoes and salt? We apprehend that this plan would not be approved of by the people of England; yet according to abstract principles, as detailed by some political economists, it is always a benefit to a country, where labour is dear, to import the commodity from one where labour is cheap; we believe this, however, to be an abstract general principle of quite as useful application, and more correct in point of definition and expression, namely, that it is an evil in all countries, when the wages of labour are so low as to afford the labourer in ordinary times nothing but a bare sufficiency to sustain life by the cheapest food, clothing and shelter; such countries are ever on the verge of dearth, and their population in a state of permanent exposure to more than ordinary influences of disease, and consequent mortality, varied only by the mere wholesale destruction of human life produced by general famines.

27. We are thoroughly and intimately persuaded, from our knowledge of this country, of the working of judicial and police establishments in the interior, and in Calcutta itself, of the character of the natives, and of those classes of persons who would engage actively in promoting the export of Coolies here, and whom government would be compelled to employ in the practical supervision of the details of all regulations to prevent abuse, whether in the interior or in Calcutta, that scarcely any human precaution would avail to prevent a repetition of abuses. However, abuses quite as gross as those which have already prevailed, in despite of the acts and regulations already passed, might perhaps be rendered rare. But no system, we are firmly convinced, would ever suffice completely to counteract the tricks and falsehoods that would be resorted to in India by the Duffadars, Arkoties and other persons engaged in similar avocations.

28. We are also convinced that no regulations, nor even any such as we have subsequently pointed out as absolutely necessary, would after all, in practice, suffice to secure the emigration or export of a due proportion of women, or an emigration by families. The interest of all classes of private persons concerned as exporters or importers are against it, and they will always operate more successfully than any laws or regulations that can be devised. Besides, it appears to be contrary to the general Asiatic character, and opposed to the feelings and prejudices of even the lowest classes to emigrate with their women or families. There are thousands of Chinese emigrants at Singapore, and hundreds of thousands, we might even estimate by millions, in Siam, Java, Borneo, Manilla, and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago; of women there are few or none. Certainly the laws of China do, as it is said, prohibit the emigration of women, but as they equally prohibit the emigration of men, the true reason of the rarity of female emigrants must be sought for elsewhere; and it will be found in the jealousy and prejudices of Asiatics with regard to the female sex, in the want of due accommodation for women in maritime emigration, and in the extreme poverty of the emigrants, which leads them to abandon all family ties as an incumbrance which, unable to bear at home, they are doubly unwilling to sustain abroad.

29. We doubt, moreover, whether any regulations in the island of Mauritius will suffice to secure the strict and just performance of any contracts. Of the state of things in the West Indies we are uninformed by evidence. Further, we think, that no contracts really as just and beneficial to the Coolie as they ought to be would be entered into if the regulations were so enforced as that a near approach were made towards a strict enforcement of performance.

30. We are convinced, in fine, that no laws or regulations likely to be passed, short of making the whole land and sea transport of Coolies government services, superintended by government officers and medical men, will suffice to prevent great misery and distress, even on this side of the Cape, and that if West Indian voyages be permitted, the waste of human life and misery that will fall on the Coolies exported under the name of free labourers will approach to those inflicted on the negro in the middle passage by the slave trade. The numbers of Coolies exported to Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo, to Trinidad, Jamaica and the West India Islands generally, would probably be very great; the cost of the voyage there and back would be very heavy, particularly if short terms of contract were enforced, and the impossibility of preventing exportation (whether professedly regulated or merely illicit) from foreign European ports and native territories in India complete. We think the latter consideration quite decisive against the expediency of re-opening the trade, when we reflect that in addition to Danish there are Portuguese and French ports and territories from which a very large exportation could easily be organized. A prohibition to receive Coolies into British colonies in foreign vessels might no doubt be enforced, but the exportation to foreign colonies could not be checked, except by long negotiations, if it were once begun, and our government would have no reason to urge for remonstrance or interference that could not be answered by a reference to its own example, and on the general and abstract principles, that it is always an advantage to all countries where labour is dear to import it from those where labour is cheap; and that it is the right of all men to trade in free labour, and especially of him whose only property is his capacity to labour, to sell that commodity to the best profit.

31. It seems to us that the permission to renew this traffic would weaken the moral influence of the British Government throughout the world, and deaden or utterly destroy the effect of all future remonstrances and negotiations respecting the slave trade; and this effect would ensue, however stringent, minute or restrictive might be the regulations framed to check abuses. Regulations would be met by other regulations, specious and

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unobjectionable in form; the difference would be in the execution and in the good faith of the framers.

32. Moreover, we think, as far as India is concerned, the supreme government and the government of each presidency would be harassed by the occurrence of political disputes with the governments of foreign possessions, in addition to the labours of the watchful superintendence which would be required to be exercised even by the supreme executive authority itself from time to time over all the departments and executive officers employed in carrying into effect the laws and regulations intended to prevent abuse.

What are the fitting measures to be adopted in the event of a re-opening of the trade.

33. We have now concluded all that occurs to us as necessary to be stated on the first and second heads of the subject, and proceed to consider under the third division the measures of regulation and restriction which we consider will be absolutely necessary to prevent abuses in the event of a revival of the Coolie trade. Let us not be supposed to fall into self-contradiction if, notwithstanding the very strong conviction we have before expressed, that no regulations that can be devised will completely extirpate all abuses in India, we venture to suggest here such measures of regulation as are calculated to be materially restrictive of abuses in the event (which we sincerely deprecate) of a revival of the trade. We have ventured to offer our humble suggestions to government, satisfied that here at least the government and its superior officers will fully perform their duty to the extent of human possibility in checking, discouraging, putting down and preventing abuses. We have framed these suggestions, moreover, not without a hope, that if our views of the necessity of regulating to the full extent pointed out shall be adopted, the trade would be abandoned as unprofitable by all parties now engaged in it. And we repeat, that while we are of opinion that even such laws as these would not be wholly effectual in extinguishing abuses if the exportation of Coolies should still be carried on in great numbers, yet we believe that, if adopted (of which there can be no chance unless these humble suggestions, or similar ones, meet with the concurrent approval of the high authorities, to which we have the honour to address ourselves, of Her Majesty's Government and of Parliament) it is unlikely that the exportation of Coolies would afterwards go on to any great extent, and then abuses might become more manageable.

34. We suggest that, as a preliminary step, it would be necessary that conventions should be entered into by the home government or the supreme government of India (as found most advisable), having for their object the waiver or cession of the right of foreign powers to permit the exportation of natives of India as agricultural labourers (in any numbers at least) to any part of the world, and if any exceptions were made, Bourbon should be the only one; but to that colony, in the event of any considerable diminution of the protection afforded in France to beet-root sugar, it is certain that a considerable exportation of Coolies would rapidly take place.

35. We would suggest further, that conventions similar in principle be entered into by the supreme government with native states (protected or independent) having possessions on the sea-coast.

36. That the taking on board all ships exporting Coolies of a proportion of thirds at least of females to the number of male adults be enforced.

37. That certain principal ports, and those few in number, be selected as the ports of export to India, and all others prohibited.

38. That at each of such ports there be a chief superintendent and purveyors of Coolies appointed, with power, under the sanction of government, to apply for deputies in the proportion of one at least to every 500 Coolies actually arrived at the port of export, whose duty it should be to provide such Coolies with lodging and food until embarkation, and necessaries for the voyage.

39. That at each of the ports of export there be also an examiner of Coolies and superintendent-general of embarkations appointed, well acquainted with the native languages current among such classes, and whose duty it should be to examine them once on arrival and on their delivery over to the charge of the officer mentioned in the next preceding paragraph, and to explain to them what they were about to undertake, and once again previous to embarkation.

40. That there should be specified ghauts or wharfs of embarkation in each port (one or more, as the case required), at which deputy examiners should be stationed to counter-sign the permit of each Coolie, after being satisfied that he had the requisite bedding, clothing and necessaries for the voyage before stepping into the boat, and exportation at other ghauts forbidden under penalties.

41. That the export in private vessels should be totally prohibited, and the whole conducted as a government transport service, the masters of each vessel as well as the medical men being moreover as officers in the Navy or East India Company's service.

42. That an inspector of Coolie shipping be appointed at all ports, both of export and destination, with a competent salary for this express duty, and not overburdened with other duties, whose business it should be to report on the condition of each transport vessel at the epoch of departure and arrival. The medical officer should likewise be bound to keep a journal, and the master of the ship a log, after a prescribed form, for entries respecting the Coolies, and to transmit the same (in duplicate if need were) to the Secretary of State in the Colonial Department.

43. That due regulations for the guidance of all parties should be embodied in an Act of Parliament,

Parliament, and if necessary in Acts also of the local legislatures of the places of export and destination.

44. That all contracts with individual Coolies proceeding as agricultural labourers to Mauritius or the West Indies, the Cape or Australia, relative to such emigration and wages of labour or passage, should be absolutely prohibited under penalties, and rendered null and void by Act of Parliament in all places whatsoever.

45. That government agents should be appointed by each colony (as Mauritius, Demerara, &c.), to receive the applications of individuals, and treat with similar agents appointed by the supreme government of India for an indent of so many labourers; the terms of the contract, such as the wages, &c., to be received, the length of service, and all other matters including the security to be given by the parties making the indent (which should in all cases be solid, real and well defined), to be settled between the contracting government agents; the agent of the importers to be liable, in all cases, both to the government that appoints him and the parties, for all breaches of contract after arrival, which of course would render him careful of the security.

46. All applications for indents to be forwarded by the local agent at the place of import for sanction by the Governor or chief authority of the colony, forwarded to the Secretary of State in the Colonial Department for approval, and by him to the supreme government of India, and by that government to their own agents, with their sanction.

47. On receipt of indents, duly sanctioned by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the government of India might direct their collectors or magistrates to cause proclamations to be distributed, taking due care to avoid its being supposed they were compulsory, informing the poor in specified zillahs that an opportunity for emigration was open to them and their families, with all such information as could be of use to them, taking great care also not to excite exaggerated hopes of benefit which the Asiatic imagination is so prone to imbibe. The Coolies should be assembled and marched to the presidency, under the escort of an uncovenanted officer and a fit number of Peons, and not in too large bodies; all interference of private agency in the interior should be prohibited; small advances under such circumstances might be made by the collector or superior officer employed to the uncovenanted officer in charge.

48. It remains to calculate the cost and the means of supplying, on such a system of government supervision, the charges of superintendence at Calcutta, calculated to afford efficient protection to at least 10,000 emigrants per annum: the total expenses need not, we think, exceed the amount specified in the subjoined scale.

One chief superintendent and examiner of Coolies, salary at 1,200 per month	14,400
Four ghauts examiners, at 250 each	12,000
Peons, writers and contingencies for the above, say	1,600
One principal purveyor, at 800 a month	9,600
Four deputy ditto, at 300 each	14,400
Peons, Coolies, writers and contingencies in these offices	3,600
Diet of 1,000 Coolies for a medium period, say six months for the whole year, at 2/8 per month for each	15,000
Rent of 20 receiving houses or courts and premises, at 30 per month each	7,800
Medical attendance by two extra police surgeons, say	6,000
Expenses per head on the way down, say five rupees	50,000
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	133,800

49. We think this an ample estimate of cost; but to guard against any loss to the Indian treasury, we would, as a precautionary measure, at once double it, in order to secure indemnity to this country from the changes of a system by which the sugar colonies of the West Indies and Mauritius are alone to benefit, with double the establishment mentioned in the foregoing paragraph; the details being then somewhat modified, so as to secure more well paid subordinates, there would be ample supervision exercised over the export of 10,000 Coolies if the establishment should do its duty with ordinary diligence.

50. From the evidence laid before the committee, it appears that the Mauritius planters paid 60 rupees per man for each Coolie, exclusive of passage money (though the Coolie rarely or ever received 10), and we see no good attendant on the system of cash advances to Coolies in the country, as already observed, but, on the contrary, much evil. The Coolie, on this system, would receive nothing in money in the shape of an advance, but would be well provided in all respects with necessaries up to and including the voyage; a sum of 30 rupees a head, therefore, deposited by the applicant for labour, as a condition precedent to the sanction of the indent, would be a sufficient security to government, and would yield on 10,000 Coolies three lacs per annum, or more than sufficient to cover double the cost on the foregoing scale, and the receipts of government would be increased rateably according to the increased number of emigrants, and in the event of an increased emigration, the expense of supervision, it may be reasonably calculated, would probably be proportionably somewhat less, and could not be greater.

51. The expense of passage in vessels taken up by government, and commanded by a

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government officer, with a government surgeon on board, remains to be considered, Mr. Gladstone, in a letter to Lord Glenelg, dated 3d May 1837, and published in the Parliamentary Returns relative to British Guiana and Mauritius, already quoted, estimated the whole cost of the passage of Coolies to the West Indies in well-found ships, carrying a regular surgeon on board, at 20*l.* a head, including Calcutta agency, at 2*l.* a head, which last charge, however, he estimates at least 1*l.* a head too low. We believe if 20*l.* a head (exclusive of agency) were paid to the home government, a well-regulated transport service could immediately be employed (by taking up the ships only as indents were sanctioned, and not before), without additional expense to the country, and thus the passage beyond the Cape would be provided for.

52. The Mauritius planters appear to have paid 30 rupees a head for the outward passage money of Coolies; and allowing that a transport service organized by government here would cost one-third more, still 40 rupees a head would in our opinion cover the enhanced cost; and as the Mauritius planter has hitherto paid 30 rupees in the shape of advances to Coolies, 30 rupees commission to the agent making such advance in the first instance, and 30 rupees passage money, he would be a gainer of 20 rupees a head, if this system could be organized, because he would have to pay but 30 rupees to government for the expense of each Coolie up to the embarkation, and 40 for passage money.

53. We have now completed the task which we undertook, and have endeavoured to perform our duty to our fellow-creatures, to our own consciences, and to the government, which has done us the honour to invite the expression of our opinions, carefully and deliberately, with candour and impartiality, and without fear of any responsibility that may rest upon us for the frank and full expression of our convictions. We have a full trust that the benevolent and commanding intellects employed in the consideration of the whole subject in England, both within Parliament and out of it, cannot fail to lead the legislature to right conclusions; and we rest humbly confident in the conclusion, that whatever may be the result, Parliament and the people of England will duly protect the emancipated African from all competition in the wages of labour and means of subsistence that is not free, fair and unaided by local power, and will not permit injustice to be done to the Indian subjects of the Crown (though of a poor and friendless class) from any motives of political advantage, however weighty, or of mercantile gain, however large.

We have, &c.

(signed)

T. Dickens.
James Charles.
Rusomoy Dutt.

Calcutta, 14 October 1840.

(True copy.)

(signed)

G. A. Bushby,
Secretary to Government of India.

(No. 8.)

General Department.

To *J. C. Melvill, Esq.,* Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter of the 16th instant, I am directed to request that you will submit to the Honourable the Court of Directors, the accompanying copy of a letter from Mr. Dowson, a member of the committee appointed to inquire into the abuses alleged to exist relative to the export of Coolies, and the printed minute of that gentleman on the report of the majority of the committee, forwarded with my former letter to your address above mentioned.

I have, &c.

(signed)

G. A. Bushby,
Secretary to the Government of India.

Fort William, 19 October 1840.

General Department.

G. A. Bushby, Esq., Secretary to Government.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward under this enclosure my minute on the report of a majority of "the committee appointed to inquire into the abuses alleged to exist relative to the export of Coolies," of which committee I was a member; and to request that you will do me the favour to lay it, with such report, before the Right honourable the Governor-general in Council.

I have, &c.

(signed)

William Frank Dawson.

Calcutta, 17 October 1840.

(signed)

G. A. Bushby,
Secretary to the Government of India.

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MINUTE on the REPORT of the COMMITTEE appointed to inquire into the Abuses alleged to exist relative to the Export of COOLIES.—Calcutta 1840.

MINUTE of Mr. DOWSON.

NOTWITHSTANDING that my fellow committee-men's observations (excepting Mr. Grant's, which I do not remark upon), on the evidence taken by the committee, are much more in the tone and manner of an advocate commenting upon evidence which he desires to make appear favourable to his own side of the question, than of impartial judges giving a fair summary of the whole, without regard to which side it may favour, so long as just conclusions are drawn from it; yet I do not think it necessary to enter at very great length, either into the exposition of their fallacious reasoning, nor into the analysis of what the committee have taken down, for it seems to me quite impossible that any unprejudiced person can read these proceedings and come to any other decision than that the case, as against the Mauritius interests, has been got up in a spirit of the most reckless exaggeration, and has crumbled almost entirely away under the test of evidential inquiry. I submit, without the slightest fear of refutation, that even if the above alluded to joint statement be accepted as in all respects sustained by the examinations on which it professes to stand, there is no case whatever made out to justify the British Parliament in abolishing the system of free labour importation into the Isle of France (with the case of the West India Islands I do not meddle, as it is not fully before me, as a member of the committee), and that nothing has been shown, in respect of imposition on the Coolies by native agents in Bengal, calculated to prove it impossible, or even difficult, for the legislature and the Indian government to establish such rules and regulations for the trade in the free labour alluded to as should render the interests of the labourers safe from the effects of all such imposition, and secure to them the full, pecuniary and other benefits of the system. Even the least favourable parts of the evidence show the Coolie not more imposed upon by the crimp class than it is notorious recruits are for the European forces in India; and yet it would be a very insufficient ground for putting down the enlisting system because the lower agents engaged in it told deceptive stories to the recruits, or in various ways endeavoured to cheat them out of a portion of their bounty. Against the effects of such conduct the legislature does its best to guard the persons who desire to serve as soldiers; and in like manner it should do its best to protect the Indian labourers; but to say that they shall be prohibited from seeking the most profitable market, or of accepting it when offered, because that in making the terms of employment with under-agents they are liable to be defrauded out of a portion of their first advance, were to proclaim a principle in the face of all sound political economy, and, what is worse, a principle destructive of the liberty of the subject. Suppose that the Coolie population were not less informed regarding the climate, situation and labour prices of the Mauritius, than the Irish peasantry are of similar circumstances regarding England and Scotland; and suppose that they proceeded thither in every sense of the word voluntarily, or, I should rather say, spontaneously, agreeing for their own passages, and making their own terms with the planters, or their agents or overseers direct; can it be for a moment maintained that the legislature could forbid their emigrating with such a view, and compel them to remain in a country where their labour barely suffices (and not always even that) to subsist them in the most wretched manner, and where they are subject to almost annual visitations of famine and disease? But where is the difference, as regards the fundamental principle, of their thus going forth spontaneously, in consequence of a generally possessed knowledge of the various advantages which the other country offers, or of certain numbers of them agreeing to go, on the representations of individuals who tell them of those advantages? Their going is still their voluntary act, and are they to be for ever prohibited from making the venture because in some points they are defrauded by those native agents, from whom at first they derive the information? Even if the legislature could do nothing to prevent this kind of cheating beyond advising the Coolies not to put faith in the representations of those parties, it were a most arbitrary procedure to prohibit them from venturing on the speculation; and indeed the extended application of so despotic a principle would hinder all subjects from entering upon commercial schemes in which the projectors may give a colouring to the measure which shall exaggerate the truth, and may practise fraudulence in the distribution of the profits,—a species of tyranny not for a moment to be endured, as it would destroy the political free agency of the subject. The joint statement has referred to the case of the Irish labourers, and has put a case which, in regard to the subject of its argument, is too superficial to stand a moment's investigation. It supposes the English landlord and farmers to combine together to bring over gangs of Irish peasantry, under short engagements, and thus, by greatly lowering the rate of wages, drive the English labourer out of the market; and asks would this be approved by the people of England? Why, the very fact of there being a people of England shows the inapplicability of the case to the Mauritius, where there are no aborigines, and no peasantry at all having any right to claim a monopoly of the market, even on moral or equitable principles, apart from all political considerations. In the supposed case, undoubtedly the legislature could interfere to save the English peasantry from the destruction which such a combination, in its full extent, must bring down upon them; but the labourers who inhabit the Mauritius are in no such position, but in

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that of men having no patriotic rights whatever as children of the soil, and whose object and practice it is to keep up the price of labour at a monopoly rate altogether ruinous to the commerce of the island: between the cases there is no analogy.

Although I have set out with asserting, that even admitting my colleagues' judgment on the question in its fullest scope, it would not suffice as a justification of a legislative prohibition, the speedy effects of which must be, to render the Isle of France worthless as a commercial colony, and to necessitate its being kept up as a political one solely at the expense of England; yet I purpose to make some passing observations on some of their positions which appear to me to be untenable, or gratuitous, or merely assumptive, or unsupported by any fair and comprehensive view of the evidence; and in this task I shall endeavour to occupy as little space as possible. I beg to be understood throughout as referring to the report agreed to by Mr. Dickens, Dr. Charles and Baboo Russomoy Dutt, which I call the joint statement.

In their third paragraph (the preceding ones being but prefatory) they set out with expressing their resolution, first, to state "conclusions of fact" which shall be strictly warranted by the evidence, &c.; and secondly, to "draw inferences as to the future conduct and consequences of the trade, from a reference to the past." The first of these resolves is equitable enough in principle, though a perusal of their report has convinced me that it has not been adhered to with strictness enough in practice; but the second is obviously unfair, for it proclaims an intention of assuming future evils from past abuses of a good system, although the supporters of the system itself desire the establishment of such restrictions and regulations as shall prevent the future recurrence of causes wherefrom the deprecated effects arose; so that they adopt a method of anticipatory condemnation, which leaves out of the question all remedial resources calculated to prevent those results, the occurrence of which alone could justify their verdict.

In pursuance of their first-named design of drawing conclusions of facts from the evidence, they say, in their fourth paragraph, that it is distinctly proved, beyond dispute, that the Coolies exported to the Mauritius were, generally speaking, induced to come to Calcutta by gross misrepresentation; but the very evidence they refer to by no means bears out this sweeping assertion in the spirit in which it appears to me to be made, and which is to impress the reader with a belief that whatever amount of deception was practised, in the first instance, by the persons who persuaded the Coolies to leave their homes for Calcutta, was continued to be practised on them throughout. In the first place, but a small portion of the depositions referred to bear out the case at all. Captain Rapson's, Captain Birch's, Mr. McCann's and my own, certainly do not, nor in fact could any of those parties have had the knowledge of the fact, so as to depose to it, even if it had existed. Mr. Patton's testimony, and also that of some of the natives, goes positively to show that various Coolies had been told, at their own homes, that they would find employment at Calcutta, or the place they would attain it at was but a few days' journey therefrom; but this degree of misrepresentation *in limine* is so common to all projects of the kind, to enlistment, to the manning of vessels, to the inducing emigrants to go from the United Kingdom to America or the colonies, and the like, that it is not fair to deal with it in a kind of judicial inquiry, as if it were peculiar to and exclusively characteristic of the Coolie labour system; but as I neither deny nor excuse these deceptive practices (in whatever degree they may have taken place), I am rejoiced to think that if proper powers were given to the civil authorities on the spot, analogous to those given to justices of the peace in regard to recruits, the evil would be prevented in future, and the benefits still left available to the poor people, who, in a starving condition, would certainly avail themselves of it, if its nature were clearly explained to them by local magistrates. I pass over the fifth and sixth paragraphs, as not containing any thing material to the question of total abolition, which is the primary one the legislature has to decide; but the latter part of the seventh paragraph, if good for any thing, goes to upset the entire labours of the committee; for it had as much power to call for accounts as it had to call for any other kind of evidence, and in the proper performance of the duty which it had undertaken, it ought to have called for them. Had they been refused, the unfavorable inferences might have been drawn, but it is most unfair to draw such inferences from the non-proffer, by the witnesses themselves, of a species of evidence which the committee never so much as hinted at. The eighth paragraph exhibits an instance of unfair representation of the evidence, though I am persuaded that in this and all similar instances, the authors are carried away by their feelings, and do not intentionally misinterpret it. Thus they find that Captain Rapson took Coolies on board "without any pass or permit from the police," but do not add, that in that year (1836) no such documents were required! On the contrary, they draw an unfavorable inference from the circumstance; and, after that, they admit that it took place anterior to the Act of 1837; but the admission, which really neutralizes the previous crimination, is so made as to lose much of its legitimate force with readers (such as many are who will take part in all future legislation on the subject) who may not be otherwise acquainted with the nature of the said Act, nor aware that its date proves there was no evasion of the law as charged in a preceding part of the said eighth paragraph. Again, in the ninth paragraph, they charge the Mauritius authorities with evasion of their own police regulations, because many of the Coolies shipped by Captain Rapson, on the occasion alluded to, were shipped without permits, and because the Mauritius government was made aware, previously, of the Act, which was not in force at the time of their shipment; and yet, notwithstanding all this, the said Coolies were divided among the planters. Surely the joint writers should have known, and stated, that this was because the Coolies had been engaged for individual planters,

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planters, who had received permits from the Mauritius government for their introduction; and would they have had that government break its faith, on which the planters entered into, and advanced money for the engagements? The tenth paragraph rests on native evidence, upon which, in opposition to European, my colleagues well know that no value can be put; and, in the present case, it is just the kind of evidence which would be given, whether true or not; but whether true or not, it does not support an act of prohibition. In an anxiety to draw inferences unfavourable to the planters, the joint statement in the 13th paragraph attributes to their discouragement the fact of but few of the Coolie women having gone with their husbands; but my colleagues should know enough of native customs and feelings to know that this circumstance was entirely owing to the Coolies themselves; and at all events I can assert, that the wishes of the planters were much in favour of a certain proportion of the women coming over to the island. In the same paragraph, reference is made to a return which the landholders' society of Calcutta obtained from Mr. Taylor, to show that the Coolie families suffered great indigence while their male protectors were away; this may or may not be the case. A return thus obtained is not sufficient proof of it; but at all events I know that frequent remittances were made by the Coolies; and nothing would be easier than to regulate the mode of those remittances, so that the families could get them just as Sepoy families get theirs. In their 14th paragraph the joint reporters endeavour to weaken the highly respectable European evidence regarding the treatment of the Coolies in the Mauritius, and to give weight to that of the natives. The latter were men sent back for misconduct; and, in no point of view, either moral or judicial, is their testimony entitled to the same respect as that to which it is opposed. My colleagues assert, in their 14th paragraph, that "it is clear from the evidence" that the planters do not fulfil the contract with the Coolies. What in any court of justice would be deemed the best evidence, and what would not, because of its truth, break down under any cross-examination, proves the contrary of this; but if by the general term "evidence," which my colleagues use as if it embraced the whole testimony, they include and put faith in such a deposition as that of Abdoolah Khan, for example, respecting either the treatment of the Coolies on the passage, or what befalls them afterwards, I venture to say they are weighing the value and credibility of evidence in a very different manner from that which is laid down as the proper method and principle by all writers on the subject. The same paragraph is full of fallacious and deceptive reasoning. It asserts that the work in the Mauritius is harder than the work in India; but as it subsequently refers specifically to the labour required at indigo factories, it should have been ascertained and stated whether such work as beating the vats, for instance, is, with reference to the climate, less severe than ought to be required to be done in the sugar-cane labour. The assertion that in the majority of instances "no money-wages at all seemed to be paid," is an assumption not borne out by fact, for even in the cases of "bad masters," the Coolies know and exercise their right of summoning before the magistrates, who fail not to render them the completest justice. In regard to the rate of pay, which the joint statement asserts the Coolies receive at the factories at Bengal, even if it were three rupees a month, it forgets to mention that this only lasts during the manufacturing season, and that even then they get nothing but the pay, and are left to almost starve for the remainder of the year. But I find, if I go through the joint summary in this manner, I shall occupy more space than there is any necessity to do, in the support of what is the main question for the legislature to determine; to wit, the question of abolition; and I shall therefore do no more than point out the erroneousness of the calculation which they enter into in the 15th paragraph, and correct it by one of my own, which cannot be contradicted.

TABLE No. 1.

EXHIBITING the Monthly Cost of an imported INDIAN LABOURER engaged under Contract for Five Years.

The expenses of his introduction:

Advance of wages, six months, at five rupees (Company's rupees) - -	30
Clothing - - - - -	4
Provisions - - - - -	4
Police fee - - - - -	1
Surgeon's fee - - - - -	1
Passage - - - - -	30
Commission - - - - -	30
Insurance - - - - -	3

Company's rupees - - - 92, or dollars 46,0

Wages:

For five years, or 60 months, at the rate of five rupees, or two and a half dollars per month - - - - -	Dr. 150
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Deduct:

Advanced in Calcutta, Company's rupees 30, or - - - - -	15
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135,0

Victualling:

16 CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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Victualling:			
Fifty-seven pounds avoirdupois weight of rice per month, at four dollars	Dr.		
per bag of 168 lbs.		-	1,35
Dhali, ghee, salt, &c. &c.		-	1,25
			<u>2,60</u>
	Dollars	- - -	2,60
			Dr.
For 60 months	- - -	-	156,0
Charges annual—Clothing:			
Two blankets, at 80 cents each		-	1,60
One jacket		-	50
One pair dhooties		-	60
One cap		-	25
Surgeon's fee for attendance on each labourer, coolie or negro		-	1,00
Medicines		-	50
Cooking vessels		-	25
			<u>4,70</u>
	Dollars	- - -	4,70
			Dr.
For five years	- - -	-	23,50
Passage to Calcutta on the completion of his engagement	- - -	-	10,0
			<u>370,50</u>
	Dollars	- - -	370,50
Divided by 60 months, give a monthly cost of		- - -	Dollars 6,17, or £.1. 4. 8.

TABLE No. 2.

The Report states the gross annual receipts of a Coolie labourer at Mauritius to be:		Real annual receipts of a Coolie labourer at Mauritius:	
	£. s. d.		Dollars.
Net wages of the Coolie, at 8s. a month	4 16 -	Wages, at five rupees, or two and a half dollars a month	30
Food and clothing	4 2 -	His food, as per Table No. 1, 260 dollars a month, or annually	31,20
		Clothing, as per Table No. 1	4,70
			<u>65,90</u>
		Dollars	- - -
Gross receipts of the Coolie	<u>£.8 18 -</u>	At 4s. per dollar	- - £.13. 3. 7.
The Report states the annual earnings of a free labourer at Mauritius to be; viz.		Real annual earnings of a free agricultural labourer at Mauritius:	
	£. s. d.		
Wages of the free labourer (negro or mulatto), at one dollar, or 4s. a day	73 - -	Wages, at eight dollars (the highest rate ever given) per month	96 - -
Deduct necessary cost of food and clothing	4 2 -		
Net receipts	<u>£.68 18 -</u>	At 4s. per dollar.	
Wages of the free labourer (negro or mulatto) at half a dollar a day	36 10 -		
Deduct necessary cost of food and clothing	4 2 -		
Net receipts of a free agricultural labourer	<u>£.32 8 -</u>		
		Net receipts of a free agricultural labourer	<u>£.19. 4. -</u>

In conclusion of these remarks, I again earnestly request the attention of those who are to judge of the whole case to what is the main question at issue, and which is, whether there are grounds for putting an end to a system of free labour importation to the Mauritius from India, the continuance of which system is indispensable to the existence of the island as a commercial colony, and which system is capable of being regulated in its detail, so as to insure to the labourers the fullest justice, security and comfort. Perhaps no human system can be free from abuses; but if the British Legislature will reflect that the present inquiry by the Calcutta committee took place after the Coolie system had been going on for a considerable period, comparatively unregulated by special laws, and that it must then have been susceptible of the greatest abuses that could creep into it, I am convinced they will be of opinion, that, with reference to the circumstances, extremely little hardship to the Coolies has been elicited, and that the mass of the evidence shows their general treatment to have been good. What exceptions there may be, or have been, appear to me to be very easy of future obviation by legislative interference; but these exceptions form no grounds whatever for legislating so as to ruin a colony,

colony, and so as at the same time to close an unexceptional labour market to a largely and badly-off class of the natives of India. I refer with renewed confidence, after having carefully studied the evidence in this case; to the propositions and arguments laid down in the memorial which those connected with the colony placed before the Indian government in July 1838; and I beg that it may again be especially referred to.

It places the question on its only proper footing, and in no respect is it shaken by the present inquiry, which, accepted in even the most unfavourable light to the cause of the Mauritius, demonstrates no evils of detail (it cannot touch the great principle of the question), save such as the legislature and the local governments can, without difficulty, prevent the recurrence of, and of which the prevention would be hailed nowhere with greater satisfaction than on the island itself, and by the employers of the workmen.

(signed) *W. F. Dawson,*
Member of the Committee.

Calcutta, 16 October 1840.

Note.—In drawing up the foregoing observations, I have adopted for guide the draft of a report sent to me some days since by Mr. Dickens, chairman of the committee. In the joint report, as it has been submitted to government, an entire change has been made in the arrangement of the paragraphs; but, unfortunately, I have acquired this knowledge at too late a period to permit me to correct my numerical references to them.

At a Meeting held of the Committee, Wednesday the 22d August 1838.

Present: T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.—J. P. GRANT, Esq.—Major ASCHER.

Captain *James Rapson*, Examined.

- Q. 1. What is your occupation?—A. I am a part-owner of the ship Gaillardon; Boyd & Co. are the principal owners.
2. What is the tonnage of that vessel?—Three hundred and ninety-one tons.
3. How long have you commanded her?—About 13 months.
4. In what ship did you take Coolies to the Mauritius?—In the *Sophia*.
5. What was her tonnage?—Her tonnage was 334 tons.
6. When was that?—We left the Sand-heads last October twelve months.
7. How many Coolies did you take in the *Sophia*?—We took down 366 men, women and children.
8. How many did you land?—I landed 334 men, 10 women and 12 children; we lost two overboard and eight by death; they were all men; two married men died.
9. Were these persons examined by the police?—To the best of my knowledge these people were examined by the police; they had all their agreements, but I was not an eye-witness to the examination.
10. Where did you embark them?—We embarked 140 lying at the *Buoys*, some at *Coolie Bazar*, some at *Budge Budge*, and some at *Kedgerree*; in proceeding down the river we embarked the rest.
11. Do you recollect how many you embarked at *Kedgerree*?—I think it was 40 we embarked at *Kedgerree*.
12. Did you call over their names on board ship?—I called over their names on board ship.
13. Did you take a list of them on board ship?—I did take a list of them; each planter who had a number consigned to him had a list made at the police, and their agreements signed and sealed by the head magistrate of Calcutta.
14. Did the parties answer to their names as taken down at the police?—Not more than 25 to 30 in the ship answered to their names as taken down by the police.
15. Have the goodness to explain the mode in which you called over their names?—The mode I pursued was to arrange them round the ship two deep, and I called the head sirdar, and made them all pass over the poop, and we took down their names; a French gentleman, Mr. Pison, also took a list.
16. Did you muster them more than once?—I mustered them twice.
17. On the second occasion, did they answer to the names that you and Mr. Pison had taken down?—On the second occasion, they answered to the names Mr. Pison and I had taken down.
18. Did you and Mr. Pison take each a separate list?—Mr. Pison and I each took separate lists; he according to French pronunciation, and I in my own way.
19. What was the interval of time between the first and second mustering?—The interval was about eight days between the musters.
20. Did you find that they answered correctly to their names the second time, as you had taken them down, according to both lists?—I found they answered to their names correctly, according to both lists, on the second time.
21. Were they mustered a third time by the police at the Mauritius?—They were mustered by the police officer in the Mauritius, but not by my list; they were mustered according to the Calcutta police list.
22. What was the result of that muster at the Mauritius?—The result was, that after three days they could not divide them according to their names.
23. Do you know how many answered to their names at the Mauritius, according to the Calcutta police list?—I do not know how many answered to their names, according to the Calcutta

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Mr. Dawson.

No. 1.
Capt. *J. Rapson.*
22 August 1838.

No. 1.

Capt. J. Rapson.

22 August 1838.

Calcutta police list; only some few did; they were divided equally among the planters by Mr. Macleay, the marine police magistrate, and their names taken down as they answered them.

24. Had you a short and favourable passage, or otherwise?—We had a short and very favourable passage of 30 days, and very fine weather the whole way.

25. Can you say what spare space was allotted on board the *Sophia* for the Coolies?—The whole of the 'tween decks was allotted to the Coolies.

26. Did they remain between decks?—They remained half up and half below decks, watch and watch at stated intervals, half the night down and half night up; in the day-time they had their own way pretty much, except that we did not allow too many below at once.

27. Had they any disinclination to remain between decks?—They had no disinclination to remain between decks; they had, on the contrary, too great an inclination to remain below.

28. Had you any persons employed at the hatchways as sentries?—I had five sepoy employed to keep them from going down too much at the hatchways, as sentries, and to prevent fire.

29. What description of sepoys do you mean?—The sepoys were of that description usually employed in country ships.

30. Were they government sepoys?—No; they were employed by me, and paid by me, and borne on the ship's books.

31. What allowance of water did you give each Coolie?—I gave the Coolies six pints of water a day, the same as lascars.

32. What allowance of food?—They had exactly the same daily allowance as government sepoys going to Rangoon get when I carried them.

33. Was this allowance according to any arrangement stipulated for by the police of Calcutta?—The police of Calcutta had nothing to do with the quantity of the allowance, as far as I know; I gave the allowance.

34. What was the nature of your arrangement with the owners in regard to the allowance of food and water for the Coolies?—I furnished a list to the owners; they ordered me to furnish what was necessary; I furnished 60 days' provisions, and had 50 tons of water in the hold, and I went into the Mauritius with 25 tons of water in the hold.

35. Do you know of what castes the Coolies were whom you had on board?—We had among the Coolies three grades or classes; Mussulmen who cooked on board, Hindoos who would not eat rice on board, and low caste Hindoos who did not object to eat rice cooked on board; for the Hindoos who would not eat on board I was obliged to lay in parched rice, sugar and parched peas; these provisions were out the day we arrived, but they were all willing during the voyage to go over to the other mess, where they had boiled rice, but I would not let them until the stock of parched rice was out; I said I would have no converts until these stores were finished; I began by giving two meals a day; but the sirdars said it would not do, as they had never been used to any thing of the kind, and they got one afterwards.

36. Can you say, generally, in what proportion these different classes were?—I think there was about a third of each caste or description; perhaps not a third of those who ate parched rice; but that is near about the mark.

37. Were any of them Dhanga or Hill Coolies?—There were a few Dhangas among them.

38. How did these Coolies, whom you took in your progress down the river, come on board?—They came on board under charge of brijabassis, but I do not know whether they were police peons.

39. Were these, who came on board during your progress down the river, furnished with any permit or pass from the police?—I merely received those Coolies and took them on board with a common order from the shipper or agent of the shipper; they had no pass or permit from the police; they came from Calcutta as I believe; they had agreements as well as the others.

40. In your opinion was not the *Sophia* too much crowded?—In my opinion, as a general rule, it was too many to take; I think 300 would have been quite enough in that ship with all her 'tween decks clear.

41. If you had had a long passage and bad weather, would you have found inconvenience from the number of Coolies?—With a long passage and bad weather, unless it had been a very heavy gale, we should not have felt much inconvenience, for we were not in the least lumbered on deck.

42. If you had been lumbered on deck, and if the 'tween decks had not been very clear, would you have experienced inconvenience?—If we had been lumbered on deck, and the 'tween decks not perfectly clear, the inconvenience would have been very great.

43. What number of lascars did your crew consist of?—We had 42 lascars of the crew altogether.

44. Did any of the lascars die during the passage?—None died on board, but one was drowned.

45. How many Coolies fell overboard during the passage?—Four; two were saved and two drowned.

46. Did any of them fall overboard more than once?—One fell overboard twice, he was drowned the second time; none fell overboard after the fourth night from leaving the pilot; I put ship-about and lowered my boat, and did my best to save him.

47. Did any other vessel go to the Mauritius with Coolies about the same time you went?

went?—The Cavendish Bentinck went a few days before I took Coolies. The Juliana, 550 tons, or near 600, I do not know how many exactly she took; about 400, I believe. The British Monarch, I do not know how many she took.

48. Do you know of what disorders the Coolies, who died on board your ship, died?—I really believe most of my Coolies died from old age and sea sickness.

49. How do you account for the circumstance of so few of the Coolies you took with you answering to the names given in the Calcutta police list?—I should say that the reason why the men on board did not answer to the names taken at the police arose from the roguery of the native agents, in changing those for others who were probably trepanned.

50. Do you know how much money each Coolie got in advance before leaving Calcutta?—Six months' pay was advanced by Mr. Pison, at five rupees a month, but I do not know to whom, or how much each man got; but I know from the abuses that exist in the system of procuring lascars, and the roguery of the ghaut arangs, that it is likely the Coolies received very little of it.

51. Do you happen to know how much money any of the Coolies had?—I told the Coolies, in order to prevent theft, that they had better trust their money with me, and I would lock it up, and give them a receipt for it, and return it to them on arrival; they were somewhat distrustful; but six men did give me theirs, and brought me about 160 rupees; they were sharp, intelligent, industrious men.

52. Were the six men who gave you money to keep for them of those who answered to their names or of those who did not?—They were men who answered to their names.

53. Do you happen to know if any of the Coolies had only a very little money on board?—I heard some of the Coolies say they had no money at all, and I believe it was true; but they had two suits of clothes and their lota (brass vessel).

54. Do you know any thing of the rate of wages for free labourers at the Mauritius?—I think half a dollar is the wages of a free town labourer; a dollar is 4s. sterling; the free labourers are Madagascar men, working as Coolies on the wharf.

55. Do you know if there are any Indian Coolies at the Mauritius who are not under contract?—I do not know whether there are any Indian Coolies at the Mauritius who are not under contract.

56. Do you know whether an Indian Coolie would do as much work as an African?—An Indian Coolie could not do as much labour as an African; I think there would be as much difference as between a lascar and an English sailor, supposing the negro to work as he could do if he chose.

57. Do you, of your own personal knowledge, know any thing of the manner in which the Indian Coolies are treated in the Mauritius?—I think, generally speaking, the Coolies are very well treated indeed at the Mauritius. I saw personally three estates; on one the proprietor had about 300 Coolies, and has discharged all his negro apprentices by their own consent; he has nothing but Coolies. I think there ought to be a quarter proportion of Indian females sent; the whole of the Coolies I took were told they ought to take their wives.

58. Do the discharged apprentices in the Mauritius readily find a market for their labour?—The discharged apprentices readily could find a market for their labour at Mauritius, but they generally stick out for high wages, higher than can be afforded; the rate of wages in town is about half a dollar a day; I do not know what it is in the country; I think the discharged apprentices could get half a dollar a day; but in general those who were born in Madagascar prefer returning to Madagascar, or prefer turning sailors; they make very good sailors.

59. Had you a surgeon on board?—I had no European surgeon on board the Sophia; but we had a native doctor, and I acted as a doctor.

60. Had you a medicine-chest on board?—I had a complete medicine-chest for the Coolies, laid in by Mr. Pison himself; he was the shipper of the Coolies.

61. Did any of the Coolies leave the ship after embarking?—None of the Coolies, after being embarked, jumped overboard or ran away—I mean after leaving Calcutta.

62. Had you any guard over them to prevent their leaving?—I had no guard to prevent them running away.

63. When the last batch came down to Kedgerie were they under any restraint?—There were three brijabassia who came with the last batch to Kedgerie; there were three dhingees (boats), and a brijubassi in each dhingy; they seemed under no restraint.

64. Were they made to work on board?—They were not made to work on board, except to get their own water, &c.

65. What was the price of their passage?—I got 30 rupees a head for passage; the food was provided by Mr. Pison; I provided wood, water and cooking places.

66. Do you know what the cost of the provisions of each Coolie came to?—I think their provisions cost about 2 rupees 12 annas a head per month.

67. Was there amongst the Coolies any person like a sirdar, or a man exercising authority?—There was a sirdar, I think, to every 20 Coolies; they were shipped for specific planters, and the police assigned to each planter's batch a sirdar.

68. Have you any suggestions to make for the improvement of the system of exporting Coolies?—I should suggest that when they are examined and mustered at the police, they should be numbered on board ship again by a police-officer, and by the same muster-roll, before she leaves the river, so as to make sure the same men examined at the police go on board; the police-officer ought to go to Kedgerie and muster there.

Jas. Rapson.

At a Meeting held of the Committee, on Thursday the 23d August 1838, at
10 o'clock A.M.

Present: T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
REV. JAMES CHARLES.
BAROO RUSSOMOOY DUTT.

J. P. GRANT, Esq.
WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
Major ARCHER.

Captain F. W. Birch, Examined.

No. 2.
Capt. F. W. Birch.
23 August 1838.

69. Captain Birch, I believe you are superintendent of the Calcutta police?—
I am; I succeeded Captain Steel on the 1st January 1836.

70. When did the Act No. V. of 1837 come into operation?—The Act No. V. of 1837
came into operation on the 1st of June 1837. Here is my nomination to the superintendency
of embarkation of Indian labourers. (Captain Birch hands in the documents marked
No. 1 and No. 1 A. to No. 1 L.: vide Appendix.)

71. Had you any thing to do before your nomination as an officer under that Act with
the export of Coolies?—Before my nomination as superintendent under that Act, I had
nothing to do officially with the export of Coolies, but I was more than once and on
several occasions asked by Mr. Dowson to witness the agreement to the men before they
went on board, which I did.

72. Do you know how long the exportation of Indian labourers had gone on before the
Act came into operation?—I think the exportation of Indian labourers had commenced
before 1834, I do not know the precise period of its commencement; it had gone on, I
believe, fifteen years previously; but I do not speak positively. It had gone on openly.

73. Was the export of the Coolies you speak of by their own free-will seeking for em-
ployment, or by contract with others wishing to employ them?—I cannot say whether
previous to 1834 there were any contracts, or the parties went without to seek for em-
ployment.

74. Had you any means of knowing how many Coolies were exported from Calcutta
previous to the operation of the Act?—I cannot state positively; my chief informant was
Mr. Dowson, and I think by a memorandum he gave me, the number exported from India
before the operation of the Act exceeded 19,000; about 8,000 from Calcutta, a greater
number from Pondicherry, and some from Cochin.

75. Had this Act any retrospective operation?—The Act had no retrospective operation,
but I believe there were regulations for their protection before the operation of the Act in
the colonies to which the Coolies went.

76. Can you tell us the number of Coolies embarked up to this date from the date of
the operation of the Act?—I cannot, without reference to another document, tell the
exact number of Coolies embarked up to this date from the date of the operation of the
Act, but I can tell the number from the commencement of its operation up to the 30th
May 1838; the number is 5,863 in the first year of the operation of the Act.

77. Have you any papers showing the ships the Coolies were embarked in?—There is a
tabular statement showing the ships and the number of Coolies embarked in each ship
according to my register. (Witness hands in the paper which is marked No. 2 and No. 2 A.:
vide Appendix; and adds)—I wish to make a remark: as this is taken from my register, which
shows the number who came to the police, and as many Coolies have run away since, it is
not a true statement of the number of Coolies actually embarked and who left Calcutta.

78. Is the tonnage of the vessels mentioned in the tabular statement?—The tonnage of
the different vessels is not given in the tabular statement. (N.B.—The witness took back
the paper No. 2 to add the tonnage, at the request of the committee.)

79. Is it not possible that Coolies should be embarked after vessels have left Calcutta
and on their progress down the river?—It is very possible, and instances of it have
occurred.

80. Can you state the specific instances when this has occurred?—Yes, I can in some
instances, for here are letters from Captain Finnis, the chief commissary of police at Port
Louis, stating that Coolies not corresponding with the registers were embarked; and the
men were sent back with the exception of one, who requested leave to stay. I should
add, that in no one instance have the captains by whose vessels the returned men were sent
back forwarded them to me; I got one by sending a constable on board the vessel. In
general I was informed by the captains that the men had been landed. (The letter of Cap-
tain Finnis, marked No. 3, Mauritius documents, is put in.)

81. Can you say what was the quantity of water on board each ship mentioned in
tabular statement No. 2?—I cannot state the quantity of water on board each ship named
in that statement, but I can say that I satisfied myself, in a general way, that there was
enough water on board each ship I visited.

82. Did you visit each ship mentioned in tabular statement No. 2?—I went on board
each ship mentioned in statement No. 2; no ship has left Calcutta carrying Coolies since
1st June 1837, without being visited by me.

83. Did you take a memorandum of the quantity of water on board each ship?—I took
a memorandum of the whole quantity on board each ship; I have preserved most documents
respecting the later ships, but for the earlier ships some of the memoranda do not exist.

84. Have you got a memorandum of the nature of the accommodations afforded them

as to space?—I have not got a complete memorandum of the amount of the space allotted ; some of the earlier memoranda do not exist.

85. Are you sure the water is all taken on board at Calcutta, or the supply got from Kedgerree?—If the Coolies are long on board and much water is expended, the water will be filled up again at Kedgerree.

86. Is it a general rule that all the water is taken on board at Calcutta?—As a general rule, and as far as I can judge without measuring the casks, the water is on board at Calcutta ; it is pointed out to me as being there.

87. You have read these lithographed rules?—Yes ; these lithographed rules to be observed by shippers of Coolies were framed by myself, after some experience of the working of the system.

88. With reference to the ships named in tabular statement No. 2, have you preserved in your office written statements according to rule No. 1 of the lithographed rules for shippers, dated the 21st February 1838?—With reference to the ships named in tabular statement No. 2, I have preserved statements in my office according to rule No. 1, contained in the lithographed rules dated 21st February 1838 ; I wish to observe, however, that those rules were framed and promulgated some time since the passing of the Act, and as soon as I got a little more experience ; and therefore as to all the ships mentioned in No. 2, I have not of course got the information required by the lithographed rules in question.

89. When were these lithographed rules first brought into operation?—Those lithographed rules came into operation on the day they bear date, viz. 21st February 1838.

90. How were these matters managed prior to the operation of those rules, and after the passing of the Act, and prior to February 21st, 1838?—Previous to the 21st February 1838, and from the passing of the Act, there were no rules to go by ; I only required statements of the quantity of water and provisions, and such other information as I thought useful on these occasions from the shippers.

91. Was there any possibility of collusion between the captain or shippers, so as to evade the regulations respecting provisions and water?—It is the interest of the captain that the provisions which are found by the shippers should be ample, as otherwise the Coolies might come down upon him.

92. Has there any case occurred of the nature specified in rule 2 of the lithographed rules, dated 21st February 1838?—Cases have occurred of the nature specified in rule 2 of the lithographed rules ; those rules were practically in force before they were promulgated. Applications were made for leave to export to Demerara, to the Cape and Australia before February 1838 ; here is the reply of government to the application of Messrs. Willis & Earle, for leave to export Coolies to Sydney ; and a reply to others for leave to export to Demerara and the Cape. Government were very unwilling to grant leave to export to Demerara ; here is the reply of government to the application of Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co. for leave to export to Demerara. (*N.B.—These papers were handed in.*)

93. By *Chairman.*] I perceive in tabular statement No. 2, the name of the Cecilia for exporting Coolies to Bourbon ; was any special license granted to the Cecilia?—No special license was required for the voyage of the Cecilia to Bourbon ; Bourbon is a colony in which the apprenticeship system prevails ; this is not a slave colony.

94. By *Chairman.*] Bourbon being a colony of France where slavery prevails, did you make any application under rule No. 2, of 21st February 1838, for a permit to export Coolies to Bourbon?—I made no application for a permit for the Cecilia under lithographed rule No. 2 of 21st February 1838 ; there are very good rules in Bourbon for the protection of Coolies. (*Here Captain B. referred to a printed translation of those rules.*)

95. Did government furnish you with any list of what were to be deemed usual colonies?—Government did not furnish me with any list of what were to be deemed usual colonies, but Bourbon is mentioned in the government letter marked No. 1, from Mr. Secretary Prinsep, as one of the principal places of export to which Coolies were destined.

96. What documents have you relative to the Earl of Clare's Coolies, which is the second ship that went after the 21st February 1838 ; have you the application in the prescribed form, according to rules of 21st February 1838 ; for the Coolies exported on the Earl of Clare?—I have the applications prescribed by the rules of the 21st February 1838, relative to the Earl of Clare.

97. Have any complaints whatever been made to you respecting the insufficiency of the accommodations in any of the ships exporting Coolies since the 21st February 1838?—I am not sure whether it was since or before the 21st February 1838, that Messrs. Hayworth, Hardiman & Co. complained that the space I had allotted to the Coolies was not given to them, and I stopped the embarkation of Coolies in that ship, and she proceeded without the men ; the ship's name was the Haidee.

98. Do you know what became of the labourers that did not answer to the list furnished by the police when they were mustered at the Mauritius?—I am not perfectly certain of what became of the labourers who were exported before the operation of the Act, and whose names did not answer to the description lists of the police at Mauritius. I do not think they sent them back from the Mauritius before the system of permits commenced. I found at the police, that the men very often did not acknowledge the names set down, but acknowledged them as the names of their fathers : when there was one error in this I corrected the names, but in no case did I detect an error in the men's own names as set down in the list ; I found sometimes difficulty in consequence of the French mode of spelling, but the pronunciation was similar.

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99. Does the captain enter into any bond for the due performance on his part of the engagement?—The captain enters into no bond or guarantee for the performance of his part of the engagement; the Act prescribes a penalty of 200 rupees for breaches of it.

100. Have many cases occurred since the operation of the Act of Coolies not answering to their names having been returned, or as not answering to the description?—Very few cases have occurred since the operation of the Act of May 1837, of Coolies having been returned as not answering to the description, five or six only. I know it was proved at the Mauritius that a duffadar, when one Coolie had run away, had intoxicated another man in the bazar, and got him on board; since the operation of the Act I have heard from Captain Finness, that there is an evident amelioration in the appearance of the men, and fewer complaints.

101. Have you got a memorandum of all the contracts entered into since the operation of the Act No. V. of 1837?—I have kept no memorandum of the contracts, except that entered in the registry book, which I now produce.

102. When did you begin to examine natives under this Act?—I began to examine natives under this Act from 12th June 1837; the register shows that.

103. Who brought the men shipped on board the Belzoni to the police-office, which was the first ship that took Coolies after the 1st June 1837?—I believe it was Mr. Hughes.

104. Did you examine them all in one day?—I do not think I examined more than 60 or 70 the first day of the number shipped on board the Belzoni.

105. Had you any translator to assist you?—I had no translator to assist me.

106. Did they all speak the same dialect?—They all understood Hindoostanee.

107. At what interval did you examine the remainder of those shipped on board the Belzoni?—I think after an interval of two or three days.

108. Do you examine them singly, or in groups; what is your general mode of examination?—I examine, as a general rule, in groups, not singly. Before I explain the contract to them, I tell them I am there on the part of government, to prevent them from being ill-used or forced away against their will; that if any of them have come through fear of the duffadars or against their will, to state it to me, and I will release them at once, and protect them from the duffadars; and I tell them they are going to a place very far from this country, and it is not a six months' engagement, but is for five years; and I then proceed to explain the contract, if they say they are satisfied. Sometimes they say they have been deceived; in some cases a man says, "I will go for two years, not for five." In several cases men have said they were brought down to Calcutta to work in a garden, and for six months; and those men have been released, and the cases sent to the magistrates to be investigated, in order that the duffadar might be punished, if found guilty of deceiving them; the duffadars have been fined or sent to the house of correction. I have taken the opportunity, when men have said that they did not wish to go, to point out to the others that these were set at large, and no harm offered to them, and therefore, that if they were dissatisfied they need not fear to say so too. After that, I have explained the contract, and stated they would be two months on the voyage, and see nothing but sky and water; that there is no dry road to the place.

109. Of what castes are they?—Of all castes; some of high caste; they know very well that they will lose caste. By the very act of going on board they lose caste; they know that.

110. Have you any means of ascertaining whether the Coolies individually understood distinctly the terms of the contract?—Yes, I have; I have picked out a man whom I thought among the least intelligent, and examined him before the rest as to the terms of the contract, and when I found he understood the contract, I was satisfied that they generally comprehended the contracts.

111. Does each man possess a particular contract to himself?—Each Coolie has a memorandum of the contract to keep himself. Captain Birch here refers to an abstract of the contract in the case of a house servant, Peroo, a kidnagar, who, with the contract, was sent back from the Mauritius, because the man did not answer to the description; the duffadar ran away on this account.

112. Do the Coolies go direct from the police on board ship after examination?—No; they generally do not go on board directly after the contracts are explained to them; they go back to lodgings provided by the duffadars, mostly out of Calcutta.

113. Are they mustered by you, or by any agent of the police on board ship?—They are not mustered by me, or by any agent of the police on board ship, but I often go on board ships on which they are embarked, after the embarkation, and the men have the opportunity of complaining if they choose.

114. What precaution do you take that none should be shipped in the progress down the river?—I sometimes send chowkedars down with them, to prevent new Coolies being brought on board.

115. Do you keep a list in your office of all the duffadars?—I have lately registered all duffadars and arkotties (deputies of duffadars) sent into the interior; here is a copy of the perwanah, as it is called, addressed to the magistrate and authorities in the mofussil. (*Handled in: vide Appendix.*)

116. Who is it that supports these Coolies during their journey down and stay in Calcutta?—The butteeras and duffadars support them out of the sums allowed by Mr. Hughes and others, their employers.

117. Do you know how much money the Coolies generally take on board with them?—The men I know formerly used rarely to take three rupees aboard with them. I wrote to government

government on the 8th February 1838, to allow me to interfere in this matter and settle their accounts; the government said it could not authorize my interference under the Act and the law as it stood; I then, of my own accord, wrote to the different agents or shippers, suggesting the Coolies should be paid at the police, and their accounts adjusted there, and that is now done; and they now often take as much as 10 or 13 rupes aboard there with them; I think as much generally; the accounts with the buttearas include diet money, spirits and women, with which they are furnished by these people.

118. When is the permit given to the Coolies authorizing their embarkation on board?—The same evening or morning that they go on board, the Coolie gets the permit when he is paid; he is paid at the police, and he goes on board with the permit without returning to his lodgings.

119. Does the captain get any general authority from you to take so many Coolies on board his ship?—No, the captain gets no general authority from me to take so many Coolies; I tell him when I inspect the ship that she can take so many Coolies, in my opinion, and he makes his arrangements accordingly.

120. Are the permits given to the shippers, or to the Coolies direct by the police?—The permits are given to the shippers, not to the Coolies direct; each Coolie gets his own from the shippers afterwards, but at the office.

At a Meeting held of the Committee, Monday the 27th August 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present: T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.	Major ARCHER.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES.	BABOO RUSSOMOY DUTT.
J. P. GRANT, Esq.	WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

Captain F. W. Birch's Examination resumed.

121. Are you not aware that Bourbon is a colony in which slavery exists?—I was not aware that slavery existed in Bourbon at the time I made the inquiries relative to the export of Coolies to Bourbon; I was led to suppose it did not exist; now, from Major Archer's information, I know that it does exist.

122. Now that you are aware that Bourbon is a slave colony, should you think it necessary to make a reference to government before granting permits?—Yes, I have made a reference to government on that subject recently, and here is the answer of government, dated 15th August, declining to sanction the export pending the inquiry; I saw it mentioned in the papers that it was a slave colony, and therefore I made the reference.

123. Have you any copy of the laws of Bourbon relative to master and slave?—No.

124. Do you know or suppose that there is any material difference between the laws of Bourbon relative to master and slave and the laws of the French slave colonies, or what may be termed the French Colonial Code for slave colonies?—I am not at all acquainted with the French Slave Code; I cannot answer the question in other respects.

125. Have you any reason to believe that in Bourbon the situation of the slave is superior to what it is in Martinique, Guadeloupe, or French Guiana?—I cannot say what are the relative situations of master and slave in any of the French colonies, and have never given the subject any consideration; my impression was, till recently altered, that in Bourbon and Mauritius the laws were the same.

126. Do you not believe that the slave trade between Madagascar and Bourbon is extinct, or nearly so?—I cannot answer the question.

127. If the French laws against the slave trade are faithfully executed, will there not be a great demand for labour in Bourbon?—Yes; there will be a great demand.

128. Have you not reason to suppose that a large export of Indian Coolies to Bourbon has already taken place?—Yes, I believe a large export of Coolies has taken place to Bourbon, but I only know of 50, exported in the Cecilia from Calcutta. I believe a considerable number has been sent from Pondicherry to Bourbon. I know that orders are now in Calcutta to procure 10,000 for Bourbon, if possible.

129. Have you the tabular statement No. 2 completed?—It is not quite completed as to the tonnage of the vessels, but in other respects it is completed up to this day. The Lockerby has sailed this morning.

130. Did you see the statements in the newspapers relative to the Lockerby; are they correct, or otherwise?—I have seen them; they are totally incorrect; and they are quite inexcusable, for I saw Mr. Smith, the proprietor and editor of the Hurkaru, since the first publication, and I told him the statement he had received was incorrect, for I had seen the ship, and insisted upon proper accommodations being given to the Coolies, and he has therefore no cause whatever to continue such statements as he makes this morning. I examined the Coolies on board last evening with their permits; they had been on board five days; they said they were perfectly comfortable; there were no desertions; I took one man away as being too sick to proceed.

131. Did you measure the accommodations?—I did not measure the accommodations; but they are quite ample, they have about 24 feet by 44 or 45, all the space abaft the mizen hatchway not occupied by cabins, to nearly the fore hatchway. Dr. O'Shaughnessy was with me on board, and he was also satisfied that the space was ample.

132. Have you had any return of deaths since the system of export began, and either

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before or after the commencement of the Act?—There is no return made of deaths for any period.

133. Has the penalty mentioned in the Acts No. V. and XXXII. of 1837, upon captains of ships for breaches of regulations, ever been inflicted?—No; no complaint has ever been made.

134. Have you ever found it necessary to threaten the infliction of the penalty?—No; on the contrary, since the commencement of the Act, such have been the scruples of persons going on board, that I have been applied to on several occasions to sanction persons taking a private native servant on board, and although I stated it was not necessary, still the applicants persevered, objecting that otherwise the captain might decline to receive the servant on board.

135. Referring to Mr. Secretary Prinsep's letter marked No. 1, will you state what are considered by you usual colonies?—Mauritius and Bourbon only; that was what I originally considered to be the meaning of the letter. Now I should consider it necessary to refer every application to government, except when the export was intended for the Mauritius. The export to Bourbon has since been specially interdicted.

136. After the receipt of the letters of Mr. Secretary Prinsep relative to the export to Sydney and the Cape, authorizing the export to those colonies, should you now consider it necessary previously to refer to government in respect to those colonies?—I should consider the reference necessary, and should refer in every case but that of export to the Mauritius. I believe the reason why government allowed the export to the Mauritius is because it is in direct communication with the government of that colony, and is aware that in its laws are made for the protection of the Coolies there, and it is not aware that in other colonies there are any such rules.

137. Do you not think that, with reference to the instructions contained in another letter of Mr. Secretary Prinsep, dated 6th December 1827 (No. 1), you would by the terms of it be authorized to grant permits for any colony or place whatever?—Yes, I think that I have a power to grant permits to any colony; but as to Demerara and Bourbon, the exports to both have lately been specially interdicted; and with regard to Australia and the Cape, I should consider it advisable to refer the application to government; and in fact the only colony to which I would grant permits without reference would be to the Mauritius.

138. Suppose you had an application for permits for Coolies to be exported to Jamaica, how would you act?—I should reply, that Demerara having been interdicted, I consider Jamaica equally so.

139. Have you any means of knowing how much money is expended on the Coolies or taken from them out of their six months' advances before they go on board?—The Coolie now receives (by an interference; I have hazarded without authority by law to interfere) two months' advance in cash out of the six months' advance of 30 rupees; besides that, five rupees is expended on each for the purchase of necessaries, viz., a brass water-pot (lota), a tusla (brass plate), and a carpet rug; the remaining 15 rupees are in fact not received by and never comes into the hands of the Coolies, but is paid out to the duffadars.

140. Does any person examine into the accounts of the duffadars to see that they are correct?—The accounts are very difficult to examine into. Mr. McCann now, however, sees that they are correct as far as he can; some of them drink a great quantity of spirits, and they cannot say themselves how much. Before I established this system of examination, three men on board the Lord Auckland complained of the duffadars' accounts. I made the duffadars refund what I thought they had overcharged, and all charges which the Coolies did not admit.

141. Do you know how much money the Coolies who went in the William Lockerby had, when they got on board?—The Coolies on board the William Lockerby had each 10 rupees in cash, and their brass pot, plate and carpet rug. I must explain to you, that, in their way down to the ship, the duffadars used to take their pots and plates, &c. from them, especially if they went on board late in the evening; sometimes this was done on their way down the river, and that was the origin of my sending chowkedars on board the ships going down the river.

142. Has the scale of water and provisions fixed by the printed rules been found sufficient, or have there been any complaints on that head?—I think the allowance of water and provisions, according to the scale fixed by the rules of 21st February 1838, has been found fully sufficient. I have already mentioned, that Captain Finnis has written that the appearance of the Coolies on landing has been decidedly ameliorated, and the complaints have become few and trifling; before that period, numerous complaints were made of the insufficiency of the allowance of both water and provisions.

143. How far down the river do you go with ships taking Coolies?—I do not go down the river at all; I sometimes go down to Coolie Bazar. I wish to state one thing: just after the Belzoni (I think it was) went down the river, I was informed by his private secretary, that the Governor-general had received a despatch from the Mauritius, complaining that the Coolies by the contracts as then framed could be transferred at the pleasure of the master only; and, by his desire, I went down to the ship off Mad Point, and inserted an alteration on each of the permits, that the transfer, if desired by the master, should be conditional, on the consent of the Coolie, such consent to be declared before a public officer. I found the Coolies on board in that ship all, apparently, perfectly contented; I had each of them before me, and it took me near three hours making the alterations required in the contract.

144. Was the consent of the shippers of the Coolies obtained for that alteration?—The consent of the shippers was obtained to the alterations I have mentioned in the last answer.

145. In writing?—In writing, I think.

146. Was the original deed of contract between the Coolies and the shippers altered in a corresponding manner?—I think the original agreement, a deed of contract, was altered, but it was not altered by me; I speak of the first case, that of the Belzoni; all subsequent contracts have contained the clause requiring the consent of the Coolie to the transfer.

147. Have you not reason to believe that, since the passing of the Act No. V. of 1837, other material changes have been made in these contracts to the advantage of the Coolie?—I have reason to believe that, generally, since the operation of the Act of 1837, material alterations have been made in the contracts to the advantage of the Coolie; formerly they used to get only rice and salt provided by the master, now they get oil, ghee, turmeric, &c.

148. Can you produce copies of the old and the new contracts?—I cannot; but I think I can procure you copies of the old and the new contracts.

149. Do you understand that the Coolies get the advance of six months without any deduction?—Certainly not; one-half at least is even now deducted from them by the duffadars; formerly the whole, or nearly all, was deducted from them.

150. Did you ever observe that any Coolies, when they came before you, were in a state of intoxication?—I never observed that any Coolies, when they were presented before me, were intoxicated; it could not have taken place without my observing it; that is one of the gross misrepresentations which have been put forth.

151. About what proportion of Coolies coming before you, upon having the nature of the contract and the services to be performed explained to them, have refused to proceed?—About four or five in a batch; I cannot say exactly the per centage; I should say about four or five per cent.; I have kept no accounts; I should say each time I have explained, about four or five have objected; latterly, however, none have declined, which I attribute to their now having better knowledge of the subject.

152. Have those who have declined been apparently superior in intelligence to the others?—I should say not; of average intelligence apparently; there was one case of two syces, whom I was about to pass as labourers; they stopped me, and said, "No, sir, we do not go for five rupees, we go for seven."

153. Of what classes were those who have declined generally been?—Some have been Dhargas, some Mussulman servants, some Hindoo labourers.

154. What is the average time that the Coolie remains in Calcutta before going on board?—The stay of the Coolie in Calcutta or its neighbourhood is quite uncertain; sometimes two months, sometimes six weeks, sometimes 15 days.

155. Is the same amount deducted, whether he remains 15 days or two months?—I believe that the amount taken from the Coolie is usually much the same, whether the stay be long or short.

156. Do you thoroughly understand the dialects used by the Coolies, and do they thoroughly understand you?—I was four years interpreter to my own regiment, and I passed the usual examination before the examiner of the college of Fort William, and I have had 17 years and a half constant intercourse with the natives; I explain in Hindoostanee, they all understand Hindoostanee; I understand Bengalee, but do not explain in it; if I meet with a man who I think would understand it better in Bengalee, I make one of his own class explain it in Bengalee, which I know well enough to say whether it is done.

157. Do you know any thing of a kidnapping system which is alleged to exist in Calcutta and the Mofussil, by which Coolies are entrapped?—I have no doubt many men have been brought down to Calcutta under other expectations than those which they would have entertained had they known the truth. In Calcutta men are not kidnapped; and I think the details of what is called the kidnapping system outside have been very much exaggerated; but I have heard that a darogah in Zillah Burdwan, on the high road, gets a rupee a head on each Coolie.

158. Have you reason to think that, in the majority of cases, the Coolies distinctly understand, before they leave their houses, that they are to be abroad for more than five years, and to go beyond seas?—I believe that, in a majority of cases, they do not understand any thing at all about it; but they leave home in search of service; at the same time I believe, that if they were told all this, they would care little about it, and would still leave home, trusting to their nusseeb (fate or fortune).

159. Then are you aware what the considerations are by which the duffadars induce the Coolies to leave their houses and proceed to Calcutta?—I believe that the means by which the duffadars induce the Coolies to proceed to Calcutta is by simply telling them that they will get five rupees a month wages and plenty to eat, and that is so much superior to any thing they can possibly earn in their own country, that it acts as a strong inducement.

160. Do you know what are the general circumstances of the Coolies when at their own homes?—I do not know exactly the precise condition of the Coolies in their own district, but I believe they are universally poor, and that their condition is bettered by going to the Mauritius. They would go to England just as soon.

161. Do you believe that any of them are in a starving condition?—I believe that many are in a starving condition.

162. Have you any particular knowledge of the Dhargas or Hill Coolies?—I do not know any thing particular respecting the condition of the Hill Coolies or Dhargas.

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Capt. F. W. Birch.

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At a Meeting of the Committee, held on Thursday the 30th August 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present: J. P. GRANT, Esq.
Rev. JAS. CHARLES.
BABOO RUSSOMOY DUTT.

Major ARCHER.
WM. DOWSON, Esq.

Examination of Captain Birch resumed.

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163. On what grounds have you formed the opinions which you have expressed as to the inducements by which Coolies are led to embark?—From instances which have at various times been brought to my knowledge; I cannot particularize any; I also speak from my general knowledge of the natives; I think the lower classes are quite capable of acting under such deception.

164. Are there not rumours afloat that the kidnapping system has prevailed even in Calcutta?—It used to go on in Calcutta; but I do not think it exists now; there have been rumours to that effect, but I do not believe them.

165. To what period do you particularly allude when you say that it used to go on?—Previous to the time of the Act No. V. of 1837 coming into full operation; I have mentioned to the committee a few instances which have occurred since.

166. Are you aware whether there were many well-authenticated instances of kidnapping before the passing of the Act No. V. of 1837?—There were instances; I remember one particular instance of a woman who was made intoxicated, and shut up in a box; they were carrying her across the esplanade, when she came to her senses, and she was rescued; I cannot particularize any more; kidnapping prevailed in a very great degree in the lower provinces of Bengal.

167. Do you speak from positive information, or from general rumour?—I do not speak from positive information, but from knowledge I have received from conversation with natives and different individuals, and my general impressions.

168. Were any judicial proceedings instituted in any of the cases of kidnapping to which you have referred?—Yes, the case of the woman who was shut up in a box was investigated at the police; but I have a faint impression that the matter was compromised.

169. Who was the prosecutor?—The woman herself was the prosecutrix; but I sent up the case to the magistrate, it was a part of my duty to do so.

170. Are you aware that rumours have prevailed from time to time of Coolies having jumped overboard whilst the ships were in the river?—Yes, I am.

171. Did this matter come under your own cognizance, or do you speak from information derived from others?—I speak from information derived from others. I beg to refer the committee to replies which I have received from several pilots who took down Coolie ships to a circular which I addressed them. (*The witness puts in No. 4: vide Appendix.*)

172. Can you give the committee any idea of the number of instances in which this has occurred?—Several instances have occurred that have been reported to me; I yesterday received this letter from Captain Finnis, chief commissioner of police at the Mauritius, which reports that three men are supposed to have jumped overboard at Culpee from the Lancier. (*This letter will be found with the other correspondence with Captain Finnis, No. 3: vide Appendix.*)

173. Were any special reports of these cases made to the Calcutta authorities, either by the pilots or by the captains of the ships?—No, none whatever.

174. Do you know how many of the Coolies who jumped overboard were drowned?—I cannot say, but my opinion is that the greater number must have reached the land because they are good swimmers; and where they are generally reported to have jumped overboard it has not been very far from the shore. Mr. Crooke, a pilot, reports that ten men jumped overboard from the Indian Oak at Coolie Bazar, of whom nine were picked up and one drowned; but at the same time that the accident was said to have occurred, a man was brought to me who had swam on shore from a ship in the river, and whom I released. I believe that to be the man who was supposed to have been drowned.

175. What reasons are supposed to have induced the Coolies to jump overboard?—I cannot tell their motives; I suppose some may have had a disinclination to proceed from disliking shipboard; and others from having received their advance, and not having a wish to fulfil their engagement.

176. Are you aware whether any of the men who have escaped from shipboard in this way have ever again engaged themselves for service in the Mauritius?—I think that instances have occurred, but I cannot speak positively.

177. When the Coolies come before you, do you explain to them that the prices of things are higher at Mauritius than in India?—No, I do not know that they are so; I tell them that they are to get such and such articles of food and clothing, to be supplied by their employer, whatever may be the state of the market.

178. In the case of the Coolies going to Demerara, were you more than usually particular in explaining to them the distance, &c., and in seeing that they had ample room, food, water, air, &c., for so long a voyage?—Yes, I did.

179. Since you have seen the letter of Mr. Dyer, the pilot, who took down the *Whitby*, are you still of opinion that there was abundance of accommodation for so many Coolies, and

and that the place allotted to them was sufficiently ventilated?—I am still of opinion that there was ample room, and good ventilation. The *Whitby* is of 437 tons registered; her actual tonnage is more; there was considerably more room than would have been allowed to European troops.

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Capt. F. W. Birch.

180. Do you mean to European troops on such a voyage as from Calcutta to Demerara?—Yes, certainly.

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181. Have you read the report of a meeting held at Exeter-hall, London, on the 6th of May last, of which Lord Brougham was chairman?—Yes, I have read it; I have not read it with very great attention.

182. Do you remember an allusion made in the course of the proceedings by Mr. O'Connell to a communication made by a clergyman of Calcutta named Boaz, respecting the ships *Hesperus* and *Whitby*, bound for Demerara?—Yes, something was said about the hatches having been battened down, and a man suffocated on board the *Whitby*.

183. Does it consist with your knowledge that such an occurrence actually took place?—I think it consists with my knowledge that such an occurrence did not take place, because the surgeon wrote to the shippers of the Coolies on board the *Whitby* (Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co., of Calcutta) by the pilot, and mentioned nothing of the kind, but that the men were all well and comfortable.

184. Was the surgeon of the *Whitby* a European?—Yes, he was.

185. Has any letter been received in Calcutta from the *Whitby* since the pilot left her?—Not that I am aware of; but I think there has been intelligence of the arrival of the *Whitby* at the Cape; I think the agents of the ship have heard from the captain of the *Whitby* at the Cape.

186. Are you aware of any circumstance that may have led to the rumour that one of the Coolies on board of the *Whitby* died of suffocation?—Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co. received a letter from Dr. Richmond, the surgeon of the *Hesperus*, which appears to me to account for the rumour. This is a copy of that letter, taken by myself. (*The witness hands in No. 5; vide Appendix.*) On the receipt of the intelligence contained in that letter, and the return of the chowkedars, one man who was pointed out by the rest as the chowkedar referred to in this letter was confined by me, and the case referred to Mr. Blaquiere, the magistrate, whose advice I asked as to how I should proceed; after giving full consideration to the subject, he was of opinion that there was not sufficient evidence upon which to proceed; and after some days' confinement the chowkedar was released.

187. Is that chowkedar still employed?—He was not a police chowkedar, but a private chowkedar employed by the shippers.

188. Was any evidence upon oath taken in this case before a magistrate?—No, it could not be, the ship having gone to sea.

189. Could not the evidence of the other chowkedars have been taken?—The other chowkedars pointed out that particular chowkedar as the one with whom the captain and the surgeon had been angry; but they either could not or would not give any evidence as to the facts.

190. Did the captain institute any inquiry into the particulars of the case upon the spot?—That I have no means of knowing.

191. Did the captain make any report of the case to the shippers or to the Calcutta authorities?—No report was made by the captain to the police authorities; the surgeon, in these cases, is in charge of the Coolies; he reported to the agents, and they forwarded his letter to me.

192. By Mr. Grant.] I see by one of the papers you have handed in, that the *Marianne* arrived at Mauritius with Coolies without any medical man on board; can you give any explanation of that circumstance?—Here is a copy of my reply to government upon that subject. (*Witness shows his letter to Mr. Assistant Secretary Bayley, dated the 7th March 1838.*)

193. Had you seen the native doctor who was engaged to go on the *Marianne*?—Yes, I saw him at my office, and supposed that he had proceeded on board; the lithographed rules were not published until February 1838; the *Marianne* sailed in December 1837.

194. In the event of any captain putting out to sea without having any medical officer on board, after he has, before you, come under the required engagement to have one, is he liable to any penalty?—No, I do not consider that he is.

195. Have any letters passed between the Coolies at Mauritius to their friends in India, and *vice versa*, in conformity with the suggestion of Captain Finnis in one of his letters to your address?—Yes, both ways; and it is now always explained to the Coolies before embarking, that if they wish to remit any part of their pay to their friends here, or to correspond with them, they can do so.

196. Among the papers you have handed in is the deposition of one Golaum Alles and two others; do you know on what occasion it was taken, and before whom?—They were three of the men who had been seized by the police of the 24 pergunnahs, and who had made engagements with Mr. Francis; these men were taken by Mr. Francis before Mr. McLaren, in whose handwriting the deposition is.

197. Where were these men seized?—In Baumumbustee.

198. In what jurisdiction is Baumumbustee?—In that of Calcutta.

199. By what authority were they seized?—The persons who seized them had no authority.

200. Who were the persons who seized them?—Mr. Roger Dias and Serjeant Floyd; Serjeant Floyd is attached to the police of the 24 pergunnahs.

At a Meeting of the Committee, held on Thursday the 30th August 1838, at
10 o'clock A. M.

Present: J. P. GRANT, Esq.
Rev. JAS. CHARLES.
BABOO RUSSOMOY DUTT.

Major ARCHER.
Wm. DOWSON, Esq.

Examination of Captain Birch resumed.

- No. 4.
Capt. F. W. Birch.
30 August 1838.
163. On what grounds have you formed the opinions which you have expressed as to the inducements by which Coolies are led to embark?—From instances which have at various times been brought to my knowledge; I cannot particularize any; I also speak from my general knowledge of the natives; I think the lower classes are quite capable of acting under such deception.
164. Are there not rumours afloat that the kidnapping system has prevailed even in Calcutta?—It used to go on in Calcutta; but I do not think it exists now; there have been rumours to that effect, but I do not believe them.
165. To what period do you particularly allude when you say that it used to go on?—Previous to the time of the Act No. V. of 1837 coming into full operation; I have mentioned to the committee a few instances which have occurred since.
166. Are you aware whether there were many well-authenticated instances of kidnapping before the passing of the Act No. V. of 1837?—There were instances; I remember one particular instance of a woman who was made intoxicated, and shut up in a box; they were carrying her across the esplanade, when she came to her senses, and she was rescued; I cannot particularize any more; kidnapping prevailed in a very great degree in the lower provinces of Bengal.
167. Do you speak from positive information, or from general rumour?—I do not speak from positive information, but from knowledge I have received from conversation with natives and different individuals, and my general impressions.
168. Were any judicial proceedings instituted in any of the cases of kidnapping to which you have referred?—Yes, the case of the woman who was shut up in a box was investigated at the police; but I have a faint impression that the matter was compromised.
169. Who was the prosecutor?—The woman herself was the prosecutrix; but I sent up the case to the magistrate, it was a part of my duty to do so.
170. Are you aware that rumours have prevailed from time to time of Coolies having jumped overboard whilst the ships were in the river?—Yes, I am.
171. Did this matter come under your own cognizance, or do you speak from information derived from others?—I speak from information derived from others. I beg to refer the committee to replies which I have received from several pilots who took down Coolie ships to a circular which I addressed them. (*The witness puts in No. 4; vide Appendix.*)
172. Can you give the committee any idea of the number of instances in which this has occurred?—Several instances have occurred that have been reported to me; I yesterday received this letter from Captain Finnis, chief commissioner of police at the Mauritius, which reports that three men are supposed to have jumped overboard at Culpee from the Lancier. (*This letter will be found with the other correspondence with Captain Finnis, No. 3; vide Appendix.*)
173. Were any special reports of these cases made to the Calcutta authorities, either by the pilots or by the captains of the ships?—No, none whatever.
174. Do you know how many of the Coolies who jumped overboard were drowned?—I cannot say, but my opinion is that the greater number must have reached the land because they are good swimmers; and where they are generally reported to have jumped overboard it has not been very far from the shore. Mr. Crooke, a pilot, reports that ten men jumped overboard from the Indian Oak at Coolie Bazar, of whom nine were picked up and one drowned; but at the same time* that the accident was said to have occurred, a man was brought to me who had swam on shore from a ship in the river, and whom I released. I believe that to be the man who was supposed to have been drowned.
175. What reasons are supposed to have induced the Coolies to jump overboard?—I cannot tell their motives; I suppose some may have had a disinclination to proceed from disliking shipboard; and others from having received their advance, and not having a wish to fulfil their engagement.
176. Are you aware whether any of the men who have escaped from shipboard in this way have ever again engaged themselves for service in the Mauritius?—I think that instances have occurred, but I cannot speak positively.
177. When the Coolies come before you, do you explain to them that the prices of things are higher at Mauritius than in India?—No, I do not know that they are so; I tell them that they are to get such and such articles of food and clothing, to be supplied by their employer, whatever may be the state of the market.
178. In the case of the Coolies going to Demerara, were you more than usually particular in explaining to them the distance, &c., and in seeing that they had ample room, food, water, air, &c., for so long a voyage?—Yes, I did.
179. Since you have seen the letter of Mr. Dyer, the pilot, who took down the Whisky, are you still of opinion that there was abundance of accommodation for so many Coolies, and

and that the place allotted to them was sufficiently ventilated?—I am still of opinion that there was ample room, and good ventilation. The *Whitby* is of 437 tons registered; her actual tonnage is more; there was considerably more room than would have been allowed to European troops.

No. 4.
Capt. F. W. Birch.

180. Do you mean to European troops on such a voyage as from Calcutta to Demerara?—Yes, certainly.

30 August 1838.

181. Have you read the report of a meeting held at Exeter-hall, London, on the of May last, of which Lord Brougham was chairman?—Yes, I have read it; I have not read it with very great attention.

182. Do you remember an allusion made in the course of the proceedings by Mr. O'Connell to a communication made by a clergyman of Calcutta named Boas, respecting the ships *Hesperus* and *Whitby*, bound for Demerara?—Yes, something was said about the hatches having been battened down, and a man suffocated on board the *Whitby*.

183. Does it consist with your knowledge that such an occurrence actually took place?—I think it consists with my knowledge that such an occurrence did not take place, because the surgeon wrote to the shippers of the Coolies on board the *Whitby* (Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co., of Calcutta) by the pilot, and mentioned nothing of the kind, but that the men were all well and comfortable.

184. Was the surgeon of the *Whitby* a European?—Yes, he was.

185. Has any letter been received in Calcutta from the *Whitby* since the pilot left her?—Not that I am aware of; but I think there has been intelligence of the arrival of the *Whitby* at the Cape; I think the agents of the ship have heard from the captain of the *Whitby* at the Cape.

186. Are you aware of any circumstance that may have led to the rumour that one of the Coolies on board of the *Whitby* died of suffocation?—Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co. received a letter from Dr. Richmond, the surgeon of the *Hesperus*, which appears to me to account for the rumour. This is a copy of that letter, taken by myself. (*The witness hands in No. 5: vide Appendix.*) On the receipt of the intelligence contained in that letter, and the return of the chowkedars, one man who was pointed out by the rest as the chowkedar referred to in this letter was confined by me, and the case referred to Mr. Blaquiere, the magistrate, whose advice I asked as to how I should proceed; after giving full consideration to the subject, he was of opinion that there was not sufficient evidence upon which to proceed; and after some days' confinement the chowkedar was released.

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190. Did the captain institute any inquiry into the particulars of the case upon the spot?—That I have no means of knowing.

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192. By Mr. Grant.] I see by one of the papers you have handed in, that the *Marianne* arrived at Mauritius with Coolies without any medical man on board; can you give any explanation of that circumstance?—Here is a copy of my reply to government upon that subject. (*Witness shows his letter to Mr. Assistant Secretary Bayley, dated the 7th March 1838.*)

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194. In the event of any captain putting out to sea without having any medical officer on board, after he has, before you, come under the required engagement to have one, is he liable to any penalty?—No, I do not consider that he is.

195. Have any letters passed between the Coolies at Mauritius to their friends in India, and vice versa, in conformity with the suggestion of Captain Finnis in one of his letters to your address?—Yes, both ways; and it is now always explained to the Coolies before embarking, that if they wish to remit any part of their pay to their friends here, or to correspond with them, they can do so.

196. Among the papers you have handed in is the deposition of one Golaum Allee and two others; do you know on what occasion it was taken, and before whom?—They were three of the men who had been seized by the police of the 24 *pergunnahs*, and who had made engagements with Mr. Francis; these men were taken by Mr. Francis before Mr. McFarlan, in whose handwriting the deposition is.

197. Where were these men seized?—In Baumumbustee.

198. In what jurisdiction is Baumumbustee?—In that of Calcutta.

199. By what authority were they seized?—The persons who seized them had no authority.

200. Who were the persons who seized them?—Mr. Roger Dias and Serjeant Floyd; Serjeant Floyd is attached to the police of the 24 *pergunnahs*.

No. 4.
 Capt. F. W. Birch.
 30 August 1838.

201. Do you know why these three Coolies were seized?—I do not know.
 202. What was done in consequence of your letter to Mr. Hardiman, 31st August 1837, about the treatment of the women on board the Baboo?—(Vide No. 1, Appendix.)—Mr. Hardiman came to me, and the captain of the ship also; the captain was not on board at the time this occurred; he satisfied the Coolies on board that no further molestation should be offered to them or their women; like all native complaints, this complaint was very much exaggerated.

203. By Mr. Grant.] Since you have seen the replies of the pilots to your circular, are you still of opinion that the space afforded for accommodation, and the allowance of water, are sufficient.—I refer particularly to the cases of the Amwell, the Prince Regent, the Hooghly, the Raj Rance, the Whitby, and the Charles Heartly?—Yes, I am; I do not think that the pilots are sufficient judges, for the following reasons: a pilot's attention must be so much engaged in such a difficult navigation as this is, that he cannot particularly observe whether the accommodation is sufficient or not sufficient; he must find the Coolies constantly in his way on deck, and great difficulty in keeping them below; he will naturally be disgusted at having them on board.

204. How were you informed that the man whom you took out of the Lancier had been kidnapped?—It must have been at the complaint of his friends; I do not recollect the instance; not many such cases have happened; a Coolie was taken out of the Lord Auckland, but not because he had been kidnapped, but because he had run away from home, and his father came and claimed him.

205. Have you brought the contracts spoken of at the last meeting?—I have. (Witness hands in No. 6, four papers: vide Appendix.)

206. Have you any suggestions to offer the committee for the amelioration of the system of exportation of Indian labourers?—I have written out a few suggestions, which I will put in. (The witness puts in No. 7: vide Appendix.)

At an adjourned Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Thursday the 6th day of September 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present: T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.	WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES.	Major ARCHER.
J. P. GRANT, Esq.	

Mr. J. J. McCann, Examined.

No. 5.
 Mr. J. J. McCann.
 1 September 1838.

207. In what capacity are you employed in the Calcutta police?—I am deputy-superintendent of the police.

208. Were you appointed by Captain Birch to adjust the accounts and claims of persons called duffadars, with the Coolies about to embark for the Mauritius and other places beyond sea?—I was.

209. Had you any other authority than your appointment by Captain Birch?—I had no other.

210. Was that a verbal appointment, or in writing?—It was a verbal authority.

211. Did you make any charge for your trouble?—I make a charge for my trouble, one rupee from each Coolie.

212. By whom was that charge paid?—I deduct it from the advance made by the agents; it falls therefore on the Coolies.

213. Were the accounts of the duffadars stated in writing, and if not, in what manner?—Sometimes the accounts are stated verbally; sometimes the duffadars produce written memorandums of their own; in each case I take down the items as stated by the duffadars, and if the Coolie objects, I strike out the charge, if I think it right to do so, after hearing both sides.

214. Have you any means of knowing how much the Coolies were charged by the duffadars before the present system commenced?—I do not know what the Coolies were charged before the system of examining the accounts commenced, except from hearsay; the system of examination by me commenced with this year.

215. Was there usually any balance out of the 30 rupees' advance left to them?—I heard that, previous to the system of examination, the duffadars had it all in their own hands, and the Coolies had usually no balance at all left of the advance made to them.

216. Can you give the committee any idea of the charges generally made by the duffadars?—I produce a memorandum of charges (marked No. 8: vide Appendix), which may be taken as a fair sample of such claims and charges as are usually made and advanced; sometimes the whole sum advanced to the Coolies is claimed; the first part contains the account as usually adjusted by me, the last part the charges claimed; you will perceive that a reduction of 50 per cent. is made by me in this memorandum on the claims.

217. Do you understand what is meant by the charge for duffadaree allowed by you?—The charge for duffadaree is for the trouble of the duffadars in procuring the Coolies a place.

218. Do you understand for what the charge of banian and agency is made which you have allowed?—The charge for banian and agency is divisible into two; the banian of the house of agency that ships the Coolies gets one rupee, and the other two, I believe, goes to Mr.

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No. 5.

Mr. J. J. McCann.

6 September-1838.

Mr. Hughes when he supplies the men; there are fees to the parties for procuring the Coolies places.

219. Is there any other European or Anglo-Indian who supplies except Mr. Hughes?—There is no other Anglo-Indian or European agent, that I know of, who supplies Coolies except Mr. Hughes.

220. Into whose hands is the amount of the deduction allowed by you out of the Coolies' advance of 30 rupees paid; does the duffadar receive the whole, or only his share?—I do not know how the amount of the deduction allowed by me against the Coolies is ultimately paid, or to whom; I only draw the amount that the Coolies are to receive from the shippers.

221. Then you do not know how the amount that is stopped out of the advance to the Coolie is eventually divided?—I do not know how the amount is ultimately divided.

222. Does this amount become the subject of a second adjustment between the agents of the shippers and the duffadars and different claimants?—It must become the subject of a second adjustment between the duffadars and claimants and the agent of the shippers.

223. Do you know how that matter is arranged?—I do not.

224. How much do you draw, and for what purposes?—I draw for 11 rupees for each Coolie, 10 rupees cash advance to the Coolies, and one rupee for my fee; the Coolie invariably gets his 10 rupees now; it is paid either on board of ship to him personally by me, or to the captain.

225. Do you examine in each case whether the Coolie gets his blanket, brass lotn, &c.?—I examine in each case, and see that the Coolie gets his blanket, brass pot and plate; every man who comes on board must have the things stated in his certificate.

226. Does the Coolie get the blanket, &c. from the duffadar, or from the agent?—I do not know who is the purveyor of those necessaries, whether it be the banian of the agency house that ships the Coolies, or the duffadar, or who it is.

227. Do you know the market value of the articles furnished to the Coolie?—I do not know the market value of the articles furnished to the Coolie; he is charged five rupees invariably.

228. Do the Coolies go on board ship directly after they have settled their accounts in your presence, and do you accompany them?—The Coolies go directly on board ship after their accounts are settled and necessaries are examined; I do not accompany them; I send a party of native police with them.

229. Do you afterwards go on board to inspect them?—I do sometimes, not always.

230. Do the articles furnished to the Coolies go on board without passing through the Custom-house?—The articles furnished to the Coolies go on board with them, without passing through the Custom-house.

231. Do you know whether any account is taken of these articles on their going on board ship; is a list made at the gangway?—I believe not; but I send the police to guard against the duffadars taking away the articles furnished.

232. Do you allow the duffadars to accompany each detachment of Coolies on board?—I direct the police, who are sent with them, not to allow the duffadars to accompany them to the ship, or on board with them.

233. What time usually elapses between the Coolie coming into the hands of the duffadars and their arkotties (deputies), and their going on board ship?—The time varies from two, three, to four months; I have known some to be five months from the time of leaving home to embarkation, at least according to the charges made against them.

234. In your list of charges two months' board is specified; if the Coolies have been for a longer period with the duffadars, do you allow a correspondingly greater sum to be charged for their maintenance?—I always adjust the account on this principle, that the Coolie is to get 10 rupees, and I never allow more than three months as the period for which charges are to be made for the board of the Coolie.

235. On what principle do you consider yourself authorized to make a deduction of 50 per cent. on the charges of the duffadars against the Coolies?—I think the duffadar gets enough even when he gets 50 per cent. of his charges on an average; I adjust the account on the principle of fair dealing towards the Coolie; I generally allow four to five pice a day for each Coolie's board.

236. Does the Coolie in any case carry with him more than 10 rupees on board ship?—The Coolie in no case gets more than 10 rupees cash, whatever may be the length of his journey down or stay in Calcutta.

237. If a bill of nine rupees for three months were presented, what arrangement would you make?—I should be guided in the case supposed by what the Coolie had to say to it; if he objected on good grounds, I should allow his objections; in any case he should get 10 rupees cash, how long a period soever the duffadar might have kept him.

238. If a Coolie were to hire himself in Calcutta, would he get more than 10 rupees?—I recollect no case of a Coolie being hired in Calcutta, but domestic servants and artisans are hired in Calcutta, and their accounts are not examined by me; I believe they usually carry on board a much larger proportion of the advance of 30 rupees; I believe these latter classes usually take on board the full six months' advance of 30 rupees; they are more intelligent than the Coolies, and can take care of themselves.

239. Do you consider that the duffadars are still great gainers, even after your deduction of 50 per cent.?—I believe the duffadars are very well paid, after the deduction of 50 per cent.

240. What sum do you suppose a duffadar gains upon each Coolie furnished by him?—

No. 5.
Mr. J. J. McCann.
6 September 1838.

Exclusive of duffadaree, which is two rupees, as I allow it, I suppose the duffadar makes from three to four rupees on each Coolie, if not more; in some few cases they may be out of pocket.

241. Are the duffadars made responsible by the shippers for the Coolies who desert in going down the river?—I hear that the duffadars are made accountable for desertion from the ship during the progress down the river.

242. Under what authority do you charge one rupee from each Coolie for inspecting the duffadar's accounts?—I have no other authority than that of Captain Birch for making the charge of one rupee; the Coolies pay it willingly.

243. Do you consider that the Coolie receives any corresponding benefit for the rupee he pays you; and if so, what is it?—I consider that the Coolies gain the whole cash amount, 10 rupees, now received by them, as well as the value of the necessaries they take on board; formerly, I believe, they got no money at all, and were often plundered of the articles furnished on going on board.

244. Have you received a rupee from each Coolie since the beginning of the year?—I have received a rupee from each Coolie embarked since the commencement of this year.

245. Do you state the accounts between the duffadars and the Coolies in writing, and do you preserve them?—I do not; I keep a rough memorandum, which I generally preserve till the ship goes, and then destroy.

246. When the Coolies come before you to have their accounts adjusted, do they seem to comprehend the particulars of the contracts into which they had entered?—They appear to me always to understand perfectly the contract into which they are about to enter.

247. Do you particularly examine whether they understand or not?—I sometimes examine them on that point.

248. Are not the persons who engage in Calcutta to go in the capacity of domestic servants and of mechanics much more intelligent than the Coolies?—The persons who engage in Calcutta as domestic servants and mechanics are certainly much more intelligent than those called Coolies.

249. Did you visit the William Lockerby before she proceeded on her voyage?—I did I paid the Coolies each 10 rupees on board; and they appeared perfectly satisfied.

250. Did you perceive whether the accommodation allowed was sufficiently ample?—I thought the accommodation allowed sufficiently ample; they had the space from the mizen to the mainmast; there were some casks below which Captain Birch ordered up, and I believe it was done.

251. Do you know whether desertions frequently occur among the Coolies when they are going down the river?—I know merely from report that the Coolies frequently desert from ships going down; I do not know the causes why they desert; I know they go on board willingly.

252. Have parties ever presented themselves for a second engagement who were alleged to have deserted?—I do not recollect any case of parties presenting themselves for a second engagement who were alleged to have deserted.

253. What are the different classes or castes of the labourers, and what is the proportion of each?—I cannot answer the question.

254. Have you heard reports of kidnapping taking place in Calcutta?—There have been a few cases of kidnapping brought before the police.

255. Can you speak from personal knowledge as to the inducements held out to Coolies to get them to leave their homes and proceed to Calcutta?—I do not know what inducements are usually held out to the Coolies to get them to leave their homes and proceed to Calcutta.

At an adjourned Meeting of the Committee held at the Town Hall, on Thursday
the 6th day of September 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present: T. DICKENS, Esq. Chairman.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES.
J. P. GRANT, Esq.

Major ARCHER.
WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

Captain Alexander Garioch Mackenzie, Examined.

No. 6.
Captain
A. G. Mackenzie.
6 September 1838.

256. What ship do you command?—The Cavendish Bentinck; she is a ship of 378 tons; her owner is James Mackenzie; he is no relative of mine.

257. Has she been employed while commanded by you in conveying Coolies to the Mauritius or elsewhere?—She has been twice employed in conveying Coolies to the Mauritius, in October 1836 and February 1838.

258. How many Coolies did you take on each occasion?—On the first occasion I took 297, and on the second 278.

259. Who were the shippers on those occasions?—Messrs. Henley & Dowson were the shippers on the first occasion, and on the second occasion they and Messrs. Tiron & Pandelle, of 178; but the Coolies were on the last occasion in special charge of a creole from the Mauritius, who was a passenger.

260. Where were the Coolies embarked on the first occasion?—I refer to my log-book, and find, that I received 121 men, 21 women, and eight children, at Coolie Bazar, on 6th October 1836. On the 8th October 1836, we received 13 men at Futlab. On the 9th
October

6 September 1838.

October 1836, two boats came to Fultah from Calcutta with 43 Coolies, and on same day, in the evening, two more boats came, bringing 31 men, one boy and four women. On the 13th, 35 men and one boy came, and were taken on board at Diamond Harbour, and 17 men and one woman came on the 15th October 1836, at Diamond Harbour.

261. Did any of them desert in going down the river on this occasion?—I find by the log two Coolies jumped overboard at Diamond Harbour on the 14th October 1836, about 300 yards from shore. I lowered my boats and picked them up; they swam very well.

262. Did you ask them the reason which induced them to leap overboard?—I did not ask them, for I understood that they had received the advance, and conceived they wished to run away; they said nothing.

263. Did any more attempt to leave the ship?—At midnight of same day detected another endeavouring to escape by the chain by which the vessel was anchored, with two or three lotas (brass pots) about him.

264. Do you know what advances the first batch of Coolies received?—I do not know what cash advances these Coolies embarked in October 1836 actually received, or whether they got any.

265. What articles had they with them when they came on board?—They brought lotas and two blankets each, a red jacket and red cap.

266. Had any of them sums of money in their possession?—Some of them had money; I should think four or five rupees each on an average, judging from those who intrusted theirs to the charge of the chief officer.

267. Were any of these Coolies returned by you to Calcutta?—Mr. Henley, who was the shipper, mustered them on board, and took away nine sick men, one woman, who had lost her husband in the Sir John Rae Reid, and one child.

268. What induced you to send them back?—Having no medical man on board, I did not consider myself justified in taking them; those returned were persons who had been wrecked in the Sir John Rae Reid, and had a fever in consequence.

269. Did any accidents occur in the course of the voyage among the Coolies?—In the course of the voyage two men fell overboard; these accidents happened within a day or two of each other; one was saved, he could swim very well, and though the vessel was under single reefed topsails at the time, we lowered the boat and saved him. He was swimming with the intention of proceeding to Calcutta, though we were within two days' sail of Mauritius. In the other case, though it was fine weather, the man could not swim, and he was drowned before the boat, which was in the act of being lowered, touched the water; the ship was going very fast through the water.

270. What was the health of the Coolies during the voyage?—Their health was generally good; we lost three by death. Medicine was sent on board for them by Messrs. Henley & Dowson; I had also a medicine-chest.

271. Did the Coolies express any dissatisfaction, on any grounds, during the voyage?—I do not remember that the Coolies expressed any dissatisfaction, generally speaking, except on the ground of not having received the full advance they had been promised, and of their not comprehending the nature of the work they were to be engaged in.

272. How long did the voyage last, and did they suffer much from sea sickness?—The voyage lasted 34 days; we had generally fine weather; they did not suffer from sea sickness at all; to my surprise, I only saw one of them sea sick.

273. What part of the vessel was allotted to them?—They had the whole 'tween decks; I observed they had a greater inclination to remain below than to come on deck, but I made them come on deck once a day to have the 'tween decks cleaned.

274. Did they seem to regret that they had come on board ship?—No.

275. Then you would say that they were quite happy and comfortable during the voyage?—I think they seemed perfectly comfortable and happy, according to their notions; they had plenty to eat, and nothing to do, and as much sleep as they chose.

276. Do you know whether those embarked in 1836 were examined at the police before they came on board?—I believe those embarked in 1836 were not examined at the police previous to embarkation; they had no permits.

277. To whom did you deliver them when you reached the Mauritius?—The consignees, Messrs. Pearson & Chapman, sent a person on board, who took them to the police at Port Louis.

278. Where were the Coolies embarked on the second occasion?—The Coolies embarked in February 1838, were embarked between Coolie Bazar and Fultah; 112 were embarked at Coolie Bazar on the 19th February, belonging to Henley & Dowson, and 170 at Moyapore.

279. Who brought the second detachments of Coolies on board?—Those embarked at Coolie Bazar were embarked under charge of an East Indian clerk of Henley & Dowson; on neither occasion was any policeman with them. Afterwards, a serjeant of police came down to Fultah with money of the Coolies which had been kept back, and was then sent by Mr. McCann.

280. Did any of these Coolies desert in the progress of the vessel down the river?—Yes; four jumped overboard at Fultah in proceeding down the river; I think they escaped; we only saw one jump overboard, but missed the others; two died going down the river.

281. Did you lose any more by death during the voyage?—Yes, we lost 14 in all by death during the voyage; we had a native doctor on board; none fell overboard; one woman miscarried; the child survived its birth but a few minutes; the woman afterwards died.

No. 6.
 Captain
 A. G. Mackenzie.
 6 September 1838.

282. What was the length of the passage?—The passage, including a month's detention in the river and three days' quarantine at Port Louis, lasted from the 19th February to 16th May. We touched at Point de Galie. We were only 63 days from leaving the Pilot till we arrived at Port Louis. We left the Pilot at the Sand Heads on the 8th March, and arrived at Port Louis the 11th May.

283. Did any of the Coolies make complaints during the voyage?—The Coolies did grumble about being robbed by the duffadars, and not knowing how they were to be employed.

284. How much money had each of those Coolies on coming on board?—Some of them had but one or two rupees. The money that was sent down was but for one batch; for that batch, 171 men and boys, I got on an average nine rupees from Mr. McCann, and no more. Some of the others said they had but one or two rupees on an average. I should think the batch for which no money was sent had as much, say three or four rupees, as the first that I took in 1836, and not more.

285. Was there any money left in your hands to be delivered to them at the end of the voyage?—There was no money left in my hands to deliver to them at the end of the voyage; but I induced some of them to leave their money in my hands till the end of the voyage.

286. Had each of these men a blanket, brass lota and plate on coming on board?—Each of these men had a blanket, brass pot and plate when they came on board, and I had also a spare blanket and brass pot for each man from Mr. Dowson to deliver to them.

287. What accommodation had they?—They had nearly the whole 'tween decks allowed them; about 10 feet was occupied by gunny bales and some cases of goods.

288. To whom did you deliver them at the Mauritius?—I delivered them to a party sent off by the consignee; they were taken to the police.

289. Had they all permits?—They had permits.

290. How often did you muster them during the voyage?—I mustered them twice; once prior to leaving the river and once prior to arrival.

291. Did they answer to their names according to the police tickets furnished by the shippers?—They answered on the second occasion to their names as written in the police tickets furnished to me by the agents of shippers; the first trip I did not muster them by name; their sirdars did.

292. What allowance of water had they?—On each trip they had six pints of water; but on the second occasion I was obliged three or four days to put them on four and a half pints.

293. How many meals had they each day?—They ate but once a day.

294. Do you consider the rations of food supplied to them sufficient?—I think the rations are sufficient which are allowed by the Act; the Coolies got them on the second occasion, and on the first I think they got as much; they got enough.

295. Were they happy on board?—I think they were comfortable on board, and happy, according to the notions of a native.

296. Can you speak from personal knowledge of the treatment of the Coolies in the Mauritius?—I have heard they are harshly treated there, particularly by the creoles, and do not get their full pay. One man complained to me he had been there 18 months and never got a farthing of his pay; nor is the contract faithfully kept with them. Some I took down were very anxious to return with me a few days afterwards. Judging by general appearance, however, on the few estates I visited personally, I think they had improved in strength and robustness.

297. Did you hear the planters express any opinion as to the manner in which the Coolies performed their work?—The planters I conversed with in general spoke favourably of their performance as labourers. The planters spoke of the emigration as the salvation of the island; it made them independent of their apprentices.

298. Have you heard whether the apprentices complain of the Coolies being employed?—I have understood that the apprentices complained very much of the planters in getting these Coolies; there is a very bad feeling between the apprentices and the Coolies.

299. Are you not aware of there having been disturbances at the Mauritius, which required to be suppressed by an armed force?—I am aware that there have been disturbances by the Coolies rising and assembling in considerable numbers at the Mauritius, which assemblages it was necessary to suppress by armed force.

300. Do you know the number of Coolies assembled on these occasions; on one occasion was it to the number of some thousands?—I do not know whether they ever assembled to the amount of some thousands.

301. Do you know what is the rate of wages for agricultural labour at the Mauritius?—I cannot speak of the wages of free agricultural labourers, but I have been told by commanders who employ labourers at Port Louis to unlade cargo, and do the same work as lascars here do on board European ships, that they pay a dollar (two rupees) a day, and find the labourers provisions, like the European crew; I believe that is the current rate.

302. Do you believe this to be the effect of any combination among the masters of the apprentices, or is it the natural rate of remuneration for labour?—Speaking from my knowledge of the Mauriciens, I should say the present rate is in some degree the effect of a combination among the masters of the apprentices, but I do not think the rate will fall in any great degree; the masters, by combining, may keep it up a little for their own profit.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Monday the 10th day of September 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present: T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
Major ARCHER.

RUSSEY DUTT, Esq.
WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

Mr. John Hughes, Examined.

No. 7.

Mr. John Hughes.

10 September 1838.

303. I believe you have been concerned in procuring Indian labourers for export to the Mauritius?—Yes, I have.

304. To any other places besides the Mauritius?—I have shipped to the Mauritius, Australia and to Demerara.

305. Any to Bourbon or the Cape?—Yes, to both.

306. Can you speak to the number of Coolies in all, shipped by you to all these places?—I made a memorandum this morning, thinking it might be useful to the committee, specifying the ships in which they went, the number of Coolies shipped, and the names of the agents. (*Hands in the memorandum No. 9: vide Appendix.*)

307. Can you annex the dates in this memorandum to the respective shipments?—I can; and if the committee will give me back the memorandum, I will do it by the next meeting.

308. Can you state, from memory, when you first engaged in this business?—I cannot exactly say from memory, but it is more than two years; about two years and three or four months, I think.

309. Then of course you were engaged in it before the commencement of the Act No. V. of 1837, appointing Captain Birch superintendent of the export of Coolies?—I was.

310. I suppose you had a great many subordinate agents, duffadars and others employed by you?—Yes, I have.

311. What are their different designations in the native languages?—They are called by some duffadars, by others arkotties; I think, however, that arkotties are subordinate to duffadars.

312. Is there not a third class called buttearas?—No; I am not aware of that; I believe they are people who supply Batta lascars; the duffadars are the people who lodge the Coolies during their stay in Calcutta.

313. How do you remunerate these duffadars and arkotties; do you pay them a regular salary?—No, I do not give them any salary.

314. Can you say how many are in your employment?—I cannot say from memory exactly how many; but the whole of those I employ are registered by name at the police.

315. Does that register include both duffadars and arkotties?—Both.

316. Since what date has this register of duffadars and arkotties taken place?—I cannot mention from memory the exact date; but that is also in the register book.

317. Is the sum fixed which you receive from the agent for your trouble in procuring and shipping Coolies from the shippers or agents?—No; the sum is not fixed; some allow at one rate, some at another.

318. Can you state the maximum you receive for each man?—Mr. Dowson allows me at the rate of a rupee a head; Mr. Jardyne allows me nothing; Lyall, Matheson & Co. a rupee a head; Gillanders, Arbutnot & Co., for the Demerara Coolies, five rupees a head; from Tiron & Pandelle, for those shipped per Apollo and William Lockerby, two rupees a head; Mr. Francis gave me one-third of his commission, which he said was 10 rupees; Mr. Bruce, for 11 men for Australia, 10 rupees a head.

319. Besides head-money, do you receive any portion of the advance to the Coolies?—I receive the whole six months' advance at 30 rupees.

320. Is the amount of allowance invariably fixed at 30 rupees for six months, whatever may be the country to which the Coolies are shipped; for example, do the Coolies shipped to Mauritius, Bourbon, the Cape, Australia and Demerara alike receive six months' advance, at the rate of five rupees per mensem?—In this list I have put the whole of the Coolies, who all received six months' advance at that rate, except those shipped in the Emerald Isle; I think they got four months' advance, at five rupees per month.

321. Does that list contain the whole number of Coolies shipped by you, or through your agency?—To the best of my knowledge, the whole number.

322. Has any other person, to your knowledge, been engaged in this trade of shipping Coolies besides yourself?—Several thousands, I believe, have been shipped by Ropchund Pyne, who is, I believe, in Calcutta; and another person named Beerbullub has shipped a good many.

323. Have you now, or have you had, any connexion with these parties?—I have no connexion or partnership now with either of those persons; with Beerbullub I once had.

324. When did the connexion terminate?—My connexion with Beerbullub terminated about the time that Mr. Dowson left Calcutta the last time for the Mauritius.

325. Has it been since renewed?—It has not.

326. Does the list you have put in contain the number of Coolies shipped by you in conjunction with others, as well as those shipped by yourself alone?—It does.

327. Do you settle the account of the Coolies with the duffadars?—Mr. McCann settles the accounts of the Coolies and duffadars. (*Here Mr. Hughes stated the mode of proceeding, which does not vary from Mr. McCann's evidence.*)

328. Are you present upon these occasions?—I am present.

No. 7.

Mr. John Hughes.

10 September 1838.

329. Did you settle the accounts of the Coolies with the duffadars before Mr. McCann began to act for that purpose?—No; the Coolies and duffadars settled them.
330. Do you still continue to receive the 30 rupees' advance from the shippers for each Coolie?—Yes, I still receive the advance from the agents of the shippers.
331. Do you not pay now the 10 rupees which Mr. McCann insists upon the Coolie receiving, as well as one rupee to himself?—I pay to Mr. McCann the 10 rupees the Coolies now receive; but he did not insist upon their receiving it; that was my own suggestion, as also the one rupee for his own fee.
332. Who furnishes the blankets and the brass vessels which the Coolies receive?—The blankets are furnished by the agents for the shippers, as well as clothing; some houses give two suits, comprising two dhooties, one jacket of chintz lined with batta, and a red cap, a blanket, and one wooden bowl or trenchers; others give but one suit of clothing, but all give the wooden bowl; the shippers also supply, for the use of every four Coolies, one lota, or brass pot, and to the ship one large iron pot; besides this, the duffadars and Coolies buy in the bazar their own brass utensils.
333. Does the Coolie now invariably take on board a brass pot and plate?—They now take on board themselves a brass pot or lota, a brass tushah (a sort of bowl), and a brass tollah, that is, a brass plate.
334. Do you settle the accounts with the duffadars after Mr. McCann has passed them as correct?—A second adjustment takes place at my own home; I pay to the duffadars the balance due according to Mr. McCann's account.
335. Is the head-money you receive included in the 30 rupees?—It is not; I draw that also from the agents, but that is separate.
336. Besides the 30 rupees and the head-money which you receive, do you receive any money from the agents for the purpose of procuring and bringing the Coolies to Calcutta?—I have drawn money on account, in order to procure Coolies and bring them down, from Mr. Dowson.
307. From any one else than Messrs. Henley & Dowson?—I do not think from any one else.
338. Then are we distinctly to understand that the sum you have mentioned as having received for head-money, if it may be termed, in answer to question No. 318, for the export of each Coolie, is the sole remuneration you receive, and for your trouble in managing the system?—No; besides that, there is a charge of three rupees for banian and agency allowed by Mr. McCann in the Coolies' account.
339. Are we to understand that you have in no case, save that of Messrs. Henley & Dowson, received advances for the procuring of Coolies?—I do not believe I have in any other case received advance from any one else.
340. Does the banian and agency charge fall exclusively to your profit, or is it shared with the banian of the agency house?—It is shared with the banian of the agency house that ships the Coolies.
341. In what proportion is it shared?—The banian always gets a rupee, sometimes more, as we can agree; the proportion is not invariable.
342. What is the sum you have received for all the Coolies you have been engaged in shipping?—I am very willing to state all the facts in my power; on an average I have received about three rupees a head on each Coolie specified in the list I have handed in, or about 12,000 rupees in all.
343. Is that your net profit?—That is not net profit; out of that I have to pay my household expenses, establishment of sircars and servants, all which stands me in above 700 rupees a month. I cannot state what ought to be deducted for my household expenses, and the establishment I keep up for my practice as a pleader in the petty court, and other purposes.
344. Do you still carry on your business as a pleader in the court of requests?—I do; I have not given up practice in that court.
345. Have you ever stated to any person that your profits in this Coolie business have amounted to 45,000 rupees?—I have never stated to any person that my profits were 45,000 rupees on the export of Coolies.
346. Have you received the advance of 30 rupees per Coolie for all those in the list you have put in, with the exception of the Coolies shipped on board the Emerald Isle?—I have; the sum must be 1,20,000 or thereabouts.
347. Can you from memory state the amount of money received from Messrs. Henley & Dowson for bringing down Coolies over the advance of 30 rupees?—I cannot say from memory, but my accounts with Messrs. Henley & Dowson are close.
348. Have you any orders for Coolies on hand unexecuted?—I have an order from Mr. Dowson for 150 or 200 for the Mauritius.
349. Have you not a large order for Coolies from Messrs. Tiron & Pandelle for Bourbon?—I have not a large order in hand from Tiron & Pandelle for Bourbon.
350. Had you not such an order before the exportation of Coolies to Bourbon was suspended?—No.
351. Have you any other orders?—I have from Mr. Langlois, for 150 for the Mauritius.
352. Have you no orders for Coolies for any other places?—No.
353. What sum do you pay the duffadars?—I pay the sum awarded by Mr. McCann; viz., two rupees for duffadaree, five rupees for the brass utensils, and nine rupees for expenses, &c.
354. Do you receive any thing, directly or indirectly, out of the amount paid to the duffadars?—I receive nothing, directly or indirectly.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Monday the 10th day of September 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—Rev. JAMES CHARLES. J. P. GRANT, Esq. Major ARCHER.	RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq. WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
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Abdoolah Khan, Examined.

No. 8.

Abdoolah Khan.

10 Sept. 1838.

355. What is your name?—Abdoolah Khan.
 356. What is your profession?—A doctor.
 357. Where were you educated?—In the hospital of H. M. 67th Regiment, under Dr. Kenny.
 358. How long ago is that?—About 10 years ago.
 359. Have you been in practice since that period?—Yes, among the natives of Calcutta.
 360. Have you ever been engaged as a doctor in a ship conveying Coolies to the Mauritius?—Yes; twice.
 361. On what ship did you first go?—I forget the name of the ship. The captain's name was Hopper.
 362. How long ago is that?—About 10 months ago.
 363. How many Coolies were on board that ship?—Two hundred.
 364. Where did you embark on board that ship?—I embarked at Kedgerree.
 365. Were all the Coolies on board when you embarked?—Yes.
 366. What was the state of the health of the Coolies during the voyage from Kedgerree to the Mauritius?—All had good health excepting two persons, who were sick.
 367. Did any of them die?—Two died in consequence of having swallowed large quantities of opium.
 368. Where did they procure the opium?—They purchased it in the bazar before they went on board.
 369. Did you converse often with the Coolies while on board?—Yes, I did.
 370. Did they seem to understand where they were going, and for what purpose they had been engaged?—Yes; they did understand that they were going to the Isle of France, and as Coolies.
 371. Did they know that they were to be separated for five years from their families?—No; they thought they were going only for two months, as it was stated to them.
 372. Who told them it was only for two months?—The duffadars.
 373. Had they not been told at the police that they were to be absent five years?—They did not tell me, if this had been stated to them.
 374. Did the Coolies appear to be happy and comfortable?—What happiness!—they were all crying.
 375. What were they crying about?—For their discomforts, such as want of room for sleeping and for dressing victuals, and also for want of utensils for eating from.
 376. Had they a sufficient quantity of water?—It was stinking and thick, something like beer foaming up.
 377. Did the Coolies say they were very sorry for having come?—They did.
 378. How did the captain and officers treat them?—They used to beat them and drive them from one place to another.
 379. How long were you on the voyage?—Two months.
 380. How long did you remain at the Mauritius?—I remained two months.
 381. Did you often see the Coolies after your arrival at the Mauritius?—I met with a few of them in the bazar.
 382. Did they say how they were employed?—They told me that they are carried to work at four o'clock in the morning; at one o'clock they had leave for one hour to dress and eat their victuals, and then went back to work till five o'clock.
 383. Did they say they were kindly treated?—They said that some gentlemen are good and treat them kindly, and some are not so who beat them.
 384. Did they express any desire to come back to Calcutta?—They prayed to God they might be delivered and return to Calcutta.
 385. Did they say they had enough to eat?—They said they got 14 chittacks of rice, two chittacks of dholl, one chittack of ghee, and some dried fish.
 386. Were they satisfied with their allowances?—They were not satisfied; they wanted fresh fish and fresh meat. The allowance was sufficient for those who sat idle, but not for those who worked hard.
 387. How often were meals supplied to them?—They had two meals a day, one at one o'clock, and the other at night.
 388. When you were at the Mauritius, did you ever see or hear of the Coolies being punished?—I never saw any of the Coolies punished; I heard they were punished in this manner; as they were working in a stooping posture, nothing was done to them, but as soon as they stood erect, the sirdar or overseer beat them with rattans.
 389. Was it the same sirdar who accompanied them from Bengal who punished them?—The same sirdar; his name was Ramzaun Beg.
 390. For what offences were they punished?—For standing erect and not working; this was when they stood up to take rest from working.

No. 8.

Abdoolah Khan.

10 Sept. 1838.

391. What was the instrument of correction?—It was a long leather thong—(*witness is asked to describe it*)—it was about an inch broad, and nearly a fathom long.
392. Were the instances of punishment many?—I did not see it with my own eyes; the Coolies were crying, and told me it was God's curse that they had come to this hell, where they dig the ground and are beat.
393. Did the Coolies tell you that the work they had to do was different from that which they were told they would have to perform?—No; it was quite different from what they were told they were to do.
394. What was the work they were told in Calcutta they would have to perform at the Mauritius?—They were told they were to cultivate the ground.
395. What was the kind of work they had to do?—Nothing defined. They must do whatever is ordered.
396. When you arrived at the Mauritius, where were the Coolies taken?—They were carried over the hills to a place called Batassie. Mr. Laensin received 100, and Mr. Chauvet received the other 100.
397. Did you go to Mr. Sampson's plantation?—I did not go. I was kept in the city.
398. Did you ever see any Coolies at work on the plantations?—I did not.
399. Where did you see the Coolies from whom you obtained all this information?—I saw them in the bazar on Sundays.
400. How many did you see?—Sometimes three and sometimes five, sometimes 10.
401. How much money had each of the Coolies on board?—They had some two rupees, and some one.
402. Did you hear whether or not they received each 10 rupees?—They each received their money from the gentleman who examined them. The gentleman then asked them if they had received in full what was due to them, and they said yes. As soon as they got out of his sight, the buttearas, sircars and kramies, on one pretence or other, snatched money from them. I did not see this, but this was told me by all the Coolies.
403. Do you know the distance from the town to Mr. Sampson's estate?—I do not know; but Batassie is distant two or two and a half coss from the town, and the plantation beyond it, on the hills and jungle.
404. Did the Coolies who went with you in Captain Hopper's ship sign any papers?—I heard they had signed some paper. I only saw that they each had one bag, one thalla (brass plate), one lota (brass water pot), and some had one rupee, and some had three annas pice, and some eight annas.
405. Do you not know that those Coolies had signed agreements to remain five years?—The papers were with the captain who delivered them to the Mauritius authorities; I do not know what was in them. But the Coolies understood that they were to return in four or five months.
406. Did you not say a little while ago, that the Coolies expected to work for two months only?—The duffadars told them that they were engaged only for two months, so they expected to return to Calcutta in four or five months.
407. But did they not receive advances for six months?—Money was paid into their hands; but these are jungle people, what do they know about six months or two months?
408. Were the Coolies who went with you all Dhangas?—They were of various descriptions. Some were Dhangas, some of Kishnaghur, some of Bhogepore, some of Chota Nagpore, and some of Boglipore.
409. By what ship did you return from Mauritius the first time?—I came up in the same ship with Mr. Dowson, viz. the Herefordshire.
410. Who paid for your passage to Calcutta?—Mr. Sampson paid my passage money, and gave me victuals, and 50 rupees as a present, and also a character, which is in the hands of Mr. Hughes.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Thursday the 13th day of September 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present.—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES.
Major ARCHER.

J. P. GRANT, Esq.
RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.
WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

Captain Alexander Garioch Mackenzie's Examination resumed.

No. 9.
Captain
A. G. Mackenzie.

13 Sept. 1838.

411. Did you enter into particular inquiries with the Coolies, as to how they liked their engagements and the nature of their employments?—No; I did not enter into conversation with the Coolies generally, but such of them as I conversed with seemed to have very very vague notions of the nature of their engagement, and, indeed, I may say, in many instances, they were totally ignorant of it.
412. When did you make these inquiries?—At various periods during the voyage.
413. Do you refer to your first or second voyage?—To both.
414. Could you gather from them how long they understood that they were to remain at the Mauritius?—Many of them recollected from what passed at the police that they were to be there for five years; but several appeared to know nothing about it; they were in the habit

habit of asking for how long a period they were to be employed; and some of them said they had been promised various situations, such as choppers, peons, &c.

415. Did you on your second voyage meet with any Coolies whom you had conveyed to Mauritius on your former voyage?—No; one man was sent back with me, who told me that I had taken him down, but I did not recognize him.

416. Had you any conversation with this man relative to the treatment which he and the other Coolies had experienced at the Mauritius?—No.

417. On your return voyage did you bring back any Coolies from the Mauritius?—Yes; on the first voyage I brought back two Coolies, and on the second I brought five Coolies and three domestic servants.

418. Why and by whom were these Coolies sent back to Calcutta?—They were sent back by their masters through their agents at Port Louis, who handed them over to the police; at this distance of time I cannot recollect whether any or what reason was assigned for the first two being returned, but on the second occasion three were returned, one being sick, one for being lazy, and one for being found useless; one of the domestic servants was sent back for being addicted to drinking, another (a coachman) for being no longer required, and the third, an ayah, for general bad conduct.

419. Under whose authority did you receive these Coolies on board upon the two occasions you mention?—Under the authority of the police.

420. Was it a written authority?—Yes; I mean the officer of police in the marine department entered their names in the port bill, which I think I still have and will hand over to the committee, but they had previously been entered at the police under the authority of the magistrates.

421. What was the state of health of these Coolies who returned with you on your second voyage?—With the exception of the domestic servants they were all weak and in bad health, and incapable of hard work.

422. Did any casualties occur during the voyage?—Three men died, and one jumped or fell overboard.

423. Do you know of what disease these men died?—No, I do not; it was a disease I had not seen in natives before, but it was very like dysentery.

424. Was there a native doctor on board?—Yes; the doctor who went down with me, he gave them medicines, but without effect.

425. Can you describe the circumstances under which the Coolie jumped overboard?—He had been very ill for about a fortnight, and it was supposed that, to get quit of the internal pain which he felt, he jumped overboard; I think, too, he was slightly deranged.

426. Had you any conversation with these men relative to their residence at the Mauritius?—No; but one of them volunteered the statement, as I formerly mentioned, that he had been at the Mauritius for 18 months, and received no pay during that time; the agents for the proprietors at the Mauritius paid for the passage of the Coolies back to Calcutta.

427. Were any complaints made to you by any of the Coolies, during the two voyages, of their having been beaten by the officers under your command?—I do not remember.

428. Were any of them ever punished by your orders?—Yes.

429. To what mode of punishment did you resort?—I ordered them to be beaten with a rattan.

430. Did you specify the number of strokes to be inflicted?—Yes.

431. Who inflicted the punishment?—Their own sirdars.

432. Was it in your presence that the punishment was inflicted?—Yes; I was on the deck at the time.

433. Were punishments then frequent during your voyages?—No.

434. What were the offences for which these punishments were inflicted?—Theft was so common among them when they went on board, that I considered it necessary to make an example; when either myself or officers caught them in the act of stealing, or whethery were clearly proved guilty of stealing, I handed them over for punishment.

435. Did you enter in the log-book the instances of punishment occurring?—I only remember having entered one instance of punishment, but I think that during the two voyages I had occasion to punish three times in all.

436. Was theft the only offence for which punishment ensued?—That was the only offence.

437. Did you find the Coolies in your way so as to impede the working of the ship?—They were in my way, but not to such an extent as to impede the working of the ship; in a gale of wind they would certainly be in the way, as they could not be put below with the hatches battened down; in a hurricane off the Mauritius, in all probability half of them would be drowned.

438. Have you any suggestions to offer for the amelioration of the present system of exportation of Coolies?—I would recommend generally that the rules applicable to the transport service should be strictly enforced in the case of ships taking Coolies; I would further recommend that a police officer go down with them to Kedgeroo to see that the space allotted to them is actually given up to their use, and that the nature of their engagements be fully explained to them on board ship when they are away from the influence of the duffadars; I would also recommend that their advance be paid to them on board ship, in order that they may escape from the imposition of the duffadars.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Thursday the 13th day of September 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES.
Major ARCHER.

J. P. GRANT, Esq.
RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.
WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

No. 10.

Abdoolah Khan.

13 Sept. 1838.

Abdoolah Khan's Examination resumed.

439. What was the name of the ship in which you went to Mauritius the second time?—I forget the name of the ship. The captain's name is Charles Edward.

440. When did you leave Calcutta?—I arrived here about a month ago, and was on the voyage six months.

441. How many Coolies were on board?—About 300 Coolies, and 16 or 17 women.

442. Where were they taken on board?—They were all on board at Kedgeere when I joined the ship, excepting 40 men who went down with me.

443. Did they seem willing to proceed?—They were all crying on board the ship. The captain ordered all their hair to be cut, both of men and women, and I did cut their hair; and he used to lock them below the hatches at four o'clock; I mean by locking up, he ordered them down the hatches and kept them there. If they cried for being kept there, he brought some of them out, and ordered the first tindal to give them a dozen with a rope's end.

444. What was the reason for the captain ordering the Coolies down below?—There was a great crowd on deck where the captain and his lady were accustomed to walk, and to get quit of them, he ordered them down below, whether it rained or not. The gunner remonstrated with the captain, and told him the men would die, and then, after much entreaty, he ordered that 100 men at a time should remain upon the deck, and the rest should go below.

445. Was this order in effect during the whole voyage?—Yes, for the whole voyage.

446. How long were those who were sent below kept there?—They were kept the whole night.

447. Were the same men always sent below every night?—No. The 100 who were allowed to be on deck were put below that next day, and 100 of the 200 who had been below were brought on deck; the remaining 100 were brought on deck on the following day, and thus they got up in turns.

448. Did the Coolies like to go below?—No.

449. Did the Coolies on board Captain Edward's ship appear to be comfortable and happy?—They were crying every day. They said they were brought to trouble, and had a small allowance of water.

450. How much water were the Coolies allowed a day?—One quart bottle each day. They used to drink half of that, and with the other half mixed with salt water they dressed their victuals.

451. Did they get less water on this voyage than on the former one?—They got a great deal less. In the first case they got one gallon, and in this only a bottle. In the former case it was stinking water, and this good clear water.

452. How much money had each of the Coolies on board Captain Edward's ship?—They had from two to three rupees each, which they very soon expended by purchasing water and biscuit from the lascars.

453. Had the Coolies not enough to eat that they bought biscuit from the lascars?—They had not sufficient. They had only tamarinds and rice daily. The Captain ordered dholl to be given every fourth day, because it would take too much water to dress the dholl every day.

454. Had not each Coolie 10 rupees when they came on board?—No; they had been plundered by the buttearas, and they had only two or three rupees, as I have already stated.

455. Did these 300 Coolies know how long they were to remain at the Mauritius, and did they understand the nature of their engagements when they would arrive there?—The women stated they were told they were to remain for five years, but what was written in the paper they do not know. The men only stated they were brought into trouble.

456. Did the Coolies understand that they were to remain five years?—I never heard them say so; they told me they were going to cultivate land.

457. Did they seem to be going willingly?—Some stated they were going willingly; others, that they were fraudulently shipped by the buttearas.

458. Did the Coolies complain to the captain of the want of water?—They did complain before me.

459. What was his answer?—The captain said, "What was allowed was sufficient—go."

460. Had the Coolies sufficient room to sleep and dress their victuals?—They had sufficient room for dressing their victuals, but not for sleeping; they slept above one another, without distinction of sex.

461. Do you know if the captain of the ship allowed to the Coolies the whole space which had been allotted them by Captain Birch?—I do not know what space Captain Birch allotted to them.

462. How were the Coolies treated by the captain and his officers?—The captain used to beat every body. He even broke my thumb in beating me.

463. Why

463. Why did the captain beat you?—He wanted me to pull the rope, which I did not understand, and then he ordered Mr. Rowe to beat me with a thick rope's end.
464. On what occasions and for what reasons did the captain beat the Coolies?—Because they were crying and making a noise.
465. Did the captain compel the Coolies to do the work of the ship?—Yes, every day.
466. Did they ever refuse to do the work?—I did not hear them refusing; they were afraid of being beaten, and therefore always complied.
467. What was the state of health of the Coolies?—Generally, the men were in health, but a few who drank the salt water, from not having fresh when thirsty, fell sick.
468. Did any of the Coolies die on this voyage?—Five men died. I found them very ill at Kedgerree. The captain used to give me medicine to give to them; I said, "Better let me weigh the medicine and give proper doses." He said, "No; administer what I give." These five men died. I know the constitution of black men, and I think, if the administering of the medicine had been left to me, they would not have died.
469. Did any of the Coolies fall or jump overboard during the passage?—None jumped or fell overboard in going to the Mauritius.
470. How long was the passage to the Mauritius?—Two months and a quarter. We remained at Mauritius a month, and thence we came to Rangoon in a month, and after taking in a cargo of planks we returned to Calcutta, having been a month on the passage.
471. Where were the Coolies sent upon their arrival at the Mauritius?—They were distributed among four gentlemen, who took them to their places, some six coss distant, and others four coss, &c.
472. Were they taken to the police?—They were first taken to the police.
473. Did you meet with them afterwards?—No, I never met any of them.
474. On your second arrival at the Mauritius, did you meet with any of the Coolies who came with you on your first voyage?—I did meet with some of them in the bazar on Sundays.
475. What did they say to you?—They stated they were much distressed, and said, "Is there no company, no government in Calcutta?"
476. What did they complain of chiefly?—They told me that upon the least fault they were ordered to break stones. When they are sick they are sent to hospital, and eight annas per day deducted from their pay. I have looked at their clothes, which are ragged and dirty, like those of the prisoners in the house of correction here.
477. Did you ask them if they were ever beaten?—They said they were beaten every day.
478. Did they tell you any thing else?—They said they were beaten with a leather strap by Madras men, who are the overseers.
479. Did any of them express a wish to come back?—They said they wished to God they might be sent back, and others sent in their place.
480. To whom did they refer when they said they wished others to be sent in their room?—They meant Caffres, who are much stronger than themselves.
481. Did they really tell you this, or was it your impression only?—They said the work they were put to can only be performed by Caffres, who are stronger. This is not the sort of business in which the Coolies in Calcutta are employed.
482. Was it the quantity or the nature of which they complained?—They did not complain of the quantity of the work, but of the nature of it.
483. Did they say that they would recommend any of their friends coming to Mauritius taking an engagement?—They said, "If we could once go to Calcutta, we would prevent any body coming here again."
484. Had you any quarrel with the captain during the passage to or from the Mauritius?—I had no quarrel with him, only he distressed me.
485. Did the captain find fault with you for the manner in which you performed your duties?—We always disagreed upon that point; the medicines recommended by me he disapproved of, and what he gave did not meet with my approbation.
486. Did you get any certificate of the manner in which you performed your duties?—No.
487. Did you receive a certificate of good conduct from Captain Hopper for the first voyage?—Yes, I did.
488. Did you apply to Captain Edwards for a certificate?—Yes, I did apply for it, but he is a jutha man, he never hears.
489. How often did you apply?—Twice; and the only thing he said was, "I will speak to the merchant."
490. What were your wages during the voyage?—Thirty rupees per month.
491. How many months' advance did you receive?—I received two months' wages in advance; three months' wages were issued, of which Mr. Hughes took 15 rupees, the buttears five rupees, and the sircar 16; I only received two months'.
492. Did you give any receipt for this advance?—I did not give any receipt for this advance; I gave a receipt to Mr. Dowson for 50 rupees, which was given to me as a buckshish for services on board the Christopher Rawson; I mean to say, I granted a receipt for the 50 rupees intended to be given to me, but I never received the money.
493. Why did you not receive the buckshish?—That is Mr. Dowson's pleasure.
494. Did you ask Mr. Dowson for it?—I did ask him, and he referred me to Mr. Hughes.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Monday the 17th day of September 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES.
J. P. GRANT, Esq.

Major ARCHER.
RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.
WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

No 11.

Capt. Edwards.

17 Sept. 1838.

Captain Edwards, Examined.

495. Are you a commander of a ship belonging to this port?—Yes; I command the Christopher Rawson.

496. Have you ever taken Coolies to the Mauritius or elsewhere?—Yes; I took some down last voyage; we sailed last January. I never took any before.

497. How many did you take?—We had 290, besides supernumeraries; that is, some of the men's wives and children.

498. Do you know how many women and children there were?—Altogether, I think we had 305; some of the children were very young.

499. What is the tonnage of the Christopher Rawson?—She is registered 457; her burden is from 750 to 800 tons.

500. What accommodation was set apart for the Coolies?—They had the 'tween decks, from the mainmast as far forward as the bitts, quite clear and unencumbered.

501. Where did you ship the Coolies?—We shipped 40 off Kedgerree; all the rest off town.

502. Who brought these 40 Coolies down to Kedgerree?—Henley, Dowson and Bestel were the shippers; a clerk of theirs brought the Coolies down to Kedgerree.

503. Did any police constable or police peon accompany them on board?—No English constable or police peon accompanied them.

504. To whose order were they shipped?—They were consigned to various parties; I delivered them to the police authorities.

505. How long did the voyage last?—We were 47 days from the pilot to the Mauritius; we left the pilot on the 27th January, 1838, and broke ground from Calcutta on the 13th January 1838.

506. Did you take in either cargo or water during the time of the ship dropping down the river?—We filled up all our water at Kedgerree; we took no cargo in going down the river.

507. What allowance of water had the Coolies during the voyage?—They had five pints at the commencement, but afterwards finding that cockroaches had destroyed several of the casks, they were put on four pints; of course, when it rained they had more; they began with the reduced allowance when we reached the neighbourhood of the equator; I think that was on the 16th of February; from that time till we reached the Mauritius nearly, they had four pints.

508. Did you see the water measured out to the Coolies?—I did not, but one of my officers did, and reported to me.

509. Did the Coolies make any complaint of a want of water, and do you know of any of them having made use of salt water to supply the deficiency?—No particular complaints were made to me, but I am aware that in one or two instances they did use salt water; the result was that I ordered a look-out to be kept in the chains to prevent it, as I was aware it would do them mischief. I am not aware of any mischief that resulted in the particular cases from the use of salt water by those Coolies.

510. Was the accommodation allotted to the Coolies sufficient?—The accommodation was found to be sufficient; it was larger, I believe, than is usually allotted; they could certainly lie down; I know that from personal observation. I think it was sufficient for health and comfort.

511. Did the Coolies evince any reluctance to go below?—In bad weather they preferred going and keeping below, in fine weather, the contrary.

512. Did you follow any particular system in regard to those who should remain and those who should go below?—In the day-time, unless in very squally weather, I allowed as many on deck as liked, and at night, in fine weather, as many slept on deck as could, without stopping the duties of the ship. If there were too many, so as to stop the duty of the ship, they were made to go down below. I left the regulation of who came up and who went down to the sirdars. On one or two occasions they did complain when I made them all go below, they found it very hot, and said so. The weather made it necessary for them to go below. The hatches were not on. When the weather moderated they were allowed to come up. I ordered the sirdars to prevent the same people being up every night. There were but two occasions on the voyage when they were kept below.

513. Did any of them die during the voyage?—Yes, seven died.

514. Did any of them fall overboard?—None.

515. Had you a native doctor on board?—I had a man under me calling himself a doctor, a native. I found his incompetency, and gave them medicines myself. I have been in the habit of giving medicine to natives. I have been three years in charge of a country ship, with a crew of above 40, and have had charge of invalid troops (sepoys) from Kyouk Phyou, without a single medical officer; this doctor could not bleed, and was wholly unaware of the properties of English medicine: in one instance he gave mercurial pills to two of my men and salivated them; I then thought it was time to interfere.

516. Did

516. Did you ever order punishment to be inflicted on the native doctor?—I never gave any order to punish the doctor. It is a standing order of my ship, that no officer lifts his hand to any man, not even a lascar, without my order. I do not think he was ever struck or punished by any other officer or man; he never complained to me of it. I never ordered Mr. Rowe to beat the doctor. I had one complaint of Mr. Rowe beating a sirdar, and I sent for him on the quarter-deck, and told him if he ever repeated it, he should be confined to his cabin. I desired the Coolies to make a complaint to me or to the officer of the watch, that I might take notice of it, and this was the only complaint.

517. Did you ever order punishment to be inflicted on any of the Coolies?—Yes, I did; I found that they were in the habit of voiding their urine, and committing other nuisances below; I detected one man, and I had him brought up and punished, explaining the cause to the Coolies; he had a dozen from the tindaal with a rope. In another case, a Coolie committed a theft; money was stolen, and the money was found on another, and he had about a dozen; I think I stood by. I did not enter these punishments in my log. The punishments of the crew are not entered in country ships; they are more frequent in country ships than European; even the tindaals beat the lascars.

518. Did you ever order any of the Coolies to assist in working the ship?—The Coolies were always too ready to do it, they did not require an order. We were obliged sometimes to order them not; they always were ready to do it; there were no instances of punishment for Coolies refusing to work. I never heard of the lascars beating them; they were on very good terms with the Coolies.

519. Did the Coolies seem to be happy on board your ship?—The Coolies seemed to be very happy on board my ship; of course they were a little sea-sick and uncomfortable at first, but after that they were cheerful and comfortable.

520. Was it under your order that the hair of the men and women was cut off soon after they embarked?—I gave an order to cut off the hair of the men and women; I do not know that they cried then; the cause of this order was the preservation of cleanliness. It is evident that no persons so closely stowed together ought to have hair a yard long, if their health and cleanliness is to be preserved.

521. Did any of them object strongly to having their hair cut off?—They did object, and some of them on religious grounds, as they said; but I insisted, and it was done; I used no force.

522. Did the Coolies who were present at the punishment of the two men manifest any displeasure at what was done?—When the Coolies I mentioned were punished, the others did not testify any dissatisfaction. They were satisfied of the justice of the punishment, I believed; but I did not ask them, for I considered myself responsible for the discipline and cleanliness of the ship, not the Coolies.

523. Do you mean to say there were only two cases of punishment during the voyage?—There were only two that I recollect.

524. Does it consist with your knowledge whether any of the Coolies were shoved about from place to place by any of the officers on board your ship?—I never saw the Coolies pushed about, nor ill-used; I had no complaints of ill-usage. The Coolies in general seemed very happy, and it was my object to make them so. I think they were as well used as European troops would have been; of course they were differently fed, and had not the same discipline.

525. Do you know how many rupees each of the Coolies who embarked with you had?—I do not know; we had some on board for a week before we left town; of course they had not many rupees left.

526. Did any of them desert on their passage down the river?—None deserted on their passage down the river.

527. What quantity of water had you when you arrived at the Mauritius?—Four or five days' water.

528. What was the state of health of the Coolies, generally speaking, during the voyage, and on their arrival at Mauritius?—All very well on arrival except one man; I had only one man sick on arrival.

529. Can you state from your own knowledge whether the Coolies understood how long they were to remain at the Mauritius, and what work they were to do?—No, I cannot; they were aware they were going to another country; they often asked me during the voyage when they were likely to arrive. I do not know the language spoken by such of the Coolies as did not speak Hindoostanee, but some of them spoke Hindoostanee.

530. Did you hear any expression of regret from them for having engaged to go to the Mauritius?—I do not recollect that I ever did.

531. Have you any means of knowing how the Coolies are treated at the Mauritius?—I have not from my own observation; from what I have learnt at the Mauritius, they are taken a great deal of care of there, both by the public authorities and their masters.

532. Do you know what the market price of labour is at the Mauritius?—I do not know the market price of labour at the Mauritius.

533. Was a sufficient quantity of water and provision laid in for the Coolies at Calcutta? We had plenty of provisions; I had a scale of provisions for the men which I found more than enough; they could not consume so much, I therefore allowed them to have as much as they liked.

534. Was the quantity examined and sanctioned by Captain Birch?—I had no communication with Captain Birch upon the subject.

110. 11.
 Capt. Edwards.
 17 Sept. 1838.

535. Did the Coolies make any complaint of the quantity of provisions being inadequate?—No, they never made any complaints for provisions; they could not, as they had as much as they liked.

536. What were the different kinds of provisions allowed to the Coolies?—Rice, dholl, ghee, tamarind, chillies and curry stuff, salt, garlic and onions. They had onions nearly the whole voyage, but part of the onions taken on board got bad; we were obliged to throw several bags overboard.

537. Were those Coolies who were sent below during the night prevented coming up on occasions of necessity?—The ladders were never taken away except on one or two necessary occasions, to which I have already spoken, nor was there any guard over them. They were never prevented from coming up whenever they required to do so; too great a number were not allowed to remain on deck at one time. That was the only interference with the motions of the Coolies.

538. Did Captain Birch express himself satisfied with the space allotted for the accommodation of the Coolies?—Yes, he did—(the witness puts in a certificate from Captain Birch of the sufficiency of the accommodation, No. 14: vide Appendix)—the space allotted was never curtailed, they even had more, as the space enlarged from the consumption of stores during the voyage.

539. Did you ever bring back Coolies from the Mauritius?—In my return from the Mauritius this same voyage, I brought back to Calcutta four native doctors and 11 or 12 Coolies, all men.

540. What was the reason of the return of these Coolies?—Some of these returned Coolies were sent back as incurable from the hospitals; some for bad behaviour, their employers having found it better to get rid of them than to pay their police charges.

541. How many of them were considered as incurable?—I should say about five or six; their complaint was a sort of bowel complaint, or dysentery; one of them died on the passage; the others were in a weakly state on arrival here, and I doubt if they will ever recover.

542. Did the Coolies who came under your notice while you were at the Mauritius appear to be in better or worse bodily condition than Coolies in India?—Those that I saw at the Mauritius appeared to be well; but I did not particularly observe as to their being in a better or worse condition than Coolies in India.

543. Do you consider that the Coolie can perform as much work as a Mauritius apprentice?—Certainly not; I should say there is as much difference between an Indian Coolie and a negro apprentice as between a ship lascar and an English sailor.

544. Did you observe any Indian labourers at work?—Yes; I have seen them discharging rice on the wharf, where one gentleman employs, as I think, about 100.

545. Did they appear to you to be overworked?—Not at all; they appeared in good condition; they were rather fine-looking men.

546. Did you allot any separate place for the accommodation of the women?—There was no separation; they were all in one place.

547. Generally speaking, can you say how many were on deck at one time during the day?—No, I cannot say what number. Sometimes they were all, or nearly all, up at a time during the day.

548. Did you ever make any rule respecting the number of Coolies to be on the deck at the same time?—No, I never made a rule of that sort.

549. Did the native doctor on any occasion represent to you, that too great a number of the men were kept below, and that unless more were allowed to be on deck their health would suffer?—No; he was generally a great advocate for keeping them below.

550. Did the gunner ever make such a representation to you?—No, he never did.

551. Are you aware that biscuits or any other small stores were sold by the serang to the Coolies?—I have no doubt that biscuits and such small stores were sold by the serang or others of the crew. It is the universal custom in country ships for the serangs to take such things for sale, whether there are Coolies on board or not.

552. Do you consider that the Coolies purchased biscuits in consequence of finding the rations issued insufficient?—Certainly not, for they had as much as they liked to eat of the rations. They only bought them as a luxury.

553. Did you return direct from the Mauritius to Calcutta?—No, we went into Rangoon for a cargo of timber, which we brought to Calcutta.

554. Did you bring back to Calcutta the native doctor whom you took down to the Mauritius?—Yes.

555. Did he break his thumb while on board your ship?—No; I never heard of such an occurrence, and I am sure I should have heard of it if it had happened.

556. Did you ever order Mr. Rowe to beat the native doctor with a rope's end?—I never did. As I have before said, it was contrary to my orders for any officer to strike any man on board.

557. Do you know if the native doctor received a gratuity which had been promised him?—He got his pay for three months, 90 rupees and passage back, according to agreement, for which I have his receipt. He has not got a gratuity, that was an optional matter, depending upon his giving satisfaction, as specified in the same agreement. He did not get a gratuity, because I considered him totally incompetent for his situation.

558. Did any of the Coolies on the return passage jump overboard?—Yes; one man in Rangoon river jumped overboard.

550. Can you state the circumstance which led to his jumping overboard?—He was quarrelling I believe with some of the other men, whether with some of the Coolies or the crew I do not know, and he said he would go on shore. I heard a splash in the water and lowered a boat and sent it after him. He was recovered and brought on board again. He was a beautiful swimmer, and dived repeatedly under the boat's bottom, when they were trying to pick him up, which they had consequently great difficulty in doing.

560. When he was brought on board; did he remain willingly?—When he came over the side again, I told the tindal to give him a thrashing for jumping overboard and causing a boat to be lowered. I told him if he waited till we got up to Rangoon town he might go ashore when he pleased. He did so, and when we got to Rangoon he went on shore and did not return.

561. How far was the ship from the shore when the man jumped overboard?—I suppose it could not have been more than a quarter of a mile. He would have easily got on shore if he had escaped being picked up by an alligator.

562. What became of the remaining Coolies?—They came to Calcutta and went ashore as any other passengers.

563. You did not then hand them over to the police?—No, they were free men, their passage had been paid for them, and I entered into no engagement to hand them over to the police.

564. Was the quantity of water originally shipped at Calcutta sufficient for the use of 300 men, at the rate of five pints per day, for a voyage of average duration at the season at which you went to sea?—Certainly ample.

565. Was the water filled up at Kedgerree of good quality?—Very good indeed, not at all brackish; it was taken out of a private tank there, belonging to Mr. Rousseau, who makes a small charge for it.

566. Were you, from the insufficiency of fresh water, necessitated to use salt water in the preparation of the Coolies' food?—In all country ships the crews always mix salt water with the water in which they boil their rice; I believe it does the rice good.

567. Did the Coolies, upon their arrival at the Mauritius, make any complaint to the police, as to the manner in which they had been treated on board during the voyage?—No, they did not; I was present during the whole time of their distribution among their different masters. This was done by Captain Finnis, commissary of police, and occupied about four hours. Captain Finnis examined every man to see that he corresponded with the description in his engagement; during that time no man made any complaint. I must correct myself, there was one complaint, a man and a woman had become intimate with each other on board ship, and formed an engagement which they called marriage. On arrival they found that they were engaged to two different masters, and on being separated they complained very much; but there was no complaint of treatment on board ship.

568. Were the whole of the Coolies, without exception, found to correspond with their permits?—They all corresponded with their permits.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Monday the 17th day of September 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman
Rev. JAMES CHARLES.
J. P. GRANT, Esq.

RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.
WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
Major ARCHER.

Mr. John Hughes' Examination resumed.

569. Do you retain any peons in your pay for the purpose of taking care of the Coolies?—I do not.

570. Do you interfere in any way to prevent their absconding after their arrival in Calcutta?—No; the duffadars have charge of them, I have not.

571. Are not the duffadars under your authority?—The duffadars are under no authority of mine; I employ them to go into the mofussil, furnished with a sort of certificate by me. I instruct the duffadars positively to make known to the Coolies that they have to go to the Mauritius; I am not on the spot, and do not know whether they do or not. There is a greater facility of procuring Coolies now than there used to be, because men go into the mofussil now more than they used to do.

572. Do you know where the duffadars keep the Coolies?—Yes, I do; some are kept in town and some out of town.

573. Do you know if the duffadars keep burkendauzes for the purpose of guarding the Coolies?—I believe they do not; they do not to my knowledge.

574. Did you supply the ship *Whitby* with the Coolies?—I did I have given evidence on that subject already.

575. Then are we to understand that you mean to state that, in your belief, the Coolies, when they arrive in Calcutta, and till embarkation, are kept under no restraint whatever?—Whether the duffadars use any restraint, I do not know; they live with the duffadars.

576. Do you mean to say that you know of no instances of restraint?—I have known of some, and I have handed the parties over to Captain Birch, and they have been punished.

577. Can you specify the names of the duffadars who have exercised restraint in the instances

No. 11.

Capt. Edwards.

17 Sept. 1838.

No. 12.

Mr. John Hughes

17 Sept. 1838.

No. 14.
Mr. John Hughes.

17 Sept. 1838.

instances which you speak of?—I cannot specify their names, there were several; my letters to Captain Birch will show them if he has got the letters.

578. What is become of those duffadars who were punished?—I believe they are in Calcutta.

579. Are they still employed as duffadars?—I cannot exactly say, but I believe they are still doing duffadar's business.

580. What are the grounds of your belief?—I think that in two instances those who were punished furnished Mr. Dowson with Coolies; from that I suppose they are still doing duffadaree business. In two instances Mr. M'Mahon fined two duffadars 50 rupees each, on my evidence; one of these men's names was Gourman Sing.

581. At what period did that happen?—Some months back.

582. What was the nature of your charge against them?—The nature of the charge was this: I always call the Coolies before me to explain to them, that they have to go to the Mauritius; in the case in question when I did so, the Coolies said no, they had been brought here to work in Calcutta, and that they would not go to the Mauritius. On this I reprimanded the duffadars in their presence, and told the Coolies to go away, as they were free to do so. Afterwards it appeared that this duffadar again, somehow or another, got hold of these Coolies, and I was told they were brought up to Captain Birch's office. I went to him and begged him to hand over the case to the police, which he did, and the Coolies were examined, and so was I, and as my evidence corroborated that of the Coolies, the men were punished; there were two men engaged in this business, and both were fined 50 rupees each.

583. Do you know what became of the Coolies eventually?—I believe the Coolies were sent away from the police office by Mr. M'Mahon, who told them to go wherever they chose to go.

584. You have said that the Coolies would not go to the Mauritius, but that the duffadars afterwards got hold of them; in what manner were they imprisoned?—Yes, I believe they were detained in the duffadar's house, but I do not know particularly in what manner, I was not there.

585. Did you find the Coolies at Captain Birch's office when you went there?—I found them there; I believe the thannadar had brought them and these duffadars to Captain Birch.

586. Had you heard previously that they had been brought by the thannadar to Captain Birch?—Yes, I had heard previously, and that made me go there.

587. Then in point of fact it was the thannadar who instituted the complaint before Captain Birch?—Yes; the thannadar had previously made a report before I went, that these men were detained against their will.

588. Had you any thing to do with the Coolies shipped on board the *Edward*?—I had nothing to do with the Coolies shipped on board the *Edward*, and reloaded.

589. Do you know of no cases of peons belonging to the police being set over the Coolies by Captain Birch, to prevent them going away?—I know of no case in which peons of the police have been placed over the place of residence of the Coolies by authority of Captain Birch to prevent the Coolies going away.

590. Do you know who paid the fee to Dr. Stewart for vaccinating the Coolies, and for the medical examination of them?—The fee was paid by the shipper.

591. In addition to the six months' advance, do the shippers pay any thing extra for the diet of the Coolies?—After the men have been passed by the medical examiner, the shippers pay the agent, me or whoever may be employed, a further allowance of one anna per diem for the diet money of the Coolies.

592. Does not the medical examination often take place some considerable time before the embarkation of the Coolies?—Sometimes 10, 12 or 15 days before the embarkation; if it is a small lot of men, perhaps only five days.

593. Have any complaints been laid against you before the magistrate of Allipore?—No complaint has been laid, to my knowledge.

594. Does Mr. M'Cann know of this extra allowance of one anna a day diet money to the Coolie?—Yes, I believe he does.

595. Then they receive this, in addition to the nine rupees you before mentioned?—Yes; when I receive it I pay it to the duffadars; but in some cases, when I have to give the banian more than a rupee, the duffadars give up the (khorakie) diet allowance to me.

596. Are there any other charges allowed besides this diet money and the six months' advance?—No other charges are allowed to us.

597. Do you ever send Coolies on board ship during her progress down the river?—Sometimes, when the ship has not made up her lot of Coolies, she stops at Diamond Harbour, and we send down Coolies under charge of our duffadars.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Thursday the 20th day of September 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES.
Major ARCHER.

RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.
WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

Bibee Zuhoorun, Examined.

No. 13.

Bibee Zuhoorun.

20 Sept. 1838.

598. Have you any information to give the committee regarding your service at Mauritius?—I had 10 rupees given me in hand when I went on board ship. I was told that I was to attend a gentleman and lady who were going to Mauritius, which was five days' journey, and if I chose to remain there in service, well and good; if not, I could come back. I do not recollect the name of the captain or ship. I was told at first I was to get six months' wages, but I was neither taken to the police nor to the doctor, but was taken to the ship, where 10 rupees was paid into my hands. The baboo gave me 20 rupees, but took back again 10. I do not recollect having said at the police that I got four months' advance, and the baboo took 20, and gave me 20. I got no clothes given to me, nor blankets, nor brass pots, nor wooden trencher, nor any thing whatever. There were 440 Coolies on board; I am sure the number was 440; some had one rupee, some had two rupees, some had three, some had none. We went to the police first at Mauritius, and after our names were called over, we were taken to a Dr. Boileau. I remained with him; he had a wife and son. He was a Frenchman. I was with him two and a half years. I did not take my husband with me. He is a very bad man, his wife did not live with him; she used to come sometimes there, but always remained with her father. He would not allow me to remain with his wife. At first when I was there for two months, I remained with the lady, but then he said, "My child is grown up, you must not stay there." I used to work in making salt, climbing tamarind trees to pick them, sweeping the house, and cutting grass for cattle. I objected to work as a sweeper, and then my master said, "If you will have connexion with me, I will make you my mistress." I refused, and three times made complaints to the police. I am a Mussulman. I of course refused. I have degraded myself by going on board ship; I would not further degrade myself. The police sent me back three times to this man. I did complain to Madame Boileau; he was very angry; she said she would break the marriage ring, and reproached her husband. The last time I complained to the police I said I would not work at Les Salines (Mr. Boileau's place), but I would have no objection to work at Tamare (Mrs. Boileau's house); however, Mr. Boileau got me back to Les Salines, and I ran away to Tamare, and saw Mrs. Boileau. Then there was a great quarrel, but her father was a mild man, and made matters up between man and wife. I then ran away again, and appeared before the police; was sent to the house of correction for three months, and then sent back here. Mr. Boileau said, "As you did not choose to comply with my request, you shall not get one pice of wages." There was two years and a half wages due to me, but I never did receive one pice; the police did not see that I got any. The police did not interfere in my behalf; what could they do? He was a Frenchman, and the magistrates of police I went before were Frenchmen; they understand one another; I was beaten, slapped and kicked, and on one occasion my master ran a needle into my breast; it drew blood. I ran to the police; they said, "Why do not you work as you are desired to do?" I had an allowance of rice served out to me; three small pots full for every seven days; every Sunday, a little dholl and a little ghee; no fish, no turmeric, no tamarind, nothing that was put down in the agreement; I do not know exactly what was written in the agreement. The captain of the ship gave us 14 chittacks of rice daily, three chittacks of ghee, dholl about 14 chittacks for seven days, and spices, and he said that was according to our agreement, and that we were to get the same at Mauritius; the allowance on board ship was ample. We were not allowed to go beyond the plantation of Dr. Boileau, even for necessaries, without a written permission, therefore I do not know what other Coolies got at other plantations. Half the Coolies went to Dr. Boileau's, half to his father-in-law. In Dr. Boileau's salt work there were 104 Indian labourers; besides this, one sirdar and 22 men were employed in cutting jungle, and 40 women in tilling the fields; besides this, there were about 40 men in the house of correction for six months; they will come back here when they get out; they were ill-treated, and said they did not wish to work, therefore they were sent to the house of correction. It is the rule of the police, that if a man refuses to work he is sent away and gets no wages. I was told I should get my wages here from the police—I have got nothing. Junglee Haldar and the baboo put me on board ship; I do not know what merchant. Mr. Boileau treats his Coolies very ill. The three times I complained of Mr. Boileau at the police, he was summoned, but did not attend; there was some communication between him and the police, and I was sent back; the last time I said I would not work, I would go back to Calcutta, as I could not comply with what he wished me to do; I would not stay with him; and then I was put in the house of correction. Mr. Boileau is a drunkard; he treats every body the same. There was a captain and four sirdars; if they had not been there, no one would have worked; they screen the Coolies from oppression as much as they could; they were mild men; the captain has been employed about one and a half year; he is an Englishman, and he does not allow the master to beat them; before he was employed, Dr. Boileau used to oversee the work himself, and then he beat the Coolies; not one of the Coolies would remain there if they

No. 13.
Bibee Zuhoorun.
 20 Sept. 1838.

they could help it; every one would leave if there was a land journey; not one would advise any of their friends to go there. I have received injury; I have lost my caste; even my mother will not drink water from my hand or eat with me; but God is my witness, I speak the truth, I am not telling a lie. I complained three times at the police, but I was only put in the house of correction once, and that was because I stated my determination not to do work; I was sent there until a ship was ready; if I was to starve and could not live by begging, I would rather die in the street than go back there; it is a country of slaves; the negroes are slaves there; I was sitting in a tailor's shop at Bhowanipore when this Junglee Haldar and the baboo came to me, and said, "If you want service, there is a lady and gentleman going about five days' journey by sea; if you have a mind to go, we can get you a place;" that very day they gave me 20 rupees and took 10 back. At the end of the year, when I found I got no wages, what could I do? I knew nothing of the country; I did not know to whom to complain, until three or four Coolies got out and complained, then I found out where to go. I had served English gentlemen before, and sometimes they keep our wages back for some time, and then we get it at once; I did not therefore know at first we should not get it; the sirdars, as far as I saw, got their own wages, but the other Coolies got none. When they complained of sickness, the doctor said they were lazy; the men were put in the stocks and got salt given them; two or three men died in this way; three men hung themselves, and two men died in the hospital; I do not know why the men hung themselves, they worked during the day, and hung themselves, not on the same day, but at different times; the impression among the Coolies, what they said among one another, was this, they said these men hung themselves because they could not bear the hardships of the life they led, but they did not say so at the police for fear. Captain Lay used to say, "Why do you come here with complaints? There is a local police for Les Salines." Captain Lay used to say, "Why do you not complain to the police of your own district?" It was one Monsieur L'Evesque; there he took down our depositions at his police, and forwarded them to the grand police, and there they were read, and we were sent back. A brother of my master's took me out of the house of correction, and put me on board ship, and then a person of the police came on board and took down our names; when he came on board, I told him there were two and a half years' wages due to me; he said, "Go, go, you may do what you like in Calcutta." That is a money eating police, they take bribes; if you complain of the police, and the defendant pays money, you get no redress. My master said, "If you stay two and a half years more, you will get your wages." I said, "If you cut my throat for not staying, I will not stay." I brought some clothes to take with me, and I used to get by begging; some worn-out clothes of the slave girls, I got neither clothes nor anything else; I returned almost naked. When I was in the house of correction, a Mr. Stewart, of the house of correction, gave me the old clothes I have on, because I played with his child. On our voyage to the Mauritius we got more on board ship than we could eat; on our return we got enough; we had no cause of complaint. Dr. Boileau's house was about six miles from the city; I never was allowed to go there; what could I buy? I had no money. My mistress was kind to me at first, but my master said something to her which changed her behaviour to me. My master said I told a lie in charging him with wishing me to lie with him. I used frequently to run away to his wife and tell her all this, and then he used to say I lied, and beat me; at last, about six months before I left the island, she was very angry, and never came near him at all. I do not know her age, but the child was about four years old. My mistress did not believe her husband. Dr. Boileau had two black Caffre girls; they were good-natured, and often did work for me which I could not do without losing my caste; if he saw them, he would beat them too. I told them what my master wanted; they said, "He is a bad fellow, he serves every body so." When I first arrived, as they did not understand me, we could not converse at all, but latterly I learned French.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Monday the 1st day of October 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

* Present.—Rev. Jas. Charles.—Wm. Dowson, Esq.—Russomoy Dutt, Esq.

No. 14.
Sheik Manick.
 1 October 1838.

Sheik Manick, Examined.

599. What is your name?—Sheik Manick.
 600. Are you a Hindoo or a Mussulman?—I am a Mussulman.
 601. Where do you reside?—My house is at Lucknow in Oude.
 602. What brought you down to Calcutta?—I came to seek service.
 603. Were any inducements held out to you to bring you to Calcutta?—I came of my own accord.
 604. How long ago is it since you arrived at Calcutta?—I came several times to Calcutta, but the last occasion was about two years ago, when I went on board ship.
 605. What induced you to go on board ship?—I was engaged by an East Indian gentleman, whose name I do not know, but who lives near government house, as a jemadar of Coolies, at a salary of 14 rupees, that is, seven rupees in money and seven in food.
 606. To what place were you engaged to go?—To Mauritius.
 607. What was the name of the ship on which you went?—I neither know the name of the ship nor of the captain; it is two years ago; how should I remember?
 608. How many Coolies went on board the ship with you?—Two hundred and fifty.

609. At

609. At what ghaut did you embark on board that ship?—At the Baboo Ghaut, about 12 o'clock at night.

610. How much money did you get in advance?—I got three rupees.

611. Did you get nothing else?—I got a small chest and some clothes.

612. Do you know how many rupees the other Coolies got in advance?—Some had three, some four, and some five rupees.

613. From whom did you receive the three rupees?—I received them from Duffadar Hussein Ally; the East Indian gentleman to whom I alluded was present at the ghaut when I received the money, and saw the amount.

614. What time elapsed between your being engaged and going on board ship?—On the very same day that I was engaged I went on board ship.

615. When did the duffadars say you were to receive the rest of your wages?—I was told I should get the rest at the Mauritius, and a present besides, and that some part was deducted in consideration of my being made a sirdar.

616. Was there sufficient room on board the ship for yourself and other Coolies?—We were very comfortable on board ship.

617. Had you enough to eat and drink?—We had enough on board ship, but not after we landed at the Mauritius.

618. Did you and the other Coolies know how far you had to go when you went on board ship?—I was told we were to arrive in eight days, and that was one of the reasons assigned for money not being given to me.

619. How long were you on the voyage?—We took one month and 13 days.

620. If you had known the distance had been so great, would you have gone?—I was engaged twice, and therefore would have gone whatever the distance had been.

621. Did you and the Coolies know how long you were to remain at the Mauritius?—I was told that I was to be engaged for five years, and was to get my wages and food.

622. Who explained this to you?—The same gentleman of whom I spoke. I was afterwards taken to the police, and was told by a gentleman of the police that I was to get as a sirdar 14 rupees, seven of which were to be deducted for diet, and the remaining seven to be paid in cash; that I was to get one chittack of ghee, rice, fish, tamarind, and also clothes; but I did not receive any thing of this kind at the Mauritius, except rice and salt.

623. Do you know if the other Coolies were aware that they would be away about five years?—I did explain this to them, and they went willingly.

624. When you arrived at the Mauritius, where were you taken to?—When I landed, I was taken to the police, and then to a sugar-cane plantation.

625. What was done when you were before the police?—At the police the men were distributed to different gentlemen, in groups of 40 and 50.

626. To what gentleman were you sent?—I was sent to Monsieur Riviere.

627. How many Coolies went in your band?—Fifty.

628. How many coss from the town is Monsieur Riviere's plantation?—Three coss.

629. What was the work the Coolies had to do there?—They were employed generally in the sugar-cane cultivation, and in the sugar manufacture.

630. How many hours during the day had you and the Coolies to work?—I was told at the police here that at eight o'clock in the morning I was to get one hour's leave for my breakfast, and at four o'clock was to be relieved from work for the day, and to take my dinner; but I and all the rest were set to work at gun-fire in the morning, and got no leave until 12 o'clock, when one hour and a half was allowed for a meal; after that we were kept at work in the cultivation up to seven o'clock in the evening; when we came home we were ordered to cut and carry grass for the cattle, which occupied us till the evening gun, and then we took our meal; this meal-time was generally about 10 or 11 o'clock at night.

631. Did you and the other Coolies get enough to eat at the Mauritius?—We used to get 14 chittacks of rice, and that was weighed to us with the dust, and after cleaning it, the actual quantity was about 12 chittacks; the dholl was at the pleasure of the master, but not every day; when it was given it was only one chittack; half a chittack of ghee was allowed for eight days, and plenty of salt; I had been told at the police here that all the Coolies were to get two chittacks of dholl daily, and that I was to get four chittacks; but we never got this.

632. Was the quantity of food you actually received sufficient for you?—It was not sufficient. On Sundays we got leave after 10 o'clock, and I used to go to work in other places to get some pice to buy food with.

633. Did you never complain to Monsieur Riviere that you did not get sufficient food?—I told him that the food he allowed was not sufficient; I said it was written in Calcutta that I was to get more; but he said it was not so written, that all I was to get was salt and rice, and that any thing more was to be given at his pleasure.

634. Did you and the Coolies regularly receive your wages every month?—Who would pay us? We did not receive any thing, much less monthly.

635. Was it not promised that you would get your pay monthly?—I was told here I was to get my pay monthly.

636. Did you never apply to Monsieur Riviere to give you your wages?—I applied to my master for my pay and for sufficient quantity of food, and in answer I was sent to the police, where I was not interrogated by any one, but was immediately sent to the house of correction, where I was kept two and a half months, and then sent back to Calcutta.

637. How long had you been at work at the Mauritius before being sent to the house of correction?—

No. 14.

Sheik Manick.

1 October 1838.

correction?—I worked one year and three-quarters in his cultivation, and then kept two and a half months in confinement.

638. Did you get no payment at all during that period, nor clothes?—I got no wages during all that time, and no clothes. At the time I was put on board, I saw nobody to whom I could appeal. I was sent direct from the house of correction on board ship. At the time when my master sent me to the police, I stated that I refused to work because I got no pay, nor sufficient quantity of food; but no attention was paid to my statement.

639. How were you and the Coolies for the most part treated by Monsieur Riviere?—My master used to tell me, "Work the Coolies as hard as possible." I said, "If they were put to such hardship they would die;" he said, "Never mind, I will get others to supply their places if they die." I was never beaten by him but once, when, I applied to him for pay, and an additional quantity of food; on that occasion he commenced beating the Coolies with his own hand, and on my remonstrating with him for this, he gave me a blow with his fist, which knocked me down; he then sent for a policeman, and my hands were tied with a rope, and I was taken to the police.

640. Were the Coolies often beaten by order of their master?—The Coolies were often beaten on any relaxation from work.

641. Did any of the Coolies die during the time you were there?—Eleven men died. At first when they became ill, he used to make them work, which increased the illness, and they died in consequence. Every body knows they died from excessive work. The master would not give leave to any person to give over working till he was quite unable to get up.

642. Do the Coolies who are with Mr. Riviere regret that they left their own country to go to the Mauritius?—They regretted having left their country to involve themselves in such hardships; they said, if they had known this, why should they have come?

643. Would you return if you were offered service?—Why should I go? If I had received my pay and got sufficient food, I would have no objection.

644. Is the Mauritius a good country?—The country is good, the water is good, but the people are very bad. They do not pay their servants, nor give them sufficient food.

645. Then if you heard of any of your jhat boys going to the Mauritius, would you attempt to dissuade them?—If any of my relations engaged themselves to go, I would tell them, that if they were employed by English gentlemen, they would get their pay and clothes, and if they were employed by French, they would get neither. But why should I interfere with other people's affairs? They may go if they please.

646. Did you not say to Captain Birch, that you received 42 rupees here on starting?—I was told I was to get 42 rupees. When I came to the ghaut, three rupees were put into my hand by the duffadar, in the presence of the East Indian gentleman I have already referred to. I asked about the remainder of the money; they said to me, "Go on board, and you will receive it." I went on board, and was prevented from coming on shore again by chowkedars. I did not see either the duffadars or the East Indian on board, and there fore to whom could I apply for the remainder of the money?

647. Did you endeavour to leave the ship when you found you had been deceived?—I stated to the captain that I had neither received my pay nor my plates which were promised, and I wanted to leave the ship. But he told me, "You have been delivered over to me; I cannot allow you to go on shore. I know nothing about your arrangements as to pay and other things."

648. Enumerate the articles which you found in the box, what you received at starting?—In the chest were one brass thalla, one lota and one basin, and nothing else. I had two blankets and one meerjoy, and one cap and two dhooties with me. The thalla, the lota and the basin were purchased from my advance; the plates promised by the shippers were not given.

649. Did you ever meet with any Coolies at the Mauritius belonging to other plantations?—I met several Coolies belonging to other plantations.

650. What account did they give of the treatment they received?—Those who were employed by Englishmen said that they got sufficient to eat; but those who were employed in the service of Frenchmen gave the same account I have given you.

651. Did any of those Coolies who were serving with other gentlemen receive their pay monthly?—Those employed by English gentlemen got their pay monthly, but not those employed by French gentlemen.

652. Were those Coolies in the service of English gentlemen well pleased and satisfied to remain at the Mauritius?—They are satisfied to remain there, because they got plenty to eat, clothes and pay.

653. What number of cane-holes did the Coolies at Mr. Riviere's make daily?—If they did 130 daily, they can get their leave, but if a less number of holes, they get a smaller allowance of rice, and neither ghee nor dholl.

654. Were the Coolies allowed to fish in the river running through Mr. Riviere's plantation?—How could we fish? we had no time; but we were not prevented. (No. 11:—*vide* Appendix.)

At a Meeting of the Committee held at the Town Hall, on Monday the 1st day of October 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—Rev. JAS. CHARLES.—WM. DOWSON, Esq.—RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.

Boodoo Khan, Examined.

No. 15.

Boodoo Khan.

1 October 1838.

655. What is your name?—My name is Boodoo Khan.
656. To what country do you belong?—I belong to Zillah Gyah.
657. What brought you down to Calcutta?—I was employed as a sepoy in the service of a rajah in the Deccan; I resigned my service, and was coming to Calcutta in search of employment, when I was met by a man of the name of Jowaher, at Seersa, about five days' journey from this. He asked me, "Where are you going?" I said, "To Calcutta." He said, "Very well—come; do you want service?" I said, "Why not? I am going for service." He asked me if I had money for my diet, or if I wanted pecuniary assistance; I said I had money of my own, and did not want any assistance. Then I came with him to Calcutta, and he lodged me in the house of one Beerbul, in Bhowanipore; I remained three days, and then my name was written in the office of a French gentleman, whose baboo's name is Anundoo Mitre. I remained one month more at Beerbul's, and then I was told I must go. I said, "Very well—where?" I was told by Beerbul, "To Mauritius." My brother, who is employed as a sepoy at Allipore, heard this, and came to me and said, "Why should you go? If you are in debt, I will pay for you. This is to go on board ship." I said, "No; I was told I was to go by land, and was to arrive there (at the Mauritius) in five days." I told him, "Be it as it may, I came for service, and I must go; this is the Company's service, and why should I refuse it?" That very night I was shipped on board.
658. What wages did Beerbul tell you you should receive?—He told me that I was to get 14 rupees per month, seven rupees to be deducted for my diet, and seven to be paid in cash.
659. How were you to be employed?—I was to be employed as sirdar of Coolies.
660. For what time did you engage to go?—I gave an agreement for five years.
661. What advance did you receive?—Six months' pay was issued, of which one month was deducted as dustoree, five rupees for some brass plates, 10 rupees for clothes, seven rupees I gave to Jowaher to buy some necessaries for me, which I never got; and I do not know what other deductions they made, but I received 28 rupees in my hand in cash, but they afterwards took this 28 rupees out of my hand and gave me three rupees of it, and told me that some food and other articles should be purchased and sent to me on board in a box, with an account; but they never sent anything.
662. When did this happen?—From the time of my embarkation for Mauritius to my return is one year and five months.
663. What is the name of the ship in which you went to the Mauritius?—I do not know the name of the ship or of the captain.
664. How many Coolies went down with you in this ship?—Seventy-two went with me.
665. Did they tell you how much money each of them had?—Some had two rupees, and some three.
666. Did the Coolies know where they were going, and how long they would be absent?—Nobody knew. All heard they were to arrive in five days.
667. Did you not learn at the police how long you and they would be absent?—I and they did go before Captain Birch, who told us we were to go on board ship, and would not arrive at the place for a month or two months. We were previously told by the duffadars that we were to arrive in five days, but having engaged in the service we could not retract.
668. What did Captain Birch tell you at the police?—He told us we were to cultivate lands, break stones, and cut jungle, and do all the domestic business. He stated the amount of our pay—seven for me and five for the Coolies; that we were to be absent for five years; that we were to get our pay every month, and that we were to get 14 chittacks of rice, two chittacks of dholl, half a chittack of salt, half a chittack of ghee, half a chittack of oil, two chittacks of fish, half a chittack of spices or curry stuff, and one chittack of tobacco, and mentioned also what clothes we were to have.
669. Did you and the Coolies get sufficient to eat on board ship?—We got enough to eat and drink. The captain was a very good man.
670. Did not Captain Birch tell you and the Coolies that if you did not wish to take the service you would be released immediately?—Yes, he did say so, I heard him.
671. When you arrived at Mauritius, where were you taken to?—I was first taken to the police, and then to Batassie, to the service of Madame La Chicche.
672. How many Coolies went with you into her service?—Thirty-five men went with me.
673. How were you and the 35 Coolies employed in her service?—They used to cut the sugar-cane; to press the juice from it, to throw earth on the roots of the cane, to dig holes, and to do every thing connected with sugar work; even when it was raining the work did not cease.
674. How many hours a day did you work?—They begun to work at gun-fire in the morning; at eight o'clock we got leave for half an hour to take breakfast; at half-past eight we resumed our work, and continued till twelve o'clock, when we got leave for one hour and a

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Boodoo Khan.

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half for our meal; we then worked till six o'clock in the field, and after coming home, we were kept at work till the evening gun fired.

675. Were you well fed?—We got a sufficient quantity of rice, and two chittacks of dhol and one chittack of salt for seven days, and half a chittack of ghee for seven days, but no massalah, no tobacco, and no fish.

676. Was this a sufficient quantity to satisfy you?—If that was sufficient, why should I have come back here? I would have stayed.

677. How long did you remain in the service of Madame La Chiche?—I remained all along with her. I have already stated I was absent altogether one year and five months. I was kept in the house of correction one month and a half.

678. Why were you sent to the house of correction?—Another sirdar who could speak the French language, and belonged to the Mauritius, came there, and she wanted to put him in my place as sirdar, and to make me work like a Coolie; I refused to do that, so I was sent to the house of correction.

679. Did you receive any wages?—I never received a single cowrie.
680. Did you ever ask for them?—I asked for my pay three times. She said, "You will get your pay at the police; I will not pay you."

681. How were you and the Coolies treated by Madame La Chiche?—Madame La Chiche always remained up stairs, and did not interfere. Monsieur Monell, who is her manager, used to beat us very often on any pretence; even when I used to complain of the insufficiency of the food, and of the hard work, he used to beat.

682. Did any of the Coolies with him die?—Four died. Whenever a man was sick they used to apply glisters, and no other medicines were given, and death followed. Every fourth or fifth day a French doctor used to come to visit the hospital.

683. Were the Coolies happy and contented to remain, or did they wish to return to this country?—I do not know what their wishes are on this point.

684. Did any of the Coolies receive their wages?—Yes, they got three rupees monthly; and Madame La Chiche told them they would get at this rate for two years, and afterwards they would get at the rate of five rupees.

685. Why did you not get your pay then?—When she was paying the Coolies, she offered me three rupees. I said I would not take this, as I ought to receive seven rupees a month; but she would give me no more. When I refused to take what she offered, she said she would degrade me from being sirdar. She did so, and spitefully took the cane from my hand which I used as sirdar. She told me to take up the hoe and work; and when I refused, she put me in the stocks and bruised my feet; I was kept two months in the stocks, and then sent to the house of correction, and thence to Calcutta.

686. Were you not taken to the police and registered there?—I was sent to a small police first; they asked me why I would not work; I showed my paper that I was a sirdar; they said I must take up the hoe and work as my mistress wished. I was kept confined there in the stocks eight days, and then sent to the head police, where I was asked if I wished to go back to Calcutta; I said "I did not wish it; but I have got no pay." Then they sent me to the house of correction, and from thence I was shipped to Calcutta.

687. Did you see many other Coolies in the neighbourhood of Madame La Chiche's plantation?—I saw the Coolies on her other estates, and they said they could not get enough to eat, and they said they got three rupees eight annas a month; eight annas being deducted for the ghee given to them.

688. Were the Coolies at the Mauritius contented and happy to remain there?—Those who are under good masters are willing to remain, but those who are in the service of Frenchmen are happy to come back.

689. Did you see any Coolies serving under English masters?—I saw many; they speak in high terms of their masters; they say they get every thing but oil.

690. Do you know if any of the Coolies have saved money?—I do not know of any Coolies who have saved money; they generally spend their money in buying oil and other things.—(No. 12: vide Appendix)

At an adjourned Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Monday the 8th day of October 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present.—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES.
Major ARCHER.

WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
J. P. GRANT, Esq.
RUSSOMOV DUTT, Esq.

No. 16.

Mr. Longueville Clarke.

8 October 1838.

Mr. Longueville Clarke, Examined.

691. Can you furnish the committee with any information respecting the intention of a certain number of Coolies in a house in Calcutta, who were to be embarked on board ship for foreign parts?—Yes.

692. Will you be good enough to state the circumstances within your knowledge?—On Wednesday the 19th September, Mr. David Hare called at my house to inform me that he had the day before seen a number of Coolies in confinement. I drew an affidavit for him from the facts he stated, and went with him to the police office, where we met Mr. C. K. Robison and Mr. O'Hanlon, the magistrates, and Captain Birch, the superintendent; the affidavit was sworn before Mr. Robison, and Mr. Robison stated that he found a difficulty

difficulty in acting, as we could not give him the names of the parties confined; or of the persons who confined them. To remedy this, he directed Mr. McCann in our presence to proceed to the house, and to report to him such circumstances as he might observe; Mr. McCann stated that the Coolies were there, and that they were unwilling to proceed to the Mauritius; that by Captain Birch's order he had sent some chowkedars of the police some days before to protect the Coolies in going on board ship, but that finding they were unwilling to embark, he had removed the chowkedars the evening before, which must have been Tuesday evening. Mr. McCann went away, and Mr. Hare and I, about ten minutes after, met him at the door of the police office, and he then told us that he should first go to Mr. Browne before he went to the Coolies. It appeared in conversation up stairs, that Mr. Browne was the shipper of the Coolies, and that Mr. Robison had cautioned Mr. Browne not to confine them. I had not heard Mr. Robison desire Mr. McCann to go to Mr. Browne before he proceeded to the house where the Coolies were, and when I found what his intention was, I suspected there would not be fair play. I proposed to Mr. Hare to go to the house ourselves; we were in our palanquins; and we went over from the police to Hunter's stable, where I got a horse and buggy, which must have caused a delay of at least three-quarters of an hour. We proceeded to the house, and found two brijabassis with clubs (lattees), and two or three more walking about the road; the door was open; a chowkedar of the police was sitting in an open shop on the other side of the road. I called the chowkedar over, and asked him if Mr. McCann had not been there; he told me that Mr. McCann had not been there. I then asked one of the brijabassis what had become of the Coolies, and he said they were up stairs. Mr. Hare and I agreed to go up stairs and see them, and either he or I, but I forget which, bid one of the men show us the way, which they did immediately. We went up a narrow staircase, at the top of which was a door, which was shot, and a brijabassi sitting at it; he opened the door, and we crossed over a terrace which led out upon another; on this we found two other brijabassis, and at the end of it there were two or three rooms, the door of one of which was fastened on the outside, either with a bar, or chain and staple; as soon as we got on the terrace, there was a great cry of "Dohae! Dohae! Dohae!" I bid one of the brijabassis open the door, and I then heard my name pronounced by one of the brijabassis, who said, "Councillox Clarke Sahib." The door was opened, and I suppose nearly 100, or upwards of 100 persons rushed out. I cannot tell the numbers; it was a small terrace, and they flung themselves at Mr. Hare's feet and mine, crying out "Dohae!" Some minutes elapsed before we could pacify them and get one man to speak at a time; I then got Mr. Hare, who speaks the language very well, to single out a man, and to ask him whether he was kept there against his will; he said he had been locked up, and he had been beaten, and that he would not go to the Mauritius, and he would sooner have his throat cut than go (passing his hand across his throat to signify the action); and several others made the same gesture, signifying, as I understood it, that they would sooner have their throats cut than go. I got Mr. Hare to ask the man who was spokesman, whether any of the brijabassis who were there had beaten him; he pointed out the two that we had seen on the terrace outside the room where they were confined, as the persons who had beaten them. On this the two brijabassis came forward, and positively denied that any of the Coolies had been beaten or struck. I got Mr. Hare then to ask the brijabassi by whose order the Coolies had been locked up; one of them said that the Coolies were not locked up, and were not confined. We then asked the brijabassis whose servants they were; they said they were the baboo's, but there was only one of them who knew the baboo's name; one mentioned the name of this baboo, I think it was Ramnarrain or Rajnarrain, or some such name; the others could not tell. We then asked them if the Coolies might go outside into the road if they liked it; they said the Coolies might; and I got Mr. Hare to tell that to the Coolies; a woman then spoke to me (there were three, or four women among them), and they told me that if we went away (that is, Mr. Hare and I), the brijabassis would beat them all; and I then got Mr. Hare to tell them all again, that any man who did not wish to stay there might go away.

993. By Mr. Dawson.] Was Mr. McCann there?—No, he was not.

Statement of Mr. Clarke—continued.

I recommended them, if they had any complaint for having been locked up or beaten, to go to the police; this produced a great shout and clamour among them, and they all objected to go to the police. They said the chowkedars would force them on board of ship; some of them made use of the serjeant's name, some said the chowkedars, and from two or three of them I heard the name of Captain Sahib, by which I understood that they meant Captain Birch. Upon this I got Mr. Hare to tell them that they were not to complain to Captain Birch, nor to go near Captain Birch, but to go to Mr. Robison, and that Mr. Hare and I would meet them there; they seemed however very unwilling to go; they then went down stairs, the whole of them, and we followed them; on getting below, we found the outer door leading to the street out of the building locked outside, so that we were locked in with the Coolies. I went to a window at the side of the door, which was barred, and on looking through it I saw two brijabassis standing outside of it, with lattees (clubs) in their hands, whom I had not seen before; I desired them to open the door; they made no answer; there was a great crowd about the door, and among the crowd I saw the chowkedar of the police, whom I first mentioned as having seen there. I bid him open the door; he told me the brijabassis would beat him. I told him, if he did not open it, I would complain to Mr. Robison, and after a little demur he went up and opened the door. We then went out, followed by all the Coolies. I asked one of the brijabassis who had

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been standing outside the door when it was locked up, what his name was, and thereupon he ran off as hard as he could; another brijabassi who heard me put the question, told me of his own accord directly his name; I forget it. Mr. Hare then went among the Coolies again, who were all collecting in the road, and recommended them to go to Mr. Robison, and I did the same as well as I could make them understand. Several of them said, "Sahib jaga?" (will the Sahib go?) and when I said, "Hum jaga," (I will go,) several of them appeared to consent to go, but the great majority of them said, "The captain and the serjeant will send us aboard ship." Very few of them appeared to me to be Hill Coolies; there were some five or six I should call so from their appearance; they seemed most of them Calcutta people, excepting that one was a Madras man. We went away, and on our way to the police, we saw Mr. Browne and Mr. McCann going up to the house, about a quarter of a mile from the house; they were going in palanquins; it must have been at least an hour and a half, I think, when I saw them, after the time that Mr. McCann had been ordered by Mr. Robison to go to the house where the Coolies were confined. Mr. Hare and I inquired of the brijabassis and the police chowkedars, whom I have mentioned as sitting in the shop when the police chowkedats were removed; they all told us they had been removed that morning; the police chowkedars said at nine o'clock. I was very particular in this inquiry, because I believed that the chowkedars had been removed because it had come to Mr. McCann's knowledge that Mr. Hare had been to the house at four p. m. on the previous afternoon. We then went to the police, and saw Mr. Robison, and told him what had taken place, and that we had advised the Coolies, if they had any complaint, to make it to him. Mr. Hare and I did not go away together, but when I went away I recognized five or six Coolies in the police compound with the people who draw petitions, as if they were dictating to them petitions; I do not know that they actually made any complaints. I beg leave to add, that from my house, which is next door to the town-hall, I have seen several bodies of Coolies proceeding to the water-side; they have always been accompanied by a great number of chowkedars, and previous to their coming to the angle of the meidan (fort esplanade), opposite to Post Office-street, I have always observed several of the chowkedars detach themselves and station themselves at the opening of Post Office-street, and on the Strand, by Chandpaul Ghaut, as if to prevent the Coolies running off. I have seen one man run off, and caught near Chandpaul Ghaut, and evidently in custody by the Chandpaul Coolies; he had passed the chowkedar who was in charge, and who gave the alarm; the others arrested him and brought him back, evidently in custody. I have seen, I suppose, at least a dozen gangs, and the whole conduct of the police chowkedars was apparently that of men guarding prisoners. Mr. Robison stated, believing the Coolies in this house to be the Coolies who were to go on board the *Edward*, that they were not worthy of our sympathy, because, as he said, they had appeared before him to make a complaint, saying, that most of them were willing to go to the *Mauritius*, but there was one bad man among them who got drunk, and ill-treated them. Mr. Browne complained that this man was persuading the others not to go. Mr. Robison said, I think, he had fined this man, and Mr. Robison also said to Mr. McCann in our presence, that he then warned Mr. Browne that he had no right to lock them up, and that if he did, he would punish him as far as the law allowed, and he desired Mr. McCann to see Mr. Browne again and remind him of this. Mr. Robison advised Mr. Hare and myself, when he heard the Coolies were liberated, not to proceed any further. It was then he said, "They were unworthy of sympathy, as they had broken their contracts; they have got their liberty, and that is all they are entitled to." Mr. Robison's remark, with respect to their being unworthy of sympathy, related solely to ulterior proceedings, meaning that we ought to stop further interference. I have heard from Mr. Hare, that the Coolies told him on Tuesday afternoon that they had received an advance; I did not therefore inquire about that matter; seeing men locked up, the only object of my interference was to inform them that they could not be lawfully locked up. Mr. Hare has been an old personal friend of mine for many years, and he came to me as a friend, and not professionally.

Longueville Clarke.

At an adjourned Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Monday the 8th day of October 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.	WILLIAM DOWSON, Bsq.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES.	J. P. GRANT, Esq.
Major ARCHER.	RUSSOMOV DUTT, Esq.

Mr. David Hare, Examined.

694. Can you furnish the committee with any information respecting the detention of a certain number of Coolies in a house in Calcutta, who were to be embarked on board ship for foreign parts?—Yes.

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695. Will you be good enough to state the circumstances within your knowledge?—I had frequently passed along a street called, I think, *Tuatunniah-street*, and observed a number of men always on the top of one of the houses in that street, which drew my attention to the house. I believe it was about the 11th of September last I was passing, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, and there was a much larger number than I had seen before on the top of the house, and a great crowd of people on the opposite side of the

the street, looking up to it. The people on the top of the house were crying out, "Dohye Sahib!"—"Dohye Company." I asked what was the matter, and the people around my palanquin told me they were a parcel of Coolies confined there, who were to be sent to the Mauritius. I got out of my palanquin immediately, and went to the door of the house, which was shut, and around which several police chowkedars, to the number of six, I am sure, were stationed; I asked them what was the matter; they too told me that the people on the top of the house were Coolies to be sent to the Mauritius; I told them to open the door, and let me go in, which was immediately done. The police chowkedars called to the peons within to open the door, as a gentleman was wishing to go in, and they opened it. I entered the house, and immediately a great crowd of Coolies came running down stairs. I think in consequence of my telling the peons to bring them down; but of this I am not positive; when the Coolies came down, they seized hold of my feet and other parts of my body, and were all in an uproar, entreating me to interpose in their behalf, in order to get them released, as they said they were not willing to go to the Mauritius; I told them to be quiet, and let me hear the story distinctly. Some of the Coolies, who seemed to be cleverer than the rest, did what they could to drive off the crowd from me, and they gave me a more distinct account of matters; they said they had been sent on board ship, and had received eight rupees each in advance; that they had gone as far as Saugor, where the ship met with an accident, and that after they were brought back to Calcutta, that they had been taken to that house and confined there, and had been in confinement for upwards of a month. After hearing their story, I asked the police chowkedars what they were doing there; they said they were sent there by the police to take care of the Coolies; I asked them if they were sure of that, as it occurred to me they might have been privately hired to intimidate the men; they said they had been sent by Mr. McFarlan; on this I said, "Are you sure you were sent by Mr. McFarlan?" they answered, "Yes, we were sent by Mr. McFarlan and Captain Birch;" they added, "Mr. McCann was here about half an hour ago, and left us with orders." I should have mentioned before, that whilst I was in the house, the Coolies complained to me that they had been very ill used on board ship, and had been beaten and knocked about by the captain and officers and people of the ship; I asked them the name of the ship and the name of the captain; none of them could tell me the name of either, but one man said that the only name they knew was "Malim Sahib," and he beat them very sadly; they added, that they were required to go on board ship again, but they said they would rather cut their throats than go. They appeared to me not to be Calcutta men; most of them looked like Hill Coolies; one man was a Madrassee, and on asking him how he came there, he told me that he had been on a pilgrimage to Juggernaut, and was kidnapped on the way and brought to Calcutta. The police chowkedars said, that it had been intended they should go on board that night, but that they were not to go till next morning. After hearing all this I went away, and when I returned in about an hour afterwards, I found a great crowd still there, and the police chowkedars sitting opposite the door (which was shut) on the other side of the street. Next morning I attended a meeting of the Agricultural Society, and I believe mentioned to one or two of my friends what I had seen the day before, and said I thought I had better make it known to some of the police authorities. They said they thought I was right. After leaving the meeting, I went in the direction of the bank, where I had some business, and as I was passing Mr. Clarke's house, I asked his servant if he was at home; on hearing that he was, I went in and told him the story, and asked his opinion; he said he thought I should make an affidavit of what I had seen, and hand it to the magistrates, and leave them to do what they thought right with the chowkedars; I told him I had no objection to this course, and he drew out an affidavit from my statement. At my request he accompanied me to the police, that I might swear to it. We went to Mr. Robison, the magistrate, as we understood from the map Tautoniab-street was in his district, and on entering a room in the police, we saw Mr. Robison, Mr. O'Haulon, and Captain Birch in the room together; we put the affidavit into Mr. Robison's hand; he read it, and then put it into Captain Birch's hand; Captain Birch asked me why I did not come to him on the subject, and I mentioned that I had some intention of doing so, but meeting with Mr. Clarke I had changed my mind, and had thought proper to make the case known to the magistrates; Mr. Robison stated, that the affidavit was not sufficiently explicit, as it contained no person's name, and the house in which the Coolies were alleged to be confined was not sufficiently defined. Mr. Clarke stated, that he thought the affidavit contained quite enough for Mr. Robison to act upon; Mr. Robison did not seem satisfied, and I declared my perfect readiness to go and point out the house to him, and told him that Mr. McCann could tell him where the house was, for he had been there about half an hour before me. He said, if I recollect rightly, that the Coolies must belong to Mr. Browne, for Mr. Browne had some time before brought one Coolie before him, and complained against him for creating some disturbance in the house; this Coolie, he said, had been bound over to keep the peace, and was then in custody for want of securities; he mentioned, that on that occasion he had warned Mr. Browne to take care what he was about; that he had no right to keep the Coolies in custody, and if he did so, would render himself liable to a prosecution on the part of each man. Mr. Robison then put the affidavit into my hands, and I swore to it. He sent for Mr. McCann; Mr. McCann came, and said that he knew the house; that the Coolies were Mr. Browne's Coolies; that they had refused to go on board the night before, and had again refused that morning, and that he, Mr. McCann, had told Mr. Browne that the Coolies would not go without more wages. I think Mr. McCann said, that he had withdrawn the police officers that morning. Mr. Robison told Mr. McCann to go to the house, and make a strict inquiry

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quiry into the circumstances of the case, and report them to him; either I or Mr. Clarke said, that we thought Mr. Robison ought to tell Mr. McCann to do his duty, and if he found any people confined in the house against their will, to let them out. Mr. Robison said he did not like to get Mr. McCann into a scrape, and he would rather that Mr. McCann should first report to him. Mr. Robison told Mr. McCann to remind Mr. Browne that he had no right to keep any body in custody. I was to have gone with Mr. McCann to the house to see what had become of the Coolies; and when we came down stairs, I asked Mr. McCann how he was going, telling him that I had only a palanquin; I thought that he also was going in a palanquin, but I saw him get into a carriage; he told me he was going to Mr. Browne's, but I said there was no occasion for me to go to Mr. Browne's, and I did not know why Mr. McCann went to Mr. Browne's first. Mr. Clarke and I, fearing that we might be too late if we went in palanquins, went to Hunter's stables and got a buggy and horse; this delayed us at least half an hour; but notwithstanding this delay, we got to the house before Mr. McCann; the outer door was then standing open; we went in, and I asked the burkendauses of the house where the police officers were that had been there the day before; they answered, that all the police officers had just gone; these burkendauses of the house were not police burkendauses; they told me that two police officers had been with them at the house all the time the Coolies had been in it; of course I do not know any thing more of this, but that the burkendauses told me so. I have also been told the same thing since. A thannah chowkedar was standing near, with whom I had much conversation; it may have been that chowkedar who told me about the two police officers having been there all the time, or it may have been the durwan of the house; I cannot say positively who it was, there was such a confusion and mob at the time. Mr. Clarke and I walked up stairs; as soon as we got on the terrace; above the Coolies came around us from all directions, begging us to assist them, and declaring that they would not go to the Mauritius; that they would rather have their throats cut; that nothing should induce them to go; we asked them who wanted them to go, and why they stayed there; they pointed to two burkendauses walking about the place with great sticks in their hands, and said the burkendauses detained them. I asked one of the burkendauses why he detained the Coolies; he said he was detaining nobody; that he had nothing to do with the Coolies, but was only taking care of the house for Theres Baboo. We asked the same question of two other burkendauses, who gave us the same answer; in fact the burkendauses seemed afraid. We then told the Coolies that they were under a mistake; that nobody was confining them at all, and that such of them as chose to walk out might do so; on this every one of the Coolies took up his bundle and went down stairs; when we came to the outer door, we found it shut, and fastened on the outside; we called out to the people outside to open the door; I saw through a chink in the door the same thannah chowkedar that I have before mentioned; he came up to the door and stooped down; he did not open it, and went away; Mr. Clarke called to some one from a window, who came and opened the door; when the door was opened, Mr. Clarke and I and all the Coolies walked out. The Coolies wanted me to give them a paper to secure them from being taken again; I told them to go to the police; they seemed afraid to go to the police, but Mr. Clarke and I told them that they had nothing to fear. Mr. Clarke and I returned to the police, and told Mr. Robison what we had done; then Mr. McCann came and reported that he had found nobody in the house; and Mr. Robison told him to write that report upon the back of the affidavit. I told Mr. Robison that several of the Coolies were come to the police; Mr. Robison said, "I have nothing more to do with them, it is not in my district; you had better not trouble yourself with them any more; you have released them, and that is all you have to do with them;" Mr. Clarke and I then came down stairs, and found a great number of the Coolies in the police compound, apparently dictating petitions to the petition-writers who sit there; I believe I said to the Coolies, "You had better go away," and they all went away.

696. Can you say how many Coolies were confined in the house?—There were a great many; I should say more than 100; there may have been 150; I do not know the exact number.

697. Were the premises in which the Coolies were confined extensive?—It was a good big house, but stuffed full of Coolies; every place that I saw was full of Coolies; the Coolies were lying on the floor all jammed up together.

698. Was it impossible for the Coolies to leave the house?—I should say it was; there were burkendauses in every direction, who were guarding every part of the house; there must have been 15 or 20 burkendauses.

699. When you told the Coolies that nobody was confining them, and that they were at liberty to go where they pleased, did you tell them that they should repay any advances they might have received?—No, I did not; I did not think they were obliged to pay any thing back, considering the time they had been kept in confinement since they went first on board ship.

700. Did you inquire of the Coolies whether their engagement had been explained to them by Captain Birch?—I did not; I did not think, and I do not now think, that their engagements had any thing to do with the question; I think nobody had a right to confine them, whether they were under engagement or not.

701. Are you certain that the men whom you took for police chowkedars on your first visit to the house were really police officers?—I am; they had the police badges and the police dress, and they said they were police officers. Mr. McCann, also, afterwards said before Mr. Robison that they were police officers. When I first spoke of the case in the magistrates' room, when Captain Birch was present, that gentleman said, that he did not think

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think that the men of whom I spoke could really be police officers; I told him that I was sure that they were so, and told him that the men had on the police badges and turbans, and that they had said to me that they had been sent to the house by Mr. McFarlan and Captain Birch; after thinking a little, he said, "We are in the custom of sending police officers to protect the men when they are sent on board ship; perhaps that may have been the case with these men?" Captain Birch did not seem to know what Coolies these were whom I had seen in the house.

David Hare.

No. 17.

Mr. David Hare.

8 October 1838.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Thursday the 11th day of October 1838.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
J. P. GRANT, Esq.
Major ARCHER.

WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
RUSSOMOY DUTT, Esq.

Captain Birch's Examination resumed.

702. Captain Birch, are you not desirous of offering some explanation to the committee respecting a letter published in the Hurkara newspaper of the 17th of September, under the signature of Mr. C. K. Robison?—I am; I have brought with me a copy of my reply to government when called upon by government for an explanation of my proceedings with reference to the letter in question. [*The witness hands in papers marked Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16.—Vide Appendix.*]

703. Were you aware that the Coolies were confined by the brijabassis in this house?—No; on the contrary, I believed the Coolies were all perfectly willing to proceed; I did not know that they were locked up in this house; I do not believe they were locked up.

704. Were you aware that these Coolies were residing in the house in question?—Yes, I knew that.

705. Supposing a Coolie, who had gone before you at the police and expressed his willingness to engage and proceed to the Mauritius, and taken his advance, should state to you his unwillingness to proceed when the ship was just about to sail, would you direct his release?—In the case you put, I should make the Coolie deliver up the blankets, pots and pans which he receives, and as much of the advance as possible, and should direct his release, leaving the remedy for the expense to be sought by civil action.

706. Were you present when Mr. Robison ordered Mr. McCann to proceed to the house where the Coolies were residing?—I was not present when Mr. Robison gave orders to Mr. McCann to proceed to the house where the Coolies were.

707. Are you aware whether Mr. Robison ordered Mr. McCann to go to Mr. Browne before going to the house?—To the best of my recollection, Mr. Robison said to Mr. Browne, in the presence of Mr. McMahon and myself, "Why, Mr. Browne, I ordered Mr. McCann to go to you." [No. 16.—Vide Appendix.]

No. 18.

Captain Birch.

11 October 1838.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Thursday the 11th day of October 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
J. P. GRANT, Esq.
Major ARCHER.

WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
RUSSOMOY DUTT, Esq.

Mr. W. E. Browne, Examined.

708. Mr. Browne, are you not desirous of making a statement to the committee respecting the Coolies who were shipped on board the Edward?—I am.

709. Will you be good enough to state to the committee the circumstances of the case within your knowledge?—On the return of the Edward, I had 116 Indians shipped on board that vessel; she had proceeded to sea and had discharged her pilot; at anchor, she carried away part of her fore-foot by the chain cable, and was obliged to return in consequence to Calcutta; the Indians shipped were servants, mechanics and Coolies for different parties; I engaged a sloop to receive them, which went to the bottom of Garden Reach; they remained on board, or at least the majority of them remained on board the sloop for two days. Mr. Patton, the magistrate of the 24-pergunnahs, took 26 of them from me; one of the men out of the 26 complained to Mr. Patton, saying he did not wish to go to the Mauritius; Mr. Patton, I believe, caused an inquiry; and their depositions, taken by Mr. Roger Dias, but not by Mr. Patton's authority, for Mr. Patton appointed me several times to attend the Allipore court in order to take their depositions; and when I attended one morning he found that the depositions of the 26 men had been taken by Mr. Dias; I do not know by what authority; in consequence of these stating in their depositions that they did not wish to go on board, Mr. Patton, after 10 or 12 days' consideration, ordered their release. The man I first mentioned, Bahadoor, succeeded in pulling the boat on shore, and persuaded the other 25 to do so, when it was met by the police boat stationed at the bottom of the reach; they were taken on shore at the police station for that day, and on the following

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Mr. W. E. Browne.

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Mr. W. E. Browne.

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following day they were taken to Allipore, where they remained till they were released; Bahadur was rather an outrageous character; the others who remained, being uncomfortable on board the sloop, in consequence of the rainy weather, I took a house for them in the Mirzapore-road in Calcutta; in this house I provided for them every thing that was requisite in the way of food; I had two cooks to cook for them, and two native doctors. I placed there with them several brijabassis to attend them to the bazar whenever they wished to go, which they did, by five and six at a time, to procure whatever they wished. I visited them several times during the period that they were in the house, during which time they always expressed themselves to me as perfectly contented and happy, having every thing that they wished for, and that they should be always ready to embark when called upon to do so. They made several applications to me for different things, and in particular for money; they applied to me for another month's advance, having been some time on board ship and shore; this I agreed to give them, and ordered a part to be paid at once, and the remainder on their going on board as soon as the ship might be ready; I advanced one rupee each at that time; it was paid at the house by my sircar; I had previously advanced six months' wages to each individual. The accounts were audited by Mr. McCann, and the balance taken on board by him and paid to the Indians by Captain Morton, the pay list and receipt for which are deposited with Mr. Patton, at Allipore, with Captain Morton's certificate of his having paid it. They were about six weeks in the house altogether; they never made any application to me at any time for leave to go away, nor to be let off their contract; on the contrary, they always said they were willing to embark; the only complaint they made was against the chief officer of that vessel, alleging that he had thrashed them to make them pull upon the ropes. When they were first landed, I applied, I think, for police chowkedars to Mr. McCann to attend at the house, but they were refused, and he said I had better employ brijabassis. On the next occasion, I applied for chowkedars to escort them on board when the vessel was ready, for the purpose of showing that they were not about to embark without the accustomed authority of the police; for they had sometimes, when unaccompanied by chowkedars of police, been stopped at the Chandpaul Ghaut by the authority of the thannadars; I think two chowkedars were sent to attend them on board. On the following day, which was the 15th September, I received a communication from Mr. McCann, that Mr. Hare had made a declaration before Mr. Robison at the police, that these men were falsely imprisoned, and had all declared themselves unwilling to go; I asked Mr. McCann's permission to accompany him to the house to inquire into the cause; on arriving within about two or three hundred yards of the house, I met Mr. Longueville Clarke and Mr. Hare returning in a buggy, with the whole of the Coolies running after them; I proceeded to the house, and found it empty; the durwan told me that Mr. Clarke had broken open the door and released the Coolies; had told them they might go, having horsewhipped the durwan for refusing to allow them to go; none of those Coolies who were released have subsequently embarked on board the *Edward* or any other ship on my account; the number of persons they released was 64; 11 servants who had left the house in question about an hour before have subsequently embarked on board the *Edward* on my account; they were living in the house the whole time, but in a separate part of it, and were not present when Messrs. Clarke and Hare went there; there were 16 brijabassis employed at the house by me; the amount the Coolies received on embarking, on the first occasion, was seven rupees each man out of their six months' advance. The durwan's statement to me was, that Mr. Clarke was locked up, and that Mr. Clarke escaped out of the house and got over the wall, and got himself all covered by dirt in so doing, and came round and broke open the door from the outside. I wish to state that these men were engaged under the strict regulations of government in every point of view.

710. Can you state how long a period elapsed between the time when these Coolies first entered into engagements and the time when they left the house with Mr. Clarke and Mr. Hare?—I cannot tell precisely. [On reference to Exhibit, No. 2, it appears that the Coolies in question were passed by Captain Birch on the 23d June 1838, and it does not appear by any evidence when they first contracted with duffadars or others.]

711. Were these Coolies Hill Coolies?—The majority of them were Hill Coolies.

712. How often did you visit the house whilst the Coolies were in it?—I think about four times during the period that they were there; but my sircars were in attendance there every day, to see that they got their food.

713. Are you quite certain that there were no police chowkedars on the premises before your second application to Mr. McCann?—I am nearly certain that there were no police chowkedars after the first application I made, which was refused me at my request, until the second occasion, when I applied for chowkedars to attend them on board; and then Captain Birch, hearing that the Coolies had not embarked, ordered them away. When I applied to Mr. McFarlan about the 26 men I lost in the *24-pergunnah*, he said he could not sanction the attendance of police chowkedars.

714. Did the brijabassis whom you placed on the premises prevent the Coolies leaving the house?—On the contrary, the brijabassis had orders to attend them to the bazar; but then my sircar applied to me, and said in such case the brijabassis must attend to watch them.

715. What orders did you give the brijabassis?—I gave them no orders myself; the only order I gave was to the sircar, as above stated.

716. Did the brijabassis understand it to be their duty to prevent the Coolies leaving the house?

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house?—Upon my honour I do not know what they understood; I gave them no orders to that effect; but I think it very likely that they so understood.

717. But you have no doubt in your own mind that if any considerable number of those Coolies had attempted to go away without leave that the brijabassis would have stopped them?—I have no doubt that the brijabassis would have prevented them without my leave, as they were in possession of my property.

718. What was the object of your first application to the police for police chowkedars, after the Coolies had been lodged in the house?—To attend them in the same sort of way as the brijabassis, to see that they did not run away without reporting it to me.

719. Did you take any of the Coolies before the magistrate for creating a disturbance in the house?—I did not complain of any one; but a khansammah and khidmutgar complained of them; a cook also made disturbance; I attended with complainants to represent the circumstance; the cook was taken before Mr. Robison, and he was ordered to find sureties for good behaviour; in default, committed to gaol, where I believe he is now; he threatened the lives of the khansammah and khidmutgar and of his own wife.

720. Did the magistrate on that occasion, or on any subsequent occasion, warn you that you had no right to confine these Coolies?—He did.

721. Why did you consider it necessary to have 16 brijabassis to take care of 64 Coolies?—There were more than 64. Out of the 116 embarked, Mr. Patton released 26; nine were short delivered by the ship to me back again; the captain could give no account of them; two I sent to the hospital died there; three ran away, and one was confined; two out of the three escaped from the house unknown to any body; one went to hospital under plea of sickness, and ran away from thence; there were 75 in all at the house, and I employed the brijabassis to attend them to the bazar.

722. Have you been long engaged in the shipping of Coolies?—I have been for the last 12 months engaged in the shipping of Coolies.

723. On whom will the loss incurred by these Coolies running away fall?—At present on me, but I look to the parties at Mauritius; whether I shall recover or not, I cannot say.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Monday the 15th day of October 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present.—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman. Rev. JAMES CHARLES. Major ARCHER.	RUSSOMOV DUTT, Esq. WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
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Mr. James Smart, Examined.

724. What is your name?—James Smart, a master pilot in the service of the East India Company.

725. Did you not take down the ship Edward which left Coolie Bazar on the 13th September last?—I did; I left on the 13th of last September; she proceeded from Coolie Bazar.

726. How many Coolies were there on board?—Why, sir, they were never mustered while I was on board, but the captain said there were 93.

727. Will you have the goodness to state any thing you observed with respect to the usage of the Coolies, and what took place while you were in charge of the vessel?—We left on the morning I mentioned; during our passage down the river several of them jumped overboard; I cannot say how many, for they were never mustered; but every night almost some went overboard; I saw two men myself jump overboard, and I do not think they reached the shore; they got among the eddies, and there was no boat near; it was at Futah that this happened. While lying at Mud Point, the chief officer came up and said we must arm ourselves, for the Coolies would rise and put every white man to death; the consequence was, that the arms were brought up, muskets and pistols loaded, and the officers slept on deck with their cutlasses by their sides; I did not take any notice of it; not thinking such an attempt likely from the character of the natives; but next day I made inquiry, and found there was some reason to suppose such a thing had been spoken of. There were several women on board, and one of them of very bad character, and the chief officer wanted to take her into his cabin by force, as was alleged, and the natives were so angry that they threatened to kill the Europeans; they complained to the captain of the chief officer, but he denied it, and the captain believed him; neither the captain nor any of the officers could speak a word scarcely of the language, and that is the mischief of it, for the natives get ill-used in consequence. The crew themselves were never numbered, though I repeatedly requested that both they and the Coolies should be mustered. The crew and ship were in a bad state of order and discipline; it appeared to me that the mates were afraid of the Coolies; indeed it was stated that the Coolies had thrashed them both while going down the river with billets of wood; there were two or three bad characters among the Coolies, who seemed to me to have made a business of going backwards and forwards, and they sold "bangh," a herb that intoxicates, and we hoisted a good deal overboard; they also sold other articles, and defrauded the Coolies; there was also a woman of loose character, who also, it was said, made a good deal of money amongst them by prostitution. One morning a body, that was recognized as that of one of the men who had jumped

No. 19.

Mr. W. E. Brown

11 October 1838

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Mr. James Smart.

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overboard, floated past the vessel with the tide. When we got to Kedgerie, four men (brijabassis) went on shore; they seemed to be rather bulky, and I suggested to the captain to search them; one of them had a bag tied up between his legs containing money; there was upwards of 40 rupees; 45, I believe, in their waistbands and in their bag, which the captain took from them; they never said a word, nor complained at all; I do not know what he did with it; the money, I believe, was the money of the Coolies; there were continual complaints of robbery on board; there was a constant selling of parched rice and sweetmeats and all sorts of trash on board, which the Coolies bought eagerly, though they had their full allowance; I have known them give as much as a rupee for a seer of parched rice. I quitted the vessel on the 22d; Mr. McCann came on board and paid some of them; he paid two or three of them in my presence; while he was on board, two of the constables came on board and reported to him that they had been beaten off from a house in which some of the Coolies were with brickbats and stones; I do not know what Mr. McCann did in consequence of this report; I do not know the constables' names; I saw Mr. McCann give one man 15 rupees.

728. Did you take down any other ship with Coolies?—I have taken the Indian Oak twice down the river with Coolies, and the John Bagshaw and the barque British Monarch, that was in 1836, the other vessel in 1837; the Coolies, to my knowledge, jumped overboard from those ships; they were generally well treated; the British Monarch was about 320 tons; that ship carried, I think, 250 Coolies; they had a space from the fore to the main hatchway allotted them; they were very much crowded, I think; I took her down in September 1836; in that vessel neither the captain nor officers could speak a word of the native language, and it took a whole day at the capstan investigating into the robberies and complaints; one man, who was a very knowing hand, appeared to have been to the Mauritius before, and he made himself cook, and sold the poor fellows their own allowance; the captain was unwell, and the mate was rather indolent, and so I had the whole on my shoulders. In the Indian Oak and John Bagshaw the Coolies had the 'tween decks; in these ships the captains, Rayne and Blythe, had been long in the country trade, and knew perfectly well the habits of the natives, and managed them very well. In ships where the captains and officers do not understand the ways of the natives they mismanage; many of the Coolies have a notion that they are not going on a sea voyage; they think it is a river voyage, and that they shall have bumboats alongside every day, and in which they can buy gram and what they want; they are grossly ignorant; they will lower their lotas on one side to get water, and finding it salt, they will go to the other and will lower down again, thinking to get it fresh. There was no doctor on board the Edward, and no medicine for the Coolies; there was medicine for the crew, but none for the Coolies; I inquired of the chief officer about the medicine. The Coolies are a great hindrance to working the vessel; we are obliged to drag them away from the chain cable while running out to save their lives; and the ship has often been nearly on shore from their being so much in the way. [No. 17.—*Vide Appendix.*]

J. Smart, Master H. C. Marine.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Monday the 15th day of October 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES.
RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.

Major ARCHER.
WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

No. 21.

J. H. Patton, Esq.

15 October 1838.

J. H. Patton, Esq., Magistrate of the 24-Pergunnahs, Examined.

729. I believe, Mr. Patton, you are a member of the Bengal civil service, and magistrate of the 24-pergunnahs?—I am.

730. Have you not, in your official capacity, been called upon to investigate the complaints made by some of the Coolies in reference to the treatment they received?—Yes.

731. How many Coolies have been released under your orders?—There were 137 Coolies released under my orders, after investigating the complaints brought against the duffadars; there were 62 duffadars apprehended, and 26 punished, and 36 released; the charges were for kidnapping and imprisoning the Coolies, and ill-treating them, and well substantiated; the depositions were taken in Bengalee and Hindoostanee; the system appears to be this: the duffadars go up the country, and meet with people in the country, and entice them down by promises of service, promising to up-country men the services of porters (durwans); to others, labour at Calcutta; they are brought down and kept waiting until they become impatient, and they ask for service; the duffadars then say, "The service I thought of for you, I am sorry to say, cannot be obtained now;" then the Coolies wish to go away; the duffadars say, "No; pay me what you owe, or else go to such service as I can provide for you;" and thus they are compelled to go to the Mauritius. I have full evidence against a Bengalee, Rampershaud, at Bhowanipore, for aiding and abetting in the atrocities I have mentioned, but he has absconded; I have, however, attached his property; it is he principally that keeps the duffadars in employ. The evidence of the European serjeant, John Floyd, and his son, will show in what state the different Coolies I released were found, and that of Mr. Roger Dias also; I never detected the Coolies in giving false evidence. The duffadars denied that they ill-treated the Coolies, and alleged that they made known to them that they were

were to go to the Mauritius; it is, generally speaking, the second tale that the duffadars tell them when they have got them to Calcutta, that they are to go a river voyage; by this they induce them to go to the police. They are so ignorant, the dhangas especially, that they did not know their fathers' names.

733. Had any of the Coolies who were before you previously been at the police to bear their engagements explained to them?—I believe that the greater part, if not the whole of them, had previously attended at the police to have their engagements explained to them.

733. Did they appear to you to understand the nature of their engagements?—The Dhangas certainly did not; I very much question whether any of them did; I doubt whether the majority even understood a word of what was said at the police, as far as concerned a great many of them; neither I, nor any man in my court, could make them understand one word; others, who understood a little Hindoostanee, were capable of comprehending a little; but none of them admitted that they had had the contract explained to them. They had a great objection to go on board ship; I asked several of them, "Why do you object to go? There is famine in your own country, and your wives and families are starving." They said they would die rather than go. I believe I understand Hindoostanee very well; I was born in the country, and remained till ten years of age; and I think I could make the natives comprehend me as well as most Europeans. One man, No. 137, agreed to go; he said he could not be worse off, and might be better. I was proceeding to explain to him the terms of the contract; he said he did not wish to know; that he might better himself, and could not be worse.

734. Did you ever release any Coolies after they had been on board ship?—I released, I think, 26 men, who were shipped on board the Edward. As far as I remember, the Coolies were going from one vessel to another, and one man, named Bhabadoor, a tall athletic Coolie, compelled the lascars to go to land; the moment they reached shore, all the Coolies jumped overboard; and having heard, probably, that I had released some Coolies, they ran on shore, calling out, "Dohaie, dohaie, magistrate sahib;" I believe they might have mentioned my name. There were some Calcutta police peons on board the boat which the Coolies forced to row on shore; but the Coolies were too strong for them. The Coolies encountered, while on shore, a police boat of mine, and my people protected them from the Calcutta police. Mr. Browne called on me next day, and wished me to make them go on board again; I informed him that I had not seen the Coolies, but would examine them; and if unwilling to go, I should release them, and protect them from being compelled to go on board. He examined them, by my permission, in my presence, and all expressed their unwillingness to go; I released them in consequence.

735. Will you state the circumstances connected with their release?—In the first instance, Mr. Dias lodged an information on oath before me, respecting a man named Oojah, and I think he said he caught a man named Bhecanny, formerly a syce in his employ, in an empty house near his (Mr. Dias' house); and, upon interrogating him, he learnt that he was a duffadar; and Mr. Dias found there a kidnapped Coolie named Oojah, who had one of those tin badges round the arm. He was kept in this house by Bhecanny, who had left him there, and promised to call again and take him away. Mr. Dias brought Oojah before me; and Mr. Dias, and Oojah, the syce, deposed on oath against Bhecanny, the duffadar, and Betoo; and I issued a warrant for their apprehension. I think Mr. Dias attended the next day, and gave some other information; on the first day the peons did not succeed in apprehending Bhecanny, but his wife was found; and it was in the course of the search for these people that the serjeant, Floyd, and Mr. Dias, found out the house at Bhowanipore, of Rampershaud, in which a number of Coolies were found; I rather think that one of the released Coolies gave information, and my serjeant came to me and said, "The Coolies kidnapped are confined in a pukka-house (brick) at Bhowanipore; what is to be done?" I said, "Go away and release them at all risks." When they broke in, there was a stand of arms in the centre of the quadrangle, and armed brijabassis patrolling; and round the wall there were small cells, under lock and key, in which the Coolies were confined. The brijabassis, when they perceived the party, ran to their arms; but the serjeant, who is a determined man, succeeded in pursuing and overpowering them.

736. Did it appear from the evidence of the Coolies who came before you, that Mr. Hughes was in any measure implicated in their detention?—Yes; Mr. Hughes did appear to be concerned in this matter, as a party who had been cognizant of the detention of these Coolies; they seem to have been repeatedly taken backwards and forwards to his house.

737. Was Mr. Hughes the only gentleman who was mentioned as implicated?—There was another person mentioned as being concerned in the procuring of Coolies.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Thursday the 25th day of October 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman. | Major ARCHER.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES. | RUSSELMOY DUTT, Esq.

Mr. John Dyer attended, and Examined.

738. Are you a member of the lot service of the East India Company?—Yes; I am a master pilot.

739. Have you ever taken ships down the river which carried Coolies?—Yes; I have taken

No. 22.

Mr. John Dyer.

25 October 1838.

taken down several, the Lonach and the Whitby; the Lonach about a month ago, and the Whitby last February.

740. Can you state the tonnage of each vessel, or thereabouts?—The Lonach was about 400 tons, and the Whitby 350.

741. Do you recollect how many Coolies each ship carried?—I think the Lonach had about 80 or 90, and the Whitby 280.

742. Was there sufficient space then allotted in the latter vessel for the accommodation of the Coolies?—No; in my opinion there was not; they had the whole of the tween decks of the Whitby, with the exception of a part partitioned off for the crew, which was about 20 feet off the length of the vessel in the forepart; the Coolies got from the fore hatchway right aft, but the hospital was included in that space, and partitioned off.

743. Had they space enough on board the Lonach?—Yes.

744. Can you state to the committee any particulars worthy of remark as to the condition and treatment of the Coolies on board each of these ships, taking each separately?—Yes, I can; I made a statement to Captain Birch at his request; he asked me questions on distinct points, and I answered them.

745. Was the Whitby bound to Demerara?—Yes.

746. Did any of the men jump overboard?—None.

747. You have said in your statement that the Coolies were separated forcibly from their families; do you believe that such separation occasioned any distress to their families?—From the trouble and distress occasioned by the separation, I should believe that the aged men, and others of their families, owed their subsistence to their children; and many aged and decrepid men must have starved, I conceive, unless they found those took compassion upon them; the peons only allowed the young and strong and able-bodied men to go; but their families had apparently received promises to be allowed to accompany their children.

748. How long were you on board the Whitby?—Fourteen days.

749. In that time sickness broke out, as you have stated; did it appear on the increase?—The sickness appeared decidedly on the increase; there were 25 or 26 sick when I left the vessel, and in the first week not half the number.

750. Is not rice a very heating cargo, and injurious to the health of persons so closely stowed; and does not the bad effect increase in a long voyage?—It is a very heating cargo, and the longer it remains the hotter the ship becomes.

751. Do ships bound to Mauritius and Bourbon carry rice?—It is their principal cargo.

752. Did the Coolies appear to you unwilling to proceed?—Generally speaking, I would say they were not; the men appeared to have no conception as to where they were going, or the length of the voyage; they said they had been told (I suppose by the duffadars) that they were to go on board for two or three days, and then land and march the remainder of the journey. They complained, generally, of being seduced from their own country by fine promises; and they had no idea, when they consented to come down, that they would of necessity lose caste. They complained, also, of being robbed of their advance on their way to the ghauts by the peons in charge. They mentioned that they had been kept in bands of 40 and 50 in the outskirts of the town, and particularly under Sree Kissen Baboo in Bhowanipore.

753. Had you any means of ascertaining how much money was in each Coolie's possession?—Not correctly; but I should suppose, from what I observed, that they had not more than 300 rupees amongst them; my reason for forming this opinion is, that the greater part of them were low caste Hindoos, who yet were anxious to retain their caste as long as they could, and therefore bought dry food, parched gram, chuora (burnt rice), and sugar, &c.; and the few pice they had were expended in this way before they reached Kedgerie.

754. Did you observe whether or not the Coolies were ill-treated on board the ship?—No, they were not; the captain was a humane man, and did all in his power to make them comfortable, as far as the limited means in his power would permit.

755. Have you any suggestions to offer for the improvement of the system?—Yes, I have; I have drawn out a few hints in a paper which I beg to hand in. (*The witness gives in the papers marked No. 18: vide Appendix. The witness also hands in copy of his letter to Captain Birch.*)

AT a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Thursday the 25th day of October 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present,—REV. JAMES CHARLES.—J. P. GRANT, Esq.—Major ARCHER.

No. 23.

Mr. Roger Dias.

25 October 1838.

Mr. Roger Dias, Examined.

756. Mr. Dias, the committee understand you to be a pleader in the mofussil courts?—Yes, I am.

757. Your attention has been called to the treatment of Coolies going from this port?—Very particularly as to their treatment under the duffadars or native agents in the employ of the European Coolie merchants.

758. Will you mention to the committee how your attention was first called to this subject?—In answer to this question, I beg to refer the committee to the case of the native Coolie Oajah, published by me in the Bengal Hurkaru of

I released

I released from the custody of a duffadar, who I believe was in the employ of a Mr. Goodall.

759. Did you act on your own responsibility in releasing that man?—I did not; as the assertions the man made to me at the moment amounted to a clear charge of kidnapping against the duffadar, I put the duffadar in the custody of the police nearest at hand, and took Oajah with me to the magistrate of the 24-pergunnahs, where he was examined on oath by Mr. Patton, when, by the deposition of a native witness named Channeer, it appeared that kidnapping was the profession of the duffadar in custody, and that it was carried on to a great extent in Baumun Bustee in Calcutta, and at Bhowanipore and other parts of the 24-pergunnahs. The duffadar to whom I allude is named Bhecanny. He, as well as his brother, Beeltoo, have been convicted of the crime of kidnapping, and have been sentenced for certain periods to labour in irons, by the magistrate of the 24-pergunnahs. Out of the above case originated the lengthy investigation which ensued on the 3d of July, and concluded on the 2d of the same month at the court of the magistrate of the 24-pergunnahs, part of which proceedings have appeared in the Bengal Hurkaru and in the Calcutta Monthly Journal. On the 29th of June last, the magistrate of the 24-pergunnahs, on my application, gave me the serjeant, John Floyd, attached to the police of that district, and the jemadar with a suitable guard, to go into Baumun Bustee and to apprehend two duffadars named Rampersahud and Sanker. The witness, Channeer, first took us to the north side of the Baumun Bustee village, and we there found the homesteads of Bhecanny and Beeltoo, and an adjoining hut was pointed out as being that of Sanker. In a few minutes we were surrounded by the villagers, who, on learning the purport of our search, said that Baumun Bustee, and Colvin's Bazar in the same vicinity in Calcutta, had, for the past two years, become a mart for kidnappers, and that several of the relatives and friends of the villagers had disappeared during that time without any cause that they could discover. The villagers then pointed out to us the house of Hossein Bux, a duffadar; we were admitted into this house with difficulty. Hossein Bux at first denied having any man, but we discovered two men, whom we brought into the open air; they appeared to us to have been under the influence of some drug, as they seemed stupified; their replies at first were incoherent, but after having been some time in the open air they recovered; they had merely rags about their loins, and they were badged either on their waste or arm. They informed us they had been enticed away from their countries under promises of employment in Calcutta, and on their arrival here were told they would be shipped to Muchibunder; they always objected to go, and had frequently attempted to escape from their keepers; they had no friends or money in Calcutta, and were in debt to Hossein Bux for food, which he had first promised to let him have gratis. We took these men with us, and put Hossein Bux in charge of the guard; Hossein Bux was subsequently sentenced for kidnapping for six months with labour in irons, and was fined a sum of 200 rupees, or six additional months. We were then directed to a house in which several men were found with tin bangles soldered to their wrists; some of them had tin badges and seals round their arms; and others were bound round the wrists with tape sealed together at the ends. These men said they were kept in charge of three men named Mootee Lal, Ruggo Bhur and Pursin Sing, who all escaped. We released the men who were in confinement, and were taken to a village in the 24-pergunnahs, on the immediate south of Baumun Bustee, by some of the peasantry of the last-named place. In a house there a number of men and women were found, some badged and others bangled.* The house was closed on all sides. One of our guards removed a tattee, and on our desiring the inmates to come out, Narrain, a duffadar, who afterwards in his defence declared himself to be in the employ of Mr. John Hughes (an under agent of the Coolie shippers), came out from an adjoining hut; he said he had been at the expense of feeding the people, some for that period, and others for so long a time as four months; that he had laid out much money in the business, and that he was indebted to the soory (liquor merchant) alone in the sum of 150 rupees for liquor supplied to the Coolies. We took Narrain into custody, and released several men and women from his house. Narrain was convicted and sentenced in the same manner as Hossein Bux. The principal depôt was next traced by us at a place called Chuckerbain in Bhowanipore. The whole building measured about 50 or 60 feet square, running east and west, with a wall all round about six feet high; the building stands on an elevation of about four feet above the level of the road; the entrance is by a small door six by three feet; this was guarded by an armed burkendauz. After passing him, we found a court-yard about 30 feet square, with small native temporary hearths at distances round the sides of the wall. On the immediate west of this square, a verandah faced an inner building, the view of which was intercepted by a blank wall inside; this verandah was hung round with swords, spears and other weapons. After passing this we came to an inner court, where we saw a woman, who ran from the outer court-yard, saying she would not part from her husband or go on board ship; she appeared to have mistaken us for Coolie merchants; on being told, however, of the purport of our visit, and on being assured of her safety, she became pacified. The three sides of the inner court had a running corridor, which was bounded by several cells, all having separate doors. We asked the woman where her husband was; she pointed to a cell, which was immediately burst open by our guard; just as this was done, all the other cells were forced open by their inmates, and several voices cried out, "Dohaa sahib." A number of men and women came out of their cells asking protection from us; they

* A bangle is a circle of metal or other substance round the wrist or arm.

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they informed us that they had been prisoners for a considerable time, and though an English attorney had ordered them to be released, the duffadars nevertheless kept them in custody, and subjected them to ill-treatment and abuse. Some of the prisoners, residents of Bancoorah and Sona-Mookee, said that they had been taken by force and brought down to Calcutta by a guard of 30 or 40 peons with badges and cheelans. The peons represented themselves as government servants, and said they were impressing men for government service; that on their arrival here they were deposited in this house, which belongs to Rampershaud Baboo; during their imprisonment they were not allowed to communicate with strangers; the calls of nature were satisfied under a guard, and at night the inner court-yard was the limit of their liberty for any purpose of whatever nature; none of them were allowed to go to market. One of the cells within the inner court-yard was supplied with grain and articles of native consumption, which was superintended by a moodee in the employ of Rampershaud, who served out the rations as they are done at the gaols among the native convicts. Some of the men told us they had agreed, from disgust and fright, to be shipped; that non-compliants were subjected to privations of food, and were severely chastised. About 30 or 35 men and women were released by us from this house, and about 10 or 12 guards, who subsequently turned out to be duffadars were taken into custody.

760. Was this house in the limits of the 24-pergunnahs, or in Calcutta?—In the 24-pergunnahs.

761. Were all the persons found on the premises, not being prisoners, taken into custody?—Yes, all.

762. Were they all convicted and punished?—A few, against whom there was no evidence, were released, but the greater part were punished.

763. Had the Coolies who were released from the house, been before the police of Calcutta?—Some of them had been to the police in Calcutta, and some had been taken to the houses in Calcutta of Coolie shippers and their under agents, and several of them had been vaccinated.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Monday the 29th day of October 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present.—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES.
J. P. GRANT, Esq.

RUSOMOY DUTT, Esq.
WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

No. 24.

Mr. Roger Dias.

29 October 1838.

Mr. Roger Dias' Examination resumed.

764. Can you mention any other case of kidnapping to the committee?—I can. On Saturday the 30th of June, I renewed my search in consequence of having received information from a man named Khoda Bux, that several men were confined in a house at Sealdah, adjoining Mr. Blaquiere's. I took the Messrs. Floyd and a suitable guard and arrived at the place at six o'clock that evening. We were conducted to a building about 30 feet long and 10 broad; it had several doors on the roadway, all of which were closed. We could not make an entrance, and went round through an alley to the south of the premises. The moment we were seen, several of the duffadars ran away, and some threw themselves into a tank. We found several Coolies at this place badged and bangled; some of them were cooking rice and dhol; others were inside the building with one or two duffadars, who tried to conceal them. One of our guards went on the terrace of this building and informed us that he had apprehended some duffadars, and also men and women, who, we afterwards found, were made to lie flat down on the terrace to elude our search: We inquired of the Coolies if they voluntarily consented to be shipped to Mauritius; they one and all of them answered in the negative, and said they had been brought down to Calcutta under promises of employment here, and that ever after they were brought into the custody of the duffadars, they were not allowed to associate with strangers, or even to move from one place to another for any purpose unattended by the duffadars and their people. We asked them if they wished to be released, and they answered they would be very happy to get back to their countries. I directed Serjeant Floyd to take them under an escort to the magistrate's court, and to take the duffadars in custody there also. The men, on being examined by the magistrate, said that they had not received a single pice in advance; they were very scantily clothed, but some of them had blankets. The Coolies were released by the magistrate, and the duffadars were convicted and sentenced to labour in irons. The next case that came under my observation is as follows:—I was at the magistrate's court in Allipore, when a darogah's report came in announcing the rescue of 26 men by the Foujdarry police from being shipped by some duffadars. I subsequently saw and spoke to the Coolies; and Mr. Browne, the Coolie merchant, who came to claim them from the magistrate, said that he had advanced, I think, 2,000 or 3,000 rupees to them, and that if he was not allowed to ship them, he should be a loser in that sum, which would be very hard upon him. Mr. Browne had several interviews with the magistrate, and I should say that every facility was afforded to him if the Coolies would consent to return. On one occasion, at the request of both the magistrate and Mr. Browne, I spoke to the Coolies in the presence of these gentlemen; they all denied having received any advance, and said that they had not voluntarily agreed to be shipped, but that the duffadars had forced them into compliance. On the part of Mr. Browne I spoke to the Coolies,

Coolies, and informed them that, if they would agree to be shipped, Mr. Browne was willing to give them a present of four or five rupees each; the men said they would go on no account, as they had already experienced sufficient trouble in the cruel and severe manner in which they had been treated on board. They were detained, after their examinations were completed, one day to enable Mr. Browne by some inducement to make them consent to be shipped; but they were all released on the following day, Mr. Browne not having been successful. I have not the least doubt that he had advanced the money, but it was my impression that it had gone into the hands of the duffadars, either in the payment by him, or if it was paid to the Coolies themselves, it must have been taken from them by the duffadars.

765. You have already stated that some of the Coolies released by you from the different stations had been previously before the police; pray had you any conversation with them?—I had; I spoke to every person that was released by the 24-pergunnahs court.

766. Is your knowledge of the native language sufficiently extensive to enable you to converse freely with them?—I was born in this country, and have been all my life in it, so that the Bengalee and Hindoostanee dialects are as natural to me as the English language. I have been much among the natives, and my profession keeps me in constant intercourse with all castes and classes of them, and I have never required an interpreter to communicate with them.

767. Did you ever ask any of the Coolies who had been before the police, whether they understood the contracts into which they had entered?—To the best of my recollection they never once referred to a contract or agreement of any nature; but on my asking them why they consented to be shipped at the police office, and why they said before the magistrate they would not consent, they answered, that they were previously informed by the duffadars, that the magistrate would force them to go if they withheld consent, and that all non-compliance would be punished; and that circumstance, and their actual dread of the duffadars, left them no alternative but to say they consented; and that, if they had thought that the magistrate before whom they were taken to be registered would have released them, they would one and all of them have asked for their release. I am inclined to believe the assertion of the Coolies as to their constant apprehension of the duffadars, as on more than one occasion I saw them marched to the police office by them, and the order in which they were carried was as like as possible to the conveyance of convicts from one district to another, with the single exception that they were not in chains, and the guards were armed with no other weapons than rattans. I have a strong recollection of one of these marches. To a party of about 20 or 30 men whom I met in Mission-row, I saw two duffadars leading, and two in the rear, and three on each side. I stopped the party and insisted on speaking with the Coolies, but my interrogatories were insolently answered by the duffadars, so that I was not allowed to speak a word to them.

768. Then was it your impression that they understood the nature of the service into which they had entered?—Certainly not. If they had any impression at all, it was of service near Calcutta, and of a short duration, to enable them to return to their homes, as I believe servants are in the habit of doing biennially and triennially, and that they would be able to make their usual remittances to their families. But they had not the least idea of the nature of the service they were required to be employed in at Mauritius, which I have no hesitation in saying is not at all adapted to the natives of India, from my knowledge of their habits and customs, and of their prejudices arising from caste; I should say, that natives of the north-western provinces would lose caste by a sea voyage; and I know, from the veneration they all more or less evince to the waters of the sea, that to the natives of the lower provinces a sea voyage would be more dreadful than incarceration for life.

769. Do you think it is probable, from the opportunities you had of forming a judgment of their capacity, that they would comprehend the terms of such a contract as is entered into with them?—Impossible; as the natives who were released through the 24-pergunnahs court were generally illiterate and extremely ignorant, and not capable of understanding the nature of the contract, as both Mr. Patton and myself found the greatest difficulty in making them understand an agreement of a simple nature, I think I am justified in saying, that a shristedar (head ministerial officer of the court) himself would find it difficult to explain the nature of the contract minutely; and, if he could not understand it, much less the Coolies.

770. Have you any suggestions to offer to the committee as to the amelioration of the system?—None; I do not think I could offer any with safety, as I would be afraid that a system, if adopted with the greatest precaution and deliberation, would be open to the abuses that have already been exposed, and to others which would not be less in amount. I would object to a system, as, if any law were passed on the subject, I should suppose it would be acted upon all over the country; and I would say that a law once in the hands of the omrah and the local officers of the state would be looked upon as an authority for the introduction and the justification of a slave trade. The law has already provided against kidnapping, but that is insufficient to check it.

771. Under what authority were you empowered to release the Coolies from Bauman Butee, which is in the Calcutta jurisdiction, and not in the 24-pergunnahs?—In coming into Calcutta, I was accompanied by the police officers of the 24-pergunnahs, who had a warrant for the apprehension of Sunker, one of the duffadars implicated by the evidence of Chunnear, and against whom a clear charge of kidnapping now exists in the magistrate's court. The warrant was issued by Mr. Patton, who, I am aware, is a joint magistrate both of Calcutta and the 24-pergunnahs. It had been the custom previously for Mr. McFarlan's

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warrant to remove offenders from the 24-pergunnahs with hardly any trouble, and Mr. Pattou's warrant was executed just as easily in Calcutta. I have to state, that I was actuated in the part I took, in the supposition of the system of kidnapping existing, purely and strictly by a sense of public duty, and from no other cause whatsoever.

772. From the information in your possession, have you reason to think that Coolies for the Mauritius are now forcibly detained in any part of the 24-pergunnahs?—I believe not. The active measures taken by the magistrate of that district have entirely suppressed the system there.

773. What answer can you make to the same question in respect to Calcutta?—I know that Coolies are living in the house of one Jackanauth Paul, in Jaun Bazar, and, from their appearance, I should say they are subjected to the same surveillance and espionage as at the house at Bhowanipore and Sealdah. I was informed that there are also Coolies in a house at Champatulla, in Calcutta.

774. Do you think that there are grounds for suspecting that the Coolies in the house in Jaun Bazar are not allowed to leave the house if they wish to do so?—I would say, strong grounds.

775. Do you know whether or not any inquiries have been made to ascertain whether the Coolies for the Mauritius, now living in several houses in Calcutta, are living in them with their own free-will, or are forcibly detained in them?—I should say not.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Monday the 29th day of October 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—J. P. GRANT, Esq.—WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

No. 25.
 The Rev.
 Anthony Garstin.
 29 October 1838.

The Reverend *Anthony Garstin*, Examined.

776. I believe you have lately returned from the Mauritius?—I returned from the Mauritius on the 5th instant, after a stay in the island of three weeks.

777. During your stay at the Mauritius, did you pay any attention to the state of the Indian labourers there?—Yes, I made various inquiries regarding it, both of the Coolies themselves, and of other persons. I sailed from Calcutta in the Indian Oak, which had, I believe, 258 Coolies on board; the voyage lasted two months from Calcutta.

778. Will you describe the manner in which the Coolies were treated on the passage?—My impression was, that they were treated remarkably well, with great humanity, and even tenderness, on the part of the captain.

779. Had the Coolies, in your opinion, a sufficient quantity of provisions and water?—They had abundance of food during the whole passage, but latterly, in consequence of the length of the passage, we were all put upon an allowance of water, and then the Coolies had the same quantity as the sailors, sufficient in my opinion for health, but not enough to give them a drink whenever they felt thirsty.

780. Had they a sufficient space allotted to them?—I went down for the purpose of seeing, and particularly examined the space allotted to them, and though there would not have been enough for an equal number of Europeans, yet from my knowledge of the habits of Coolies, I should say that they had enough space. It appeared to me that they did not always occupy as much space as they might have done, from their habits of huddling up together.

781. Did they prefer remaining above or below deck?—In fair weather they seemed to prefer being on deck, and in bad weather, below.

782. Were they allowed to come on deck at their pleasure?—In fine weather they were obliged to come on deck, and they were allowed to be there always, except on particular occasions, when it was necessary to keep the decks clear for working the ship.

783. What was the general health of the Coolies during the passage?—It was good. There were generally some Coolies ailing, but there was only one case of severe illness, which seemed to be constitutional.

784. Was there a medical man on board?—There was a native, a pupil from the medical college. With regard to the medical treatment which they received, I should state, that the captain, who had some knowledge of medicine, generally took the treatment of the sick into his own hand, and that the native doctor acted under his superintendence.

785. Did you observe if the Coolies were subjected to ill-treatment from the officers or crew of the vessel?—I can state that they were not; for in one instance where the chief officer merely struck one of them, the captain was so determined to prevent any thing of the kind again, that he threatened to suspend him and confine him to his cabin if ever he should do so again; I do not believe that the crew, who were lascars, ever ill-treated the Coolies.

786. Had you any opportunity of ascertaining from the Coolies if they were acquainted with the nature of their engagement, and their object in going on board ship?—No; they seemed, whenever we came in sight of land in the course of the voyage, as for example, Coringa and Rodrigues, to be well aware that the land they saw was not the place of their destination.

787. Do you happen to know if the Coolies had any money with them?—Yes; they had half their advance, that is, 15 rupees each, in the captain's hands, and of which he gave them, on their application, a rupee each, on two occasions; this was for purchasing any little articles they required from the serang or others, who had articles for sale; the balance

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was paid into the hands of each Coolie at the police on arrival; I was present when some of the Coolies were receiving their balances.

788. Did any of the Coolies jump overboard, or abscond during the vessel's progress down the river?—Off Coolie Bazar some Coolies jumped overboard; but with one exception, they were all caught and brought back by boats again; off Saugor one man jumped overboard, apparently with the intent of swimming on shore; he was not recovered, and his fate is unknown. On another occasion, close to the outer floating light, one man jumped overboard, and was picked up by a boat which was lowered for him. Once more in the course of the voyage another Coolie jumped overboard, and was picked up in the same manner.

789. Can you explain the motives of these men in jumping overboard?—I forget the reason for jumping overboard assigned by the man who jumped overboard near the floating light; but the man who last jumped overboard assigned as his reason for doing so, that one of the other Coolies (one of the sirdars, I believe) had struck him. The weather was bad on the last occasion but one, but it was fine weather on the last occasion. I feel convinced that, on the two last occasions, the men jumped overboard in the conviction that they would be picked up; in order to deter any others from jumping overboard, the captain told them all on the last occasion, that he would pick up no more; and after that no more jumped overboard.

790. Can you speak from personal knowledge of the treatment of the Coolies at the Mauritius?—I can speak on that question so far as this, that I visited some of the sugar estates, and saw the Coolies at work; I asked the Coolies themselves various questions, such as whether they were happy, whether they liked the country, and whether it was their wish to return to India; I do not remember a single instance in which the Coolies did not say Mauritius was a good place (*acha jaigha*), and that they liked it, but that they preferred India, assigning as their only reason that their families were there; most of those, however, whom I questioned declared that in case they returned to Bengal at the end of their term of service, they would go back to Mauritius after having seen their families.

791. What number of Coolies might you have seen on the aggregate at Mauritius?—It never occurred to me to number the Coolies I saw, but I visited five or six estates; I am sure that I have seen some hundreds.

792. Can you particularize the estates which you visited?—I visited the estate of Monsieur Riviere, and the neighbouring estate of Monsieur Adrien, also the estate of Anasamee, a native of Malabar.

793. Will you describe the condition of the Coolies on Monsieur Riviere's estate?—Those that I noticed struck me as being stout men; I remember that I particularly remarked the stoutness of some, and was told that the reason was that they ate so much sugar. The relation between master and workman seemed to be very good; I remember especially the absence of servility on the part of the Coolies, and a kind and familiar style on the part of the master, such as tapping a Coolie on the shoulder, and speaking of him as a "bon sujet." It is but fair to state that I have but an imperfect knowledge of Hindoostanee, but from the nature of their answers, I am convinced that the Coolies understood me and I understood them; Monsieur Riviere did not understand Hindoostanee, and therefore his presence cannot have influenced their replies.

794. Did any of the Coolies complain to you of ill-treatment?—No, I do not remember a single instance of a Coolie having complained of any thing to me; I spoke to Coolies, not only on the several estates that I visited, but also on the public roads. I know of one complaint having been made to another person, and only one; it was the complaint of a Coolie that had been severely beaten by his master; the master of whom that complaint was made was not a Frenchman.

795. In your opinion, are the Coolies generally overworked?—I should say not, from the nature of the work, and from having heard that during spare hours the Coolies sometimes voluntarily undertake extra work.

796. Can you define the nature and extent of labour exacted from the Coolies?—I think the hours for work are from sunrise to sunset, with two intervals for meals of an hour each; the principal work consists of three sorts, preparing holes for the cane and planting it, weeding the ground, and cutting the canes; this struck me as far less laborious work than Coolies are accustomed to in India.

797. Did you hear the planters express any opinion as to the manner in which the Coolies perform their work?—I particularly remember that Monsieur Riviere spoke of the Coolies from Calcutta as being the best workmen of all those employed in the island, whether Coolies from other parts of India, or African apprentices; he said the Calcutta Coolies were more docile, and worked harder than any other labourers. My present impression is that every other proprietor to whom I spoke on the subject, spoke of the Coolies from Calcutta in the same favourable terms; but on this point I cannot be positive.

798. Have you heard whether the apprentices complain of the Coolies being employed?—No; I have never heard any thing of that kind.

799. Can you state the rate of wages for agricultural labour at Mauritius?—I cannot exactly say what is the amount which people are found willing to pay, but I believe the amount demanded by a free labourer is about a dollar a day; people cannot generally pay so high a rate, and the consequence is, that the greater part of the free Africans live in idleness; they prefer so doing to working at a lower rate. I was told by a magistrate of Mauritius, that crime had increased on account of this circumstance.

800. Were any complaints made to you by the Coolies that their wages were not regularly paid to them by their masters?—None of the Coolies complained to me that their

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wages were not paid, and I never heard any complaints of the kind being made to others. The special magistrates who were appointed on the emancipation of the slaves for the purpose of deciding all questions between the apprentices and their masters were, when I left the island, just about to be invested in a similar jurisdiction in all questions between the Coolies and their employers. Hitherto such questions have been decided by the police magistrates in Port Louis, and it may be supposed, from the distance, that the Coolies must find it difficult, if not impossible, to lodge complaints. The special magistrates are distributed all over the island, and will always be immediately accessible. I consider that the appointment of the special magistrates is calculated to remove all apprehension as to the future treatment of the Coolies of any kind; the system in regard to the apprentices is very strict in dealing out justice.

801. Had you any conversation with well-informed residents on the state of the Coolies generally at Mauritius, and if so, will you be good enough to favour the committee with the result?—I conversed with a great many persons of all descriptions, and from the Governor downwards, including several government functionaries, and a great many other persons who had no personal interest in the question; all seemed to think that the Coolies were well treated, and, as far as they were informed of their previous circumstances, benefited by coming to Mauritius. I made particular inquiry of one of the special magistrates as to what his observation was in regard to the treatment the Coolies received; telling him at the same time that I had heard from one person in particular (mentioning his name) that the French masters were severe towards them. His reply was, "I ought to be well aware of how they are dealt with, as, in the ordinary course of our duty, I frequently visit the estate on which they are employed, and from personal observation can assert that there is nothing in the treatment they receive to make them unhappy; one symptom is, that they always sing at their work and appear quite happy;" he added, "Your informant is not on good terms with the French, and might be expected to make the statement which you mention."

802. From your own knowledge of the state of the labouring classes in the country, do you consider that the Coolies better their condition by emigrating to the Mauritius?—Very greatly; the grounds are very clear; they receive a higher rate of wages in the first place, in the second their wants are so completely provided for, as regards food, clothing and lodging, that they have no occasion to spend any portion of their wages; add to this, the nature of their work is not so laborious as in India, and the climate far more favourable.

803. Were any cases brought to your notice, when on board the Indian Oak at the Mauritius, of Coolies having been kidnapped and forced to leave their country?—None whatever.

804. Have you any suggestions to offer to the committee for the amelioration of the present system?—I have none to offer. I think it however very desirable that a greater proportion of women should accompany the Coolies, and such appeared to be the desire of the planters. It is my firm opinion that if once the Coolies be established at Mauritius with their families they will no longer desire to return to India. A servant who accompanied me was so well pleased with the island, that he proposes to return with his family if he can procure employment.

At an extra Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 30th day of October 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman. | WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
J. P. GRANT, Esq. | RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.

No. 26.
Capt. R. Rayne.
30 October 1838.

Captain R. Rayne, Commander of the Ship, Indian Oak, Examined.

805. What is your profession?—I am commander of the ship, Indian Oak, of 472 tons.

806. Have you ever taken Indian Coolies to the Mauritius?—Yes.

807. What was the date of the respective voyages?—I beg leave to hand in memoranda, extracted from the log-book of the Indian Oak, as part of my evidence, in which will be found the dates of each voyage, a memorandum of the casualties on board, and general regulations for the treatment of the Coolies on board, with remarks of my own on the subject.

808. Had you any European surgeon on board during any of these four voyages?—On no occasion; but always a native doctor, and a sufficient supply of medicines; I understand something of medical treatment myself; I believe I know as much of it as most men who have not had a professional education, from attentive study, and by practice on board country ships with large crews; and I took upon myself the direction of the native doctors, in consequence of observing that, on the first voyage, the native doctor was wholly ignorant of the proper proportions of medicine, giving enormous doses of calomel, such as 60 or 70 grains at a time. On the two last voyages the native doctors were more efficient, but I have not trusted to them; I suspect the native doctors do not know much of practical surgery. On the last voyage the native doctor found a difficulty in bleeding a man; but he was not a person easy to bleed, as he was very fat, with small veins, and I had some trouble in finding the vein myself.

809. Have you ever been resident for any length of time in the island of Mauritius?—No, I have not.

810. Have you ever visited any plantation so as to reside there for any length of time?—No; I have visited one, however, belonging to a Mr. Ama Sawmey, a native of the coast of

of Madras, and a Hindoo; he is, I believe, an opponent of the importation of Coolies, but I think that may proceed from false pride, for I have never heard him give any good reasons for his opinion.

811. Did you inquire into the condition and treatment of the Coolies on Mr. Ama Sawmey's plantation?—Yes, I did.

812. What was the general result?—They seemed generally healthy and contented, with the exception of one individual, a man who, from his general appearance and answers, seemed to me a man of bad conduct, which was the character given of him; he had been cook of a gentleman in Calcutta, and he was employed there as a freed labourer.

813. Is not Mr. Ama Sawmey a Hindoo?—Yes; he is a Hindoo, but he associates very much with Europeans; he bears a very good character for humanity; he is kind and indulgent to his people.

814. Can you give any information respecting the rate of wages of free labour in the Mauritius?—The only criterion I can furnish is the rate at which we pay labourers on board ship; the rate is two rupees, or one dollar a day; sometimes they find their own provisions, sometimes they get provisions found them; but they generally stipulate for a glass of grog in all cases. The same rate is, I believe, paid on the wharf.

815. What class do these labourers belong to?—Generally they are pure negroes; in some cases mulattoes.

816. Do you think that an able-bodied Coolie, a Dhanga, for example, is equal to an able-bodied negro for field labour?—I hear that, for field work, they are equal; certainly not for work on board ship, or on the wharf; they have not the bodily strength of the African for labour, requiring a great exertion of muscle, but they have perhaps more endurance, and can work for a longer time without fatigue.

817. Have you brought back any men?—I have brought back altogether about four men, returned by the police as bad characters, and invariably idle; I have never returned direct.

818. Do you know whether these persons returned had received any wages at all?—I cannot say.

819. Have you ever visited Bourbon?—No.

820. Can you state whether due arrangements are made for the Coolies on board ship to enable them to ease themselves, when impelled by the necessities of nature?—In my ship, which is lofty, and the bulwarks high, no inconvenience has been experienced; but I should say, in small ships, it is a cause of inconvenience, distress, and ill health; the arrangements ought to be similar to those in transports.

821. Do you not think it essential to the health and comfort of the Coolies that the captain or officers should speak Hindoostanee, or that there should be some person on board who could understand and communicate with the Coolies in their own language?—I think so.

822. Had you any dissatisfaction on board during the voyages?—Never, until my last voyage; and that was the only voyage in which the cooking arrangements were as good as I could wish. The dissatisfaction arose from the mode of paying them; they had been two or three days on board without receiving any money, and, in consequence, 10 men jumped overboard at Coolie Bazar; I believe one man was drowned, but none were picked up. Late at night, before starting, I received a bag containing between 1,400 and 1,500 rupees, too late to distribute; and distributed one rupee per man to all who answered to their names going down the river; about 20 did not answer to their names, but I gave them a rupee each out of my own pocket; still they were dissatisfied, saying they were cheated by the gentlemen of the police; one man said he would rather be cheated by the duffadars than by the sahebs. This dissatisfaction, on the last voyage, continued until their arrival at the police office at the Mauritius; and then, when they found that each had about six rupees to receive, and that other Coolies told them they had got nothing, they were well content. On this voyage I took about 259, and the money sent on board by Mr. McCann was nearly seven rupees a head for each man, except some few who had left three or four rupees for their families. On former voyages I had always mustered the Coolies, and asked them to give me their money to keep, but they invariably said they had not a rupee. Out of above 800 I have taken, not one said they had been kidnapped, or complained of the manner in which they had been taken on board.

823. Did any other men jump overboard from your ship during any of your voyages?—At Saugor, one evening about half-past eight, when it was blowing very hard, and ship anchored about seven miles from shore, I saw something moving in the water close to the ship, which at first I supposed to be the buoy of the anchor. On watching it more narrowly, it appeared to me to be a man; I immediately called out, "Who is that?" when the man dived and came up again, striking away from the ship; I sent for a musket and fired it over his head, with a view to deter him, without effect; and I directed a quarter boat to be cleared and manned immediately, and then asked the pilot if it was safe to lower the cutter; he said it was not, and I was obliged to leave him to his fate. I think the nearest point he could have fetched with the flood was 15 miles distant, because the nearest point of land, Saugor Point, was not in the direct run of the tide. After that, another man jumped overboard near the floating light, in fine weather; he was picked up. It seems he had a quarrel with another Coolie, and jumped overboard in consequence. I think he calculated on being picked up. Another man, in consequence of a quarrel with the cook about his mess, threatened to jump overboard, but was prevented. Another man, in a severe north-wester, was missing during the night; he had a wife and two young men, sons, on board. It is supposed he must have gone to ease himself, and slipped overboard. The first I knew of

No. 26.

Capt. R. Rayne.

30 October 1838.

it was in consequence of the wife's coming on the quarter-deck in a state of great misery saying she had missed her husband.

824. Have you made any inquiries of natives of India respecting their treatment?—Yes; I have encountered many on the wharf and in the streets; generally speaking, they said they were satisfied; they were well enough treated; they said they did not expect to be so hard worked, but that perhaps alluded to the work on the wharf, which is certainly very hard work; some of them complained that they did not get wages when they were sick; and in one case I particularly inquired into, I found that the man had received some injury to his leg by cutting stone, I believe, and that, I thought, was a hard case; I thought the man should not have lost his wages; but, as a general rule, I should say, that it was a good plan with the Bengalees to stop their wages when sick. (No. 19: *vide* Appendix.)

At an adjourned Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 6th day of November 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present.—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.

Rev. JAMES CHARLES.

J. P. GRANT, Esq.

RUSSOMOY DUTT, Esq.

WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

No. 27.

Mr. John Floyd.

6 Nov. 1838.

Mr. John Floyd, Examined.

825. Will you state to the committee what your occupation is?—I am head clerk to the magistrate of the 24-pergunnahs.

826. Are you able to give the committee any information respecting the kidnapping alleged to exist in the 24-pergunnahs?—Yes, I am. Mr. Dias lodged an information before Mr. Patton against a duffadar of the name of Rampershaud, I believe for having kidnapped some syces formerly in his employment. Mr. Patton issued an order to my father, who is sole constable of the 24-pergunnahs court, to accompany Mr. Dias, apprehend this duffadar, and liberate as many Coolies as he might find illegally detained; I was also instructed to accompany them.

827. Will you state the particulars of what occurred on this occasion?—We first went to a village in Bhowanipore, and not finding the duffadar there, we proceeded to Colvin's Bustee, called also Baumun Bustee, where we were informed he was, but we could not find him out. The native residents there informed us that other duffadars in that vicinity were in the habit of kidnapping Coolies, and mentioned in particular Houssein Bux; we went to this person's house, and found two or three people there with tin badges on their wrists, and tape on their arms seaed with wax. The doors of the house were not shut, though Houssein Bux would not come out to us. The Coolies said they were detained against their will, and we took them with us to the magistrate. We apprehended Houssein Bux, and brought him, too, before the magistrate. In consequence of further information we received, we proceeded to Bhowanipore, and there found in one house two men and a woman, who were confined in a hut, whom we released, as they declared they were detained against their will. In the adjoining huts we found other Coolies, and then we were taken to a pukka-house. The letter addressed to Mr. Patton, which I now beg to hand in to the committee, contains an account of what we discovered there. At seven o'clock in the evening we proceeded to Allipore with the Coolies and duffadars. The magistrate afterwards took the deposition of the Coolies, and inflicted punishment on the duffadars.

828. Are you acquainted with any other cases?—Yes; on the following day we went to Brijotollah, but on reaching it, we learned that the duffadars had removed almost all the Coolies during the previous night to Calcutta, in consequence of their apprehending a visit from us. We succeeded in releasing two or three Coolies there, and a sircar delivered up to us several Bengalee books, containing the names of the duffadars who had received advances from his master, a baboo, to procure Coolies from the upper provinces. The sircar told us his master had been engaged in the business for two or three years. On the same day we released about four Coolies who were confined in a large upper-roomed house in the Ballygunge division; the next day we proceeded to Sendah, Mr. Dias having learned there were Coolies there. In a pukka godown, behind Mr. Blaquiere's house, we found 10 or 15 Coolies, and among them a woman; the place was walled round and guarded, and when we entered, the Coolies were engaged in cooking; the duffadars ran away when they saw us enter; and the Coolies, thinking we had come to take them on board ship, tried to make their escape; we soon undeceived them; and on asking them if they were willing to go to Mauritius, they said, "No," and that they were detained against their will, and had been detained for about a month; we removed them from that place and brought them to the magistrate. One of the duffadars, in order to deceive us, placed himself among them, representing himself a Coolie, but we soon separated him, and lodged an accusation against him.

829. Can you give the committee any information respecting some Coolies said to have been illegally detained at Sulkea?—No, I cannot; but my father, who released them, is in possession of the information.

830. Did you give in any report to the magistrate respecting the visits you made to them in several places?—Yes, my father and I gave in a joint report to Mr. Patton, and the report was attested on oath.

831. Do you know where that report is now?—It is in the judge's office, and I shall endeavour to procure an attested copy of it for the committee. (No. 20: *vide* Appendix.)

At

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES. 69

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 6th day of November 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman. J. P. GRANT, Esq. Rev. JAMES CHARLES.	RUSSOMOY DUTT, Esq. WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
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Mr. D. McFarlan, Chief Magistrate, Examined.

No. 28.

832. You are a member of the Bengal civil service, and chief magistrate of Calcutta?—
I am. Mr. D. McFarlan.

6 Nov. 1838.

833. Have any complaints been made to you of Coolies having been illegally detained in Calcutta?—In consequence of the petitions handed to you marked (A.) D. McF. and (B.) D. McF., I sent down a constable to Mr. Dowson's, directing him as written on back of paper (B.) D. McF. The constable reported that the persons in the house in Clive-street were perfectly satisfied, and brought the letter from Dowson & Co. marked (C.) D. McF.

834. Did Mr. Dowson himself ever apply to you about these Coolies?—Mr. Dowson, I think, came to me shortly after the above, applying for assistance to keep the men above alluded to from running away. I told him that it was out of the question that he could detain them. I think I warned Mr. Dowson that what he appeared to be doing would subject him to writs of habeas corpus and actions at law, and that all I could do would be the other way. I also wrote to Captain Birch, warning him against giving any assistance on the part of the police to Mr. Dowson or others similarly situated.

835. Do you know anything of the kidnapping alleged to go on in Calcutta?—No; I recollect entering a house in Jaun Bazar, said to be a house for the reception of Coolies; there I found several Coolies wearing badges, some cooking, some walking about, and the house was open, and the persons apparently contented. They had no previous reason to expect a visit from me. I believe that cases of illegal detention in Calcutta have existed, but I certainly am not aware of any that were not founded on debts due by the parties detained. I have always understood that a magistrate has not the power to break open premises on a mere allegation that some one is illegally detained within the premises. (No. 21: vide Appendix.)

(signed) D. McFarlan.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Friday the 9th day of November 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman. Rev. JAMES CHARLES. J. P. GRANT, Esq.	WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq. RUSSOMOY DUTT, Esq.
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Alexander Colvin, Esq., Examined.

No. 29.

836. You have I believe been many years resident in India?—I have been upwards of 36
years in India. Alex. Colvin, Esq.

9 Nov. 1838.

837. Are you a member of the firm of Colvin, Ainslie, Cowie & Co.?—Yes, I am.

838. Are you acquainted with the mode in which sugar cultivation is carried on in India?—I have no practical knowledge of it. I know as a merchant that a great quantity of sugar is cultivated in Bengal, particularly in the provinces lying along the Ganges.

839. Is not that cultivation almost exclusively carried on by natives?—Hitherto, I believe, entirely so. I am not aware that any thing has been done by Europeans, excepting in the most minute way, and experimentally. By this, however, I do not mean to say that there are not Europeans engaged in the process of refining or purifying sugar grown by the natives.

840. Are you aware of the existence of any European plantation in British India for the growth of sugar?—I am not aware of any, except in the way of experiment. The firm with which I am connected are doing it in this way; and the result of our experiments was a few boxes of very bad sugar.

841. How much sugar do you expect to make this year?—It is of such small importance that I really cannot say; but I should think it will not exceed 400 or 500 mounds.

842. Do you know of any other experiments conducted by Europeans for the growth of sugar?—The only way in which I can approximate to an answer to the question is this: the other day we received about 3,000 Otaheite canes from the Horticultural Society, which I believe was about one-third of what they had to dispose of; the other two-thirds were distributed among Messrs. Fergusson, Brothers & Co. and Messrs. Boyd & Co.; these canes are intended for a jungle grant which we lately received from government in Goruckpore.

843. Can the experiments you have mentioned as conducted by Europeans for the growth of sugar in any way have influenced the demand for Indian labour?—Certainly not, in the most remote degree.

844. In what district is the sugar cultivation of India now principally carried on, and is it, generally speaking, carried on by hired labour, or in what manner?—In all the districts

No. 29.
Alex. Colvin, Esq.

9 Nov. 1838.

in this presidency with which I am acquainted, the sugar cultivation is carried on by the occupiers of the soil, who are, generally speaking, too poor to employ hired labour. It is, I believe, generally in small patches in the vicinity of their dwellings that the sugar is grown.

845. Do you consider that, in the event of Mauritius ceasing to be a sugar-producing colony, a greater impulse would be given to the cultivation of the cane, and its manufacture into sugar by Europeans in India?—This would depend on the proportion which the sugar now made in the Mauritius bears to the whole demand. It appears to me that if the amount produced in the Mauritius does not exceed 40,000 tons, this would not give a very material impulse to the quantity cultivated and manufactured by Europeans in Bengal.

846. Supposing no protection were granted to sugar grown in India, admitted in England, and that from any cause the production of sugar in the other British colonies, such as Mauritius, the West Indies, and British Guiana, were materially lessened or ceased altogether, do you consider it at all certain that British India could produce sugar cheaper than the other sugar growing countries of the world, such as Brazil, Siam, Cochin China, Java, Manilla, &c.?—I doubt exceedingly if we could. My impression is, that sugar is grown cheaper in Siam and Manilla, and perhaps also in Java, than we could produce it here.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Friday the 9th day of November 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
 Rev. JAMES CHARLES.
 J. P. GRANT, Esq.

WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
 RUSSOMOTY DUTT, Esq.

No. 30.

W. F. Fergusson,
 Esq.

9 Nov. 1838.

William Frederick Fergusson, Esq., Examined.

847. You are a merchant and agent in extensive business in Calcutta?—I am.

848. How many years have you been resident in India?—Sixteen years.

849. Are you aware of the existence of any plantations conducted by Europeans in India for the growth of sugar?—I believe there is one small one at Commercolly, belonging to Carr, Tagore & Co.

850. By whom is the sugar produced in India grown?—At present, entirely by natives.

851. Is the sugar produced in India grown by persons possessed of considerable capital, and by means of hired labour, or in what manner?—It is almost entirely produced by persons of no capital, by ryuts in short, who grow small patches.

852. Is the firm of Fergusson, Brothers & Co., with which you are connected, now engaged in any plantation for the growth of sugar?—We are engaged in it on a very small scale in the Benares district, for the purpose of ascertaining what quantity of sugar the land will produce, and at what cost.

853. When did you commence the experiment?—Last planting season, in the month of March.

854. How much sugar do you expect this year?—From 20 to 30 tons.

855. Can you mention the number of beegahs in cultivation, and the quality of the canes employed?—I think at present there are under 50 beegahs in cultivation; each beegah being about two-thirds of an acre in that district; and having failed to grow the Otaheite cane in different parts of that district, our experiment is conducted entirely with the country cane.

856. To what do you attribute the failure of the Otaheite cane?—Entirely to the destruction occasioned by the white ants. We planted a plot of Otaheite cane with native cane around it and across it, and when the Otaheite canes were entirely destroyed by the ants, the others were not touched.

857. Then in short, to the best of your knowledge, the growth of sugar in this presidency, by European capital and skill, is at present purely experimental, and in its infancy?—Certainly, and all the experiments hitherto have failed.

858. Do you consider it at all certainly established, that after all, Europeans will be able to compete successfully with the native cultivators of sugar?—I do not think they will, so long as the present revenue system continues.

859. Do you consider that, in the event of the Mauritius ceasing to be a sugar-producing colony, a greater impulse would be given to the cultivation of the cane, and its manufacture into sugar by Europeans in India?—The abstraction of the supply from the Mauritius would, by enhancing the price at home, give encouragement to the production of sugar in any country, the produce of which is admitted into England at a low rate of duty. But I do not think it likely that even a considerable increase in price would increase the production in British India to any great extent.

860. Supposing no protection were granted to sugar grown in India, admitted in England, and that from any cause the production of sugar in the other British colonies, such as Mauritius, the West Indies, and British Guiana, were materially lessened, or ceased altogether, do you consider it at all certain that British India could produce sugar for export cheaper than the other sugar-growing countries of the world, such as Siam, Cochin China, Brazil, Java and Manilla?—I should say, certainly not. The heavy exactions from land, even supposing the cane to be equally productive, would effectually prevent this.

861. Do

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861. Do you not consider the very low rate of wages would not counterbalance the charges on land?—The rate of wages in comparison to the work done is greatly higher here than any where else.

862. In your opinion, is the introduction of British skill, enterprise and machinery into India necessary to a great and progressive increase of the production of sugar in this country?—The introduction of capital would certainly have an effect in increasing the productions through native agency, but I doubt if British skill and machinery will for a long time have any effect in that way.

No. 30.
W. F. Fergusson,
Esq.

9 Nov. 1838.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Friday the 9th day of November 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
REV. JAMES CHARLES.
J. P. GRANT, Esq.

WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
RUSSOMOY DUTT, Esq.

Dwarkanath Tagore, Esq., Examined.

863. Are you not a justice of peace for Calcutta?—Yes, I am.

864. In that capacity have any complaints been laid before you by Coolies about to proceed to the Mauritius?—The syce of my partner, Mr. William Prinsep, came to me to complain that his brother was kept in confinement by the duffadars, with the view of being sent to the Mauritius; I sent him to Mr. McFarlan, the chief magistrate, and after a great deal of trouble, his brother was brought to the police. The other party alleged that the man had received an advance of a rupee, and the magistrate decided that he could not release him till the rupee was paid, and as the brother could not afford to pay it, Mr. Prinsep sent it from his own pocket.

865. Do you know of any other cases of your own knowledge?—I know of several other cases. The brother of a servant in the employ of Baboo Neel Rutton Holdar, came to me complaining that some of the duffadars had forcibly taken his brother to the Mauritius; but nothing could be done in this case, as the ship was gone. And many other cases of the same kind occurred.

866. From your knowledge of the people of this country, of the class which has been exported, do you believe that they could be easily influenced or persuaded to leave their homes to go beyond sea?—From what I know of the lower class of natives, I am persuaded that they would be easily induced by the village gomastha, or the mundel of the village, or any other influential people, to leave their homes and come to Calcutta, or any other distant place; but if they perfectly understood that they would be required to go a voyage of a month or six weeks, it would be difficult to get their consent. If they were persuaded that they were going near Europeans, for whom they have a great respect, that they would soon come back, and that they would derive great advantages from the employment, they would be more likely to comply.

867. Have you had any of the people of the Dhangas in your employ, and, from what you know of their habits, do you believe that they would easily be persuaded to leave their homes and families for five years?—I think not. I know this, that in indigo factories we cannot keep them a whole twelvemonth, even by giving them their full salary when they are not at work. At the end of the manufacturing season, they return to their homes for two months. I have induced some of them to come with their families and settle, and they remain the whole year, but those who do not bring their families always return to their homes. They are as much attached to their families as any civilized people.

868. What wages do they ordinarily receive, and are they able to effect any saving out of them?—They get from three to four rupees, and their expense for living is one rupee eight annas. They send part of their savings to their families, and with a part purchase silver jewels for their children.

869. Do you think the Coolies or labouring classes in Bengal are generally well off?—Why, I think it has improved, compared with what it was before. Sometimes when there is a famine, an inundation, or any similar disaster, they are in a very wretched condition.

870. Is there not much misery prevalent among these classes?—Certainly not in Bengal. I speak only of Bengal. I am not well acquainted with the condition of the people in the upper provinces.

871. Bengal being very populous, to what cause do you attribute it that these Dhangas, who are emigrants from the hills, find such ready employment at good wages?—The natives of Bengal are naturally an idle set of people, and the labouring class generally have a little land of their own on which they work, and although it is not sufficient to employ their whole labour, it is sufficient to afford them the means of subsistence. Hence they are not good workmen, and the Dhangas or Hill Coolies, being much better workmen, are preferred by indigo planters, and others who employ many labourers.

872. Have you not been engaged in various experiments in the cultivation of the sugar cane and manufacture of sugar in different districts of this presidency?—I am the first person who commenced cultivating sugar-cane by the European process, and under European superintendence, in India. I cultivated about 600 beegahs at Barripore, with Otahete cane, and also advanced money to natives, and gave them cuttings of Otahete cane for them to cultivate it, and I bought the cane from them. I put up horizontal sugar mills,

No. 31-
Dwarkanath Tagore,
Esq.

9 Nov. 1838.

No. 31.
 Dwark. Tagore,
 Esq.
 9 Nov. 1838.

with a steam-engine. The cane grew to a large size, but only a few seers of sugar were produced, not one maund. The next year I tried China sugar-cane, and though it produced sugar, the quantity was small. I sent Mr. Henley, the English superintendent, whom I had hitherto employed to learn the practice of sugar planters at Mauritius, and on his return, I tried the experiment for a third time, but I found that though I could produce sugar as good as that produced by natives, with the common native process, the cost price, exclusive of interest on my original outlay, was more than double the common selling price of sugar in the bazar. I lost more than two lacs of rupees by the experiment at Barripore. I then tried similar experiments in the districts of Ghazepore and Pubna, two remarkably fine sugar districts, for three seasons, under different European superintendence, but these experiments failed in the same way. My European superintendents at last came to the opinion, that they never could make sugar in India so cheaply as the natives now do. I still make sugar largely, but I buy the goor from natives, and the sugar costs me one-fourth of what it did when I cultivated the cane and boiled the juice. After the repeated failures above mentioned, I have now reverted to the native process.

At an adjourned Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Friday the 16th day of November 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.—RUSSOMBY DUTT, Esq.

No. 32.
 Karoo.
 16 Nov. 1838.

Karoo, Examined.

873. What is your name?—Karoo, resident of Khurkotta, in the district of Mongher.

874. Where do you last come from?—From the Mauritius.

875. When did you go to the Mauritius; by what ship?—I went last year, but I do not know the name of the ship in which I went.

876. Were you engaged to serve at the Mauritius, or in some other country?—I was sent from here to the Mauritius, but I do not know by whom I was sent. I was at the police before I embarked.

877. What were you told at the police?—I was told at the police that I was to remain at Mauritius five years; my pay to be five rupees per month, of which one to be deducted. I received 20 rupees in hand, being four months' pay, before embarking, but the duffadar took 10 rupees out of that sum for the diet expenses on the road.

878. What induced you to leave home?—A man of the name of Golam Ally, who is a duffadar, went to my country. He gathered 15 men and brought them down to Calcutta; he had three men with him with badges on. He asked us, "What are you doing in the jungle? Come to Calcutta, and you will get employment for repairing roads, for which you will receive pay at the rate of four rupees per month, besides diet." We came; he paid all our expenses on the road. When we arrived here, he told us that no employment on the roads could be got; "You had better go forward and you will find plenty of employment." He mentioned that we should go to the Mauritius, and said it was a good country, and that we should get good food and good clothes there. We agreed to go to the Mauritius, and went. There were 300 Coolies on board the ship in which we proceeded. We arrived in three months. The sea was so high, I could not eat any thing for four or five days. We had plenty to eat on board ship.

879. On your arrival at the Mauritius, where were you taken?—When we landed at the Mauritius we were carried to the police, gave in our permits there, in lieu of which we got others from the Mauritius police. Fifteen of us went to the estate of a Mr. Stewart, two coss distant from town; I remained there one year; we were employed in the sugar-cane cultivation, to dig holes, to plant the cane. We began to work in the morning at gun-fire, returned at four o'clock in the evening, dressed, and took our meal. We were not worked at night. My master is a good man, but the blacks he employs as overseers oppress us much; they used to beat us with rattans. We received good and sufficient food; we received rice and salt every day, dholl every tenth or twentieth day, but neither ghee nor oil. I got fish occasionally. I got two months' pay at Mauritius, eight rupees; after which I became ill, and was sent to the hospital by the police. I remained in the hospital four months; when I recovered, the police sent me to the house of correction for two months, where I used to break stones. At the house of correction I was attacked with small-pox; when I was cured I was sent to the police, and the magistrate asked me if I wished to return home; I told him I wished to return to Calcutta; he said, "Very well; go." I asked my wages from my master; he refused to pay me, because I was unable to work. I had eight rupees with me when I was coming back, which was all forcibly taken away from me by the black overseers. Four of us embarked; one died at Saugor; and we arrived safe about 20 days ago; one of the men died in the police hospital.

880. Did you meet any Coolies at Mauritius?—I met many Coolies at the Mauritius.

881. What did the Coolies you met at Mauritius say of the country, and of their treatment by their masters?—Those that are under good masters wished to remain, and those that are under bad masters wished to return, even without receiving their pay.

882. Would you advise your people to go to the Mauritius?—I would not advise my countrymen to go to the Mauritius.

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At an adjourned Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Friday the 16th day of November 1838, at 12 o'clock A. M.

Present,—WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.—RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.

Suboo, Examined.

No. 33.

Suboo.

16 Nov. 1838.

883. What is your name?—*Suboo*, resident of Hazareebaug.

884. From whence do you come?—I returned from the Mauritius about 20 days ago.

885. When did you go to the Mauritius?—I went to Mauritius in Phalgon (February) before last; I went there on board of a ship, the name of which I do not know, nor the name of the captain.

886. What was you told at the police?—*Burdo*, a duffadar, shipped me; I was at the police before embarkation; I was asked at the police why I came here; I said I was brought by the duffadar for employment in Calcutta; I was asked if I would take service for the Mauritius; I said I did not know where the Mauritius was, and what kind of place it was; the gentlemen of the police said it was two months' voyage on board ship; I agreed to go; I was told I was to be employed for five years in sugar cultivation, at a pay of five rupees per month, get food and clothes, rice 14 chittacks, dhol three chittacks, ghee one chittack, and nothing else, and every six months one blanket and one dhoty; I received 20 rupees, four months' advance, of which 12 rupees was taken from me by the duffadars, and I carried eight rupees with me.

887. What inducement was held out to you by the duffadars to leave your country?—I met the duffadar at Hazareebaug; he asked me if I wanted employment; I said, "Where?" he told me there is a road making in Calcutta, and I would be employed there and get pay five rupees per month, besides food and clothing; three of us then came to Calcutta with the duffadar, and were lodged at Sulkea; the same duffadar told us that there was no employment for us in Calcutta, but if we chose to go to the Mauritius, from which place he and others had just returned with plenty of money, we could get employment; I said if every body goes there, I was willing to go; he then insisted me at the police, and we embarked; there were 300 men on board the ship in which we proceeded; *Karoo* was one of them; he is my nephew; he came down to Calcutta before me; we arrived at the Mauritius in three months; we had sufficient rations of food on board ship.

888. What became of you on your arrival at Mauritius?—On arrival at the Mauritius we were carried to the chief police, from whence I was sent to Mr. Stewart's; 15 of us went to that gentleman; his estate is two coss from the town; I remained there one year, and was employed in the sugar cultivation; began work on the firing of the morning gun, and left it once at eight o'clock to breakfast; we began work one hour afterwards, and left it at three o'clock; we dressed and took our meal, and had no work at night; my master is a good man, he never beat me, but his blacks did so; we used to complain to the master, but he did not understand us; from the effect of the beating I fell sick, and was in the hospital for four months; we received rice and salt daily, but no fish nor any thing else; from the hospital I was sent to the chief police, where I was told that as I was disabled by the fall of a tree on my wrist, I had better return to my own country, and I was put on board ship, the name of which I do not know; I received two months' pay, eight rupees, at the Mauritius, which was taken away from me by the blacks; this was done at the police before the eye of the magistrate, who took no notice of it.

889. Did you meet any Coolies at Mauritius?—I met several Coolies at Mauritius, but never spoke to them one word.

890. Would you recommend your countrymen to go to Mauritius?—I would not go to Mauritius again, nor would I advise any of my friends to go there; I wish to go and live in my own country.

At an adjourned Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 27th day of November 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present,—REV. JAMES CHARLES.—J. P. GRANT, Esq.—RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.

Ramdeen, a returned Coolie Sirdar, Examined.

No. 34.

Ramdeen.

27 Nov. 1838.

891. What is your name?—*Ramdeen*, resident of Sawor, in the Zillah Arrah.

892. Where do you last come from?—From the Mauritius; I returned in the *Lancier*.

893. When did you go to the Mauritius?—I went to the Mauritius in the month of Srabon, upwards of three years ago.

894. In what capacity did you go?—I went from here as a Coolie, but was promoted to a sirdarship by my employer.

895. How many Coolies went down in the ship with you?—There were 300 Coolies on board the vessel I went in to Mauritius, but I do not know the name of the vessel.

896. On whose estate were you employed at Mauritius?—*Monsieur Bordaille's*.

897. How were the Coolies treated on board the ship?—We were treated very comfortably, we had plenty to eat and drink; sometimes the Coolies were knocked about, but never beaten; in the daytime they were at liberty to remain above or to go below, but in the night all were sent below.

No. 34.

Ramdeen.

17 Nov. 1838.

898. How many Coolies had Monsieur Bordaille on his estate?—Of the batch I went with he had 80; he had some before that, and some after; altogether he had 500 from Bengal, and 300 from the coast of Madras.

899. Did they regularly receive their pay every month?—The police judge comes to pay the men every month; if he happen not to come one month, he is sure to come the next, and to give the pay for the two months.

900. Did they get plenty to eat on this estate?—They got plenty to eat; but if there were any fault here, by lodging information at the police, the master was fined.

901. How long were the Coolies kept at work?—At six o'clock they begin work; at 10 o'clock they get leave for breakfast for two hours; at 12 o'clock they begin work again and continue until six; after that they take their meals and go to rest.

902. What was the nature of the employment on which the Coolies were engaged?—They first dig holes, then plant the canes and clean and weed, and generally do plantation work.

903. Did the men complain of being overworked?—Yes; there are complaints on account of the hardness of the work; some for this ran away to the jungles, and when they were apprehended they were taken to the police, and thence sent to the house of correction for three months; the master does not take slow work.

904. Are many punishments inflicted on the Coolies for idleness?—No man is punished by the planter, because, if the planter did so, he would be fined; I never saw any instance of a man being beaten; but if any man is slow in working he is sent to the police; by slow work, I mean the men who worked for an hour and then sat down for two hours.

905. Were the Coolies pleased to be at Mauritius?—I have heard no complaint; the Coolies work and get their pay; my master was dissatisfied with three sirdars, whom he sent back.

906. Why was your master dissatisfied with these three sirdars?—I do not know.

907. Are you one of the three sirdars?—No, I am not one; I was merely a Coolie; I was promoted by my master to a sirdarship.

908. Were you put in the place of one of the three sirdars?—No; I can read and write, and therefore I was interested in every thing—was a sort of factotum.

909. What wages did you receive on your appointment as a sirdar?—I had formerly five rupees per month, but on my promotion got 10 rupees per month.

910. For what period were you engaged to serve at Mauritius?—For five years.

911. How, then, does it happen that you have come back before the expiration of your contract?—My master sent me here with Captain Real to get more Coolies.

912. From what place do you expect to obtain Coolies?—Mr. Hughes is to supply them, according to an agreement with the captain; the Coolies I came for have gone, but I, being sick, was obliged to remain behind.

913. Did you tell the Coolies what they were to expect at Mauritius?—No; I fell sick on board the ship, and was sick for seven months; I did not see these Coolies.

914. Are you trying now to persuade Coolies to proceed to Mauritius?—No; I have no orders to take any Coolies to the Mauritius; if any gentlemen will send me, I will go.

915. Would you recommend your family to go to Mauritius?—There are three relatives of mine now with me; if I go, I will take them.

916. Are any of your relatives at the Mauritius?—There are nine of my relatives there now, and therefore I wish to go back.

917. Do you think that at the end of their engagements the Coolies will return to Calcutta, or renew their engagements?—I cannot tell; I have known instances of the Coolies wishing to come back, but the judge at the police said they could not come back till the end of the five years.

918. Did many Coolies die during the three years you were on that estate?—Of the 80 men who went with me, five died in three years; they were first attacked with fever, and afterwards headache, and then sent to hospital; and after 10 or 15 days they died; a European doctor attended them; one man died in two days, and he was dissected.

919. Are you not still in the employ of Bordaille?—When I was sent here, my master said I was to get my pay, but having been so long away, I do not know whether I am yet in his service; I had no instructions to receive money from any one here.

920. Did you receive any money in advance from Monsieur Bordaille?—No; I received no money in advance, and no present.

921. If you had not been promoted to the rank of a sirdar, would you have been so anxious to return to Mauritius?—Yes, I would.

922. In your opinion, are the Coolies in a better condition at Mauritius than here?—They get five rupees a month there, one being deducted by the master; but I cannot say what they earn here.

923. Are they happy there?—I cannot say; they get their wages regularly.

924. Have any of the Coolies taken negro women as wives?—Yes; many, of their own free-will, have done so.

925. How can the Coolies make themselves understood by the women?—They have learned the language of that country; those who have not learned have not married.

926. How many miles from Port Louis is Mr. Bordaille's estate?—About 12 coss distant. The judge who gives us our pay resides about three coss from the planter's house.

At an adjourned Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 27th day of November 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—Rev. JAMES CHARLES.—J. P. GRANT, Esq.—RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.

William Frank Dowson, Esq., Examined.

No. 35.

*W. F. Dowson,
Esq.*

27 Nov. 1838.

927. You are a partner of the house of Messrs. Henley, Dowson & Co?—Yes, I am.

928. Your firm has been actively engaged in the export of Indian labourers?—Yes; since the month of July 1836.

929. Will you be good enough to mention the places to which you have exported labourers?—To the Mauritius and Bourbon.

930. Can you mention the number of labourers exported by your firm?—We have sent about 6,000 to the Mauritius, and 51 to Bourbon.

931. Did you send them as agents for other parties, or on your own account?—As agents for other parties.

932. Did you issue any circular offering your services for the export of Coolies?—We did.

933. Did the circular state to what places Coolies could be sent?—I have not a copy with me, but I shall put one in; these circulars were intended chiefly for the West India islands; copies of the circular were sent to each of the islands.

934. What is the commission obtained by agents in the export of Coolies?—It varies from 10 to 30 rupees per man; in cases where the agents make the advances, the commission is 30 rupees.

935. Is that all clear profit?—It is, after deducting the expense of the establishment.

936. Have you ever received any orders for Coolies from the West Indies?—Never: I am aware that an order for 4,000 or 5,000 men was about being prepared at Demerara, when the measures that were entered into at home prevented their despatch.

937. When an order comes to your house for Coolies, how do you proceed to execute it?—We put it into the hands of native agents, to whom we make advances; these persons employ subordinate agents called duffadars, who proceed into the mofussil to collect the men.

938. What sum is allowed to the superior native agents whom you have mentioned?—We give them from 200 to 500 rupees to defray the expenses of the Coolies in the mofussil; this sum they afterwards invariably refund to us, and their profit is derived from the Coolies themselves, who pay them at the rate of five rupees each man, from the six months allowed them.

939. Are you aware of the inducements held out by the duffadars to the Coolies in order to get them to come down to Calcutta?—I am not.

940. Are you aware whether the Coolies are informed that they are to go by sea to a distant place, and to be absent from India for five years?—I am nearly sure no representation of the kind is ever made to them; and, as a proof of this, I beg to state, that on my return from the Mauritius in November last, I was so desirous to crush the duffadar system, which I consider most vicious, that, at a considerable expense, I engaged a highly respectable Armenian, a Mr. Carapiet, to proceed to Chootah Nagpore, the district where the Dhangus live; he was the bearer of letters to Dr. Cheek, of Burdwan, and Captain Wilkinson, Governor-general's agent of the district. My orders to Mr. Carapiet were, to engage no Coolie without first explaining to him the nature of the employment, and that he was to leave his country for a period of five years; it proved a fruitless mission, for Mr. Carapiet did not succeed in procuring a single Coolie, and that, too, at the very time that duffadars sent by Mr. Hughes were engaging Coolies by hundreds in the immediate vicinity. In corroboration of this, I beg to put in letters from Dr. Cheek, Mr. Carapiet, and Captain Wilkinson; the latter gentleman, being absent on the frontier, wrote to his writer to explain to any Coolies wishing to take service all the particulars connected with it.

941. Do you never employ any but native agents for procuring Coolies?—On the occasion referred to, I was entirely disappointed by the result of Mr. Carapiet's mission, and was left without a single Coolie; having ships waiting to carry away a great number for whom orders were sent from the Mauritius, I was therefore obliged to apply to Mr. Hughes, who supplied me with 200, the number I immediately required.

942. On what terms did Mr. Hughes supply the Coolies?—I gave him one rupee for each man; but, in addition to this, he received at least five rupees per head out of the six months' advance.

943. When you have an order to execute, do you still countenance the duffadar system?—I am obliged to do it. I am of opinion that if the persons engaged in procuring Coolies would only co-operate, measures might be devised for putting down the system.

944. Do you think there is the least likelihood of Mr. Hughes and the other agents employed co-operating with you?—Not the least; the houses of agency who are employed in the export would gladly co-operate, but Mr. Hughes and the other subordinate agents would in my opinion be opposed to any change in the system, from having such a keen interest in its continuance.

945. When the Coolies come down to Calcutta, how long do they usually remain here before going on board ship?—I am not aware how long the Coolies are in Calcutta before

No. 35.
 W. F. Dawson,
 Esq.
 27 Nov. 1838.

they are engaged, but after they are brought to me, they are about three weeks or a month in Calcutta before they go on board ship; I am aware that aged and weak men have remained in the hands of the duffadars for six or seven months together, from the aversion of the houses of agency to employ them.

946. In the interval of three or four weeks of which you speak, where are the Coolies kept?—In houses of the duffadars.

947. Are they kept under any restraint?—I believe they are at perfect liberty, but never having been at any establishment of the kind, I cannot speak positively.

948. You are aware that complaints have been made of the illegal detention of Coolies?—I am aware of complaints of this kind having been made.

949. Did you ever ask the duffadars in your own employment how they kept the Coolies?—No. Immediately after engaging the men, we pay the duffadars at the rate of one anna per day for the victuals; the charge of this is borne by the planters.

950. Do you send any of your own chowkedars to assist the duffadars in keeping the Coolies?—Never; we do not in the slightest degree interfere between the duffadars and the Coolies.

951. Then for any thing you know, the duffadars do really keep the Coolies in confinement?—I am in perfect ignorance of this, if it be so; and most assuredly I would not allow it.

952. You never asked the duffadars how they kept the Coolies from dispersing after having got them together?—Never.

953. Have you on any occasion had Coolies in your own compound?—I have the Coolies who were landed from the Edward.

954. How long were these Coolies in your compound?—They were there for between four and five weeks.

955. How many were there of them?—One hundred and forty.

956. Were they at liberty to go in and out as they felt inclined?—The brijabassis in charge received my orders to offer no obstacle whatever to their egress; they had a spacious compound and several godowns at their disposal, forming part of my premises in Clive-street; during the first three weeks no complaints were made to me; on the contrary, the Coolies came morning and evening to state they were satisfied, requesting only their food might be varied; they declared their determination not to re-embark without receiving one month's pay in addition to what they had received, which I consented to give them; about 20 days after the men had been in Clive-street, the chief magistrate sent a constable to interrogate three men, bricklayers from Allipore, whose friends had petitioned the magistrate to interfere on their behalf and release them from their contracts; I requested the constable to speak to the men, which he did, and he informed me that they were ready to fulfil their engagements, adding, I believe (for I was not present, wishing to avoid all appearance of interference), that they regretted the step they had taken; I then requested the constable to inspect the premises, and ascertain, for the satisfaction of the magistrate, if any complaints subsisted among the Coolies; he did so, and repeated that the people were perfectly satisfied. About this period two or three cases were made known to me of individuals who had been kidnapped, and I did not hesitate a moment in cancelling their engagements; in one case Babou Mutty Lall Seal reimbursed me the advance made to a lad of about 16 years of age, a son of respectable parents, who had been kidnapped; matters remained in this state until, I think, the 11th or 12th of September, on which day the Coolies were informed that the ship's repairs were completed, and that they were expected to re-embark on the following morning; to this they signified their assent, on condition of receiving the gratuity already promised of one month's extra pay: on the following morning, being occupied in this committee, I did not reach my office till one o'clock, and found, to my great astonishment, that of the number of 140 who had agreed to embark on the previous evening, 49 only had gone; the remainder, at the instigation of the sirdars, having positively refused; I remonstrated with them on their great breach of faith, and they ultimately agreed to go to the Mauritius in any vessel but the Edward, and on receipt of three months' pay, I consented to these terms, and informed the men they would have to embark in about one week from that time in a vessel of my own, the Christopher Rawson, then loading for the Mauritius; they appeared perfectly rejoiced and satisfied with this new arrangement. It appears, however, that during the following night the Coolies came to the resolution not to embark at all, and in lieu of using the firewood issued daily for the preparing of their food, they detained it to be used offensively in case of need; about three o'clock of the afternoon of the next day, having refused to receive their rations of food, they assembled in the lower apartments of the house, and one of the sirdars, by whose advice the men were acting, grossly insulted my partner, who attempted to thrust him from the premises; the Coolies *en masse*, armed with their firewood and brickbats, attacked the brijabassis; I immediately ordered the great gates to be opened to afford free egress, but some little time was occupied in consequence of the great pressure of the crowd in doing this, and much confusion ensued, during which blows were given and returned; my orders to the brijabassis were to offer no resistance, and never, under any circumstances of provocation to strike a Coolie; it was only when attacked by 100 men, under the influence of bang or some intoxicating drug, and urged on by their sirdars, that these brijabassis, 16 in number, defended themselves with their lathies (sticks). The boats containing the 49 men who had embarked on the previous day, having missed the ship, returned at midnight to the house at Garden Reach,

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Reach, which I at that time occupied; had they had the least disposition to escape, they had abundant opportunity. I think it necessary to state, that since, the departure of the Edward, upwards of 30 of the Coolies have been to me, entreating me to re-engage them, stating themselves to be in want of food or employment, and regretting having listened to the advice of their sirdars, who had robbed them of their money; I made an invariable practice of declining the services of such men. On several occasions, while in Clive-street, the Coolies stated they would not go to the Mauritius, the mate of the Edward, to whose conduct may be attributed all the disasters that ensued, having informed them while on board, that on their arrival they would be sold as slaves, never allowed to revisit their country, and subjected to tortures of the most horrible kind by their masters. On explaining to them, however, that so far from this being the case, they were going to a good country, where they would be well treated, they were reassured. (No. 22: *vide* Appendix.)

No. 35.
 W. F. Dowson,
 Esq.
 27 Nov. 1838.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 4th day of December 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present.—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman. | RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.
 Rev. JAMES CHARLES. | WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

Mr. Thomas William Smyth, Examined.

957. Would you have the goodness to state your name and designation?—My name is Thomas William Smyth, and I am a proprietor of a school in Calcutta.

958. Can you give the committee information in regard to the treatment of the Coolies either in Calcutta or at the Mauritius?—I can state what I have personally seen and heard in Calcutta; with respect to the Mauritius, I can state what I have heard from an officer of a ship which was there, and who saw a good deal of the Coolies and their treatment there, having conversed with them on the subject of their condition.

959. Would you have the goodness to state what you have observed in regard to the treatment of the Coolies in Calcutta?—My attention was first called to the subject in Calcutta, from the circumstance of a small house in Emaumbaug-lane, in which I reside, and which is overlooked by mine, being literally crammed with Dhangas or Hill Coolies; and from the quarrels I repeatedly heard there, I was led to go over to the house once or twice; this was about two years ago, or thereabouts; and from that time to this my attention has been drawn to the matter. I did not then look upon the affair with particular attention, for I did not then know the details of the system, nor the exact purpose for which they were confined; I went to threaten the parties that I would complain to the police on account of the nuisance. I observed that a very large number, some 60, 70 or 100—I estimate loosely, because I did not then particularly note—were crammed together in a space where 10 or 12, or perhaps 20 natives could at most have comfortably remained; they seemed to be always under the surveillance of a guard; they were kept there about six months, I think, when the owner sold the house for the materials, and it was pulled down. Some time afterwards I went to another place, about a quarter of a mile from my house in Calcutta, between Emaumbaug-lane and Bow Bazar; this was about seven months ago, when a young lad called at my house, evidently driven there by fear and hunger; he was a Hindoo lad of about 12 or 14 years of age, from Cuttack, an Ooriah; he said he was in want of food, and that he had been ill-treated by up-country people; that he had escaped from his confinement, where there were many others confined, males, and some females among them. He said also that he had been allured from his country in the hopes of employment as a gardener, and that he could not get enough food from the people who confined him. He had a ticket on his arm. I gave him some food, and sent him with a note to Captain Birch, and accompanied by two servants of my own, who were met on the road by the up-country men who confined him, and my servants driven off, my note torn to pieces, and the boy beaten and taken back to the place of confinement. My bearer traced them at a distance with some fear, and then came and apprized me where the boy had been taken. I went down with a friend and two of the stoutest boys I had with me, and having in vain demanded admittance, we forced open the door, which was locked; the place was very dark, and the people were cooking; as far as we could judge, there were 30 or 40 people; three seemed very eager to go, and talked very loud, and seemed to thrust themselves forward to speak for the others; on going further in, however, we found four or five who were very anxious to get out. We found the boy, and took him away with us, which was what we were desirous to effect. Three others got out with us, and we took them with us to Captain Birch, who examined them, and immediately liberated them. I told him of the situation of the house, and I do not know if any thing further was done. Captain Birch behaved very humanely to those we took to the police. In substance those three men who were liberated gave the same account as the boy, namely, that they were starved and decoyed. The boy remained some time with me as a bearer, and subsequently returned with some of our bearers to his own country, as he wished to see his mother. That is all I personally know on the subject.

960. Have not you also some information to communicate in reference to the treatment of the Coolies at Mauritius?—I have, but not from personal knowledge. My informant is the officer of a ship, whose name I decline mentioning, because he is in the employ of a house which has itself deported Coolies, but I believe him to be a man of unquestionable

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veracity, and I am ready to swear to my own belief of his statements. He informed me that his attention was drawn to the subject by the Coolies in Port Louis wharf making complaints to him of the ill-treatment they received, and the severe labour to which they were subjected, and insufficient and scanty food; they said they were obliged to work even when sick; their complaints were corroborated by their miserable appearance. They all expressed dissatisfaction at their condition, and a great desire to get back. On his questioning them, why they did not go to the plantations, they said the Coolies in the plantations were worse off.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 4th day of December 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M:

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman. | RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.
 Rev. JAMES CHARLES. | WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

No. 37.
 John Mackay,
 Esq.
 4 Dec. 1838.

John Mackay, Esq., Examined.

961. Would you have the goodness to state your name and de signation?—My name is John Mackay, and I am a merchant of Sydney, temporarily resident here.

962. Are you able to give any information in reference to the departure of Coolies to the Mauritius?—None whatever; I can give information in regard to deportation of Coolies to New South Wales and its immediate dependencies.

963. Will you have the goodness to state what particulars have come under your own knowledge?—I know of 42 Coolies and a child of six years of age who were exported to Sydney. I may mention that one of the 42 was the sirdar of the Coolies, and a Mahomedan of the Pathan caste; they were exported by Messrs. Willis & Earle, in compliance with my own special request, and were carried on the brig Peter Proctor, Captain Barlow. They were nearly four months on the voyage, and arrived at Sydney about the 23d of December 1837.

964. Are these Coolies under contract for a certain number of years?—They are under contract to serve for five years from the date of their embarkation.

965. Were these Coolies all of Dhangha caste?—In their engagements they are described as Dhangas, but I, knowing the Bengalee language well, examined them on their arrival, and ascertained that two of them were not from that country; one of the two was a camp follower from Cawnpore, and the other was born at Bancoorah, which is close to the Dhangha country.

966. Were they all engaged to be employed by yourself?—Yes, they were; they are not all living near myself, but are parcelled out among two gentlemen, with whom I have a joint interest.

967. In what condition did they appear to be in when they landed?—They appeared to be in very good condition, with two exceptions—two of them appeared rather sickly. They had a native doctor on board.

968. Did they make any complaint as to the usage they received on board?—On the contrary, they, in presence of several members of the government committee of emigration declared themselves perfectly satisfied with their treatment on board.

969. In what kinds of labour are they employed at New South Wales?—Some of them are employed in the garden, some of them employed in grubbing up roots, and a few of them employed in a brewery; there is another party of them a considerable way in the interior, on the Williams River, and they are employed, some in cultivating tobacco, and others in tending sheep.

970. Are there any prescribed hours of labour?—Those near Sydney and those also on the Williams River, who cultivate tobacco, begin their work about sunrise; they continue at work till 12 o'clock, when they have two hours for preparing their food and taking rest; they then resume their work, and continue it till near sunset, when they return to their huts. They do not work on Sundays.

971. Do you provide them with food?—We provide them with food, and at their own urgent request flour and mutton were substituted for rice and the condiments used with it. We gave them a larger supply of clothing than is stipulated for, and also tobacco, which was not promised.

972. Do they seem to be well pleased with their situation?—Generally speaking they do, particularly lately; there are one or two exceptions—these are the Cawnpore and Bancoorah men, and their cause of dissatisfaction was that they did not get a supply of spirits.

973. Do they never express a longing wish to return to their home?—They do not; a few say that they will return to this country at the end of their period, but others say they will not.

974. How often do you pay their wages?—I pay them five rupees every month without making any deductions; the sirdar gets seven; up to the time I left, they, with one exception (the Cawnpore man), deposited all their wages in the savings bank, where they receive 10 per cent.

975. Are they found useful labourers?—Yes, they are found very useful, being both sober and honest.

976. What is the market price of labour at Sydney and throughout New South Wales?—It varies; shepherds receive about 25 l. sterling a year, along with their rations of food.

977. Then

977. Then you have the labour of the Coolies at a rate much below the market price of labour?—Not so much as at first sight would appear; for if you take into account the expense incurred in taking them down and bringing them back and clothing them, and also, that though engaged for five years, they in reality will give work for little more than years, it will be seen that they cost upwards of one shilling per day.

978. Do they enjoy good health?—Four or five of them at first had slight eruptions from change of food, and one man was exceedingly ill, having surfeited himself; but since then they have enjoyed good health, and are become very robust.

979. Do you ever punish them?—Never; on one occasion 15 of the Coolies absconded, having been seduced by a settler; on my application to the police magistrate four constables were sent in pursuit of them and brought them back; they, for this act, had rendered themselves liable to punishment, but it was remitted.

980. Do you know of any other Coolies being in New South Wales but those imported by yourself?—I know of none, nor do I think there are any. There are several Mahomedans employed as household servants, and they are very dissipated and in a degraded condition. I have reason to think that a few (how many I do not know) have been sent to a place near the Swan River, and I have heard that from 15 to 20 have been sent to the new colony in South Australia called Adelaide.

981. Is there a great desire on the part of the settlers to procure labourers from this country?—A very considerable and extensive desire exists.

982. Can you give the Committee any idea of the number of labourers that might be required?—I can give the specific information that about 600 are immediately required, and about 6,000 would probably be required in the course of the ensuing year.

983. Are their services preferred to those of Europeans?—For many kinds of labour they are not equal to Europeans, but for agricultural and pastoral employments they are superior, on the score of honesty and sobriety.

984. Have you had much experience of the natives of the country?—Very considerable in various parts of it, from the sea up as far as Mirzapore; my experience reaches over a period of nearly 28 years.

985. Would you say, judging from your own experience, that their condition is improved?—I cannot speak with reference to their moral improvement, but their physical improvement is evident to myself and to others who have been in this country. They are better fed, better clothed, better paid, and they save a sum which they could never have possessed in this country.

986. Did any women accompany your Coolies?—None; but I think it decidedly desirable that, in the event of any others being exported, their wives should accompany them.

987. Have you any other information to communicate to the committee?—No, I have not, but I have a comprehensive scheme drawn up by Robert Scott, Esq. of Glendon, one of the most wealthy and respectable settlers in New South Wales, which I shall be happy to submit to the committee. (No. 23: *vide* Appendix.)

At an adjourned Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 11th day of December 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman. | RUSSOMOV DUTT, Esq.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES. | WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.

Arthur Pooley Onslow, Esq., a Civil Servant on the Madras Establishment, Examined.

988. Will you have the goodness to state your name and designation?—Arthur Pooley Onslow, a civil servant on the Madras establishment.

989. Are you able to give the committee any information respecting the treatment of Coolies on board ship, or at any other places to which they have gone?—I know nothing of their treatment on board ship; but I am able to give some information with respect to their treatment both in the Mauritius and New South Wales.

990. Have you recently seen them in the Mauritius?—I saw Coolies in the month of October 1837, when I went there on sick certificate on my way to New South Wales.

991. On what particular estate did you see Coolies?—I saw some of them in the employ of Messrs. Hunter, Arbutnot & Co., at Pamplemousses, and at Mr. Arbutnot's private residence at Mocha, and I also saw some in the employment of Mr. Chapman at Plain Williams.

992. Had you an opportunity of inspecting them minutely, or entering into conversation with them?—I did not enter into conversation minutely with them, but I was constantly in the habit of seeing them, and heard the little complaints they made to their masters.

993. What was the impression you had of their condition from what you saw of them?—They appeared to me to be in exceeding good condition and to be quite contented; I do not mean to say there were no complaints, but you may judge of their nature by this, that their chief complaint was in regard to a deficient supply of salt for their food, but this I believe to have been a mere pretext, as salt is so very cheap at the Mauritius.

994. Had you an opportunity of observing the kind of labour imposed on them, and the hours of labour?—The hours of labour seemed to be generally, as in all manufactories of that nature, without intermission, but, as far as I had an opportunity of judging, the relief was

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so managed that the labour could not have been burdensome to the individuals; judging from the appearance of the people, which is always a good criterion, they seemed to be well fed.

995. Did you hear of any disturbance having been created by any Coolies?—Yes; there was a considerable disturbance on an estate, the name of which I do not remember, in the district of Pamplemousses; I am not able to enter into particulars, but the general impression is, that the disturbance was excited by the sirdars, and the complaints were connected with excessive labour and bad food; I can say nothing as to their being well founded or not, but the disturbance was soon quelled.

996. The whole of your experience, then, was confined to estates conducted by English planters?—No; I visited also an estate belonging to two native gentlemen of Madras, Tiramoody and Annasamy, who had Coolies; but I observed no difference of treatment on this estate, which is generally regarded as one of the best conducted estates on the island.

997. You are not able, then, to give the result of any conversation with the Coolies?—Not upon the estates; I asked one or two of them whether they were comfortable and so forth, and the reply was in the affirmative.

998. Did you ever converse with them on the roads or streets of Port Louis?—Yes; I one day was surprised to hear a party of Coolies speaking in the Teloogoo language, and, as I understood it, I entered into conversation with them. They were employed in drawing a cart laden with sugar, and from the number employed, it was very evident they were not overworked; they were exceedingly merry and cheerful, and expressed themselves quite satisfied with their treatment, but at the same time anxious to return to their own country when their time of servitude should expire; they seemed, too, at least some of them, to have an objection to taking their families with them, on the ground that this would cut off from them all return to their own homes. I met also with two or three Malabar people from the Coromandel coast, who, from the employment they had, seemed to be trusted by their masters. They complained of the dearness of the provisions in comparison with the price in their own country, but they admitted they had enough, and their appearance was in favour of their good treatment; I merely however state my general impressions, as I did not make particular inquiries.

999. Did the planters express any opinion to you in the manner in which the Coolies perform their work?—Yes; one of them expressed to me his opinion very strongly to the effect that they had been the salvation of the Mauritius, as they were exceedingly useful, and, under proper treatment, exceedingly manageable; this gentleman had been a good deal in India, and deprecated the idea of their being sent indiscriminately and without any surveillance on the part of this government; he also told me that he was aware that gross abuses had existed in procuring their departure from this country, and that he believed that the agents employed by him were, under his instructions, scrupulous in endeavouring to prevent them. His wish expressed in conversation was, that the system should be put in effect as a proper system; the abuse alluded to were, the system adopted by the sirdars who collect the Coolies, of inveigling them to enter into engagements under the pretext that they were to be employed in cultivation at some place on the banks of the river, or at no great distance from Calcutta; that he said he was aware of, and that some had been entrapped into debt, and had been induced to engage, under the threat of being otherwise imprisoned for the debt.

1000. Will you now have the goodness to state what you know respecting the treatment of Coolies at New South Wales?—I can speak very little, indeed, of their treatment in New South Wales from my own knowledge; I did, however, see about 12 or 14 employed in the neighbourhood of Sydney. I could not converse with them myself, as they spoke a language I did not understand, but, through the medium of an interpreter, I understood from them that they were well satisfied with their condition, and particularly, that they were able to save some money. I learned also from undoubted authority that their savings were regularly deposited in the savings bank. I saw gentlemen who employed the Coolies, and they invariably expressed themselves highly pleased with them in every respect.

1001. Are you aware how they are employed at New South Wales?—I can speak to what I heard. They were found to make remarkably good shepherds, and to be exceedingly well contented when employed in that way. The parties who gave this information were of such undoubted respectability, that I place the fullest reliance on the statements they made with regard to the contentment of the Coolies. In the neighbourhood of Sydney, I saw them employed in cleaning and draining a swamp and grubbing up trees, the swamp for many years had been perfectly useless, and such was the disagreeable nature of the work, that the gentleman to whom it belonged had lost considerable sums of money by giving advances to European labourers, who failed to complete their engagements. The Coolies effected the clearance and draining of this swamp. I saw them well contented and happy; and I have mentioned this circumstance in order to show that even the exceedingly disagreeable nature of the work had not the effect of rendering them discontented.

1002. Is it your opinion that the climate of New South Wales agrees with the Coolies?—The climate of New South Wales appears to me to be admirably adapted to their constitutions; for though at some seasons of the year very cold, it is exceedingly dry, and in almost every place abundance of fuel can be procured, so that the difference in temperature between this country and it does not affect them. I do not speak from actual observation then I say the climate of New South Wales agrees with them; but from having seen them sustaining the chilly dampness of the high parts of the Mauritius without suffering, I conclude

conclude that the climate of New South Wales cannot be prejudicial to them; I beg to add, however, that my opinion is confined to New South Wales, as I have the impression that the climate of Van Diemen's Land is too severe for them.

1003. Have you any suggestions to offer with regard to the clothing and dieting of the Coolies?—Yes. With regard to the clothing, I think any regulations made with respect to it should be very strict, particularly with reference to their feet; they ought to be allowed good shoes and stockings, and a suit of good woollen clothing for the winter. In respect to food, I think it would be advantageous to allow them the option of the ration usually given to Coolies, or of a ration of such food as is used by Europeans. I say this, because the climate requires something more substantial than fish and rice.

1004. Do these suggestions apply to Mauritius as well as New South Wales?—No, not in regard to food; but I confess that I thought that, even in the Mauritius, the Coolies would require additional clothing to that which is usually given them.

1005. Do you hear of any instance in which the Coolies in New South Wales expressed discontent?—Yes. Coolies employed by a gentleman of my acquaintance were induced to leave their employment by the use, it is supposed, of unfair means. The interference of the police was resorted to to procure their return; they expressed their contrition, and were afterwards exceedingly well satisfied with their employer. I meant, in stating this circumstance, to show that some legal protection will be necessary in the event of Coolies being allowed to proceed to New South Wales, not so much for the sake of the master, as to guard them from the imposition of designing men.

1006. In your opinion, would the introduction of free labourers from this country into New South Wales conduce materially to the prosperity of that colony?—Certainly, in a commercial and pecuniary point of view, it would. I would say more, viz. that I think it would be attended with advantage to the class in this country to whom they belong. A great many of them would return, not only with money, but with habits of industry and a taste for comforts, which would give a stimulus to their habits.

1007. Have you any fact of any kind, either with regard to Mauritius or New South Wales, to state, concerning the state of the Coolies?—Yes; I may mention, with reference to the civilization and well-being of the Coolies, that means which had been taken to promote their spiritual welfare in Mauritius were for some reasons prevented from being carried into effect by, I believe, the government of the Mauritius. An impression existed, I understand, that the preaching of missionaries had a tendency to render people of the class of Coolies discontented with their situation and their masters. I heard that the government employed two gentlemen to attend the preaching of the missionary I refer to, and that, as might be supposed, their report was extremely favourable to the doctrines of the missionary. From the prejudice which was thus shown to exist, it is, in my opinion, desirable that in any regulations that may be made, means may be taken to give religious instruction without risk of any such impression as that above stated being likely to obtain ground.

At an adjourned Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 11th day of December 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman. | WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES. | RUSSEMOY DUTT, Esq.

Mr. George Witchlow, Examined.

1008. Would you be good enough to state your name and occupation?—My name is George Witchlow, and I was formerly employed in the preventive service.

1009. Had you ever any opportunity of observing the treatment of Coolies when in that service?—Yes, I had.

1010. Would you state to the committee generally, what was the treatment of Coolies on board ship?—I thought they were very far from being well treated. Their food was bad, and if they did not do what they were told to do, they were harshly treated by the officers.

1011. Did you ever converse with any of the Coolies you saw on board these ships?—Yes, I did often.

1012. Do you think, from the result of your conversation, that they understood the nature of their contracts?—Many of them, I should say most of them, did certainly not understand the nature of their contracts. They had the idea that they were to proceed no further than the Sandheads, and there were to be placed in most comfortable circumstances.

1013. Did they mention to you on what pretence they were induced to leave their country?—They told me that great hopes had been held out to them of getting this salary and that salary, and far higher than they could ever expect to receive. Some of them expected to be employed in Calcutta.

1014. Did they appear to be going willingly to their destination?—No; not to the Mauritius.

1015. Have you any particular case of grievance to bring forward?—Yes; I can speak to that of a woman on board the *Earl Grey*. This woman was a Brahminy woman from the upper provinces, who was on her way to Juggernaut, with many other men, who were also proceeding on a pilgrimage. She told me the name of the place where she had been

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A. P. Oastlow,
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kidnapped, but I do not remember it. She was brought down to Calcutta, and the day after brought on board ship. She was dressed in man's clothes, and was shipped as a man; and she further stated to me, that she had never received a single pice in the shape of advance. The Earl Grey, in which she was, put back by an accident, otherwise she would certainly have been carried to the Mauritius. When this woman made known to me her grievances, I mentioned the case to Captain Tarbut more than once, who paid no attention to it. I one day watched an opportunity, when a gentleman connected with the agents, Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co., came on board, and brought this under his notice, as I had previously done to all the officers. He paid no attention either. The following day, when the captain came on board, I threatened to make the case public if no attention was paid to my statements. He then went on shore, and sent an order for her release.

1016. When did this incident occur?—As far as I remember, it was in May 1837.

1017. Do you know if this woman had previously been taken to the police office?—I do not think she had.

1018. Was she very averse to proceed on board ship?—She was, indeed; and when any person came on board, she used to fall at his feet, and entreat his protection and endeavours to get her released.

1019. Do you know what afterwards became of this woman?—I sent her on shore in a boat I had lying alongside the vessel, but have never seen her since.

1020. Will you mention to the committee the names of the other ships to which you have been appointed, having Coolies on board?—I was on board the Emma.

1021. Did you observe any thing particular with regard to the treatment of the Coolies on board that vessel?—They were treated in the same manner as on board the Earl Grey; in a manner far from kind. This happened in August 1836.

1022. Had you any opportunity of knowing the quantity of money each man had on board the two ships you have mentioned?—I can say nothing in regard to this.

At an adjourned Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday the 11th day of December 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.
Rev. JAMES CHARLES.

WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.

William Cracroft, Esq., Examined.

1023. Will you have the goodness to state your name and designation?—William Cracroft, of the Bengal civil service.

1024. Have you any information to give to the committee on the subject of Coolie exportation?—I was in New South Wales at the time of Mr. Mackay's arrival, and had several communications with him on the subject of importing Coolies from India; I was averse to the system, for many reasons, and upon a subsequent tour to the Hunter's River, argued the point with several of the colonists; one of them, a person of large property there, and who bears a high name, proposed to obviate laziness or disobedience by subjecting the imported Coolies to the punishment of the lash, to be inflicted by the order of the magistrates; and several other colonists on the river spoke of harsh measures being used towards them. I mention this to show that, at the time, any thing but tenderness of feeling towards imported Coolies existed among a certain set, and I took such steps as were in my power, by mentioning the circumstance to Sir Richard Bourke, the then Governor, as I thought calculated to prevent any abuse of the kind, particularly pointing out to him that no native of this presidency could be subjected to the lash as a summary punishment for any offence, and I had the most satisfactory assurance from him of his efforts to prevent any thing of the kind. In regard to climate and the necessary comforts of Coolies sent from this country, I think that a comfortable hutting is indispensable, a far superior kind of hut to those usually allowed to assigned servants; I think, also, good warm bedding, such as a mattress of wool and good blankets, are absolutely necessary. In the high lands of Argyle Yass plains, I think the climate too severe for them; and farther to the south, in Mineroo, where snow storms occur, they would be utterly useless, and fall a sacrifice to the severity of the climate. To the north of Sydney, throughout the whole of the island, the climate would be found more and more favourable to them, and it would probably be found impracticable to establish the projected station in Torres Straits without the assistance of them, or some other tropical colonists. At Sydney, natives of the country obtain the full protection of the laws when their cases are brought to the notice of the magistrates, and no apprehension of ill-treatment need be entertained; but the case I think different in the interior, and at a distance from the seat of government, when almost every colonist who can afford to employ these Coolies is likely at some time or another to be plaintiff, and at another time judge; when complaints are made against them, the remedy will be found in having the cognizance of all charges against the Coolies referred to the police magistrates. In regard to food, they should be allowed meat if they chose to eat it, and if beer can be brewed on the spot, they should be allowed that too.

1025. Is the committee to understand that, under proper regulations, you are still averse to the system?—No; my objection arose from the idea that eventually the labour of Coolies would be found more expensive than that of assigned servants; but the question may be safely left to the colonists themselves.

1026. What

No. 0.4
W. Cracroft,
Esq.
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1026. What information can you give in regard to the Coolies at Mauritius?—None whatever; I can mention one circumstance, which proves the necessity of having some other labour than that of emancipated slaves; that when I was there, the emancipated slaves belonging to government refused to take service at the very highest rate of wages, and lay sleeping about on the wharf and streets in idleness, until removed by the police; and I heard from residents that many of them lived on the roads in the interior, in huts, and on what they could pick up, rather than work, occasionally coming out to plunder; this proves the aversion of the emancipated negroes to work for wages; and unless some other supply be found, the ruin of the colony is inevitable.

1027. Has any instance of the abuse in the mode of the deportation of Coolies from Calcutta come to your notice?—Last year a lad about 14 or 15, a near relation of my jemadar, was brought to me on this subject; his account was, that he had been persuaded at Burdwan to accompany some persons who had promised him service at Calcutta; that he had been put on board ship against his consent, but had effected his escape; was again seized and imprisoned in a house at Mutchon Bazar; at length he got away, leaving his clothes and pots behind him; I sent and endeavoured to procure them, but they were detained by the bheetyarah, on the pretence of remuneration being due for food supplied. He has since returned to his family in the Shahabad district, from whence the information can be obtained. I shall be able to produce before the committee persons who can give further information in regard to his and another case. The boy's name is Tukoor; he lives at the village of Barrepore, Pergunnah Deenur, Zillah Shahabad.

1028. Have you any further information to give the committee?—None.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall on Thursday the 13th day of December 1838, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman. | WILLIAM DOWSON, Esq.
RUSSELMY DUTT, Esq.

Rajcomar, Examined.

1029. What is your name and profession, and from whence do you come?—My name is Rajcomar; I am employed as a ticca burkendauz, and my house is in the Zillah Arrah; I came to Calcutta two years ago.

1030. Did you ever accompany Coolies as a guard on board ship; and if so, state the circumstance?—In the month of Falgoun last, as I was passing Banstollah Gully, a person whom I never saw before asked me where was my house; I answered, in the Zillah Arrah; he then asked me if I wanted a ticca employment; I asked him the nature of the employment, and where I was to go; he then told me that I was to accompany some Coolies on board ship as a guard, and offered me four annas for the service, which was to last from nine to twelve o'clock. I agreed to go, and was conducted by the person who spoke to me to a godown adjoining to Captain Birch's premises, where I, with that person, and four police burkendauz, and two Europeans, took charge of 52 Coolies, and proceeded to Nimollah Ghaut, where we embarked on board of four pansways, and came down to Baloo Ghaut, where the ship was lying; the Coolies, being embarked on board the ship, were counted by a gentleman on board; I then asked leave to go away; the person who called me first then told me to wait till he had spoken to a gentleman on board the ship; the four policemen and the two Europeans had previously departed. I waited a little time, and then urged the man to get leave without further delay, as I felt hungry; he then spoke to the gentleman on board the ship, who said that I could not go, as the European who accompanied us had included me in the number of Coolies; I remonstrated, and said that "I was merely engaged as a ticca peon to accompany the Coolies as far as on board the ship, and why am I to be detained?" but he would not listen to me, and threatened to horsewhip me and shut me up if I repeated my request; I then called out "Dohoye," and said, "I came here to put Coolies on board ship, and why should I be detained?" I then jumped on a board, alighted on board one of the dhingies which were alongside of the ship; upon which the gentleman on board ordered to seize me, and about 30 persons from the ship came on the dhingy and seized and dragged me on board the ship; and the gentleman on board the ship struck me five or seven blows with a rattap, and forcibly detained me on board; I again remonstrated, and told him I would never go with him, as I was not a Coolie; and having said this, I jumped overboard, leaving all my clothes on board; but three dhingies being sent after me, I was taken up by one of them, and was taken on board ship with my hands tied; I then called out "Dohoye," and said that I would kill 20 men before I would submit to be forced away. This was explained to the gentleman on board by the strang of the ship; upon which he agreed to send me to the European who came with us on board, with a note from himself. This note was carried by a khausammah, who accompanied me to the European in Banstollah Gully, who, after reading the note, asked me where were my clothes; I told him my clothes were all sunk in the river; the European then told me that I should have to go for six months to the house of correction; I answered that I was willing to go to the house of correction for one year rather than go on the voyage. He then ordered his servants to confine me; but having been detained for about an hour, I was, after some consultation with his sicar, released.

No. 40.

W. Cracroft,
Esq.

11 Dec. 1838.

No. 41.

Rajcomar.

13 Dec. 1838.

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Thursday the 13th day of December 1838, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Present,—T. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman.—RUSSOMOV DUTT, Esq.

No. 42.

W. F. Dowson, Esq.

13 Dec. 1838.

William Frank Dowson, Esq., Examination resumed.

1031. Did you lose the whole of those 140 Coolies, except the 49 who re-embarked in the Edward?—Yes, the remainder had consented to go in the Christopher Rawson, but did not go.

1032. Had you ever at any other time Coolies residing in the premises, except those who returned when the Edward put back?—Never; there were Coolies who came to the office for engagement, but who did not remain; I had no Coolies residents there.

1033. Were the Coolies who remained in Clive-street allowed to go out whenever they chose?—No opposition was offered.

1034. What were your orders?—To offer no opposition.

1035. In practice, did they go out when they chose?—I believe some did go out; in fact, some did abscond; I believe they were never mustered, and I believe we lost some; the gates were constantly open, and hackeries and carts going in and out, and if the Coolies had any disposition to run away, I think they could have done so; in my opinion the greater number remained from choice, being an asylum after a Bengallee's heart, having abundance of food, warm and comfortable lodging, and nothing to do.

1036. If they were under no constraint, where was the necessity for keeping 16 brijabassis on the premises?—That is the number constantly resident on the premises in Clive-street. My head man, who is a burkendanz or brijabassi, is a sirdar, who supplies people with durwans and brijabassis, and he has constantly men ready to be hired ticca; sometimes as many as 30 at a time have been there.

1037. Did not your partner, Mr. Bestel, oppose the egress of the men when this disturbance took place?—He did not.

1038. Was there not a difference of opinion between you and him on that occasion, you desiring that no opposition should be offered, and he insisting that the gates should be kept closed?—There was no difference of opinion between us on that occasion; but from the period when symptoms of discontent appeared, which was when they were told they must re-embark, there was a difference of opinion; I was desirous on my part to get rid of them from the premises, feeling that we were likely to incur unmerited odium, and our responsibility as shippers having ceased; Mr. Bestel wished them to remain; I thought at the time (as I still think) that in receiving the Coolies on their return from sea, and subjecting ourselves to the very serious annoyance of their protracted residence on our premises, and thus rendering ourselves to a certain extent obnoxious to public opinion, we had done our duty to our constituents. So long as the Coolies were contented and resolved on completing their engagements, I felt myself bound to employ every effort to protect the interests of the planters; but I could not allow this feeling to predominate over my respect for the laws, and I felt convinced of the hopelessness of embarking the men (in the excited state I have already described) by fair means, and I deprecated the adoption of any other.

1039. Did he not, on the occasion of the disturbance, order the brijabassis to keep the gates closed?—I did not hear him; when the noise began I was up stairs, and from the verandah I ordered the gates to be opened, which it was very difficult to do from the crowd pressing upon them; I do not believe Mr. Bestel had ordered them previously to be kept shut; there was no dispute between us on that occasion.

1040. Was there ever any dispute between you on any previous occasion concerning the shutting of the gates?—Never.

1041. What o'clock was this?—In the afternoon, about three P. M.

1042. Were there not a good many hard blows given on that occasion?—My own impression is, that such was not the case.

1043. Did any of these people ever complain afterwards at the police against you or your partner?—Never; I have already mentioned that above 30 returned wishing to be engaged, but I declined.

1044. Had your firm any Coolies in the house from which they were let out by Messrs. Hare & Clarke?—None.

1045. As a general rule, were the gates of your premises kept shut while these Coolies were there?—The great gates were; the wicket for foot passengers was constantly open.

1046. Were there durwans always at the gate?—One durwan was always at the gate; the Coolies had the full range of the compound or court, which was a very large one indeed, and all the warehouses.

1047. Can you give the committee any notion of the number of Coolies shipped from Pondicherry or any other French possession to the Mauritius or elsewhere?—I think about 10,000 Coolies have been shipped to the Mauritius, and 100, more or less, to Demerara, in a ship called the Elizabeth, Captain Kelso, who took in a cargo of rice here, and touched there for Coolies. Besides, about five or six years ago—I speak under correction as to date—about 6,000 or 7,000 were shipped from the port of Madras to Bourbon; they consisted of the scum of the population, the sweepings of the streets, and the greater number were returned as inefficient labourers; about 500 or 600 still remain; none of the number of 500 or 600 remaining are under contracts.

1048. Do you know whether any have been shipped from Mahie or any other French possessions in India, to Bourbon or elsewhere?—None whatever; there has been a number shipped from Cochin, an independent territory, to the Mauritius; and the Bombay government has shipped Coolies under five years' contracts from Bombay for the service of the Mauritius government on public works; the conditions were much more favourable for the Coolies than Coolies obtain for themselves when shipped by individuals; their rations are very superior; they were to have animal food; I think, however, the rate of money payment was the same.

1049. Are you aware whether Cochin is a part of the British territory, and do you know whether the Coolies shipped were our subjects, and shipped as such?—Cochin was, I believe, a Dutch possession formerly, but I know there are British functionaries there now, and these Coolies were shipped as British subjects under a magistrate's permit; that is a part of the condition of their reception at the Mauritius.

1050. Do you know what is the price of free labour at the Mauritius?—I do not think the value of free labour can be determined till 1840, the expiration of prædial apprenticeship, and for this reason, the negroes who have acquired the right to dispense of their labour are few in number; of these some earn their subsistence by cultivating vegetables on small patches of land, but the greater part live by plundering the neighbouring estates of cattle, cane, &c., and break into the godowns and steal grain; cattle stealing is carried on to a great extent; these people live in the ravines, of which the island, being of volcanic origin, is full, and it is difficult to detect them; I should say they have a great repugnance to hire themselves as tillers of the soil, considering it as a degrading occupation, as the occupation of a slave. The cost of negro labour to the planter at present varies from five to seven dollars a month; the right of the former proprietors to the labour of these slaves when they became apprentices was originally transferred at the rate of four dollars a month, the transferee or purchaser paying for the whole term of six years, taking the chances of mortality or desertion, and all other contingencies; this rate has been gradually increasing; I have heard lately of transfers having been made for the short remaining period of apprenticeship at eight dollars per month, which is the highest I have heard of; this includes men, women and children; in addition to this charge, the employer has to feed and clothe his apprentice, and take care of him when sick, and pay him for any voluntary service he may render beyond the seven hours and a half per diem required by Act of Parliament; this extra labour is two and a half hours a day, or ten hours in all, beyond which no labour can be exacted, or is even permitted by the Act of Parliament. A strong and able-bodied labourer's rate of extra service is one and a half dollars per month, and for second class labourers and women, 3s. or 75 cents. of a dollar; the dollar is 4s. currency. The Indian labourer, though the money payment is moderate, does not cost his employer less than seven dollars per month; this arises from his notorious inefficiency during the first year, and indeed, until accustomed to the climate and mode of culture in the Mauritius, accustomed to work on an alluvial soil, the volcanic rock of the Mauritius sometimes not covered by any vegetable earth at all, forms in the first instance a serious obstacle to them. Again, by the obligation the planters contract, they are furnished with food superior in quantity and quality to that which the negro gets, and besides, they cost more to employers, owing to the circumstance that out of about 100 sent to the country, not above three-fourths are found adapted to the objects required; the rest, from inveterate indolence or physical incapacity, being a burthen on their employers. The mulattoes and negroes who work in Port Louis receive much higher wages, and as high as a dollar a day.

1051. Do you know the number of the negro and mulatto apprentices in the Mauritius?—About 65,000, of which number not above 25,000, I should think, are fit for freed labour.

1052. Do you know the number of Indian labourers at the Mauritius?—There are from 24,000 to 25,000.

1053. Supposing the export to the Mauritius unchecked, how many more do you think would be sent?—I should suppose that 50,000 at least might be constantly employed. Next year the contracts of a good many will expire, and they will return.

1054. Supposing all those now to remain, then you think twice as many as are there now would find employment?—Yes, to develop fully the resources of the island; and they would find profitable labour for them in sugar cultivation; the island possesses a soil extraordinarily fertile in sugar, producing at present nearly 40,000 tons of sugar annually. In my opinion, the negroes will not voluntarily accept engagements for field labour, and if the supply from this country be stopped, Mauritius, a most valuable appanage of the Crown, will cease to be productive, and degenerate into a mere military possession. The island, with a sufficiency of labour, might produce from 60,000 to 70,000 tons of sugar annually.

1055. How many do you think would go to Bourbon?—In my opinion the planters in Bourbon would not be able to support the expense of free imported labour in consequence of the protection to beet-root sugar in France, and the consequent extension of that cultivation; the present calculation is, that the Bourbon planter must obtain five dollars for 100 French pounds (a quintal), equal to 108 English pounds weight, to enable him to support the cost of imported labour, and give him a profit.

1056. If Bourbon were fully cultivated, how many Coolies do you think would be employed there?—Not above 20,000; the island is mountainous, the hills too lofty and cold for the cane; the plains alone are suitable; the planters' crops are now lying unsold, because they cannot compete with the beet-root sugar manufacturers of France.

No. 49.
 W. F. Dawson, Esq.
 13 Dec. 1838.

1057. Supposing a free export of Coolies allowed to British Guiana and the West Indies, can you form any notion of the numbers that might be exported?—I cannot; but should suppose the number almost illimitable, for the back parts of Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo might be cultivated to almost any extent.

1058. Do you think that any such term as a five years' contract could be really and *bona fide* enforced, where the export was to places so distant as Demerara and the West Indies?—It would be very difficult, and necessary to have very stringent regulations and great vigilance in executing them to the letter, because the cost of two such voyages within five years would enormously enhance the price of Indian labour to the West Indian and South American planters; of course there would be a strong interest to induce the Coolie to stay. The charge of 10 rupees for return passage to the Mauritius is comparatively insignificant; but when the return passage for each man would vary from 100 to 150, it is obvious what a difference it would make. In my opinion, whenever the Coolie by his labour or earnings can indemnify the planter for the outlay on him, the Coolie should have the right to cancel his contract, whether his term be expired or not, on indemnifying his employer, and giving a sufficient previous intimation of his intentions.

1059. Do you wish to offer to the committee any observations on the evidence given by any of the witnesses relative to the Coolies on board the ships Edward and Christopher Rawson, with which your firm has been connected?—I have a few observations to make, particularly as regards the evidence of the native doctor, Abdoolah Khan, who proceeded to the Mauritius in charge of Coolies by the ships Charles Hartley and Christopher Rawson. Suspecting this man's veracity, I instituted inquiries, and ascertained that the Charles Hartley arrived at Port Louis on the 8th September 1837, and that the Herefordshire, by which vessel he returned, sailed on the 10th of the same month and year; he said, however, that he remained on the island three weeks, during which he saw the cruelties practised of which he has given an account to the committee; he has also furnished details of alleged ill-treatment of Coolies on board the Christopher Rawson; I am the owner of this vessel, and have taken every precaution to secure the comfort and well-being of the Coolie passengers on board, and the captain's tenure of command depended on his faithful performance of the trust reposed in him. This witness having detailed to the committee many acts of gratuitous cruelty and oppression which he states to have been practised by Captain Edwards, I beg to hand in a document, signed by the officers of the ship, with a view to his and their exculpation. There is still another point on which I am anxious to offer explanation, the case of the unfortunate ship Edward; this ship was chartered by me; and to satisfy the committee that every thing in my power was done to promote the comfort of the Coolies on board, and that the series of disasters which ensued arose from causes independent of my will or control, I beg to put in my letter of instructions to Captain Morton.

1060. Was Captain Morton a competent person to have charge of Coolies?—The result has shown he was not, nor were the officers.

1061. From your knowledge of the state of Coolies at Mauritius, do you consider them contented with their condition?—I beg to state, in reply to the last question, that during my experience, extending over a period of four years, I have never seen or heard of a single case of cruelty, injustice or oppression being practised towards a Coolie, and I have had good opportunities of judging, having resided constantly on estates where considerable numbers of Indian labourers are employed; they are treated throughout the island with great tenderness and humanity by their employers.

As a member of this committee, I have listened with feelings of indignation to a statement made by a Coolie returned from Port Louis, by the police authorities for insubordination and general misconduct, tending to inculpate Mr. Riviere, one of the kindest and most benevolent men breathing, and who has been looked up to at all times by his labourers (negro or imported) as their patriarch and friend. (No. 24; vide Appendix.)

At a Meeting of the Committee held in the Town Hall, on Monday the 14th day of January 1839, at 10 o'clock A.M.

Present: J. DICKENS, Esq., Chairman. | WILLIAM DAWSON, Esq.
 Rev. JAMES CHARLES. | RUSSOMY DUTT, Esq.

No. 43.
 Rev. T. Boaz.
 14 January 1839.

Rev. T. Boaz, Examined.

1. Will you have the goodness to state your name and designation?—My name is Thomas Boaz; I am a clergyman, and minister of the Union Chapel in Calcutta.

2. Your attention has been particularly called to the trade in Coolies, which was carried on for some time in Calcutta?—Yes.

3. Will you state by what circumstances you were led to pay attention to it?—The first thing that arrested my attention was the overcrowded (as I considered it) state of one of the vessels, which I met at the Sandheads on my return from a voyage made on account of sickness. I do not know the vessel's name; I did not go on board; the captain of the vessel in which I was drew my attention to the appearance of the other. This led me to inquiries on my return to Calcutta, which issued in the discovery of several practices which I considered

I considered inimical to the liberty and welfare of the Coolies, such as their being induced to leave their homes without an accurate knowledge of their ultimate destination. I found also, that the bringing them to Calcutta from their homes was conducted by a native agency, and in some instances, while in Calcutta, I found they were kept in a state of confinement, and deprived of a considerable portion of their advance of wages.

4. Did you visit any places in which Coolies were said to be in confinement?—I did not go into any places in which they were said to be confined, as I considered the fact perfectly established from other sources.

5. How, then, did you obtain your information?—In some instances from the Coolies themselves; in other cases from other persons, who were in the habit of bringing their information to me, knowing I felt an interest in the matter. I never held out any even the slightest inducement to come; but in fact deterred them from coming or speaking any thing as far as I could which was not true.

6. Did you examine any Coolies before they went to the Mauritius, or after they returned from it?—I examined some before they went to the Mauritius, and some after their return.

7. Did they seem to understand the nature of the contracts into which they were said to have entered?—Not the hill people. I addressed them through the medium of Hindoostanee; I have no acquaintance with their language. Some of them said, "We do not understand, but we do not care; we are going under the Company's order, and therefore we shall be taken care of." Others said they did not wish to go now they had arrived in Calcutta, because they had not their wives or children with them, and they wished to go back to them; and some said they had not got any money, as they had been promised, but that the duffidars had got the money and kept it, and therefore they did not wish to go now. And I should say, speaking of the whole of the hill people, that they had no conception of a sea voyage, or of where they were going.

8. Your remarks now refer wholly to the Hill Coolies?—Yes; with respect to the low country people my general impression is, that they seemed to understand perfectly what they were about; and, as far as my knowledge extends, they had no objection to go.

9. What was the nature of the information you procured from the Coolies you examined after their return from the Mauritius?—There were two classes of returned Coolies I examined; those that were sent to me by Captain Birch in presence of his peon. When they first came to me, they thought that I was a government servant; they said they were very comfortable and well done for in the first instance; but when I explained to them that I was not a government servant, and that they had nothing to expect, either in the shape of punishment or reward, and that Captain Birch would not be offended with them for telling the truth, they then seemed to enter more fully and in detail into the subject. They had good food, they said, but bad water—they spoke of the colony; that there were certain promises of clothing made to them if they would work, but which they did not get if they were incapable of work from sickness, or any cause whatever. They had never seen a Bengalee flogged; they had seen Africans flogged, but not Bengalees. I asked them if they had heard of any insurrection or disturbance amongst the Bengalees. They said, "How could we hear? for we were never allowed to go out, and kept in almost close confinement." I said, "Do you mean to say you were imprisoned?" They replied, "No; but if a man of our own place were in the next plantation, we were not allowed to visit him." I asked them if they at all understood the reason; and they said, "As far as we could understand, it was from a fear lest disturbance should arise if free intercourse were permitted." I asked them how many hours they worked; and they said, "From sunrise to sunset, with half an hour's liberty in the middle of the day." I asked them if they complained of that; the answer was, "The captain sahib was very kind, and it was our fate." I asked them if they thought that it was likely any man in perfect possession of health would have an opportunity of returning after the expiration of five years; they said it was perfectly impossible; for they were always at work, and therefore they would have no time to look after it. How could they see a captain of a ship? and the sahibs would take care, if we were healthy, to keep us always at work. I then asked them if they thought there would be any difficulty in a sick man's returning. "Not the least," they said, "if the captain of a ship would take them." I asked why there should be no difficulty. "Because," said they, "the masters seemed too glad to get rid of us when we could not work." They were absent 13 months from this country; out of that time they were sick six months; they were promised five rupees, and were told that a certain advance had been made on their account before leaving Calcutta; they got 11 rupees of that; they said they believed the advance was 70; this 11 rupees was all the money they ever saw. They said they were not disposed to return. I asked them if that was because they were sick or dissatisfied; they said "No." I asked them if they would send their brothers there; they evaded that, and said they had no brothers. I then asked them if they would send any living thing there; they said "No." I wished to know the reason; they said, "We have been separated from our wives and children, taken from our country, worked hard, got sick, have been absent about 13 months, have returned sick and weak and useless, and we have not a piece. We could have got our rice and food in this country, and been as rich as we are." I said, "But you have better houses and better food." They said, "What is that to us now?" These three were Hill Coolies.

10. Did you ask them what were the feelings of the batch of Coolies to whom they belonged?—I did not ask that question.

No. 43.

Rev. T. Boaz.

14 January 1839.

11. Did you examine any others than the three to whom you have referred?—Yes, another class of Coolies.

12. Were they also Hill Coolies?—I should say no; they appeared to me to be sirdars, sent from the Mauritius for the purpose of obtaining more Coolies.

13. What was the purport of their information?—That all was as it should be. Another class, consisting of about a dozen, I saw in the street entreating the natives not to go. They appeared to have been dissatisfied with their treatment. I did not question them particularly, as many of their grievances appeared frivolous, and such as might happen to men under any circumstances.

14. Do you think from what you know of the character of Hill Coolies, that they would be likely to leave their own country to go to the Mauritius, if they perfectly understood beforehand the distance of the place, the nature of the voyage, and the nature of their contract?—I should think not. I am told by competent persons that, though an ignorant, and in our sense of the phrase socially degraded people, they are lively and happy, and attached to this country, and particularly to their wives and families. They are also remarkably sensitive; and as a proof of this, I may mention that those employed at an indigo factory will take themselves off in one night, if they conceive that there is even an intention to injure them. It is contrary to the habits of the people of India to leave their own country; and this is more particularly the case with the Hill Coolies, who are supposed to be the aborigines of the country.

15. Are you in possession of any authentic cases of harsh treatment of the Coolies in the river on their proceeding on their voyage to the Mauritius?—Yes, I know cases of what I should consider harsh treatment to any men, but especially to free emigrants. One was in the case of a man on board the *Hesperus* bound to Demerara; it appears that while labouring under dysentery he was confined below, and not allowed to come on deck until fatally too late. I am the author of a letter, an extract from which was read by Daniel O'Connell, Esq., at a public meeting in Exeter-hall, London, and which subsequently appeared in the *Calcutta* journals. From explanations which have been offered since the appearance of that letter, I find that the statement that the hatches were battened down was not correct, though the fact of the man having died, and under circumstances of greater aggravation than known to me originally, stands untouched.

16. Are you aware whether the captain and the surgeon of the ship were aware that the man was ill and confined below?—I believe not, for I visited the *Hesperus*, conversed with the captain, saw her accommodation, and have every reason to believe him to be a most humane and gentlemanly man. Having examined the ship and spoken with the captain, I feel confident that the Coolies could not have gone under more unfavourable circumstances.

17. Are you aware whether any steps were taken to investigate this case of death?—Yes, I believe there were, but, owing to the want of evidence and the ship having sailed, the chowkedar alleged to have been implicated was set at liberty.

18. Do you know for what purpose this chowkedar was sent on board the *Hesperus*?—I have been informed that two chowkedars were sent down with the vessel, the one a police chowkedar, and the other belonging to the mercantile house; the former for the purpose of preventing any kidnapping below, and the other, I suppose, for preventing the escape of any of the exported Coolies. Owing to the cupidity and cruelty, as is supposed, of the two, the man died.

19. Are you acquainted with any other cases of harsh treatment than the one you have just mentioned?—Yes, I know the case of several men jumping overboard in the river from a vessel proceeding to the Mauritius, I suppose on account of treatment which they considered harsh; and after making inquiry, I have not been able to ascertain that any of them ever reached the shore; the only reason I have heard assigned for the possibility of their having been saved was that they were good swimmers. I have heard of other cases both on shore and on the river, but I need not detail them, as I believe they have already been mentioned to the committee.

20. Have you any other information to give to the committee in regard to the exportation of Coolies?—Yes; I do not think that the title "free emigrants" which has been applied to them is at all applicable to them, even if compared with the lowest order of free emigrants in our own country; not that I wish by this to imply that the European gentlemen connected with the traffic in this port have been oppressive in their dealings with the natives, but my impression arises from the following grounds; viz., that no free emigrant ever leaves Great Britain but by his own free-will, with a perfect knowledge of his destination and future employments and emoluments, and accompanied by every thing that is dear to them, and that they are never stowed away in such numbers on board ship as they are here; and have always ample accommodation.

21. Does it consist with your knowledge that Coolies in the neighbourhood of Calcutta are so utterly destitute, that they are in the habit of offering their children to indigo planters for sale, being without the means of supporting them?—No, I never heard that, and I doubt the truth of it; my experience would go to the contrary; for, being connected with an orphan establishment in Calcutta, in which children of both sexes are not only admitted but anxiously sought after, I can state that there is the utmost difficulty in procuring one, and therefore in the cases referred to they must have been kidnapped.

22. Are you aware of any project by which the law prohibiting the exportation of Coolies may be evaded?—Yes, I have heard, first, that the Coolies are to be shipped as *lascars* in

in greater numbers than are required for the crew of a vessel; and another scheme is, that they are to be shipped secretly from the coast of Balasore.

23. Are you aware with whom the public meeting held in Calcutta on the Coolie question originated?—I believe it originated with myself and others, who have no intercourse with the merchants of this port or other persons who had any interest in the sugar cultivation of this country.

No. 43.

Rev. T. Boaz.

14 January 1839.

A P P E N D I X.

No. 1. A.

Appendix.

(No. 732.)

To Captain *F. W. Birch*.

No. 1. A.

SIR,—With reference to the provisions of the Act No. V. of this year, passed the 1st instant, the Right honourable the Governor of Bengal has this day been pleased to appoint you to be the officer for granting permits for the embarkation of native labourers in the port of Calcutta. General Department.

2. I am accordingly desired to send for your use a few copies of the papers which have been laid before government in regard to the treatment of Indian labourers during the voyage and at Mauritius and Bourbon, which hitherto have been the principal places to which they have been conveyed.

3. You will exercise a sound discretion in carrying into effect the provisions of sections 6 and 7, which constitute you the judge of what is proper accommodation, food and medical attendance for persons of this class.

4. When you shall have had sufficient experience in this part of the duty to be able to lay down rules as to the proportion of men to tonnage, and their allowance of water and food, &c., it is the desire of the Governor of Bengal that you should frame a notice, specifying the conditions in these respects upon which you will grant licenses, which notice you will be pleased first to submit to this department for approval before publishing.

5. You will of course appoint a book-keeper to prepare the registers prescribed by the Act, of which you will furnish an abstract quarterly to the office, for transmission to the colonial governments; but it is the expectation of the Governor of Bengal that further establishment will not be required than the fee authorized to be levied will pay.

I am, &c.

(signed) *H. T. Prinsep*,
Secy to Govt.

Fort William, 17 May 1837.

No. 1. B.

(No. 1166.)

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent of Indian Labourers.

No. 1. B.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 22d instant, relative to an application from Messrs. Willis & Earle for permission to ship 60 Indian labourers on board the Peter Proctor consigned to Sydney, and in reply to state, that the Right honourable the Governor of Bengal sees no public ground on which to refuse compliance with the application of Messrs. Willis & Earle. It will be necessary, therefore, provided you are satisfied with the arrangements made for the feeding and accommodation of these labourers, that the permits should be granted in the manner provided by law. I am directed, however, to ask for a copy of the roll of those persons, for transmission to the government of Sydney. General Department.

I am, &c.

(signed) *H. T. Prinsep*,
Secy to Govt.

Fort William, 23 August 1837.

No. 1. C.

(No. 1927.)

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

No. 1. C.

SIR,—I am directed by the Right honourable the Governor of Bengal to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from the secretary to the government of India, No. 330, dated the 18th ultimo, and to request that you will report whether you have any amendments to suggest on the draft Act alluded to therein, and published in the Calcutta Gazette of the 30th ultimo. Judicial Department.

I am, &c.

(signed) *Ross D. Mangles*,
Secy to the Govt of Bengal.

Fort William, 3 October 1837.

Appendix.
Legislative Department.

(No. 330.)

(Copy.)

To *R. D. Mangles*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

SIR,—I am desired by the Right honourable the Governor-general of India in Council to acquaint you, for the information of the Right honourable the Governor of Bengal, that it is the intention of his Lordship in Council to extend the provisions of Act No. V. of 1837, regarding Indian labourers, to the presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay.

2. Previously, however, to re-enacting those provisions, his Lordship in Council requests to be informed, whether the Right honourable the Governor would deem it advisable to ascertain from the executive authorities acting under his orders, if any suggestions have occurred to them for giving additional effect to the objects contemplated by government in framing the legislative enactment in question.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secy to the Govt of India.

Council Chamber, 18 September 1837.

(A true copy.)

(signed)

Ross D. Mangles,
Secy to the Govt of Bengal.

Judicial Department, 3 October 1837.

No. 1. D.

(No. 2351.)

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

No. 1. D.
Judicial Department.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honourable the Deputy-governor of Bengal to forward for your information the accompanying copy of a letter, No. 415, from the officiating secretary to the government of India, dated the 20th instant, and to request that you will comply with the orders which it conveys.

I am, &c.

(signed) *Fred. Jas. Halliday*,
Offs Secy to the Govt of Bengal.

Fort William, 28 November 1837.

(No. 415.)

(Copy.)

To *F. J. Halliday*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to Government of Bengal.

Legislative.

SIR,—With reference to the Act regulating the shipment of India labourers for places beyond the territories of the East India Company this day passed by the legislative council, and which will be published as Act No. XXXII. of 1837, in the Calcutta Gazette of the 22d instant, I am desired by the Honourable the President in Council to request that his Honor the Deputy-governor of Bengal will direct the careful attention of the officer to whom the execution of Act No. V. of 1837 has been intrusted to the provisions of the new law, and especially to section 9, which prescribes the entries to be made in the register to be kept by that officer.

I have, &c.

(signed) *R. D. Mangles*,
Offs Secy to Govt of India.

Council Chamber, 20 November 1837.

(A true copy.)

(signed)

Fred. Jas. Halliday,
Offs Secy to Govt of Bengal.

Judicial Department, 28 November 1837.

No. 1. E.

(No. 1661.)

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, J. P., Superintendent of India Labourers.

No. 1. E.
General Department.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honourable the Deputy-governor of Bengal to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 30th ultimo, requesting instructions relative to granting permits for the embarkation of India labourers whom it is intended to ship for Demerara, and in reply to state, that as the law at present stands, there is no discretion given to you of refusing a pass or permit to embark, provided only that you are satisfied that the labourers have entered voluntarily into the engagements to serve at the place of destination, and are perfectly acquainted with the conditions, and that the arrangements for their accommodation on board ship are satisfactory.

2. It further appears from the original papers submitted to you in this instance, that the plan of engaging India labourers for service in Demerara has the sanction of the Colonial Office in England, and that legislative provision has been already made for their security when they reach that colony.

3. Under these circumstances, it will only be necessary that you should be careful to explain to the labourers engaged, besides other particulars of their engagement, the locality of the place of their destination, and the probable length of the voyage, in order

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to satisfy yourself that they embark voluntarily, and with full knowledge of the contract they are entering into.

4. It will further be proper that your proceedings should be adapted as far as possible to the law established for New Guiana, and consequently, amongst other things, that you should call in a second magistrate of the town of Calcutta to attest the contracts of service, the signature of two magistrates being required by the order of council produced.

I am, &c.
(signed) *H. T. Prinsep,*
Secy to Govt.

Fort William, 6 December 1837.

Appendix.

No. 1. F.

(No. 159.)

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent of Indian Labourers.

No. 1. F.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honourable the Deputy-governor of Bengal to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, with the register of Indian labourers proceeding to Demerara on the ship *Hesperus*, and to request that in future you will send similar registers in duplicate to this department.

General Department.

I am, &c.
(signed) *H. T. Prinsep,*
Secy to Govt.

Fort William, 31 January 1838.

No. 1. G.

(No. 325.)

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent of Police.

No. 1. G.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 8th instant, submitting draft of rules to be observed by the shippers of labourers from this port, with the other original papers referred to therein, and in reply to state that the Honourable the Deputy-governor of Bengal approves such of the rules proposed by you to be established and notified as relate to the form of application for license and the provisions and accommodation to be furnished to the labourers. But his Honor doubts the propriety of adding any specific rules on points not provided for by the Act of such a kind as to have the effect of imposing new restrictions on the export of labourers.

General Department.

2. On this ground Rule II. must be modified so that the production of the colonial government's authority for the import of Indian labourers may not in terms be declared to be an absolute condition of export from India. The rule may run thus:—"If the application be for export to an unusual colony, the laws of which applicable to Indian labourers are not known, the superintendent will deem it necessary to refer the case to government before granting any permits."

3. In like manner the latter part of Rule VIII. must be altered and worded as a caution. It may run thus:—"In order to obviate difficulties on account of the sanatory laws of the colony to which the labourers are to be conveyed, it is earnestly recommended that they be vaccinated and passed as free from disease by some known medical practitioner of Calcutta."

4. Also Rules IX. and X. should commence thus:—"Agreements will not be considered complete, so as to warrant the issue of permits, unless they state the name of the labourer and that of his father, the name of the party to whom consigned, &c. &c."

5. The Deputy-governor does not consider that, as the law at present stands, the government can give you any authority to restrict the amount of advance to be allowed to each labourer, or in other respects to interfere with the conditions of the contracts.

6. With the alterations noticed, the Deputy-governor approves the rules submitted, and sanctions their being published with your signature.

7. The original papers which accompanied your letter are herewith returned.

I am, &c.
(signed) *H. T. Prinsep,*
Secy to Govt.

Fort William, 21 February 1838.

No. 1. H.

(No. 296.)

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent of Indian Labourers.

No. 1. H.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honourable the Deputy-governor of Bengal to transmit to you the annexed copy of a letter from the Colonial Secretary at Mauritius, dated the 19th December last, and to desire that you will report whether at the time of the departure of the vessel *Mary Ann* any and what provision was made for affording medical attendance to the Indian labourers shipped on board her.

General Department.

I am, &c.
(signed) *H. V. Bayley,*
Offs Dep^y Secy to Govt.

Fort William, 28 February 1838.

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Sir,

Colonial Secretary's Office, Port Louis, 19 December 1837.

I HAVE the directions of his Excellency the Governor of Mauritius to apprise you, for the information of the supreme government of India, that the ship *Mary Ann*, which left Calcutta on the 3d October last, with 52 Indian labourers, under engagements to serve in this island, arrived here on the 25th ultimo, but without having any medical attendant on board as is required by the regulations in force at ports within the limits of British India.

I have, &c.

(signed) *G. F. Dick*,
Colonial Secretary.

To the Secretary to the Bengal Government.

(A true copy.) (signed) *H. V. Bayley*,
Offs Dep^r Sec^r to Gov^t.

No. 1. I.

(No. 518.)

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent of Indian Labourers.No. 1. I.
General Department.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 14th instant, submitting an application from Mr. A. Gardyne for permission to embark six Indian labourers for the Cape of Good Hope, and in reply to state, that the Honourable the Deputy-governor of Bengal sanctions the embarkation of the six labourers, but desires that a register of them may be furnished to this office, in order that a communication may be made to the local government.

I am, &c.

(signed) *H. T. Prinsep*,
Sec^r to Gov^t.

Fort William, 18 April 1838.

No. 1. J.

(No. 720.)

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent of Indian Labourers.No. 1. J.
General Department.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 31st ultimo, requesting instructions on Messrs. Haworth, Hardman & Co.'s application for permission to ship Indian labourers to Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo, in Guiana, and enclosing 12 copies of the amended rules for the embarkation of labourers for this port.

2. In reply, I am directed to state that the Honourable the Deputy-governor of Bengal, pending the consideration about to be given in England to the great question of encouraging or preventing the export of Indian labourers to the West Indies, feels compelled to decline giving his sanction to the grant of further passes for the exportation of Coolies to that quarter. His Honor, however, intends to lay the question before the government of India.

3. Messrs. Haworth, Hardman & Co.'s letter is herewith returned.

I am, &c.

(signed) *H. T. Prinsep*,
Sec^r to the Gov^t of Bengal.

Fort William, 6 June 1838.

No. 1. K.

(No. 905.)

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent Embarkation Indian Labourers.No. 1. K.
General Department.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date, referring to know whether you ought to comply with applications, made to you for the embarkation of Indian labourers for the island of Bourbon; and in reply to state, that the Honourable the Deputy-governor of Bengal cannot sanction the issue of permits for the embarkation of Indian labourers on board vessels bound to a foreign colony pending the investigation the subject is now undergoing, through the committee recently appointed by the Deputy-governor.

I am, &c.

(signed) *H. T. Prinsep*,
Sec^r to the Gov^t of Bengal.

Fort William, 15 August 1838.

No. 1. L.

No. 1. L.

To the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, &c. &c. &c.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Port Louis, Mauritius, 22 April 1837.

SIR,

No. 1. L.

1. His Excellency Sir William Nicolay directs me again to draw the attention of the supreme government to the subject of the Indian labourers emigrating to this colony; and to point out to his Lordship in Council the urgency of some measures being adopted with a view to these people being properly treated on the passage to Mauritius.

2. By the accompanying documents, you will see that three successive ships have been placed in quarantine, owing to the disease and extensive mortality that has prevailed among the labourers embarked upon them.

3. In the *William Wilson*, 31 men died; in the *Indian Oak*, six; and in the *Adelaide*, 24 men out of 72 died before her arrival here, and three have died since, besides one man lost overboard.

4. The *William Wilson* had 224 labourers embarked on her as passengers, and the *Indian Oak*, 212, each having also a full cargo of rice; and so has the *Adelaide*. It is impossible, therefore, that the Indians could have had proper accommodation, nor the means of that protection from the weather which, on such a voyage, ought to have been secured for them. What their treatment personally may have been on board it is difficult to say; but there was no medical officer, nor any person to attend to their welfare, or to see them duly cared for, and therefore, *prima facie*, much doubt may reasonably exist as to the manner they were treated, though no complaint has reached the government on the subject.

5. It will probably be urged that the respectability of the agents in India who engage these people, and of the commanders of the vessels on which they are sailing, is a sufficient guarantee for all due regard being had to the comforts and accommodation of the labourers; but facts unfortunately attest the reverse. It cannot be supposed that the principals in the mercantile houses of Calcutta can descend to a personal superintendence of the details, which are necessarily left to subordinates; and therefore, with the most benevolent intentions on the part of the chiefs, the Indians may be embarked without any of those reasonable precautions that their comfort on the voyage would require. But where the agents employed have a pecuniary interest in getting the labourers conveyed hither at the least possible expense, it is not to be expected that much pains will be taken to ensure to the Coolies that accommodation and protection they ought to have on board.

6. The commanders have no interest in these men beyond that of conveying them to their destination; and the labourers, from the manner in which they are put on board ship, being considered an incumbrance by the officers and crew, are not favourably looked upon, or likely to be well attended to there. In the instance of the *Juliana*, very unfavourable rumours reached the Governor, after her departure, of the manner in which the Indians on board her were treated, the truth of which his Excellency has reason not to doubt; but no complaint was made to him on the subject, and, consequently, he could not cause an inquiry to be instituted into the captain's conduct, which otherwise he would have done. Indeed, it is very evident, that until the Indians have a person on board to attend to their interests there, it is not probable either that full justice will be done to them, or complaints be made when they may be ill treated.

7. As far as the Governor here can, you will see by the fourth paragraph of the accompanying copy of the letter addressed to those who apply for permission to introduce Indian labourers, that his Excellency has endeavoured to remedy the great evils of the passage by calling the attention of the persons bringing them here to the recent Act of Parliament regulating the carriage of emigrant passengers from Great Britain; and were a similar enactment, calculated for the habits and customs for the eastern world, to be passed by the supreme government, his Excellency is satisfied that it would be productive of most beneficial consequences to the Indians emigrating to Mauritius. With reference to this subject, I have likewise enclosed a copy of a letter to the chief secretary to the Madras government, in consequence of the unjustifiable extent to which the government of Pondicherry permitted Indian emigrants to be embarked on board the ship *Edward Robinson*, most of them being believed to be British subjects from the territories of the Honourable the East India Company.

8. Since I had the honour of addressing you on the 15th December last, a new source of objection has arisen, from the way in which the emigrants from Bengal, latterly introduced, have been engaged, and by which, in fact, they have become objects of mercantile speculation and profit.

9. In their agreements a clause is inserted, giving to the person with whom they engage in Calcutta an unconditional right to transfer them to whomsoever he may please; thereby constituting, as far as it can possibly be done, their services to be his property. In some instances, even the name of the ostensible employer in this island has not been inserted, thus leaving no doubt as to the nature of the transaction on the part of the merchants engaged in it, and which, I regret to say, has proved profitable to them in some cases before the irregularity was discovered.

10. His Excellency Sir William Nicolay would suggest to the supreme government the expediency of instructions being given to the police magistrates of Calcutta not to sanction

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any agreement where the name of the employer is not specifically stated, and not to permit a clause authorizing a transfer to be inserted, unless such transfer be with the consent of the Coolies as well as of the master.

11. The small-pox having shown itself among the passengers of the Indian Oak, the Governor has felt it necessary to require that the labourers brought here in future should have been either vaccinated or have had the disease itself.

12. In conclusion, his Excellency desires me to draw your attention to the treatment which the labourers by the Adelaide are stated to have been subjected to antecedently to their embarkation on that vessel, as shown by the report of the medical officer.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Geo. F. Dick*, Colonial Secy.

Medical Department, Port Louis, 24 February 1837.

PROCEEDINGS of a Medical Board held by order of Dr. *Stewart*, Chief of the Medical Department, to examine into and report upon the State of Health of the Crew and Passengers of the ship *William Wilson*, from Calcutta.

President: *Art. Stewart*, Esq., M. D., Chief of the Medical Department.

Members: *Dr. Pearson*, surgeon, 87th regiment; *Dr. Harel*; *Dr. Salessé*; *Ne. Williams*, Esq., surgeon, 99th regiment; *A. Montgomery*, Esq., surgeon of the Cl. Hospital; *H. Rogers*, Esq., police surgeon.

THE board having assembled, and read the report of the health officer upon the health of the crew and passengers of the ship *William Wilson*, *J. Miller*, master, on the passage between Calcutta and this port, from 5th January to the 23d February, proceeded alongside the said vessel; and, having summoned the master thereof, received from him the following declaration for answer to questions put to him:

That on leaving Calcutta, his crew consisted of 41 persons, and the number of passengers was 224.

That between the 12th of January and the 5th of February, five of the crew and 26 passengers died; disease having first broke out between the 12th and 13th of January, in the night.

That the deaths recorded occurred as follows:

One in the night between the 12th and 13th, in four hours; two on the 14th, suddenly; three on the 15th; six on the 16th; three on the 17th; one on the 18th; and one on the 5th February.

That the attacks of this disease were sudden, and the prominent symptoms were vomiting (though not in all cases) generally the last meal; purging of watery fluid, like rice water; pains in the arms and legs; and great thirst.

That as to the appearance of face and eyes, he could not speak positively, as he did not make any particular observation.

That he and his officers were the chief attendants, as the Indians were perfectly indifferent.

That the total number attacked was upwards of 100, but to this point he was unable to speak positively.

That no person had been attacked with the disease subsequently to the 19th January.

That the last death, as stated above, occurred on the 5th of February, and that, since that period, no disease had existed on board.

That he has no opinion of the nature of the disease, but attributes it to the drinking of brackish water, whilst lying off Saugor Island.

After receiving the above declaration, persons who had recovered from the disease, to the number of (21) twenty-one, were mustered on the fore-castle, the majority of whom appeared much emaciated. The whole of the passengers afterwards passed before the board.

The board, having duly considered all the circumstances above detailed, is of opinion that the disease which prevailed on board the ship *William Wilson* was cholera, and bearing all the characters, as far as the information goes, of Asiatic cholera.

The board is consequently unanimously of opinion, that the ordinary measures of quarantine ought in this case to be put into execution; and that the necessary means for the complete isolation of the crew and passengers, and for the purification of these, as well as of the vessel, should be immediately entered upon.

The board cannot close its proceedings without submitting the urgent necessity which appears to exist for the due supply of medical aid to vessels employed in the transport of such a number of human beings.

(signed) *Art. Stewart*, M. D., C. M. D.

R. Pearson, M. D.

C. Harel, Surgeon, R. I. Fusileers.

Emile Salessé, Docteur.

Ne. Williams, Surgeon 99th Regiment.

Alex. Montgomery, Surgeon Civil Hospital.

Henry Rogers, Police Surgeon.

Medical Department, Port Louis, 29 March 1837.

Appendix.

PROCEEDINGS of a Medical Board held this day, by order of his Excellency the Governor, to examine into and report upon the State of Health of the Crew and Passengers of the bark, the Indian Oak, Captain Raine.

Present : Dr. Dauban ; H. Rogers, Esq., police surgeon ; Dr. Poupinel, vaccinator, Port Louis ; and H. Rowlandson, Esq., health officer.

THE board having assembled, and taken into consideration the report of the health officer, proceeded alongside of the ship Indian Oak ; and in answers to several questions, received from the captain the following declaration :

That he sailed from Calcutta on the 27th of February, with a crew of 53 persons, and 212 passengers ; that he has had several cases of disease on board, especially under the Line, when exposed to heavy rains, and that they appeared to be cases of fever.

That there has been six deaths on board.

That he had had during the voyage one case of eruptive disease.

That the first death took place on the 5th of March, the second on the 9th, the third on the 13th, the fourth on the 17th, and the fifth and sixth on the 22d.

That he is well acquainted with cholera, and that he has had no case on board.

From the contradictory reports of the captain, the board can come to no satisfactory conclusion as to the nature of the first and third cases ; from the same cause, it can only be presumed that the second was a pulmonary complaint, the fourth inflammation of the bowel, the fifth apoplexy, and the sixth dysentery.

That the same contradictory statements were made with respect to the eruptive case, and that, although examined by the board, the distance was so great as to prevent its coming to any other conclusion than that it was of a virulent nature, and suspicious character.

The board, taking the above circumstances into consideration, recommend that the above vessel be placed in temporary quarantine, and under observation ; that the usual means of purification be adopted both with regard to the ship and passengers ; that the quarantine of the passengers be performed on shore, if possible ; and that all those individuals who have not yet been vaccinated be submitted to that operation.

(signed) *Poupinel*, DE VCE. D. M., Vaccinator.
H. Rowlandson, Health Officer.
Dauban, Doctor.
H. Rogers, Police Surgeon.

Medical Department, Port Louis, 21 April 1838.

PROCEEDINGS of a Medical Board held by order of his Excellency the Governor, to examine and report upon the State of Health of the Crew and Passengers of the bark Adelaide, Captain A. Steel.

President : A. Montgomery, Esq., Surgeon Cl.

Members : Dr. Allard, Dr. Harel, Dr. Salesse and Mr. Ollivry.

THE board having attentively perused the letter of instructions from the chief medical officer, and the reports of the health officer of the 19th and 20th instant, relative to the present state of health of the crew and passengers, as also of the disease that prevailed and prevails on board the ship Adelaide on her passage from Calcutta to this port, proceeded alongside this vessel, and having submitted to the captain (as also to the sarangue, through the medium of an interpreter) such questions as it conceived necessary, to obtain the fullest information on the circumstances under consideration, ascertained, by the captain's report, that, in addition to the circumstances stated in the report of the health officer of yesterday (to which the board beg to refer), the unfortunate Indian passengers had been removed from the Virginia on board of boats anchored in the river, where they remained exposed for several days in a state of great privation, prior to their embarkation on board the Adelaide. That two men had died whilst on board the Prince Regent, nine in the Virginia, and two in the boats. That the deaths subsequent to their embarkation on board the bark Adelaide, on the 28th February, correspond with the report of the health officer of the 19th instant.

That there are at present six lascars and six of the Indians sick on board ; that these individuals labour chiefly under slight febrile affections, and bowel complaints assuming the character of mucous diarrhoea. That one out of the seven Indians reported as ill yesterday by the health officer died this morning.

The board caused the crew and passengers to be mustered for their inspection ; that the former, with the exception of the six reported ill, appeared to enjoy good health ; that many of the latter were healthy-looking men, but the majority rather emaciated.

The board is therefore of opinion, that the disease is situated in the mucous membrane of the stomach and bowels, the effect of the vicissitudes and hardships to which they had been exposed, and not cholera. In consequence, however, of the great mortality which has taken place amongst the Indians, as well prior to as since their embarkation on board the Adelaide, it considers that the greatest precautions are to be taken for the preservation of

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the public health, and beg to recommend that the Indians may be disembarked in quarantine, as being the most likely measure of arresting the further progress of the disease amongst those individuals; as also, that the vessel may remain in quarantine for a period not less than 20 days, there to undergo the ordinary and necessary purification prior to her undergoing a second inspection by the board; the Indians being submitted to the same restrictions; and the board further considers that Tonnelliers will be a place of sufficient security (after the removal of the Indians at present there) for the submitting of these individuals to quarantine, the disease being, in the board's opinion, not of so dangerous a character as that which prevailed on board the Indian Oak.

(signed) *Alex. Montgomery,*
Surgeon Civil Hospital, President.
T. Allard.
Ottovy.
Emile Salesse.
C. P. Harel.

Sir, Colonial Secretary's Office, Port Louis, 1837.

1. His Excellency the Governor has had before him your letter of the soliciting to be allowed to send to India for Indian labourers; and I have received the Governor's directions to acquaint you that he is pleased to accede to your request, under the usual guarantees on your part.

2. But it having come to his Excellency's knowledge that in some of the engagements entered into in Calcutta with the Indians introduced here, stipulations have been made which are contrary to the laws of the colony, such, for instance, as working on Sundays, corporal punishment by the sirdar or chief, unlimited hours of work, and a claim on the part of the master to transfer unconditionally the services of the labourers, the Governor desires me to intimate to you that every such engagement, being illegal, cannot be tolerated here; and it is an express condition of his assent to your request, that no such stipulation be made with the whom you have asked permission to bring into the colony.

3. It having lately been attempted to bring Indian labourers here as an object of speculation, without any specific agreement as to the individuals whom they are to serve, I have been directed to warn you that transactions of this nature, not being sanctioned by any laws either of the colony or of the United Kingdom, cannot be permitted; and that Indian labourers arriving under such circumstances will not hereafter be allowed to land. On this subject I am further desired to apprise you, that no master can legally transfer the services of an Indian labourer to any other person whomsoever, unless with the consent of the labourer himself given before a constituted authority of the colony.

4. His Excellency the Governor directs me also to bring to your notice that the carriage of emigrant passengers from Great Britain is regulated by a late Act of Parliament, 5 & 6 Will. 4, c. 53, under which captains of vessels are restricted from taking beyond a certain number of passengers, besides being bound to make due provision for their comfort on board; and the Governor is anxious to impress upon you how desirable and necessary it is in the interests of humanity, as well as for your own satisfaction, that you should instruct your agents in India to see that the spirit of the regulations in that Act be followed up and faithfully observed.

5. His Excellency desires me at the same time to point out to you the importance of the utmost attention being observed in the selection of the persons who may be engaged to work on your estate. The disappointments and inconveniences which attended the first attempts to introduce free labour into this colony are mainly attributable to that want of selection which is so essential to the success of the undertaking; and his Excellency cannot too strongly recommend that especial care be now taken to ensure that the persons who may be engaged shall have been known as really agricultural labourers in their own country (of the class called Hill Coolies), when coming from Calcutta; and that they, and the chief or sirdar who accompanies them hither, shall have been mutually known to each other before being engaged.

6. It has been suggested to his Excellency that it would be very advisable to have each Indian separately inspected by a medical practitioner previously to his embarkation, in order that none but healthy subjects may be engaged; and that his certificate should accompany the individuals when they come here (a proposition of which his Excellency highly approves, and particularly recommends you to give instructions to your agent to that effect), as well as, wherever practicable, that proper medical attendance should be provided for the Indians on board ship.

7. Considerable inconvenience appears also to have been experienced from the advance of six months' wages made in Calcutta to the Indian labourers, in consequence of which they are a long time here before they become entitled to pay. His Excellency thinks this a matter well deserving your attention, and whether it would not be prudent that the advance should be limited to three, or at the utmost to four, months' wages.

8. His

8. His Excellency desires me particularly to impress upon you the necessity of your making arrangements for obtaining from India adequate supplies of rice, not only for the subsistence of those labourers, but of the apprentices employed on your estate, as well as of the other articles of food stipulated for in the engagements with the Indians. For, in a large portion of the differences that have arisen between the Indian labourers and their employers, the cause of complaint has originated from some real or fancied infraction of the engagements entered into with them, more particularly in regard to food.

9. In some cases where the masters have not been able to obtain the exact kinds of food of which the rations of the Indians are composed, equivalents have been substituted, and even in larger and more liberal proportions than would compensate for the value of the deficient articles; but the people have not been satisfied with the change, and misunderstandings and complaints have followed; now this is a difficulty which may easily be overcome by proper precaution in having always on hand a sufficient supply of these articles of subsistence; and by the punctual and regular delivery of the rations, to which too much attention cannot be paid.

10. To this subject, therefore, his Excellency wishes to direct your serious attention, and to impress upon you the necessity of the most scrupulous and faithful execution of all the conditions of their contracts, as the point on which will mainly depend the continuance of tranquillity, good order and obedience among the Indians in your service. The strictest punctuality and regularity should be practised in regard to the payment of their wages, the issue of their clothing, and the other stipulations in the engagements with the labourers in your service.

11. The hours of work should be well defined and carefully attended to by the master on his side; several of the engagements entered into in India are very defective in this respect; but as the defect can readily be remedied here, no time should be lost in regulating the hours of labour so as to avoid any cause for complaint on that account. Task-work is understood to be well suited to the previous habits of the Indians; it will, in consequence, probably prove as much for the advantage of the master as for that of the labourers to practise it wherever the nature of their employment will admit of it.

12. His Excellency further recommends it to you to apply for a suitable proportion of their wives to accompany the men you propose to introduce, as a measure which his Excellency is satisfied you will find eventually to be productive of advantage.

13. The Governor feels convinced that the effect of a due attention on your part to these matters will be to obtain for you the confidence of the Indians, and thereby to secure the regular and cheerful performance on their part of their daily labours, as well as a quiet and peaceful demeanour among them.

I have, &c.
(signed) Colonial Secretary.

P. S.—It is an indispensable condition of this authority that a satisfactory certificate be produced that each Indian introduced under it have been vaccinated or had small-pox before leaving India.

To the Secretary to the Government of Madras.

Colonial Secretary's Office, Port Louis,
Mauritius, 22 March 1837.

Sir,
THE ship Edward Robinson, of 300 tons registered burden, having on a late voyage from Pondicherry and Tranquebar brought to this island as passengers 425 natives of India, under engagements to serve as labourers or domestic servants in this colony, his Excellency the Governor has deemed it necessary to give intimation to the captain of that vessel, that should he on any future occasion receive on board as passengers any number beyond what is allowed under the 6 & 9 Geo. 4. c. 114 & 21, he will not be allowed to land them at this port.

The same ship, it is understood, is about to return to Pondicherry on a similar voyage, and it being most desirable to the interests of humanity that every proper restraint should be placed upon the captains of vessels in regard to the number of passengers they may receive on board, I have his Excellency the Governor's directions to request that you will move the Honourable the Governor in Council of Madras to make such communication to the government of Pondicherry as may tend to effect the object in view, and also to ensure proper medical attendance, for in the instance alluded to, there was no surgeon on board the Edward Robinson, nor any person capable of giving professional assistance in case of sickness or an accident occurring.

I have, &c.
(signed) Geo. F. Dick, Colonial Secretary.

(True copies.) (signed) H. T. Prinsep, Secy to Govt.

TABULAR STATEMENT of the Number of SHIPS which have sailed from Calcutta with LABOURERS since the promulgation of Act No. 13 of 1837, which came into operation on 1st June 1837.

Ships and Destination.	Date of Permits.	Men.	Women.	Children.		REMARKS.	Tonnage.
				Male.	Female.		
1836:							
DEMERARA and BERBICE.							
Whitby - - - -	10 January	230	7	5	5	labourers - - - -	437
Hesperus - - - -	26 "	157	-	-	-		330
SYDNEY. 1837:							
Peter Proctor - - - -	22 August	61	-	-	-	labourers - - - -	267
AUSTRALIA.							
Gaillardon - - - -	8 December	98	-	-	-	labourers - - - -	301
BATAVIA.							
Brigand - - - -	15 August	4	-	-	-	silk winders - - - -	171
MAURITIUS.							
Belsoni - - - -	12 June	174	8	2	3	labourers - - - - - - Lonach put back leaky ; transferred to Donna Carmelita.	250
Lonach - - - -	18 "	74	8	3	3		392
Oznatic - - - -	19 "	150	6	1	4	- - sailed about 20 July ; la- bourers.	566
Charles Heartley - - - -	24 "	204	7	6	2	- - 11 artificers, the remainder labourers.	261
Houghly - - - -	20 July	40	-	-	-	- - 9 domestic servants, the remainder labourers.	465
Bright Planet - - - -	11 August-	12	2	1	1	chiefly domestic servants	185
John Bagshaw - - - -	18 "	170	6	1	-	labourers - - - -	416
Amwell - - - -	19 "	30	-	-	-	- - - -	235
Moulainei - - - -	21 "	50	1	-	-	- - 4 domestic servants, the remainder labourers.	164
Baboo - - - -	23 "	102	6	-	-	labourers - - - -	423
Luminy - - - -	31 "	6	-	-	-	- - - -	502
Parland - - - -	10 September	188	-	-	-	- - 4 domestics, the remainder labourers.	536
Mary Anne - - - -	20 "	36	-	-	-	- - 1 domestic, the remainder labourers.	278
Belsoni - - - -	18 October	162	6	5	5	- - 30 artificers, 2 domestics, the remainder labourers.	250
Thomas Snook - - - -	19 "	50	4	3	-	labourers - - - -	249
Donna Pascoa - - - -	19 "	316	16	6	3	- - 22 domestics, 13 artificers, the remainder labourers.	686
Bombay - - - -	23 "	300	2	-	1	- - 9 domestics, the remainder labourers.	1,279
Arab - - - -	20 November	167	4	2	2	- - - -	337
Indian Oak - - - -	28 "	200	5	1	-	labourers - - - -	472
Alfred - - - -	6 December	25	1	1	-	- - - -	294
Victoria - - - -	11 "	107	1	-	-	- - - -	367
Elizabeth - - - -	13 "	205	-	-	-	- - 6 artificers, 2 domestics, the remainder labourers.	255
Herefordshire - - - -	19 "	80	-	-	-	- - 6 domestics, 21 artificers, the remainder labourers.	1,354
Christopher Rawson - - - -	23 "	314	2	-	-	- - 19 domestics, 6 artificers, the remainder labourers.	479
Raj Rane - - - -	26 "	177	-	-	-	- - 13 domestics, the remainder labourers.	479
1838:							
Helen - - - -	16 January	165	1	1	-	- - 4 domestic, 4 artificers, the remainder labourers.	621
Donna Carmelita - - - -	13 "	48	-	-	-	labourers - - - -	243
Lord Auckland - - - -	27 "	152	-	-	-	- - 8 domestics, 1 artificer, the remainder labourers.	479
Cavendish Bentinck - - - -	12 February	267	2	2	3	- - 2 domestics, the remainder labourers.	378
Emerald Isle - - - -	16 "	12	-	-	-	labourers - - - -	568
Cecilia (Bourbon) - - - -	3 March	60	-	-	-	- - - -	338
Earl Clare - - - -	5 "	488	-	-	-	- - 10 domestics, the remainder labourers.	900
Euphrasia - - - -	6 "	205	-	-	-	- - 1 domestic, the remainder labourers.	309
Donna Pascoa - - - -	3 April	410	5	-	-	- - 13 domestics, the remainder labourers.	696
Lancier - - - -	28 "	150	-	-	-	- - 9 domestics, the remainder labourers.	285
		5,686	100	40	32		
			5,668				

Frederick Huth - - - - 8 May - 5 men, consisting of 1 domestic and 4 labourers for Cape of Good Hope - 900

Calcutta, 30 May 1838.

(signed) F. W. Birch,

Superintendent Embarkation Indian Labourers.

Continuation

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES. 99

Appendix.

Continuation of TABULAR STATEMENT of SHIPS which have sailed from the Port of Calcutta, under Regulation No. 5 of 1837.

Ships and Destination.	Date of Permits.	Men.	Women.	Children.		Tonnage.	REMARKS.
				Male.	Female.		
MAURITIUS.							
1838.							
Indian Oak - - - -	22 May - - - -	26P	-	-	-	472	
Donna Carmelita - -	29 " - - - -	104	-	-	-	243	
Victoria - - - - -	21 June - - - -	267	-	-	-	367	
Edward - - - - -	23 " - - - -	330	-	-	-	568	~ 219 only left Calcutta in her; she returned leaky, and has not yet sailed; she will barely take 200 when she does sail.
Lord Auckland - - -	22 " - - - -	300	-	-	-	479	
Apollon - - - - -	9 August - - - -	95	-	-	-	236	
Wm. Lockerby - - -	16 " - - - -	127	-	-	-	334	112 only left Calcutta in her.
Up to present date - -	Total - - - -	1,474					
	Former Total - - -	5,868					
	Total - - - -	7,337					

27 August 1838.

(signed) F. W. Birch,
Superintendent Police.

No. 2. A.

SHIPS.	Hill Coolies.		Women and Female Children.	Male Children.	Total Number on Board each Ship.	Total Number of Women.	Total Number of Children.	Total Hill Coolies.	Total of whole.
	Dhan-ga.	Other Hill Tribes.							
Belaoni - - - - -	161	-	11	2	174	8	5	174	187
Lonach - - - - -	44	1	13	1	74	8	6	59	88
Carnatic - - - - -	99	1	9	1	150	6	5	110	161
Charles Heartley - -	27	3	9	7	204	7	8	45	219
Hoecheley - - - - -	28	-	-	-	40	-	-	28	40
Bright Planet - - - -	-	-	-	-	12	2	2	-	16
Brigand - - - - -	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
John Ragshaw - - - -	97	7	6	2	170	6	1	112	177
Arnwell - - - - -	1	4	-	-	30	-	-	5	30
Moulmein - - - - -	5	4	-	-	50	1	-	9	51
Peter Proctor - - - -	56	-	-	-	61	-	-	56	61
Baboo - - - - -	22	13	6	-	102	6	-	41	108
Luminy - - - - -	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	6
Parland - - - - -	11	-	-	-	188	-	-	11	188
Mary Anne - - - - -	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	36
Beisoni - - - - -	81	-	12	6	102	6	10	99	178
Thomas Snook - - - -	9	12	4	3	50	4	3	28	57
Donna Pascoa - - - -	68	21	22	6	316	16	9	117	341
Bombay - - - - -	7	1	1	-	300	2	1	9	303
Arab - - - - -	8	23	4	1	157	4	4	31	165
Victoria - - - - -	2	-	-	-	107	1	-	2	108
Indian Oak - - - - -	88	5	4	-	200	5	1	97	206
Alfred - - - - -	-	-	-	-	25	1	1	-	27
Gaillardou - - - - -	24	-	-	-	98	-	-	24	98
Elizabeth - - - - -	7	6	-	-	205	-	-	13	205
Herefordshire - - - -	5	-	-	-	80	-	-	5	80
Christopher Rawson - -	84	6	-	-	314	2	-	90	316
Raj Rance - - - - -	11	11	-	-	177	-	-	22	177
Whitby - - - - -	111	3	12	3	250	7	10	129	267
Helen - - - - -	15	21	-	-	165	1	1	36	167
Donna Carmelita - - -	-	-	-	-	48	-	-	-	48
Hesperus - - - - -	31	26	-	-	157	-	-	47	157
Lord Auckland - - - -	5	12	-	-	122	-	-	17	122
Cavendish Bentinck - -	123	9	4	2	267	2	5	148	274
Emerald Isle - - - - -	4	-	-	-	12	-	-	4	12
Cecilia - - - - -	55	2	-	-	60	-	-	57	60
Earl of Clare - - - -	92	68	-	-	488	-	-	160	488
Euphrasia - - - - -	13	25	1	-	205	-	-	39	205
Donna Pascoa - - - -	29	43	5	-	410	5	-	77	415
Lander - - - - -	8	12	-	-	150	-	-	30	150
Frederick Auth - - - -	1	-	-	-	5	-	-	1	5
	1,277	338	123	35	6,691	100	72	1,773	8,863
			1,778			6,863		4,090	

Appendix.

No. 3.—MAURITIUS DOCUMENTS.

To the Superintendent of Police, Port Louis, Isle of France.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you, that government have been pleased to appoint me to the duties of inspection and granting permits to the Indian labourers consigned to the Mauritius from this port.

In performing these duties, I am anxious to do justice to all parties, and to secure to the labourer attention and comfort on the passage; but I must necessarily, at the outset, look to the information I may derive from the experience of persons situated as yourself.

* Belzoni. Lonach.
Carnatic. Charles
Heartley.

Since my entering on my duties, four ships, noted in the margin,* have sailed from this port with Coolies for the Mauritius; of these, the Lonach has put back leaky, but it is yet uncertain whether she will be able to proceed on her voyage. I forward herewith copies of my register of the labourers embarked on each ship. In future, the copy of the register shall be transmitted to you by the ship on which the labourers respectively embark.

A native doctor accompanies each consignment of labourers. The men are all vaccinated and inspected by a respectable medical practitioner before embarkation, so that no means have been neglected to ensure their leaving this port in a healthy state. The contract under which the labourers agree to serve is fully explained to them in my presence, and the descriptive roll of each inserted in the permit to ensure their identity. I have found them all not only willing but anxious to proceed, and perfectly contented with the terms of their agreement.

I am anxious to hear from you in what condition the labourers arrive at their destination. Each ship has been inspected by me; the provisions, water, fuel and medicine calculated to last for a voyage of 60 days. Any remarks or suggestions that you may think it necessary to make shall be attended to and thankfully acknowledged.

Trusting that you will kindly comply with my request to be favoured with any suggestions your experience and personal observation may enable you to offer, I beg to subscribe myself with consideration,

Yours, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*, Supt. Calcutta Police.

Calcutta, 11 July 1837.

(True copy.)

(signed) *F. W. Birch*, s. p.(No. 1482.) To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Calcutta Police.

Sir,

Mauritius, Police Office, 13 Dec. 1837.

I beg to enclose you a letter from the Indian sittoo in the service of M. St. Felix, of this colony, who is very desirous it should reach his family, and I am sure you will render him your good offices in having it forwarded.

As I have already mentioned to you, it is very desirable that these people should have every facility of communicating with their friends, and some of them may occasionally wish to remit to them a portion of their earnings; I shall therefore feel obliged by your informing me if any arrangement could be made by which that could be effected.

I have, &c.

(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary.Captain *Birch*, Police Magistrate, Calcutta.

Sir

Police Department, Port Louis, Mauritius, 23 Oct. 1837.

1. I HASTEN to acknowledge the receipt this day of your letter of the 11th July, with five returns of Indian labourers embarked for this colony on the vessels named in the margin,* and they have all arrived, and have had no complaints to make respecting their treatment on board, upon which they are always questioned. The transmission of these returns by the vessel on board of which the Indians are will be a great convenience to this department; and I avail myself with great pleasure of the opportunity you give me of corresponding with you on various points connected with these people, feeling assured that, by this means, many of the difficulties we experience here will be removed; in the meantime, I beg to draw your attention to the following points:

2. It is desirable the parties should produce the authority of the government here for the introduction of the labourers into this colony.

3. The engagements should be made in the names of the parties by whom they are to be employed, and not in the names of their agents, as is sometimes the case; for, in the latter case, a new engagement is obliged to be entered into after their arrival here.

4. In many of the engagements received, there is an unconditional transfer clause, which neither the government nor the courts will admit of here without the authority of the government being obtained, and the consent of the parties individually expressed before a magistrate.

5. There is no subject has given rise to so much difficulty as the difference of rations. I perceive those by the Donna Carmelita are only to have 14 chittacks of rice, and a quarter of

* Belzoni. Lonach.
Donna Carmelita.
Carnatic. Charles
Heartley. Hoogh-
ley.

of a chittack of salt daily, upon which it is impossible a man can work ; and some of these gangs are placed upon estates where there are others receiving a more considerable ration, which gives rise, and very naturally, to great discontent ; and most of the planters have been compelled to give an increased ration. It would be well if this was regulated in the first instance.

6. The hours of labour should be fixed ; in some places they are left to the manager of the estate ; and in others sunrise to sunset, with two hours for food and rest. This also has been the subject of much difficulty.

7. Six months' is too great an advance of wages ; for those whose pay commences on landing are for so long a period exposed to great privations, which causes great discontent.

8. In many cases the Indians have complained to me, that of the six months' wages advanced, four only have been given them, the other two having been retained by the natives who had engaged them, who made them believe they were to receive it here.

9. It has happened frequently that individuals arriving here are not the persons really engaged and borne upon the lists, having been changed after the proceedings had taken place at the magistrate's office.

10. Care should be taken that these people are selected from a class accustomed to field labour, for many state themselves to have been peons, servants, &c. and that it was in that capacity they expected to have been employed here.

11. With some of the vessels common prostitutes have come, picked up in the streets of Calcutta, and they occasion great disorder upon some of the estates ; the object should be to have the wives of the parties and the names of the husbands stated upon the list.

12. The planters reserve the right to break their sirdars, but many of them strive to compel them to work as common labourers. This gives a great deal of trouble ; and it would be best to specify in the engagement that they are to be sent back to India, for so long as they remain upon the estate they excite discontent and disorder.

13. When individuals are sent back for misconduct, it would be well for the police of Calcutta to have an eye upon them ; and a return shall in future be sent from this department to you.

14. Great care should be taken in the selection of the sirdars ; for in many instances persons very unfit have been sent, who, as I am informed, were not selected for their fitness for the situation, but because they gave most money to the native who recommended them.

15. When domestic servants are engaged, it should be explained to them that they must renounce many of their prejudices, as we have not here, as in India, persons for each description of work ; but they must prepare themselves to be generally useful about the house ; at the same time their religious prejudices will always be respected. The apprentices will serve with them, but not under them.

16. I observe they come here with very exaggerated ideas of what their situation is to be ; wages so much higher than they get in India tempt them ; but the fact is, the little comforts they get almost for nothing in their own country are very dear here.

17. Should the families of any of these people wish to communicate with them, if the address and name of the employers are written in English, they may be sent under cover to me, and I will have them distributed. I will in like manner forward to you such letters as those here may wish to send.

These are all the observations that occur to me at present.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary.

(No. 1353.)

To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Sir,
I HAVE the pleasure to acquaint you, that the Indians by the *Emmee* state they were well treated on board during their passage.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary.

(No. 1328.)

To Captain *Birch*, Superintending Magistrate, &c. &c., Calcutta.

Sir,
I HAVE this day had the honour to receive your letter of 25th September, transmitting me the returns of labourers by the vessels stated in the margin,* and I am happy to inform you, they have all arrived safe, and have had no cause to complain of their treatment on board ; on the contrary, they appear generally healthy and contented.

You will, ere this, have received my letter of the 23d ultimo (No. 1230), and I shall not fail to communicate with you from time to time, when I have any observations to offer.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary.

* Bright Planet.
John Bagsbaw.
Anwell. *Moulmeia*.
Baboo Luminy.
Parland.

Appendix.

(No. 1343.)

To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Sir,

Mauritius, 17 November 1837.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that the Indians arrived by the Baboo state that they were perfectly well treated on board.

I have, &c.

(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary of Police.

E. Benoit, Docteur en Médecine de Faculté de Paris, &c., à Monsieur *Jno. Dubois*,
Suppleint Cre. Civil, &c. au quartier de la Savane.

Monsieur,

Savane, 4 Novembre 1837.

C'EST avec une extrême satisfaction que j'ai lu dans la circulaire que vous avez adressée à Messieurs les habitans de la Savane, que le gouvernement s'occupait sérieusement des moyens à mettre en usage pour remédier aux inconvéniens et aux abus qui ont lieu dans l'introduction des Indiens à Maurice, et qui sont également préjudiciables aux laboureurs et aux personnes qui doivent les employer. Déjà vous nous annoncez de grandes améliorations, mais puisque Monsieur le Commissaire en Chef de la Police demande les renseignemens que les habitans peuvent lui fournir, je vous dirai mes idées au risque de les voir qualifiées comme des inutilités.

Ne m'occupant pas des cas déjà prévus, je vous en signalerai quelques autres, ma profession me mettant en mesure de voir tous les Coolies qui arriverai dans mon quartier. Je vous indiquerai donc :

1°. *L'état de nudité dans lequel arrivent la plupart des Coolies*, bien que dans l'Inde ils aient reçu des vêtemens pour un an.

2°. *L'extrême jeunesse*: des enfans de 12 à 13 ans sont engagés pour des hommes; ils ne peuvent faire le même ouvrage.

3°. *Les six mois d'avances donnés à Calcutta*. Les Coolies dépensent pendant les quelques jours qui précèdent leur embarquement la somme qu'ils ont reçue, et arrivés ici dénués de tout; ils éprouvent des privations jusqu'à l'époque où ils reçoivent leur 1^{er} paiement. Ne serait-il pas plus avantageux pour eux de n'avoir reçu que les appointemens de deux ou trois mois au plus?

4°. *L'insuffisance du nombre des femmes comparativement à celle des hommes introduits*. Il n'est sans doute personne qui n'ait fait cette observation.

5°. *Une circonstance qui est une source sans cesse renaissante, de différens entre les laboureurs et les habitans*. Je veux parler des prétendus commandeurs ou sirdars qui accompagnent les bandes. Un commandeur doit être un homme intelligent, de bonne conduite, et sachant se faire respecter par les personnes à qui il est destiné à commander. Serait-il possible de choisir à Calcutta parmi des hommes qu'on ne connaît pas? Non, sans doute, le hasard en décide, et il résulte de là que non seulement les maîtres ne peuvent donner aucun commandement à ces sirdars qu'ils sont obligés de renvoyer, mais encore, qu'arrivés à Maurice, les laboureurs eux-mêmes les méprisent, et ne veulent pas leur obéir parceque souvent ils ne reconnaissent point dans cette espèce de chef aucune trace de cette supériorité qui donne l'intelligence.

D'ailleurs, l'inutilité de ces commandeurs devient évidente quand on fait attention que sur un établissement, par exemple, où il y a cinquante Coolies, ceux-là se trouvent disséminés. Ils sont coupeurs de cannes, charretiers, passeurs de cannes au moulin, chauffeurs, sucriers, &c. &c. &c. et il n'en restent peut-être pas quatre sous la direction du commandeur.

Enfin, s'il faut un commandeur parmi eux, ne conviendrait-il pas mieux de ne pas le choisir dans l'Inde, et dire aux Coolies qu'à Maurice on élira pour chef celui d'entr'eux qui, par son travail et sa bonne conduite, méritera de commander aux autres? Ce serait leur donner de l'émulation.

J'ai, &c.

(signé) *E. Benoit*, D. M. D.

À Monsieur *John Finnis*, Commissaire en Chef de la Police Générale, &c. &c. &c.

Monsieur,

Port Louis, Plaines Wilhems, le 2 Novembre 1837.

JE n'ai pas pu répondre jusqu'à ce jour à l'appel que vous faites aux habitans, et vous transmettre mes remarques et les renseignemens que je puis communiquer concernant les Indiens laboureurs. Soyez persuadé qu'il faut que j'ai été empêché de le faire, car je m'intéresse beaucoup à la réussite de l'introduction des Indiens à Maurice, et je l'ai considérée dès le principe comme on ne plus avantageuse à cette colonie.

Les précautions prises par le magistrat de Calcutta pour ce que d'autres ne viennent pas à la place de ceux engagés, m'ont fait le plus grand plaisir; parceque je suis presque convaincu que des fourbes qui ont signé des engagements ne sont pas venus en remplir les conditions, et ont trompés ceux qu'ils ont mis à leur place; un de mes laboureurs, désirant que je lui expliquasse ce que c'était que cette retenue pour avances, m'a quitté, après en riant et disant qu'il voyait bien qu'on l'avait trompé dans l'Inde, qu'en l'embarquant on lui avait mis une roupie dans la main, et recommandé de prendre tel nom, et qu'on lui avait dit qu'il gagnerait beaucoup de roupies à Maurice.

J'ai préféré correspondre avec vous comme propriétaire plutôt que comme fonctionnaire, parceque je puis entrer dans des détails minutieux concernant mes propres laboureurs, mais je

je ne m'abstiendrai pas de relater les circonstances qui, dans l'exercice des fonctions que j'ai remplies, m'ont fait acquérir de l'expérience, et je puis assurer le magistrat de Calcutta qu'il rendra un grand service aux laboureurs s'il parvient à les convaincre qu'il faut qu'ils aient confiance dans leurs maîtres, et les autorités chargées de connaître leurs différens avec leurs maîtres, et qu'ils ne se fient pas du tout aux interprètes et autres alentours de leurs maîtres. J'ai beaucoup d'exemples à citer pour prouver que ces pauvres gens ont la faiblesse de croire ceux qui leur font considérer leurs maîtres comme des ennemis, et les engagent à leur manquer de respect: un Indien vient me demander justice contre son maître qui exige tel ouvrage que l'engagement ne lui permet pas de réclamer; j'avais l'engagement à mon bureau, et je lui dis que son maître avait raison; il se retire, et au lieu de suivre mes avis, va dire à son maître qu'il n'avait pas eu gain de cause à la petite police, mais qu'il était trop sûr de son fait pour ne pas aller à la grand police; le maître l'oblige à revenir à moi, et cette fois il l'accompagne, et demande des dommages et intérêts; cet Indien me dit, "Comment voulez-vous que je me croie obligé de faire tel ouvrage; vous ne savez donc pas que j'ai l'engagement dans ma poche?" Et effectivement il me produit une copie bien en règle d'un engagement semblable à celui que j'avais à mon bureau, ce qui me fait voir qu'il ne sait pas lire, et lui observer que quelqu'un a dû lui expliquer son engagement: "Oui, me dit-il, c'est un homme bien sûr;" et il prononça un nom qui éveilla l'attention du maître, qui ne comprenait pas ma conversation avec son laboureur parcequ'elle avait lieu par l'intermédiaire d'un interprète qui correspondait avec moi en Anglais; ce maître me dit alors, "Il vous nomme mon homme de confiance, sans lequel je ne pourrais rien faire de mes gueux de laboureurs."

Reprochant à douze Indiens qui arrivaient de la police générale, de ne s'être pas adressés directement à moi, ils me répondirent que c'était parqu'ils savaient que les Indiens n'avaient jamais raison devant moi. Mon cuisinier qui me sert d'interprète, et qui a confiance dans ma justice, fut désobligé de cette réponse, et leur observa qu'il ne les avait pas vus venir se plaindre à moi auparavant; nul doute que ces hommes n'aient écouté des conseils.

J'ai été pendant une huitaine de jours à croire mes laboureurs on ne peut plus mal disposés contre moi; j'avais pour l'interprète un Indien engagé dans l'Inde comme domestique, parcequ'il parlait Français; si je l'avais cru, j'aurais demandé à renvoyer mon mestre ou sirdar et plusieurs autres qu'il me désignait comme des hommes dangereux, et auxquels je remarquais pourtant une physionomie et une manière d'être fort peu en harmonie avec les propos que mon interprète disait qu'ils tenaient. Un jour qu'au milieu d'eux et préoccupé, je posai une question en Anglais; un de mes laboureurs me dit: "Vous lui parlez Anglais, et il n'entend que le Français;" satisfait d'avoir rencontré un nouvel interprète, je m'en servis, et jusqu'à ce jour, je considère comme une faveur du ciel d'avoir fait cette rencontre; rien ne se complique maintenant, et quoique tous mes Indiens ne soient pas parfaits, je juge, d'après les peines et contrariétés qu'éprouvent les autres propriétaires, que je suis extrêmement favorisé tant pour le travail que pour l'ordre; et je demeure convaincu que si les propriétaires et les laboureurs parlaient la même langue, il y aurait beaucoup moins de désordre dans les ateliers.

Cet Indien, parlant Anglais, a été mis par moi à apprendre à faire la cuisine, afin de l'avoir toujours dans l'établissement; il a mérité des éloges que j'ai eu l'indiscrétion de faire devant mon domestique, qui en a conçu de la jalousie. Mon nouveau cuisinier s'est mis à mendier, et remarquant qu'il s'adressait à moi pendant mes heures de bureau, je lui observai que peut-être quelqu'un lui conseillait d'agir ainsi, avec l'espoir que, trop occupé pour l'écouter et fatigué de ses importunités, je lui dise d'aller travailler aux plantations; il me dit qu'effectivement c'était Eguien qui le poussait à cela, et depuis il ne m'a plus rien demandé. Eguien est l'interprète Français.

Il serait à désirer que les femmes qui suivent les bandes fussent aussi engagées, car elles arrivent ici sans s'être assurées de soins en cas de maladie, &c. &c., et elles cherchent si peu à ne pas déplaire aux propriétaires chez lesquels elles vont, que la plupart voudraient s'en débarrasser, se repentent de les avoir cautionnées, et se promettent de ne plus le faire. Ces femmes ont besoin que l'on s'assure de l'état de leurs santés, car elles propagent des maux parmi les laboureurs. On a assez des enfans d'apprentis à vagabonder sur les propriétés.

Les Indiens pourraient être informés utilement qu'ils ont tort de se promettre dans leur pays de se soutenir ici mutuellement, et quand même ce qui leur donne souvent l'air d'être revoltés, de se laisser maîtriser par les plus forts d'entre eux, puisque l'autorité informée de voies de fait et même d'injures verbales sans provocation ne manque pas des servir contre leurs auteurs; de se croire en droit d'obséder leurs maîtres de demandes quand ils ont bien travaillé; de ne pas respecter les préposés des maîtres quoiqu'ils ne soient pas des blancs. Ces avis donnés à Calcutta pourraient peut-être les empêcher de commettre bien des désordres auxquels ils se livrent ici.

Toutes les fois que je croirai utile de revenir sur ce sujet, je ne manquerai pas de le faire; parceque, je le répète, l'introduction des Indiens à Maurice peut rendre cette petite colonie florissante, et j'ai hâte de voir en culture des terres peu productives, mais situées de manière à offrir encore du profit étant mises en valeur par des travailleurs patients, et à bas prix, comme il est possible qu'on en ait à l'expiration des engagements; parcequ'il y aura de moins à payer, pour les Indiens qui voudront demeurer dans le pays, les passages pour leur arrivée et leur retour.

J'ai, &c.
(signé) Arnd. Hugnin.

Appendix.

(No. 1354.)

To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Mauritius, 17 November 1837.

Sir,
H A V I N G called upon the planters who have Indian labourers upon their estates for any observations they might have to offer respecting their Indians, I now do myself the honour to enclose you two letters, one from Dr. Benoit, and the other from Mr. Hugain; the latter a planter, and also one of the local magistrates; as others arrive I will forward them to you, as they will convey to you the grievances of the masters; as to those of the Indians, every thing is done to redress them that the state of our laws will allow.

I have, &c.

(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary of Police.

(No. 1488.)

To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Police Department, Port Louis, 14 December 1837.

Sir,
I H A V E the honour to acquaint you, that the Indians, by the *Douna Pascoa*, have arrived, and have made no complaints.
There is a sirdar amongst them named *Bareny*, who was sent from this not long ago for misconduct, and whom I shall send back by the first opportunity.

I have, &c.

(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary.

(No. 1436.)

To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Police Office, Port Louis, 4 December 1837.

Sir,
I H A V E the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th September last, with the lists of Indians by the *Mary Anne*, and I have great pleasure in acquainting you that the Indians arrived in good health, and had no complaint to make.
His Excellency the Governor has desired me to convey to you his thanks for your letter to me of the 11th July last.

I have, &c.

(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary.To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Police Department, Port Louis, 19 January 1838.

Sir,
I H A V E to acquaint you with the arrival of the *Bombay*, having on board 302 labourers, who, in their general appearance, were not so clean and healthy as other gangs who have lately arrived, and a great number of them were obliged to be sent to the itch infirmary.
I enclose you a copy of a complaint made by some of them, as also of Captain *Waugh's* answer.
The lists you usually send have not been received here for several of the gangs lately arrived.

I have, &c.

(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary.

(Copy.)

POLICE GÉNÉRALE.

LE nommé *Ramdine*, engagé à servir le *Sieur Lachiche*, débarqué ce jour du navire *Bombay*, Capitaine *Waugh*, vient déclarer que depuis le jour de son embarquement dans l'Inde jusqu'à celui de son débarquement ici, il n'a point reçu de vivres à bord; qu'il vivait au moyen d'un peu de riz et de dhali qu'il avait achetés avant son embarquement.
Sur interpellation, il déclare qu'on lui donnait ses vivres ensemble avec ses camarades, et comme il est "Indou," il ne voulait pas manger avec eux, ce qui fait, qu'il s'est nourri tout le temp de la traversée avec des provisions achetées par lui et avec ses propres deniers.

Il le plaint aussi que l'homme qui l'a engagé, le *Sieur Waugh*, dans l'Inde, s'est refusé à lui laisser embarquer son coffre contenant différentes choses, qu'il évalue à la somme de cinquante roupies.

Plus il n'a dit; et ayant signé avec *Sadou*, qui nous a servi d'interprète.

5 Janvier 1838.

(signé) *Raymond Duffau & Gn. Sadou*.

POLICE GÉNÉRALE.

15 Janvier 1838.

Appendix.

D'ORDRE de Monsieur le Député-commissaire, d'entendre les quatre Indiens ci-après, Dialdyrame, Guyraho, Bistrame et Raudine, provenant du navire Anglais le Bombay, Capitaine Waugh, venant de Calcutta. Les avons interpellés, par l'intermédiaire du Sieur Ramdiane, de nous rapporter avec confiance et vérité ce qu'ils avaient à déclarer; le dit interprète, après les avoir entendus, nous a fait connaître, qu'ils se plaignaient que dans la traversée de l'Inde à Maurice ils avaient demandé au Capitaine Waugh de vouloir bien leur faire donner leur ration alimentaire séparément de celle des autres, vu leur différence de caste; que n'ayant jamais pu obtenir ce dont est cas du capitaine, ils avaient été obligés de ne manger pendant la traversée que du riz trempé, qu'ils avaient heureusement embarqué par fantaisie, nous observant que quant ils se plaignent du Capitaine Waugh, ils le font persuadé que ce fut d'après ses ordres que la distributeur des vivres à bord avait agi à leur égard. Ne disant plus, avons clos fait lecture, et signé avec l'interprète, ce 5 Janvier 1838.

(signé) Labonte, Off. de Police 6br Ramzanne.

PERSONALLY appeared before me, George Coombes, officer of police, charged with the marine office, this 9th day of January 1838, Captain Waugh, of the ship Bombay, who, being informed of the complaints of the Indians named Ramdine, Duildirame, Guyraho and Bissame, deposes that, with respect to the Indians who arrived on his vessel, they were engaged by different parties in Calcutta, but not by him; that he knew nothing of their religion or caste; and that their rations were delivered out to them by messes, as it is customary to do when there are a great number of people; and he declares that, had he known that he had any rigid castes on board, he would have had their rations served out to them from motives of humanity; and further declares, he did not refuse his permission to Ramdine to have his effects on board his vessel; and this deponent, having nothing further to say or alter in his deposition, has signed with me the day, month and year aforesaid.

(signed) Geo. Waugh.
Geo. Coombes.

Captain Birch, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Sir, Police Department, Port Louis, Mauritius, 20 Jan. 1838.

I HAVE the honour to enclose you a declaration made at this office by an Indian calling himself Ameen, who arrived as a labourer on board the Arab, and an engagement is also enclosed in the name of Peroo.

As the man persists in his statement, and in no way answers the description of Peroo, Messrs. Webb & Co. will embark him on the Lancier, and the captain will be requested to see that he is sent to you.

This is not the only instance of similar statements having been made here, but after the parties had been some time in the colony, and unsupported by any proof.

I have, &c.

(signed) John Finnis, Chief Commissary.

PERSONALLY appeared before me, this the 14th day of January 1838, an Indian arrived on board the vessel Arab, Captain Sparks, from Calcutta, calling himself Ameen, who, not answering to the description ticket signed by Captain Birch, superintendent of police at Calcutta, under the name of Peroo Kitmuigar, to be employed in the service of Mr. Antard, was questioned, and declares as follows:

That he was in the bazar playing, when a man, whom he can point out, of the Hindoo caste, but whose name he does not recollect, came and talked to him, and said that some people were amusing themselves in a boat, and to come and see them; and that the man gave him 20 rupees, saying it was to amuse himself, and to come and see them. That he followed him down to the river; but on the way down the man entered a shop, and gave him some drink, from which he became intoxicated; and that he went into a boat, where he gave him something to eat and drink again, whereby he became perfectly drunk, and that the next morning he found himself on board a ship then under weigh, where there were many Coolies. That he spoke to the captain with regard to his position, and that the captain said he could do nothing for him.

As a proof that he was not engaged, he states that he never went before the police, received no clothing, and has no distinguishing badge like the other Coolies.

He maintains that all the above statement is correct, and desires to be returned to his own country.

(signed) Geo. M. Lay, Deputy-commissary.

Appendix.

INDIAN LABOURER'S PERMIT.

Duffadar Bhuwanny.

No. 152.

I, PEROO, engage to proceed to Mauritius to serve E. Antard, père, or such other person as I may be transferred to (such transfer being made by mutual consent, to be declared before a public officer), as a khidmutgar, for the space of five years from the date of this agreement, on consideration of receiving a remuneration of Company's rupees ten (10) per month, and food and clothing as follows; viz.

14 chittacks rice,	} daily;	1 blanket	} yearly;
2 " dholi,		2 dhooties	
- ½ " ghee,		1 chintz mirjæe	
- ¼ " salt,		1 lascar's cap	
		1 wooden bowl	

also one lotah or brass cup between four persons, and medicine and medical attendance when required; also to be sent back to Calcutta at the expiration of my period of service, free of all expense to myself, should such be my wish, subject to the terms of my general agreement. Executed this day of November 1837.

Peroo, his + mark.

নিম্নিত্ত পিক খেদমতগার কম একবার পশমিদং কার্যনকশাণে এই একবার পশের তারিখ অবধি পাঁচ বৎসরের মিয়াদে অথবা তিনি হাকিমের লোকের সাক্ষাতে ঔভয়ের সন্মতি পূর্বক তাহার নিকটে আমাকে শোপর্দ করণ মজুরগীরি চাকরি কবুল করিলাম মাহিনা কোম্পানির ঠাকার হিসাবে পাইব খোঁরাক পোশাক নিচের নিম্নিত্ত উপশীল মাহিলে পাইব

খোঁরাক প্রতি দিবশ	পোশাক প্রতি বৎসর
চাল) ৫৯ চন্দ্রচাঁক	কমুল ১ এক
ডাল) ৯০ হুইচচাঁক	ধুতি ২ হুই
ঘুত ১০ অর্দচচাঁক	জির্টেরমুতাই ১ এক
লবন ৫ এককাচা	কাপ্তের বাঁটা ১ এক

চারি চারি জনে এক তাম্বা কিম্বা পীতলের লোঁচাকী বাঁটা পাইব আর ত্রয় দরকার হয় চিকিৎসা এবং ঔসুখ পাইব আর চাকরি মিয়াদ সম্পূর্ণ হইলে যদি আমি বাসনা করি আমাকে পুনরায় কলিকাতায় আপনার খরচে পৌঁছাইতে হই বেক এই সাধারণ একবারনামার সত্ত্বে মাহিলে তাহাতে আমার কিছু খরচ নাগি বেক না ইতি তারিখ

সন ১৮৩৭ সাল

Height, 5 feet 3 inches; age, 28 years; colour, light; particular marks, none; caste Mussulman.

I hereby certify, that this memorandum of contract has been inspected by me, and the contents thereof fully explained to the within named.

(signed)

F. W. Birch,

Sup^t Calcutta Police.

Calcutta, 20 November 1837.

INDIAN LABOURER'S TICKET.

Calcutta, 13 November 1837.

Name, Peroo, Kitmutgar.

Height, 5 feet 3 inches; age, about 28 years; colour, light; marks, none; caste and from whence, Mussulman, Calcutta; to whom engaged, E. Antard, père; passed by Doctor C. Pears, surgeon; date of permit, ; embarkation on board of the Arab, Commander

To

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES. 107

To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Appendix.

Sir,
Police Department, Port Louis, 5 February 1838.
I enclose you the declarations of the Indians, Bholah and Mudhool, who recently arrived by the *Elizabeth*, but do not answer the description given of them. They will be sent back by the first opportunity, and the captain desired to send them to your office.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary.

(Copy.)

BHOLAH arrived per *Elizabeth* as a Coolie, for the service of Mr. Bestel; states that a man named Bholaki came to his house and asked him if he wished to be employed; upon his reply that he did so, but to be employed at Calcutta and nowhere else, he was desired to follow the aforesaid Bholaki, which he did, and remained fifteen days in his house. Per *Elizabeth*.

That daily he was taken before a gentleman named Dowson, by Bholaki, but Mr. D. would not engage him. That the office of Mr. D. is near to the water; and one day on coming out he was put into a boat and sent on board the ship, where he received a change of linen, but no money. That in the boat there were fifteen other Coolies, under the charge of two guards. That he said he did not wish to go on board of ship, but that they would not listen to him. That he received no pay.

That he has arrived in this island against his own consent.

This declaration has been taken in consequence of my inspection of Mr. Bestel's band, and finding the description ticket of Bholah not answering to the person who presented it.

(signed) *Geo. M. Lay*, Deputy-commissary of Police.
31 January 1838. *G. M. Sadou*, Interprète.

MUDHOOZ arrived per *Elizabeth* as one of a band belonging to Mr. Bestel; has no papers; says that he was in the street of Ghazepoor, where a man named Moonoo Rat Loll asked him if he wished to work, and he replied, "Yes;" and Moonoo Rat Loll took him to his house, where he remained seven or eight days; he was sent off with a band from thence. That they marched half way, and the other half way came in a boat to Calcutta, where they remained eight days, and were sent on board a ship.

That he received a change of linen, but no money.

This man appears to be half a fool.

(signed) *Geo. M. Lay*, Deputy-commissary of Police.
G. M. Sadou, Interprète.

Police Office, 31 January 1838.

INDIAN LABOURER'S PERMIT.

Memorandum.

No. 204.

I, BHOLAH, do hereby engage to serve Mr. Bestel (or such party as I may be transferred to by mutual consent, to be declared in presence of a public officer) as a free labourer for the period of five years, pursuant to the terms and conditions specified in the general agreement passed the 8th day of December 1837, in consideration of receiving Company's rupees — per month, and the following food and clothing; viz.

1 ½ lb. rice	} daily;	2 dhooties	-	-	} yearly;
1 ½ oz. salt		1 chintz jacket	-	-	
_____		1 blanket	-	-	
_____		1 cap	-	-	
_____		1 tin or wooden plate	-	-	

also medicine and medical attendance when required. I also stipulate for a free passage to Calcutta at the expiration of my term of servitude, should I then wish to return, subject to the tenor of the aforesaid general agreement. Dated this day, Calcutta, 8th December 1837.

Bholah, his x mark.

Appendix.

স্মারনা

আমি শ্রী

মোকব্বর হইতেছি চাকরি করিতে মেং

সাহেবের (কিম্বা অন্য কোন ব্যক্তির নিকট আমা

কে পাঠান তাহা উত্তম সন্মতিতে কোন হাকিমের লোকের সম্মুখে প্রকাশ হইবে)

যেমন চাকরের ন্যায় পাঁচ বৎসরের নিমিত্তে বিমর্জিম সন ১৮৩৩ সালের

তারিখের সাধারণ প্রিমেন্ট এতদর্থে কোম্পানির ৫ পাঁচটাকা হিসাবে

মাহিমানা পাইব এবং নিচের অফসিল মাহিক খোবাক ও পোশাক পাইব

১॥ পোশুচালা	}	প্রত্যহ।	}	২ খুতি	}	} বার্ষিক
॥ ঔশ লবন				১ জিটেব আমা		
_____	১ কমুল					
_____	১ ছুপি					
_____	১ চিনের কিম্বা কাড়ের পাত					

দরকার মাহিক বিনা মুল্যে ডাকতর ও দাবাই পাইব এবং নিয়মিত কালান
স্তর পুংনু কলিকাতা ফিবি আসিতে চাহিলে পূর্ন ঔক সাধারণ বন্দবস্তের মত
বিনা মুল্যে পশ্চিব ইতি সন দাল তারিখ

নিশান সহি

PERMIT.

Description : Height, 5 feet 2 1/2 inches.; age, about 25 years; colour, olive; particular marks, a scar on the right shoulder; caste, Bildar.

I hereby certify, that this memorandum of contract has been inspected by me, and its contents fully explained to the above-mentioned.

F. W. Birch, Superintendent of Calcutta Police.

Calcutta, 14 January 1837.

(No. 167.) Captain Birch, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Sir,

Police Department, Port Louis, 6 February 1838.

No. 16. 26 Jan.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that an Indian, called Ramdeal, arrived here with the Indians on board the Arab, without any papers or engagement; and as you will perceive by the enclosed copy of a declaration made by him, of the circumstances under which he was put on board, you may probably be enabled to find out his friends through the means of the sirdars who collected the Indians per Arab.

He is willing to remain here in the service of Mr. Lay, the deputy-commissary; but of course, should his friends be discovered, and object to his doing so, he must be sent back.

I have, &c.

(signed) John Finnis, Chief Commissary.

Aujourd'hui, Mardi, six Février mil huit cent trente huit, à onze heures du matin, nous, officier de police, soussigné, par ordre de Monsr. le Commre. en Chef, avons fait comparaître devant nous l'Indien nommé Randial, à l'effet de savoir sous quels circonstances il se trouve dans ce pays; et à nos interpellations, il a déclaré comme suit :

Qu'il y a environ trois mois, étant alors à Calcutta, au bord de la Rivière Hoogly, un homme nommé Jandah est venu lui trouver, pour l'engager d'embarquer à bord d'un navire nommé l'Arab, venant avec des laboureurs dans ce pays; qu'il lui a dit qu'il serait bien traité ici, et recevrait des gages et des bonnes vivres; qu'il n'avait pas été devant la police à Calcutta, et n'a porté aucune pièce avec lui; qu'on ne lui a rien dit à Calcutta au sujet de ses occupations à Maurice; et plus n'a rien eu à déclarer, et avons signé avec l'interprète les jours, mois et an que de l'autre part.

(signé) J. M. Rennards, Officier de Police.
G. M. Sadou, Interprète.

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(No. 521.)

Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Appendix.

Sir, Police Office, Port Louis, 29 March 1838.

WITH reference to my correspondence with you respecting Ameen, I have now the honour to inform you that he has been embarked on board the Herefordshire, Captain Isaacson, and he will deliver him over to your office.

By a mistake, he was not despatched at the time I wrote.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Geo. M. Lay*, Deputy-commissary of Police.

(No. 783.)

Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police.

Sir, Police Department, Port Louis, 23 May 1838.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th of February, with its several enclosures, for which I beg to return you my best thanks.

Nothing of moment has occurred since I last wrote you, and I have only to mention the impossibility of sending you returns of the Indians who are sent back for misconduct; it is so difficult to get the masters to arrange for their passages till the last moment of the vessel's sailing, and she has generally sailed before I can ascertain what men are really gone.

There is, however, one thing I must mention, that no Indian labourer is ever sent away without his own consent being freely given and recorded in this office, and if in any case he refuses it, the matter is submitted to the proper magistrates, who cancel the engagement. Every attention is paid at this office to any claims they may set up for wages or otherwise, so that any claim they may prefer in India must be groundless.

The description of men now arriving is better than formerly; scarcely any complaints are made of ill-treatment during the passage; and their general appearance is healthier.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary of Police.

(No. 885.)

Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police.

Sir, Police Department, Port Louis, 15 June 1838.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th of February last, and to acquaint you in reply, that, after some difficulty, Trenathe has been discovered, as in the service of Mr. Hunter, upon one of his estates at Pamplémousses, and is in good health, acting as clerk to the manager of the estate in keeping the accounts; he has been told that his friends have inquired after him, and that any letter he may wish to send will be duly forwarded by me.

The other man has not yet been found out.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary of Police.

No. 886.)

Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police.

Sir, Police Department, Port Louis, 15 June, 1838.

I beg to acquaint you, that a young lad, about 13 years of age, calling himself Dhiram, or some such name, came on board the Earl Clare, but is not borne upon any engagement.

He states that he clandestinely followed his brother, who is No. 59 upon your list, and in the service of Mr. Griffon, with whom he is desirous of remaining, having neither father nor mother.

I will thank you to have some inquiry made, as it is possible he may have escaped from his parents.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary of Police.

(No. 9714.)

Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police.

Sir, Police Department, Port Louis, 28 June 1838.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th March last, for which I beg you will accept my best thanks.

As regards the 6th paragraph, I have to observe that the difference in the rations is still one of the principal causes of discontent, and though some planters have made no difference, others have; and it is difficult to satisfy these people, that performing the same work they are not entitled to the same food as their companions.

Appendix.

It will, I am sure, afford you satisfaction to know, that since your superintendence there has been a most sensible change in the appearance of the labourers on landing, and that few complaints have been made, and those of a very trifling nature. I have taken steps which will, I hope, enable me to furnish you pretty regularly with a list of those who may be sent back; in the meantime I enclose you one since the 23d June 1836 to the 30th May last.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*,
Chief Commissary of Police.

(No. 1032.)

Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Sir, Police Department, Port Louis, 7 July 1838.
I HAVE the honour to enclose you a return of one Indian in the service of Mr. Giguél, who embarks on the *Gilbert Munro*, with the mutual consent of the parties.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*,
Chief Commissary of Police.

Police Office, Port Louis, Mauritius, 7 July 1838.

THE Indian servant, Lallaw, embarked for Calcutta by ship *Gilbert Munro*, Captain *Nicolson*, at his own and his employer's (Mr. Giguél) request, for being addicted to acts of thieving, and having been convicted and condemned in the courts of the colony for an act of the said nature.

(signed) *John Finnis*,
Chief Commissary of Police.

(No. 1055.)

Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Sir, Police Department Port Louis, 9 July 1838.
I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d of May by the *Lancier*, with the return of Indians on board that vessel, and a letter for *Dean Mahomet*, and every exertion shall be made to discover the man in question.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*,
Chief Commissary of Police.

(No. 1062.)

Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Sir, Police Department, Port Louis, 12 July 1838.
I HAVE the honour to enclose you a return of an Indian, named *Sochorn*, in the service of Captain *West*, embarked on the *Sterling*, with the mutual consent of the parties.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*,
Chief Commissary of Police.

Police Office, Port Louis, Mauritius, 11 July 1838.

THE Indian labourer *Sochorn*, in the service of Mr. *West*, embarked by ship *Sterling*, Captain *Burnet*, for Calcutta, at his own and employer's request, for being an idiot, having a great propensity of maiming or cutting himself.

(signed) *John Finnis*,
Chief Commissary of Police.

(No. 1068.)

Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Sir, Police Department, Port Louis, 12 July 1838.
I HAVE the honour to enclose you a return respecting *Saukramsing*, sirdar of Mr. *Lousteau's* gang, who proceeds to India by the *Sterling*, with the mutual consent of the parties.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*,
Chief Commissary of Police.

Police Office, Port Louis, Mauritius, 12 July 1838.

THE Indian sirdar, *Saukramsing*, in the service of Mr. *Lousteau*, embarked by ship *Sterling*, Captain *Burnet*, for Calcutta, at his own and employer's request, for disobeying the orders of his employer, and having the Coolies under his command in a state of insubordination, as per documents of civil commissary of the district of *Savanne*, dated the 2d June 1838.

(signed) *John Finnis*,
Chief Commissary of Police.

No. 1100.)

(No. 1100.) To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police.

Appendix,

Sir,
Police Office, Port Louis, 17 July 1838.
I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that considerable difficulty was experienced with the labourers arrived per Earl Clare, who, according to their engagements, are stated to have received six months' advance in Calcutta; they however state that they only received three rupees in Calcutta, and three more on landing here from the captain.
The former statement is borne out by a remark upon some of their tickets; these have been shown to me: "Veyr pd. three rupees." I observe also that "dhol" and "ghee" are struck out of their tickets.
I shall be obliged by your making inquiry upon the subject, in order that the result may be communicated to them.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary.

(No. 1121.) To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Sir,
Police Department, Port Louis, 19 July 1838.
THE letter enclosed to me in yours of the 2d May last has been delivered to the sirdar of Mr. Féline, of the Pamplermousses district, for whom it was intended. His friends will, therefore, now have no difficulty in corresponding with him, putting his address in English.
I think it right to send you copies of the "procès verbaux" of the death of the Indians named in the margin,* who died on board the Lancier on her way here. The cases of those who are stated to have thrown themselves overboard seem to merit inquiry as to the manner in which they were engaged; for, if they voluntarily engaged themselves, it is singular they should, at so early a period of the voyage, have taken such a desperate resolution.
I have hitherto in vain endeavoured to obtain any lists of the casualties happening during the voyage; and I beg to suggest that the captains should be warned by you that such a list will be called for here, as also the tickets of the deceased, copies of which I would return for the information of their friends in India.
I will also endeavour to have some periodical returns sent to you of such as die here, copies of which, and their tickets, when they can be obtained, shall be sent to you.

*Bahadon - No. 264.
Cansye - No. 120.
Shookun - No. 141.
Possum - No. 31.
Torracveen - No. 131.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary of Police.

(Copy.)

À bord du Lancier, Capt. Aubin, à Culpee, Rivière de Calcutta.

Nous, soussignés, capitaine, officiers et équipage du trois mats barque Lancier :
Certifions que le dix Mai, mil huit cent trente huit, ayant compté les Indiens passagers, en présence des huit gardes envoyés pour les surveiller, et de l'équipage, nous nous sommes aperçus que les nommés Shookun (No. 141), Possum (No. 31), et Torocveen (No. 131), laboureurs, envoyés à Maurice par Messieurs Tiron & Pandelet de Calcutta, manquaient; nous croyons que ces hommes se sont jetés la nuit à la mer pour tacher d'attraper la terre, malgré toutes les surveillances possibles.

141. 31. 131.

En foi de quoi nous avons signé le présent procès verbal, fait en duplicata pour servir à qui de droit.

(signé) *Aubin.* **Joub Toria.*
Real. **Antoine (Maître),*
B. Finck. *Niace (Soucany).*
Andres Astud.

Le 10 Mai 1838.

(A true copy.)

(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary of Police.

(Copy.)

À bord du Lancier, Capitaine Aubin, en rade de Calcutta.

Nous, soussignés, capitaine, officiers et équipage du trois mats barque Lancier :
Certifions que le douze Mai, mil huit cent trente huit, venant forte brise de S. O., le nommé Bahadon, Indien laboureur (No. 264), envoyé à Maurice par Messieurs Tiron & Pandelet de Calcutta, étant à la Poulenne, est tombé à l'eau, et ayant coulé de suite par la force du courant, nous n'avons pu le secourir.

264

En foi de quoi nous avons signé le présent procès verbal, fait en duplicata, pour servir à qui de droit.

(signé) *Aubin.* *J. Toris.*
Real. **Antoine (Maître).*
B. Finck. *Niace (Soucany).*
Andres Astud.

Le 2 Mai 1838.

(A true copy.)

(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary of Police.

Appendix.

(Copy.)

À bord du Lancier, Capitaine Aubin, par la latitude 30° 10' N.
et longitude 88° 45' Est.

Nous, soussignés, capitaine, officiers et équipage du trois mats barque Lancier :

Certifions que le treize Mai mil huit cent trente huit, à quatre heures et demie du matin ; ventant belle brise de S. S. O ; la mer très grosse ; le nommé Canaye, Indien laboureur (No. 170), envoyé à Maurice par Messieurs Tiron & Pandelet de Calcutta, s'est jeté à la mer, et ayant été englouti de suite, nous n'avons pu lui porter secours.

180.

Cet homme avait déjà voulu se jeter à l'eau en rivière de Calcutta, on l'en avait empêché, et mis au fer, ayant quitté le Pibore, et ne voyant plus la terre, on l'avait relâché.

En foi de quoi nous avons signé le procès verbal, fait en duplicata, pour servir à qui de droit.

(signé) Aubin. J. Toris.
Real. *Antoine (Maître).
B. Finck. *Ignace (Soucauis).
Andres Astudillo.

Le 13 Mai 1838.

(A true copy.)

(signed) John Finniss, Chief Commissary of Police.

Jait à bord du Lancier, Capt. Aubin, en rade du Pavillon,
le huit Juillet mil huit cent trente huit.

Nous, soussignés, capitaine, officiers et équipage du trois mats barque Lancier :

Certifions que le huit Juillet mil huit cent trente huit, à deux heures de l'après midi, le nommé Denodass (No. 4), jeune Indien, envoyé à Maurice par Messrs. Tiron & Pandelet de Calcutta, pour Monsr. Heynemans, est mort des suites d'une indigestion qu'il avait eu vingt cinq ou trente jours auparavant ; il était tombé dans un état de marasme, malgré tous les soins qu'on lui avait portés.

En foi de quoi nous avons signé le présent procès verbal, fait en duplicata, pour servir à qui de droit.

En rade du Pavillon.

(signé) Aubin. Andres Astudillo.
Real. *Antoine (Maître).
Bin. Finck. †Sylvestre.

Le 8 Juillet 1838.

(A true copy.)

(signed) John Finniss, Chief Commissary of Police.

(No. 1487.)

Captain Birch, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

Sir,

Police Department, Port Louis, 23 September 1838.

WITH the authority of government, I have this day embarked on the Falcon the Coolies named in the margin,* deserters from the Emerald Isle, and whose cases you will find stated in the accompanying copy of my report to the Colonial Secretary.

You will perceive the motives under which I have acted, and I trust the expenses incurred on their account may be recovered from Mr. Prinsep.

I should certainly have preferred sending them to their destination had any opportunity been likely to offer.

The expenses are—

	£.	s.	d.
For rations - - - - -	2	3	10
Hospital expenses - - - - -	2	2	-
Passage, at 15 Spanish dollars - - - - -	9	-	-
	£.13	5	10

I have, &c.

(signed) John Finniss, Chief Commissary of Police.

(No. 335.)

The Honourable the Colonial Secretary.

Sir,

Police Department, Port Louis, 30 July 1838.

I HAVE the honour to report to you, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, that after the Emerald Isle had sailed from this for South Australia, the under-mentioned Indians were picked up, having deserted from her upon the eve of her sailing ; viz. Gones, Sebal, and Caran. They are stated to have been in the service of Mr. Gleeson, a passenger on board. They are desirous of engaging themselves here, and were no doubt induced to desert by some designing persons ; and their being under these circumstances permitted to remain might have an injurious effect.

Communications between this and South Australia are so uncertain that they might be kept here for months, at an expense, before they can be sent thither. I beg, therefore, to propose

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propose their being sent back to Calcutta, and a passage being obtained on reasonable terms; and as I understand Mr. Prinsep, of Calcutta, is the agent of Mr. Gleeson, the expense might probably be recovered from him, on the case being stated to Captain Birch. Their health is represented to me as suffering from their detention at the Bagne.

Appendix.

I have, &c.

(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary of Police.

Duplicate for Captain Birch.

No. 4.—PILOTS' REPLIES to Captain *Birch's* Circular.

To *F. W. Birch*, Esq., Superintendent Calcutta Police.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 13th, regarding the Coolies, I have much pleasure to inform you, that during my stay on board the *Thomas Snook*, the accommodations of the Coolies were comfortable; their health also very good; and do confidently say that they received good treatment from the captain and officers.

I remain, &c.

Calcutta, 16 July 1838.

(signed) *T. Bartlett*, n. c. m.

SIR,—In reply to your letter bearing date the 13th instant, regarding the Coolies on board the bark *Charles Heartley*, which vessel was piloted to sea by me, I beg leave to state, that after the Coolies had been on board two days, they all became dissatisfied with their accommodation, &c., and expressed themselves so to me repeatedly, adding, that if they had been aware of the hardships they were to contend with, they would not on any terms have come on board the vessel.

We had heavy weather while lying at Saugor, and three or four of them jumped overboard, and it was with difficulty we succeeded in getting them in again; their health appeared to be generally good, only a few cases of fever being among them. In conclusion I may add, that the *Charles Heartley* being a very small vessel, of little more than 200 tons burthen, she was perfectly overloaded with men, both above and below, with scarcely room to move any where, there being 200 Coolies on board, besides many wives and children.

I remain, &c.

Calcutta, 14 July 1838.

(signed) *M. H. King*.

To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police.

SIR,—The *Prince Regent* was the first ship with Coolies, and to the best of my recollection there was room for about 50 below; they had 184 in the month of March, and very bad weather.

The *Hooghley*—I forget the accommodations, but they were greatly lumbered.

The *Hesperus* had good accommodations, because they had only a few Coolies, but those few were greatly disappointed as to where they were going to; one old man said he was going to the Mauritius to look for his two sons that had gone in another ship; by the captain's request, I called two men that had been sepoys, and served in Assam during the war, and asked them if they knew where they were going to; their answer was the same, to the Mauritius, and were going to be made mauleys; they were healthy, and had plenty of food.

I remain, &c.

Calcutta, 17 July 1838.

(signed) *Thomas Gurr*.

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent Police, Calcutta.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 13th instant, and in reply beg to say, both the *John Bagshaw* and *Indian Oak* are very fine ships, with spacious accommodations for Coolies; almost the whole of the between decks was kept clear for them; both Captains *Blyth* and *Rayne* have been some years in the country service, and of course know well the customs and habits of the natives. I must say, from all I saw, the Coolies appeared to be generally healthy and well treated.

I remain, &c.

Calcutta, 14 July 1838.

(signed) *J. Smart*, Master Pilot.

Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent Calcutta Police.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 13th instant, respecting the Coolies that were shipped on board the *Baboo*, *Raj Rannee* and *Indian Oak*, I beg to state (candidly) that they were treated more like brute beasts than human beings—it is (in my opinion) as bad as slavery; they were rattaned from one end of the ship to the other by all, from officers down to the topaz.

Appendix.

topaz. Their general complaint was, that they had been deceived, and sent on board with little or nothing; they were dying of thirst, and were beaten when they asked for water; the Raj Rannee was the most regular in giving them their meals.

In the case of the Indian Oak, ten men jumped overboard at Coolie Bazar in the open day, nine were picked up, and one went down under the ship's stern; another jumped over at Saugor Point, and was drowned.

The Raj Rannee had only sufficient room below for more than one-third of the number on board, and had she gone out in the S. W. monsoon, she would have lost many; as it was, one was committed to river off Kedgerce, and thrown over without the least ceremony, like a dog. Trusting that this statement will meet your approbation,

I remain, &c.
(signed) *J. Crook.*

P. S.—The Earl of Clare, which vessel I piloted from Saugor to sea, the Coolies there were brutally treated.

(signed) *J. Crook.*

SIR,—In reply to your letter of yesterday's date, regarding the Coolies on board the ships Donna Pascoa and Bombay, I took pilotage charge of the first on the 31st of October, left her on the 5th November 1837; the latter on 12th November, left her on the 26th; they had their provisions and water served out, doctor to attend them when required, and accommodation such as could be given them; I heard several begging for water at different times; there were a few unwell on board both vessels when I left them.

I am, &c.

Howrah, 14 July 1838.

(signed) *Ben. Heritage*, Master H. C. Marine.

To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent Calcutta Police.

SIR,—In reply to your communication of this morning, requiring a detailed account of the accommodation, treatment, health and general condition of the Coolies shipped on board the Herefordshire, which vessel I took out to sea in December last, I have much pleasure in subjoining the following remarks.

The Coolies who embarked on the Herefordshire were, if I remember correctly, about 75 or 80 in number, and occupied the starboard side in the 'tween decks, an accommodation calculated to hold a considerably greater number than it did in the instance in question, and that with comfort. The treatment the Coolies received appeared to me irreprehensible; and I never knew of their once having made a dissatisfactory mention of it. They had the professional services of the surgeon on board whenever ill-health needed them; these instances, however, were very few: in other words, their freedom from sickness was very remarkable.

On the whole, there was nothing I observed during my continuance (which lasted nine or ten days) on board that did not reflect the most deserving commendation on the commander and his officers.

I must here remark, that the Coolies did at first evince symptoms of discomfort, but I am convinced they were attributable to the sudden change and difference of habitations; for who, accustomed to live ashore, does not feel the inconveniences of an abrupt transition from it to shipboard? As, however, the vessel progressed, they became more reconciled to their situations, or rather all unpleasant feelings vanished; and when I was about to leave the Herefordshire, I observed that they manifested signs of satisfaction and contentment.

I am, &c.

Calcutta, 14 July 1838.

(signed) *E. D. Fabian*, Branch Pilot.

To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

SIR,—In answer to your letter dated the 13th instant, I beg to state, for your information, that I have been in pilotage charge of three vessels having Coolies on board. The first was the bark Vesper: the treatment of the Coolies on board that vessel was good in every respect. The second and third vessels were the *Adelaide* and *Helen*. I cannot give so favourable an account of these vessels as the above: the Coolies were not ill-treated, but neglected; no attention whatever was paid to their being made comfortable, and when sick there was no one to look after them.

The Coolies that were on board the *Adelaide* came on board in a dreadful state of ill health; she was the third vessel they had been on board of before they finally got to sea, and from the time they had been first shipped had never been allowed to go on shore, but were kept on board of a native sloop abreast of Calcutta.

I also beg to state that the ghee and dholl, which was all that they had to eat, with the exception of rice, was so bad, that it was hardly fit for dogs.

I remain, &c.

Howrah, 18 July 1838.

(signed) *J. Statham*, Master Pilot.

F. W. Birch,

F. W. Birch, Esq., Superintendent Calcutta Police.

Appendix.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 13th July and beg to inform you, while in pilotage charge of the French ship *Cecilia*, bound to Bourbon, in March last, there were 50 or 51 Coolies on board of her; they appeared to be a stout, able set of men, and, to all appearance, in good health. The accommodations I had no opportunity of seeing, although I am aware that there was a place allotted to them in the half-deck. During my stay on board of her the treatment was good, and all in good health when I left.

There is one thing which I beg to bring to your notice, that is, when these Coolies were shipped on board at the Coolie Bazar, they were given to understand that they would receive one month's pay in advance from the captain of the ship, to enable them to furnish themselves with any little supplies for the sea voyage. Several times did these men apply to the captain for this month's advance, and it was only given to them the day the ship went to sea.

I am, &c.

Calcutta, 18 July 1838.

(signed) *G. Stevens, Master Pilot.*

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent of Police, &c. &c.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 13th instant, I beg to state to you, I piloted the brig *Euphrasia* to sea, with one hundred and sixty (160) Coolies on board; that, in consequence of the bad state of the weather, the vessel was detained three days in Calcutta after the Coolies had embarked; that the greatest attention was paid to their comforts while I was on board, as to cleanliness and food, by the captain and officers. The only casualties, one man drowned trying to swim on shore, and one died with cholera the day we went to sea. I beg also to state the accommodations were rather small; however, they (the Coolies) upon the whole appeared to be comfortable, and very healthy, and the provisions appeared to be good.

I have, &c.

Calcutta, 17 July 1838.

(signed) *Richard Wall, Master Pilot.*

To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, Calcutta.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 13th instant, I beg to give you as correct a statement on the subject of your inquiry as at this late date I am enabled to do.

There were 100 Coolies on board the *Donna Carmelita*, who all appeared to me in good health; their food also was wholesome in quality, but in quantity the dhol was stinted (I should say not more than half a wine glassful to each man), until the captain, by kind superintendence, rectified the deficiency.

Their accommodations too were comparatively good, though I do not think there was sufficient room for all of them below.

Water was what they chiefly asked for, but had they obtained free access to that indispensable article, it is my belief that they would have wasted the best portion of it.

An instance of dissatisfaction at quitting their homes came under my notice, on the part of two Coolies, who came up to me, and expressed a wish to go on shore again, as they disliked the idea of proceeding to the Mauritius.

As might have been expected, most of them were sea-sick on leaving Saugor, and I observed the native doctor was deficient in medical knowledge, as the remedies were prescribed and administered by the chief mate.

A Coolie vessel was conducted to sea by Mr. W. Spence, who may perhaps furnish further information.

I am, &c.

Calcutta, 14 July 1838.

(signed) *R. Hand, n. c. m.*

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent Calcutta Police.

SIR,—Agreeably with your request, I give you a detailed account of the incidents and occurrences as they happened in my passage down the river in the barque *Lancier*, and as I apprehend, you wish I should enter into all the minutiae of the circumstances, I trust in so doing I may not become tedious or burthensome.

On the 30th of April, I took charge as pilot of the barque *Lancier*, with 152 Coolies on board; on my first going over the gangway, I saw a fellow bad with the cholera, and thinking, I suppose, that I could talk the language, which none of the officers or captain could do with fluency, they immediately complained to me of the man's being sick, and that the doctor had not joined; this caused me to have a look at the medicine, which appeared of a respectable sort, and labelled by the first chemist of the town. Shortly after the native doctor joined, and administered a dose to the sufferer, but he died; this took place at about one P. M., which was the Coolies' meal-time, and on their knowing the death of the man, they sent a deputation aft for the corpse to be thrown overboard, as they must fast until this ceremony had been gone through, to which they seemed very ill inclined; as the captain was on shore, this request was not to be complied with, the officer not knowing whether the dead man was to be exchanged for a living one. The captain

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joined, and the body was deposited in the river; so the Coolies went to dinner. I did not manage to get away with the vessel from the circumstance of her anchor being buried, nor did I get through the shipping until the 4th of May, during which time one of the Coolies was taken out of the vessel by your order, as having been kidnapped; another poor fellow who had been bad with the cholera, and by the doctor's account was on the recovery, had occasion to visit the head, and from his weak state was being led to it by his own son; I at the time was heaving short, it being slack water, and standing at the head, when the man came forward and seemed inclined to come to the side I was standing; I desired his son to take him on the other, which he did by taking him across the tail of the bowsprit; whether he went there to ease himself, or cascade, I know not, but I heard a splash in the water, and his son exclaimed, "*O Bap gaillo.*" I immediately jumped over the other side, and saw the poor fellow with his head just above water; a lascar standing close to me, I told him to throw him a rope, not thinking but that the man could swim; he hoisted the draw bucket down close by him, then shook it so as to touch him with it, but seeing the man did not raise his mouth out of the water, I told the lascar to go and catch hold of him; he descended by the bucket rope, but before he could seize a grasp, the poor fellow sunk, and we saw no more of him.

Going down the river, they kept the Coolies' place below as clear as they possibly could, by keeping the deck lumbered; but having a severe north-wester, they thought the vessel too crank from top hamper, so they sent some of the water-casks, all the fire-wood, excepting some under the long boat and two guns, down into the Coolies' berth, which I never visited; it was bad enough in the cabin without desiring to go in a worse place. I was told previous to the above-mentioned water-casks, fire-wood and guns being placed below, that the Coolies had from the fore part of the fore-hatchway to the after part of the main one.

As to their messing, they had no method; it so happened that I mostly had to get under weigh about the time they went to their dinner, therefore used to be forward to keep the windlass clear, which was next to impossible, and to such complaints as these I had to listen to: "this man has had twice dinner," and the other declaring he had had none, and then the cook telling me to look at his stomach to see how it was swollen out with what he had already eaten. I was at last obliged to take it in hand myself, and get the doctor to make a captain over every 10 men, and him to bring their 10 dishes; by this means I had the windlass more clear, and I think less cheating; but by this time they began to feel the motion, and their appetites failed them, therefore I could not tell how this method would work; but as their appetites diminished, their thirst grew apace, and nothing was to be heard fore and aft but the want of water. I believe they had had water served out to them, but it was never explained that they would not get any more till the next day, therefore they took no care of it. I believe their allowance of water to have been half a gallon a day. When at Mud Point, a man came and told me he could not stop without water; I told him he had had his allowance, and could get no more. We went down to breakfast abaft, and shortly after we heard the cry of a man overboard; ran upon deck, lowered the whale boat and picked him up; he had left the vessel, I have no doubt, to get water, for he had taken the bucket from the head and thrown it overboard, and gone after it, so when he was picked up it was taken from under his stomach; he was swimming away on it as light as a cork. On paying the Coolies their advance of Culpee, there were two found deficient, having got away unknown to any one on board, and three that held no police passes; they of course got no pay, but they were nearly as well off as those that did, for every one was ready to fleece the poor Coolie as soon as he got the money; no boats were allowed to come alongside. The lascars, seacunnies and servants were well aware this would be the case, and of course laid in a large stock of things, such as clura and ookrah, which was sold at the rate of three quarts for the rupee, and some gave as much as one rupee for three biscuits.

The treatment they got from the captain and officers was otherwise good; they were not much ill-used nor abused, and their want of water might in some measure be from their own carelessness in not taking care of it when they got it, and the lassitude they were labouring under from sea sickness.

I should suppose we have the worst view of their case during the voyage, for just as they begin to accustom themselves to ship-board, the sea sickness comes on and makes them more careless and helpless than they were at first, and in this state we leave them.

I am, &c.

Calcutta, 16 July 1838.

(signed) C. Blake, 1st Mate Pilot.

To Captain Birch.

SIR,—In reply to your letter just received, regarding the Coolies on board the ships Alfred, Donna Carmelita and Emerald Isle, I have to inform you that on board the two first-mentioned vessels the Coolies were well treated, had good accommodations, and their condition altogether satisfactory; on board the Emerald Isle they were but poorly situated for want of room; in other respects I heard of no complaints. I must remark, however, that on board of all three vessels they repeatedly complained to me of having been most shamefully robbed by the natives who had shipped them on board.

I am, &c.

Calcutta, 29 July 1838.

(signed) J. D. Cooper.

To

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent Calcutta Police.

SIR,—I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 13th July 1838, respecting Coolies shipped on board the vessels you have named, *Victoria* and *Amwell*.

In reply, I have to state that I was only pilot of the latter-mentioned vessel, having on board as near as I can remember about 30 Coolies. As relates to their treatment, accommodation and health, I observed that the only retreat they had from the severities of the weather was a space about 12 feet square, the original dining cabin of a vessel of about 250 tons. Captain Hesse being a kind-hearted man, I must certainly say that their treatment was such as might be expected from such a person. There were only two cases of bad sickness when I left, but I should say, from the small space in which they were necessarily confined, that much ill health would likely take place, and it is my firm belief that no benefit they may probably reap at the end of their voyage can compensate them for the privation and disappointment they must experience in a passage to the Mauritius in the S. W. monsoon with such limited accommodation.

I remain, &c.
(signed) *John Duce*, Master Pilot.

Calcutta, 31 July 1838.

To Mr. *W. C. Perry*, Volunteer Pilot Service.

SIR,—Understanding that you took out to sea, as pilot, the following vessel, having Coolies on board, *Mary Anne*, September 1837, Mauritius, I shall feel obliged by your giving me detailed information of what you may have observed while on board, regarding the accommodation, treatment, health and general condition of the Coolies embarked on the above vessel.

I remain, &c.
(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent Calcutta Police.

Superintendent's Office, 13 July 1838.

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent Calcutta Police.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, which I should have earlier replied to, had not business, chiefly relating to my duty, prevented me.

The *Donna Pascoa*, which I piloted out to sea in April last, had on board upwards of 300 Coolies, and, owing to an accident at Saugor Point, we had to return to Kedgeeree, which lengthened our passage to upwards of three weeks; during that time I had an opportunity of seeing a good deal, and, so far as my memory will assist, have much pleasure in drawing up the following information:

1st. Although the accommodation was good, I should say that, taking into consideration the season of the year and the commencement of the S. W. monsoon, it was too confined for so great a number.

2d. Speaking of the treatment they received on board, I do not think that men could have been better treated; and the attention of the third officer, on whom the management of them devolved, was praiseworthy; it is true that at first starting they were only enabled to cook one meal per day, owing to the want of a little regularity; but this merely lasted for a day or two, and afterwards they had two; at each meal they had an ample allowance of rice, besides a good proportion of either dhol or pumpkin curry, some salt, and a chilly or two, and upwards of a pint of water each man.

3d. With respect to their health, it was generally good; true there were six or seven deaths, and amongst these three or four cases of cholera; they had a medical attendant on board, and two French gentlemen, who, having an interest in them, saw they were properly attended to in this respect.

4th. Thus, taking all things into consideration, I should say their general condition was not much to be complained of, with the exception of the manner in which many of them appeared to have been decoyed from their homes.

I must not fail to mention that several were missed; two were seen deliberately to go overboard one night, and although a quarter boat was lowered as soon as possible, they were never heard of; a day or two after, early in the morning, a third one was seen floating astern; he was saved; we never could, however, ascertain whether it was intentionally or accidentally. The story of those who complained of having been decoyed from their homes was this: "We were told by the people who brought us down, that at a place called Sulkea, not far from Calcutta, a great number of labourers were wanted to till the land; that very good wages were given, and it would be greatly to our advantage to go there; in consequence of this we agreed to leave our homes, and money was advanced us

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to bring our families and ourselves to Calcutta, and from thence we were to proceed to Sulkea; on arriving at the former place, we were told no more labourers were required at Sulkea, and as we were indebted to them, we must go to the Mauritius, and, by receiving the advance which they were giving to labourers going there, pay them back what they had already advanced to bring us here, or go to prison."

I remain, &c.
(signed) *Geo. Moxon*, Mate Pilot.

Calcutta, 27 July 1838.

To Captain *F. W. Birch*, Superintendent Calcutta Police.

SIR.—On my arrival in town I received your letter dated the 13th July, respecting the Coolies on board the bark Arab; I must confess the accommodation was rather small for the number; regarding the food and treatment, I never heard the slightest murmur.

But I heard the doctor declare he never saw such bad medicine and so small a quantity (not sufficient for one-fourth of them).

I remain, &c.
(signed) *Joseph Sharling*, Master Pilot.

10 August 1838.

To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police, &c. &c.

SIR.—In answer to your letter dated 13th July 1838 (this day received), I without delay reply to the queries contained therein, "as to what I observed on board the bark Whitby, proceeding to Demerara with Coolies, with regard to their accommodation, treatment, health, and general condition."

Accommodation. It is and was my opinion there were by far too many Coolies on board for the size of the vessel (350 tons); there were from 270 to 280, besides their crew, with a rice cargo underneath, particularly so, being on so long a voyage within the tropics the greater part of the time. Their arrangements for cooking were by no means sufficient for the number, neither were their seats of ease; their clothing was ill adapted, and ventilation insufficient for such a number over such a hot cargo.

Treatment. I firmly believe, from what I saw of the commander (Captain Swinton), that he did and would do all in his power to make them as comfortable as the scanty means put in his power enabled him to do; at my suggestion he procured interpreters, people to attend the sick and cleanse their place: the Coolies received one meal per day (more they could not cook); their place was cleaned out from once to twice a day, and sprinkled with chloride of lime, and a portion of the Coolies always on deck; in fact, I could not keep the decks clear, for in one instance I had to allow the vessel to go on shore, for had the anchor been let go, many of them must have been killed or otherwise injured.

Health. They came on board in pretty good health, but before I left, upwards of 20 were attacked with an infectious or gaol fever, besides five of the crew, who were only separated from them by a slight partition; the numbers of sick were daily increasing from confinement, heat of cargo, change of food, anxiety for caste, &c. &c., with general complaints of their being led away by false stories and promises, and in particular in being robbed of their advance on their way to the ghaut, in small parties, either early in the morning or late in the evening; for I firmly believe that there was not 300 rupees amongst the whole, as, on the bum-boats coming alongside, they purchased dry food, such as parched gram, chura, &c. to their last pice, in order to retain their caste. Their old relatives, who came with them from a great distance, under a promise to be taken with them, were, on the vessel leaving, torn from them and sent away by the crimp's peons.

Such is the account of this Coolie shipment, who were generally composed of ignorant creatures from the interior, kidnapped or cajoled away for the benefit of a set of crimps, who laugh at humanity for the sake of profit. In this ship alone, the captain, doctor and myself calculated that they had made upwards of 12,000 rupees on this shipment. Last year, about this time, I brought the ship *Lonach* back to Calcutta on my own report; she was an old leaky tub, deeply laden with rice, filled up with Coolies, ensued to a large amount, and attempted to be put to sea in the height of the S. W. monsoon.

I have already sent a similar account to the Rev. Dr. Charles (member of the committee), and trust the present system of sending Coolies away will be put down, or, if necessary, that it should be conducted in a humane and proper manner.

I am, &c.
(signed) *John Dyer*, Master Pilot.

Calcutta, 20 August 1838.

P.S.—Should you require any more opinions, I refer you to Mr. Locken, pilot, for an account of the *Britannia*, last year, and the *Edward*, now in port.

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NAMES of SHIPS which have carried INDIAN LABOURERS from the Port of Calcutta between 1st June 1837 and June 1838, with Address of Pilots.

Year.	Month.	Names of Ships.	Destination.	Names of Pilots.	Residence, or where to be now found.
1837	June -	Belroni - -	Mauritius -	- - -	at Dingabhang.
"	"	Lonach - -	- ditto -	R. Arrowsmith -	- ditto.
"	"	Carnatic - -	- ditto -	- - -	-
"	"	Charles Heartley -	- ditto -	- - -	Sealdah.
"	July -	Hooghley - -	- ditto -	- - -	Raneemoody-lane.
"	August -	Bright Planet - -	- ditto -	Charter Jackson -	Dingabhang.
"	"	Brigand - -	- ditto -	Thomas Scallan -	leave to England.
"	"	John Bagshaw - -	- ditto -	- - -	Collinga.
"	"	Amwell - -	- ditto -	John Duce -	Goombur.
"	"	Moulmein - -	- ditto -	- Anderson -	Dingabhang-lane.
"	"	Peter Proctor - -	Sydney -	J. Heyden -	Fenwick's Bazar.
"	"	Baboo - -	Mauritius -	- - -	Round Tank.
"	"	Luminy - -	- ditto -	R. W. Walters -	- - near Government House.
"	September -	Parland - -	- ditto -	J. Wells -	Boituckkhana.
"	"	Mary Ann - -	- ditto -	W. C. Perry -	School Ship.
"	"	Thomas Snook - -	- ditto -	T. Bartlett -	Short's Bazar.
"	October -	Belroni - -	- ditto -	- - -	Dingabhang.
"	"	Donna Pascoa - -	- ditto -	- - -	-
"	"	Bombay - -	- ditto -	- - -	Howrah.
"	November -	Arab - -	- ditto -	J. Sharling -	Sealdah.
"	December -	Indian Oak - -	- ditto -	- - -	Collinga.
"	"	Alfred - -	- ditto -	J. D. Cooper -	- - near Government House.
"	"	Gaillardon - -	Australia -	- - -	Dingabhang.
"	"	Elizabeth - -	Mauritius -	J. Heyden -	Fenwick's Bazar.
"	"	Victoria - -	- ditto -	E. Bartlett -	Short's Bazar.
"	"	Herefordshire - -	- ditto -	- - -	Boituckkhana.
1838	January -	Christopher Rawson -	- ditto -	E. Bartlett -	Short's Bazar.
"	"	Raj Rane - -	- ditto -	- - -	Round Tank.
"	"	Whitby - -	Demerara -	J. Dyer -	- - -
"	"	Helen - -	Mauritius -	- - -	Howrah.
"	"	Donna Carmelita - -	- ditto -	J. Cooper -	- - near Government House.
"	"	Hesperus - -	Demerara -	- - -	Raneemoody-lane.
"	February -	Lord Auckland - -	Mauritius -	T. Pilkins -	Dingabhang.
"	"	Cavendish Bentinck -	- ditto -	J. Wells -	Boituckkhana.
"	"	Emerald Isle - -	Australia -	J. D. Cooper -	- - near Government House.
"	March -	Cecilia - -	Mauritius -	- - -	Goombur.
"	"	Earl of Clare - -	- ditto -	R. Arrowsmith -	Dingabhang.
"	"	Euphrasia - -	- ditto -	- - -	-
"	April -	Donna Pascoa - -	- ditto -	- - -	Collinga.
"	"	Lancier - -	- ditto -	- - -	- ditto.
"	May -	Indian Oak - -	- ditto -	- - -	Round Tank.
"	"	Donna Carmelita - -	- ditto -	- - -	Collinga.
"	June -	Victoria - -	- ditto -	J. Duce -	- - in the care of Mr. Strevens.
"	"	Edward - -	- ditto -	- - -	Howrah.

Exhibit, No. 5.

My dear Sir,

Kedgeree, Wednesday.

I WRITE, according to your desire, to let you know that, with one exception, the Coolies are all quite well, and likely to continue so. The exception I speak of is that of a man who, I am sorry to say, died early yesterday morning from the cruel conduct of one of the chowkedars, and which was unknown to any of us till too late to remedy it. They had as many Coolies down between decks as they could get, and then would not allow them to come up without paying for it. In the case of the man who died, the chowkedar (whose

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name I could not learn) had made him pay one rupee for going upon deck, and when he came down again, complaining of illness, not only would not allow him to go up when he wanted to, but prevented his case from being mentioned either to myself or any of the officers. The consequence was, that very violent inflammation of the bowels came on, and the poor fellow was kept confined there in a state of great misery for 10 or 12 hours, till it was discovered by mere accident; it was, however, too late to reduce the inflammation, he being speechless, and dying rapidly. I have given you the account thus fully, that in case you should send more Coolies away, you may take measures to prevent the like happening again; and I think the chowkedar, whose name you can learn from the others, richly deserves some punishment, and I told him that he might expect it when he got back. I made him refund back the money gained in this way, as well as the others, and gave it to the men who were cheated out of it. The quantity of rice allowed to each man daily is a great deal too much, as, with only half allowances, many were throwing the remainder overboard yesterday, so I shall give them only the half, unless they ask for more. They seem happy and contented as yet, and I think there is every chance of their being all safely landed in Demerara.

I remain, &c.

(signed) *W. Richmond.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *F. W. Birch,*
Superintendent of Police.

Exhibit, No. 6.—Copies of Old and New Contracts.

AGREEMENT.

AGREED between Messrs. Henley, Dowson & Bestel, acting as agents for the island of _____ and the undersigned natives of India, and British subjects. The several parties engaging to observe the following terms and conditions, duly entered into, in the presence of _____ Superintendent of Calcutta Police, this _____ day of _____ 183 _____

Art. 1. The undersigned natives of India do hereby voluntarily, and of their own free-will, consent and engage themselves to M _____ of the island of _____ agreeing to proceed to the said island, there to be employed, either in town or country, as _____ or in any other manner that M _____ may appoint, in _____ establishment on _____ estate, or on those on which M _____ may locate them, in whatever part of the island they may be situate, conformably to Article 3 of the instructions of his Excellency the Governor of Mauritius of 1837, and to remain in such service for the full term of five years, commencing from the date of the present contract; defalcation being made for absence arising from any cause whatever.

Art. 2. The said natives of India engage themselves to work with good-will, and to the best of their ability, in whatever capacity M _____ may employ them, obeying _____ orders, or of such persons as may be appointed to superintend and direct them, in consideration of the following wages, payable monthly; viz. to sirdars, Company's rupees _____ and annas _____; and to _____, Company's rupees _____ and annas _____, and the following daily rations of food:

1 ½ lb. of rice,	4 oz. dholl,
½ oz. of salt,	1 oz. turmeric and spices,
1 oz. ghee,	

or an equivalent in any other good and wholesome food.

Art. 3. It is expressly provided that in case of misconduct, disobedience of orders or incapacity, the sirdars shall be liable to be degraded or sent back to Calcutta at their own charge, and that they will have no claim for indemnity against M _____

Art. 4. It is agreed that the pay of the said _____ shall commence from the day of their arrival at the Mauritius, and they shall receive _____ months' wages advance in Calcutta.

Art. 5. In order that the undersigned natives of India may be fully aware of the engagement they undertake, it is hereby notified that they will be required to do all such work as the object for which they are engaged necessitates, and that as labourers attached to an estate, they will be required to clear forest and extract timber; carry manure, dig and prepare land for planting; also, to take charge of horses, mules and cattle of every description; in short, to do all such work as an estate for the cultivation of sugar-cane and the manufacture of sugar demands, or any branch of agriculture to which they may be destined.

Art. 6. The undersigned _____ engage to work on week-days throughout the day, with the exception of three hours allowed for repose and meals, and on Sundays until _____ nine

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nine o'clock A. M.; and in cases of urgency, more especially during the crop, which render extraordinary services necessary, occurring night or day, or on Sundays, they engage to assist with good-will and assiduity, and without remuneration.

Art. 7. The undersigned natives of India are not allowed, either individually or collectively, to work for any person, even on Sundays or during the hours allowed for repose, without the sanction of M

Art. 8. M or representative, engage to well treat and protect the said natives of India, and in all cases to act justly and equitably towards them, paying them their wages regularly, providing them with house or lodging on the estate, and hospital and medical attendance when required, but it is expressly understood that they will receive no wages during illness.

Art. 9. The said labourers engage and consent, in case of absence from work without the permission of their employer, that a deduction of two days' wages shall be made for every day of such unlicensed absence: and they further agree, that in case any of the conditions herein stipulated should be violated or broken, in case of disputes arising from misunderstanding of the present agreement, or from misconduct on their part, to submit themselves and all such differences to the jurisdiction of the special and constituted authorities of the said island of

Art. 10. As the government of M or representative, that the said M shall not become a burthen to the colony in case of their misconduct, incapacity or breach of engagement, rendering it necessary that they or any of them should be sent back to Calcutta, it is agreed that there shall be retained from the pay of each individual the sum of one rupee per month until a sufficient fund shall be provided to defray their return passage; and it is agreed that the said reserved fund shall be repaid them at the expiration of this engagement, being equally divided amongst those who have faithfully fulfilled the conditions of their contract.

Art. 11. The expense of the passage and food of the said M will be defrayed by M to who will also provide them with a free passage to Calcutta at the expiration of this agreement, and in no case, nor for any motive whatever, will they be allowed to quit the service of M or of his during the period of this agreement.

Art. 12. Each native of India will receive on embarking the following clothing and cooking vessels:

2 dhooties,	1 cap,
1 blanket,	1 wooden plate, and
1 jacket,	1 marmette for four persons, and he

will receive a similar supply once per annum. He will receive during the voyage from Calcutta to the following articles of food daily, viz.

1½ lb. of rice,	2 oz. of mussalla,
¼ " of dholl,	1 " of salt, and
2 oz. of ghee,	1 " of mustard oil occasionally.

Art. 13. If it shall appear that any native, having engaged himself as an artisan, is incapable of performing the work required of him in such capacity, it is hereby agreed that a deduction of rupee per month shall be made from the wages of such individual until he is pronounced competent and in a condition to fulfil his agreement.

The present agreement made at Calcutta, in the presence of Superintendent of Calcutta Police, and witnessed by

MEMORANDUM.

I do hereby engage to serve M (or such party as I may be transferred to by mutual consent, to be declared in presence of a public officer) as a free labourer for the period of five years, pursuant to the terms and conditions specified in the general agreement passed, the day of 1838:

Agents,
Messrs. Henley,
Dowson & Bestcl.

In consideration of receiving Company's rupees per month, and the following food and clothing, viz.

1½ lb. rice - - -	} daily.	2 dhooties - - -	} yearly.
¼ oz. of salt - - -		1 chintz jacket - - -	
_____		1 blanket - - -	
_____	1 cap, &c. - - -		
_____	1 tin or wooden plate - - -		

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Also medicine and medical attendance when required. I also stipulate for a free passage to Calcutta at the expiration of my period of servitude, should I then wish to return, subject to the tenor of the aforesaid general agreement. Dated this day, Calcutta, the day of 1838.

স্বন

আমি শ্রী

মোকৰৰ হইতেছি চাকৰি কৰিতে মোং

সাহেবৰ কিম্বা অন্য কোন ব্যক্তিৰ নিকট আমা কে পাঠান তাহা উভয় সন্মতিতে কোন হাকিমৰ লোকৰ সন্মুখে প্রকাশ হইবে যেমন চাকৰেৰ ন্যায় পাঁচ বৎসৰেৰ নিমিত্তে বিমুক্তিম সন ১৮৩৩ সালেৰ

তাৰিখেৰ সাধাৰণ ট্ৰিমেণ্ট এডৱৰ্থে কোম্পানিৰ ৫ পাঁচ টকা হিসাবে মাহিনা পাইব এবং নিচেৰ উল্লেখিত মাহিক খোৰাক ও পোশাক পাইব

১॥ পোশু চান	} প্রত্যহ।	২ ধুতি	} বার্ষিক
॥ উল্ল লবন		১ ছিটেৰ জামা	
		১ কমুল	
		১ টুপি	
		১ টিনেৰ কিম্বা কাঙ্কেৰ পায়া	

দৰকাৰ মাহিক বিনা মুলে ডাকতৰ ও দাবাই পাইব এবং নিয়মিত কালান্তৰ পুংনু কলিকাতা যিবি আসিতে চাহিলে পুৰ্হ উক্ত সাধাৰণ বন্দবস্তেৰ মত বিনা মুলে পুৰ্ছিব ইতি সন জাল তাৰিখ

নিশান সহি

PERMIT.

Description, ; height, ; age, about ; colour, ; particular marks, caste,

I hereby certify, that this memorandum of contract has been inspected by me, and its contents fully explained to the above-mentioned.

Calcutta, day of 1838.

Superintendent of Calcutta Police.

INDIAN LABOURER'S ENGAGEMENT TICKET.

Duffadar.

Thro'
Engaged by Messrs. Henley, Dowson & Bestel.
Calcutta,

1838.

Agents,
Messrs. H., D., & B.

Name, , full-grown labourer, at five per month ; height, ; age, about ; colour, ; particular marks, ; caste, ; from whence, ; for whom engaged, ; examined and vaccinated by ; registered, and date of permit by superintendent of Calcutta police : see Permit ; forwarded to Mauritius per ship , commander.

My dear Sir,—I send you a copy of a contract I have used with almost all the labourers I have sent down. I commenced with a different one; but it was in all essential respects the same, only more wordy, having been drawn out by a lawyer.

29 August.

I am, &c.
(signed) A. Gardyne.

AGREEMENT

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES. 123.

AGREEMENT between William Edmund Browne, acting on behalf of
on the one part, and the undersigned natives of India on the other part,

Appendix.

hereby agrees to the

following conditions with the undersigned Indians :

- 1st. To employ them for five years from the date of this contract.
- 2d. To pay the expense of their passage from hence to Mauritius, and return from thence to Calcutta at the expiration of the term of five years.
- 3d. To pay their wages in the equivalent currency of Mauritius, fixed at 50 cents per Company's rupee, at the following rates :

Sirdars, at Company's rupees	-	-	-	per month.
Coolies,	"	-	-	"
Boys,	"	-	-	"

with the following rations and clothing :

Rice, 14 chittacks, = 1 ½ lbs.	} daily.	1 Jacket,	} yearly.
Dholl, 2 " = 4 oz.		2 Dhooties,	
Ghee, - ¼ " = 1 "		1 Lascar's cap,	
Salt, - ¼ " = - ¼ "		1 Cumlie,	

4th. To provide them with house or lodging, medical attendance, medicines and food when sick ; but no wages when from any cause the Coolies are unable to work.

5th. Their wages to commence from date of contract, months being paid in advance at Calcutta.

6th. To grant a free passage to the labourers' wives, with employment, and a just remuneration for whatever work they perform.

7th. To give the following clothing, &c. to each labourer on going on board ship at Calcutta ; viz.

2 dhooties,	1 jacket,	1 lota to 4 men,
1 cumlie,	1 lascar's cap,	1 wooden bowl;

with the under-signed daily rations during the voyage to Mauritius :

Rice - - - 14 chittacks.	Mussaleh - ¼ chittack.
Dholl - - - 2 "	Tobacco - ¼ "
Ghee - - - ¼ "	Mustard oil - ¼ " occasionally.
Salt - - - ¼ "	

The under-mentioned Coolies hereby consent to the following conditions with

1st. To proceed to Mauritius as general agricultural labourers for a term of five years, calculated from date of contract, and work on the estate or estates of or any of which he may have the agency, in the cultivation of sugar-cane, manufacture of sugar, digging of land, mending roads, clearing forest or jungle, care of cattle, and all such lawful work as shall be required of them.

2d. To labour from sunrise to sunset, one hour being allowed for breakfast, and one hour and a half for dinner ; and during crop-time, after sunset, if necessary.

3d. That one rupee per month shall be retained from the pay of each individual in case of incapacity, impropriety of conduct, or non-fulfilment of this contract, until a sufficient sum shall have accumulated to defray their return passage ; such money to be refunded to those only who complete their contract of five years.

4th. That a deduction of two days' pay shall be made for every day of unlicensed absence.

5th. To work on any other estate for any party they may be transferred to, on the same conditions as herein specified ; the transfer to be made by mutual consent, declared before some public authority.

6th. The labourers shall not work for themselves or any other persons at any time, without the permission of their employers in writing.

Done in Calcutta this day of one thousand eight hundred and

Signed and delivered in the presence of

AGREEMENT between William Edmund Browne, acting on behalf of Port Louis, Mauritius, on the one part, and the undersigned servants, natives of India, on the other part.

hereby agrees to the following conditions with the undersigned servants :

- 1st. To employ them for five years from the date of this contract.
- 2d. To pay the expense of their passage from hence to Mauritius, and return from thence to Calcutta, at the expiration of the term of five years.

45.

Q 2

3d. To

Appendix.

3d. To pay their wages in equivalent currency of Mauritius, fixed at 50 cents per Company's rupee, at the following monthly rates:

Khanmah, at Company's rupees	per month.
Khidmutgar,	"
Sirdar Bearer,	"
Durzee,	"
Dhobee,	"
Ayah,	"

with the following daily rations:

Rice - - -	- 14 chittacks, or 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
Dholl - - -	- 2 " " 4 oz.
Ghee - - -	- $\frac{1}{2}$ " " 1 "
Salt - - -	- $\frac{1}{4}$ " " $\frac{1}{2}$ "

and clothing for the voyage, to consist of a suit each, adapted to their respective callings.

4th. To provide them with house or lodging, medicines, medical attendance and food when sick; but they shall not receive any wages when, from any cause, unable to work.

5th. Their wages to commence from date of contract, and months paid in advance at Calcutta.

The undersigned servants hereby consent to the following conditions with

1st. To proceed to Mauritius as servants, in the capacities herein specified, for a term of five years, calculated from date of contract, and serve generally and particularly, according to their several callings, in all such lawful work as he may require of them.

2d. That in case any of the servants lose any working utensils, clothes or other articles intrusted to them, the value of such shall be deducted from their pay.

3d. If among the servants any shall be found incapable to perform the business they have undertaken, only half wages shall be paid to such, until they are able to work according to their engagement, their incapacity being established before some public authority.

4th. That two rupees per month shall be retained from the pay of each individual in case of incapacity, impropriety of conduct, or non-fulfilment of this contract, until a sufficient sum shall have accumulated to defray their return passage; such money to be refunded to those only who complete their term of five years.

5th. A deduction of two days' pay shall be made for every day of unlicensed absence.

6th. To serve any party they may be transferred to on the same conditions as herein specified; such transfer to be made by mutual consent, declared before some public authority.

7th. The servants shall not work for any other person at any time without the consent of their employers.

Done in Calcutta this _____ day of _____ one thousand eight hundred and _____, in the presence of _____

My dear Sir,—Herein you have a copy of an agreement we entered into with some men we sent to the Mauritius in March 1835, and the men we have since sent have gone under a like engagement.

The agreement with the men sent to Demerara was drawn out by Mr. Hughes; and of this you can have a copy, if you wish.

Yours, &c.

28 August.

(signed)

John Jackson.

BETWEEN the undersigned, _____, Calcutta, acting on behalf of Mauritius, and the natives whose names are hereunto affixed, the following agreement has been entered into by the several parties, binding themselves to the observance of the conditions hereof.

1stly. The natives agree to proceed to the Isle of France to work as labourers there upon a sugar estate called the Vale, the property of _____, and to remain there, if required, for the term of five years.

2dly. The passage of the natives to the Mauritius shall be paid by _____ who shall also provide a passage again to this country, at the end of five years, for each native who may then wish to return; but if any individual from any cause should leave the employment of _____ before the expiration of five years, such individual shall have no claim on him for a passage.

3dly. The pay of the natives shall be fixed at the rate of five rupees per month for each man; the labour required from them will be that of digging holes, weeding canes, or working in the sugar-house. The quantity of daily labour required from each to be fixed by the manager of the property. The pay of one sirdar shall be fixed at seven rupees per month; and that of one mate, six rupees; and boys at three rupees per month.

4thly. As

4thly. As must be responsible to government that the natives shall not be a burden to the colony in the event of their leaving their employment, one rupee per month shall be retained from the pay of each individual till there shall be a sufficient sum to provide a passage for each to Calcutta; and should no such contingency take place, the money shall be restored at the end of five years.

5thly. In addition to the pay as above fixed, food and clothing shall be supplied to each, as follows:—14 chittacks of rice, two chittacks of dholl, two ounces of salt, some oil, and tamarind; and annually clothing for each as follows:—two dhooties, two blankets, one jacket, one cap.

6thly. Each individual shall receive six months' pay in advance, for which they shall give an acknowledgment here; their pay to commence from the date of their going on board the ship.

7thly. The nature of this agreement, which shall be registered at the police, is such, that each native is individually responsible for the observance of its condition by every one whose name it bears; and it is further agreed, that while in hospital from sickness or any other cause, the pay is stopped during such time.

We, the undersigned individuals, of our own free-will and accord, hereby consent and agree to proceed to the island of Mauritius, to become the servants of Monsieur L'Eclizio, or such person as we may be transferred to, by mutual consent, to be declared before a public officer, to be by him or them employed in the cultivation of sugar, tending cattle, repairing roads, and generally in all the customary work of labourers in the said island.

We engage to perform willingly and diligently our said duties from daylight to evening, with the usual time allowed us for rest and food; and should any of us be at any time during the period after-named unable to perform our duty from sickness or other inevitable cause, we relinquish all claim upon our said master for wages during the time we are absent, provided we are found in food and clothing while so absent from work.

We further bind ourselves to serve the said Monsieur L'Eclizio for the full term of five years from the date of this agreement.

In consideration of the services afore-mentioned to be well and diligently performed by us we accept the terms offered, viz., the sum of Company's rupees five per month, with the under-mentioned food and clothing, viz.—

Per diem	- - rice	- 14 chittacks.	Per annum	- - 1 Bengal blanket.
—	- - dholl	- 2 ditto	—	- - 2 Dhooties.
—	- - oil or ghee	- $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto	—	- - 1 Chintz jacket.
—	- - salt fish	- 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto	—	- - 1 Lascar's cap.
—	- - tobacco	- 1 ditto	—	- - 1 Wooden plate.
—	- - salt	- $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto		

Also medicine and medical attendance.

On the termination of our period of servitude, should we be desirous of returning to Bengal, it is agreed that our said employer shall provide us with free passage; should we, however, then decline returning, we release our said employer from this obligation.

We hereby acknowledge having received from Mr. A. Gardyne, the agent for Monsieur L'Eclizio, six months' wages as advance, in consideration of which we give up all title or claim to wages until the expiration of six months from the date of this agreement.

We finally agree that, in all cases where any of us should commit a breach of this engagement, to abide by the decision of or punishment awarded for such offence or offences by the proper authorities of the said island.

In witness whereof, we the said parties to this agreement have hereunto set and subscribed our respective marks at Calcutta, 18th October 1837.

The undersigned, being duly authorized and empowered by Monsieur L'Eclizio to engage the under-mentioned parties, consents and agrees on his behalf to the terms of the foregoing agreement, hereby ratifying and confirming the same.

(signed) *A. Gardyne,*
Agent Monsieur L'Eclizio.

- | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1. Angul - labourer | - x his mark. | 12. Punnoo - labourer | - x his mark. |
| 2. Goyah Ram, ditto | - x ditto. | 13. Gopaul - ditto | - x ditto. |
| 3. Aasoo Ram, ditto | - x ditto. | 14. Dhunnoo ditto | - x ditto. |
| 4. Bisodnauth, ditto | - x ditto. | 15. Buddoo - ditto | - x ditto. |
| 5. Coorah Ram, ditto | - x ditto. | 16. Rammal - ditto | - x ditto. |
| 6. Boodoo - ditto | - x ditto. | 17. Bungshee ditto | - x ditto. |
| 7. Bunnah - ditto | - x ditto. | 18. Munnoo - ditto | - x ditto. |
| 8. Culloo - ditto | - x ditto. | 19. Saam - ditto | - x ditto. |
| 9. Sunkur - ditto | - x ditto. | 20. Kurreal - ditto | - x ditto. |
| 10. Beejoy - ditto | - x ditto. | 21. Deenah - ditto | - x ditto. |
| 11. Jhoney - ditto | - x ditto. | | |

Certified that the within agreement has been explained to and agreed to by the within named parties in my presence.

18 October 1837.

(signed) *F. W. Birch,*
Supt Police.

Appendix.

Exhibit, No. 7.

THE suggestions I would offer are as follows :

1st. That every duffadar concerned in procuring labourers be obliged, under penalty, to register himself, his residence, and the arkotties employed under him, and their residence in the office of the officer acting on behalf of government.

2d. That, under heavy penalty, every duffadar be obliged to bring to the officer acting on behalf of government for registry every man procured by him within 24 hours of procurement, if procured in Calcutta, or of arrival within 16 miles of Calcutta if procured in the provinces. (This would enable me to ascertain immediately whether undue means had been used to procure men, and by whom, and would act as a very effective check upon kidnapping.)

3d. That translations in Bengalee, Hindoo and Persian of the general terms of agreement for labour in the Mauritius be hung up in each public kutcherry throughout the lower provinces; this would give the people at large an opportunity of knowing what are the actual terms of agreement; and it should be stated in each such notice that the place of labour is two months' journey by sea on board ship.

4th. An immediate restriction by government order of the advance to two months.

5th. Full authority given to the officer acting on behalf of government to interfere in and check the accounts of the duffadars, who should likewise be compelled, on registering themselves, to give security for the treatment of the labourers while living with them previous to embarkation.

6th. The captains of ships chartered for the conveyance of labourers to give security bond to the officer acting on behalf of government, that the space allotted by him shall not be encroached upon, and at the time of allotment the latter to give the captain in writing a memorandum, as follows : " I hereby allot from aft to forward, being

feet for the accommodation of labourers about to be embarked in your ship."

7th. Notice, under penalty, to be given to the officer acting on behalf of government when the port clearance is obtained, upon which the said officer, or some one deputed by him, shall be authorized to proceed on board the ship, accompanied by the shipper, or some one on his part, and in presence of the captain to muster the men by their permits, after which a certificate to be given to the captain, as follows : " I hereby certify that labourers embarked on board the , Captain , answer to their permits, and that the space of feet from the aft to the forward allotted for their accommodation has not been encroached upon." This certificate to be given in duplicate.

8th. The pilots to be directed not to break ground from Coolie-basar until the captain can produce the above certificate.

9th. At sea, just before leaving the ship, the pilot to be directed to inspect the accommodation and re-muster the men, and then write on the back of both certificates. " I hereby certify, that the space mentioned in this certificate has not been encroached upon; the labourers answer to their permits (casualties have occurred); men are generally [healthy or unhealthy]; their treatment whilst I have been on board has been [good or bad]." One certificate to remain with the captain, the other to be forwarded by the pilot by dawk to the officer acting on behalf of government; the certificate which remains with the captain to be delivered by him to the authorized authority at the Mauritius. The pilot to take out any men not answering to their names as in the permits, and forward them to Calcutta by any ship coming in to the officer acting on behalf of government; and the captain of such ship to be obliged to give notice to the said officer of his having such men on board, and not to be allowed to land them without the authority of that officer.

10th. A copy of the contract entered into by and with each despatch of labourers to be lodged and filed in the office of the officer acting on behalf of government.

(signed) F. W. Birch.

Exhibit, No. 8.

Pay of each Coolie, six months, at five rupees - - - -	Rs. 30 - -	Items : Diet, from six to seven pice a day, two months - - - -	Rs. 6 - -
Deductions :		Ditto - - ditto, three months	3 - -
Lodging, dieting, &c. - - -	9 - -	Liquor - - - - -	8 - -
Fee - - - - -	1 - -	Tattee - - - - -	2 - -
Duffadaree - - - - -	2 - -	Barber - - - - -	2 - -
Bania and agency - - - -	3 - -	Dhoby - - - - -	2 - -
	15 - -	House-rent - - - - -	4 - -
Receives :		Kalli ghaut from 1-8 to - -	1 - -
Cash - - - - -	10 - -	Women - - - - -	8 - -
Brass lotah, tuala, tholler, blanket, tobacco, &c - - - - -	5 - -	Advances on road to Calcutta	1 to 2 - -
	15 - -	Ditto to his family - - - -	3 - -
	Rs. 30 - -	Arkantee - - - - -	2 - -
			Rs. 18 10 - -

(signed) J. McCann, Dep. Supt. Police.

Exhibit,

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES. 127

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Exhibit, No. 9.

LIST of COOLIES exported through the Agency of Mr. Hughes.

AGENTS.	SHIPS.	NO. OF MEN.
Henley & Dowson	per Eagle	82
Ditto	" Indian Oak	200
Ditto	" Virginia	104
Ditto	" Hoogley	85
Ditto	" Ajax	50
Ditto	" Herefordshire	150
Ditto	" Prince Regent	196
Ditto	" Adelaide	72
Ditto	" Peter Procter	50
Henley, Dowson & Beasel	" Cavendish Bentinck	126
Ditto	" Cecelia	51
Lyal, Matheson & Co.	" Belzoni	174
Ditto	" Ditto	122
Mr. Francis	" Donna Pascoa	100
Ditto	" Indian Oak	195
Ditto	" Lord Auckland	241
Mr. Bruce	" Gaillardon	11
Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co.	" Whitby	250
Ditto	" Hesperus	152
Ditto	" John Bagshaw	170
Mr. Gardyne	" Carpatie	150
Ditto	" Parland	10
Ditto	" Mary Ann	15
Ditto	" Belzoni	21
Ditto	" Indian Oak	200
Ditto	" Frederick Huth	3
Anund Chunder Mitter	" Donna Carmelita	26
Howarth, Hardman & Co.	" Hoogley	40
Ditto	" Baboo	75
Mr. Prinsep	" Emerald Isle	10
Monsieur Langlois	" Cavendish Bentinck	48
Nilcaunt Sircar	" Donna Pascoa	22
Ditto	" Earl of Clare	280
Morel & Co.	" Victoria	150
Tiron & Pandelle	" Euphrasia	115
Ditto	" Lancier	147
Ditto	" Victoria	40
Ditto	" Apollo	63
Ditto	" William Lockerby	73
		4,069

Exhibit, No. 10.

Examination of Juhoorun.

DIGRAM (Juhoorun) Ayah : vide Captain Finnis's Memorandum, dated 1st August 1838, arrived in Calcutta on board the Lancier, Captain Burn, 10th September 1838.

I was born at the village of Amtah, about three days' journey south of Midnapore. I left my home at Amtah about four and a half years ago, and came to Calcutta for service; about two years after my leaving home, my father was drowned in an inundation, and my mother came to Calcutta with my two brothers; we lived together at Khidderpore; I lived with an ayah for one year, cooking for her and serving her on two rupees per month; finding she could not support me, she taught me ayah's work, and I served a Mr. Martin for about a year, when Mr. Martin left for some other country; I was then out of employ; I remained two months, and then took service for the Mauritius; this is about two and a half years ago; a baboo, whose name I do not know, and a duffadar called Jungli Havildar, entertained me; I was told I could get 10 rupees per month wages, food and clothing, and that I was to serve a gentleman and lady who were proceeding in the ship I was to embark on; I asked how far Meritch (Mauritius) was; they said five days' journey, and that if I pleased I could remain in service there or return; they thus deceived me and got me on board; I do not remember the name of the captain or ship; they said it was a merchant

Appendix.

ship; I was told I was to serve an English lady and gentleman, but they sent me to a French lady; the persons whose names were mentioned to me did not go in the ship; I asked the captain where the lady and child whom I was engaged to serve were, that I was told I was to wait on a child; he said they had deceived me, and were sending me to the Mauritius to serve French people; I went on board in the beginning of Kartick (about latter half of October), two and a half years ago; I received six months' wages in advance; no, not I, but the Coolies who went with me; I only received four months, of which the baboo took 20 rupees, and gave me 20; I do not know why he took 20 rupees; I got no clothes nor any thing but the 20 rupees; there were three sirdars, and 240 Coolies shipped with me; some took with them two rupees, some three rupees; the sirdars took with them two or three rupees; the rest of the Coolies had not a single rupee; they did not state their condition to the captain, because they could not speak so as he could understand; there was one man who spoke a little English, but he was such a drunken fellow that the captain would not listen to any thing he had to say; his name is Bejoo Sirdar; he returned about a year since; they used to get liquor from a khansaman, a Feringhee khansaman, who clandestinely took liquor with him on board; there was plenty of room on board for the Coolies; we had plenty to eat and drink; the captain was an Englishman and took great care of us; it was only in the Isle of France that we were starved and beaten; we were one month and twelve days on the voyage; on arrival, the police sahib told us to go to our respective masters, that we would get food and pay; I went to Mr. Boileau; I served him for two and a half years; he treated me very ill, gave me no pay, beat me, and said he would give me much money if I would let him have connexion with me; I told him he ought to be ashamed, that he had a wife in his bosom; that I was a Mussulman, and would lose my caste among my fellows, and refused, and he beat me; I was made to sweep the rooms and do mehtrance's work, and I complained to the police, and they said as my master spoke to me, and I did not wish to serve him, I might go back to my own country; all the Coolies who went in the ship with me were engaged to Mr. Boileau; he treats them very ill; if they are sick he gives them salts, from taking which they die; four hung themselves, four died, and 40 are in the house of correction breaking stones; I was sent three times to the house of correction; I got salt and rice to eat; I was not put to work. I did complain to my mistress of my master wanting me to lie with him; my mistress lived principally separate from my master and with her father; when I told her, she used to say, "I did not send for you; your master sent for you for this purpose; I will not pay you any wages, but send you back to your country," and she used to quarrel with my master, and threaten to break her wedding ring and complain to the police; and then my master used to say, "She tells a lie," and my mistress would turn to me and say, "Your master says you lie," and I would be sent to my work, and my master would come and beat me for having told my mistress. I would not return to Mauritius on any account; it is a country of slaves; I would not go there again; I would rather beg my bread here.

Exhibit, No. 11.

STATEMENTS of COOLIES returned from the Mauritius.

MANICK (Manique): vide Captain Finniss's Memorandum of 1 August 1838, returned in the Lancier, Captain Brown, arrived in Calcutta, 10 September 1838.

I am a Mussulman (Sheikh); my home is at Meergunj, Zillah Lucknow. About a year and three quarters since I left my home, and came to Calcutta to seek service. Hoossein Ally, duffadar, engaged me to go to the Mauritius; he told me I was to get seven rupees per month wages, with food and clothing; that I should have to go on board ship and should reach Mauritius in 10 or 20 days; I forget the name of the ship and the captain; we sailed from Calcutta about the end of November 1837 (beginning of Aghran, nearly two years ago); we were in all about 350 men; it was a three-masted ship; we were taken to a crannee (writer or clerk) in the police, who took down our names; we were asked if we were willing to go; we replied yes, we should get pay and food from Company ghur, and were willing to go; by Company ghur I understood a firm of gentlemen (sahib log ka kotee); we were 50 Mussulmans, the rest were all Dhangas. There was no force used whatever to put us on board; we all went willingly; we all received an advance of six months' wages; I got 42 rupees; the bhuttearah took all but three rupees, and some brass plates which I received with a box; some received four rupees, some three, but no more. We had lots of room on board; we got plenty of water and food on board, and were well treated. I went on board, not contented with only three rupees; but what could I do? the duffadar made out his accounts so, and I did not understand any thing about them; I gave up the money. We were one month and 13 days on the passage; there were no complaints on the passage. I engaged with Mr. Riviere; he told me he would give me only rice and salt, and no ghee or clothes; I objected to this. I do not mean to say that this was on landing, but after a year; for the first year he gave me rice, dholi, salt, ghee, &c. but no clothes; after a year he stopped all but my rice and salt; we were in all 50, and were all treated alike; we all objected on account of not receiving clothes and sufficient food. Mr. Riviere sent me to gaol, saying, I had instigated the rest to object and complain; five of us were sent to gaol, where we remained two and a half months; I had served one and a half years before being sent to gaol; I was sent from gaol on board the

Lancier,

Lancier, in which I have come round. Of the five men, two returned to their work, one died, one is now ill, and I have come back; we were not beaten or otherwise ill-treated until we complained to the police; after that, Mr. Riviere took to beating the men. We did not get tobacco, or ghee, or fish; we got rice and salt, and one chittack of dholl; we were worked from gun-fire in the morning, got one hour at eight o'clock, and two hours at twelve, and were released at eight o'clock in the evening, this for six months; but in the sugar season we did not get our chootee (leave) at the regular intervals, but sometimes at four o'clock, sometimes at six. I was formerly a sepahie in the Indre ka pultun (52d N. I.); I am to be found in Chandney Bazar. I am very willing to go back to Mauritius, it is a beautiful country; but the Frenchmen are very bad. Give me food, and I am very willing to go.

Exhibit, No. 12.

ROODHOO KHAN (Boudoucan): vide Captain Finnis's Memorandum, dated 1 August 1838; returned from the Mauritius; arrived in Calcutta on board the Lancier, Captain Brown, 10 September 1838.

I am a Pathan, and my home is at Gyah; I left my home in the month of July (Assar) about two years ago; I left my home to seek service. I entered into the service of the rajah of Morbaugh, as a sepahie, for five rupees per month and food; I served him for a year, and received 25 rupees only in cash, but I got altogether nine cows, some worth three rupees, some four; I sent the cows to my home at Gyah. I have a brother in the Calcutta militia, named Sheer Khan. I got the cows for field work, not to eat. The rajah is a Hindoo; I knew that he gave cows to many. I quarrelled with the rajah's commissary about food, and took my discharge; besides, there was no fighting, or I would have remained. I met with a duffadar at Seersa, in the same district of Morbaugh; the duffadar's name is—I forget now; he had a beard; he took me to Beerbhul; the duffadar told me I was to get 24 rupees wages, of which seven would go for food, &c., and I would receive seven; and he told me the food I should get was 14 chittacks of rice, two chittacks dholl, half chittack ghee, half chittack salt, and two of salt fish. I should receive clothes every six months; that I should be five days on the voyage, should get there in a small boat (dinghee), and was to serve for six months at Meritch; I thought it was some island about five days' journey; this was at Seersa. When I arrived in Calcutta I learnt that I should have to go on board a big ship, and that I was to engage for five years. I did not know how far the island was, or what time would be expended in the passage until at sea, when the mate of the ship asked me if I knew how long I should be; I said no; he then told me I should be four months. I did not mind; I am a man, not a woman, and I am a Pathan's son; I had given my word, and I did not care if it were eight months; I would have gone if they had told me in Calcutta that I should be four months. I did come back; the ship put back from Kedgere, and I remained 25 days in Calcutta, and then went on board another ship; I do not remember the name of the first ship nor of the second, nor do I remember the name of the captains. I first went on board the first time in the beginning of Assar (June), and we were 15 days in the big water, and we remained 25 days here, and went on board the second ship in Bhundur, the end of Bhadur (beginning of September) last year. I do not remember whether I was taken before Captain Birch; I was brought to this house (Captain Birch's) to have my arm punctured; I received my permit in another house; I was told by a very stout gentleman that I was to break stones and do field work; I forget now what else he said; I do not recollect whether he said any thing about pay; he told me to behave well. It is very probable that I was told about food, but I forget now what was said; I was told I was to go to Meritch; I said I was very willing; there were a great many Coolies; I came after the rest; I know that every thing was told me in the place where I got my permit; there were 64 of us in the first ship; there were 10 Bengalees, 16 Kioothas (up-country men) and the rest all Dhangas. I received six months' wages, of which one month was cut for dustooree; one month went in plates and dishes; I gave six rupees to one man to buy me a box, a chattab, a goorgoorie (umbrella and hooqah) but he did me out of it; I gave six rupees to the duffadar for khoraakee; I bought nine rupees' worth of clothes, and took with me seven rupees. All who went with me got six months, out of which the duffadars gave some three, some four rupees. There were two brothers, Jundeh Singh and Futeh Singh, who had nothing to do with the duffadars; they kept their own money and have got money now at the Mauritius. We had sufficient room on board; the captain was a good man; we got good food and water, and were well treated. We were two months on the voyage; all were contented on board; we were not in sloops at all; we landed from the first ship and went on board the second ship; in the interval we were taken to a house to the east of a baboo's house, I think the baboo was called Hurry Chutter. I was not confined; the rest were, that is, they were not allowed to go about as I was, for fear they should run away. On arrival at the Mauritius we were taken to the police, where we were told we were to receive daily 14 chittacks rice, two chittacks dholl, half chittack ghee, half chittack oil, half chittack fish. We then went to our master, Monsieur Lachiche, whose plantation is at Mappoo, about eight coss north of the city. I remained seven months in my situation of sirdar. I received clothes once, and food every day, as told at the police, with the

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ship; I was told I was to serve an English lady and gentleman, but they sent me to a French lady; the persons whose names were mentioned to me did not go in the ship; I asked the captain where the lady and child whom I was engaged to serve were, that I was told I was to wait on a child; he said they had deceived me, and were sending me to the Mauritius to serve French people; I went on board in the beginning of Kartick (about latter half of October), two and a half years ago; I received six months' wages in advance; no, not I, but the Coolies who went with me; I only received four months, of which the baboo took 20 rupees, and gave me 20; I do not know why he took 20 rupees; I got no clothes nor any thing but the 20 rupees; there were three sirdars, and 240 Coolies shipped with me; some took with them two rupees, some three rupees; the sirdars took with them two or three rupees; the rest of the Coolies had not a single rupee; they did not state their condition to the captain, because they could not speak so as he could understand; there was one man who spoke a little English, but he was such a drunken fellow that the captain would not listen to any thing he had to say; his name is Bejoo Sirdar; he returned about a year since; they used to get liquor from a khansaman, a Feringhee khansaman, who clandestinely took liquor with him on board; there was plenty of room on board for the Coolies; we had plenty to eat and drink; the captain was an Englishman and took great care of us; it was only in the Isle of France that we were starved and beaten; we were one month and twelve days on the voyage; on arrival, the police sahib told us to go to our respective masters, that we would get food and pay; I went to Mr. Boileau; I served him for two and a half years; he treated me very ill, gave me no pay, beat me, and said he would give me much money if I would let him have connexion with me; I told him he ought to be ashamed, that he had a wife in his bosom; that I was a Mussulman, and would lose my caste among my fellows, and refused, and he beat me; I was made to sweep the rooms and do mehtanee's work, and I complained to the police, and they said as my master so spoke to me, and I did not wish to serve him, I might go back to my own country; all the Coolies who went in the ship with me were engaged to Mr. Boileau; he treats them very ill; if they are sick he gives them salts, from taking which they die; four hung themselves, four died, and 40 are in the house of correction breaking stones; I was sent three times to the house of correction; I got salt and rice to eat; I was not put to work. I did complain to my mistress of my master wanting me to lie with him; my mistress lived principally separate from my master and with her father; when I told her, she used to say, "I did not send for you; your master sent for you for this purpose; I will not pay you any wages, but send you back to your country;" and she used to quarrel with my master, and threaten to break her wedding ring and complain to the police; and then my master used to say, "She tells a lie," and my mistress would turn to me and say, "Your master says you lie," and I would be sent to my work, and my master would come and beat me for having told my mistress. I would not return to Mauritius on any account; it is a country of slaves; I would not go there again; I would rather beg my bread here.

Exhibit, No. 11.

STATEMENTS OF COOLIES returned from the Mauritius.

MANICK (Manique): *vide* Captain Finniss's Memorandum of 1 August 1838, returned in the *Lancier*, Captain Brown, arrived in Calcutta, 10 September 1838.

I am a Mussulman (Sheikh); my home is at Meergunj, Zillah Lucknow. About a year and three quarters since I left my home, and came to Calcutta to seek service. Hoosein Ally, duffadar, engaged me to go to the Mauritius; he told me I was to get seven rupees per month wages, with food and clothing; that I should have to go on board ship and should reach Mauritius in 10 or 20 days; I forget the name of the ship and the captain; we sailed from Calcutta about the end of November 1837 (beginning of Aghrun, nearly two years ago); we were in all about 350 men; it was a three-masted ship; we were taken to a crannee (writer or clerk) in the police, who took down our names; we were asked if we were willing to go; we replied yes, we should get pay and food from Company ghur, and were willing to go; by Company ghur I understood a firm of gentlemen (sahib log ka kotee); we were 50 Mussulmans, the rest were all Dhangas. There was no force used whatever to put us on board; we all went willingly; we all received an advance of six months' wages; I got 42 rupees; the *bhuttearah* took all but three rupees, and some brass plates which I received with a box; some received four rupees, some three, but no more. We had lots of room on board; we got plenty of water and food on board, and were well treated. I went on board, not contented with only three rupees; but what could I do? the duffadar made out his accounts so, and I did not understand any thing about them; I gave up the money. We were one month and 13 days on the passage; there were no complaints on the passage. I engaged with Mr. Riviere; he told me he would give me only rice and salt, and no ghee or clothes; I objected to this. I do not mean to say that this was on landing, but after a year; for the first year he gave me rice, dholl, salt, ghee, &c. but no clothes; after a year he stopped all but my rice and salt; we were in all 50, and were all treated alike; we all objected on account of not receiving clothes and sufficient food. Mr. Riviere sent me to gaol, saying, I had instigated the rest to object and complain; five of us were sent to gaol, where we remained two and a half months; I had served one and a half years before being sent to gaol; I was sent from gaol on board the

Lancier,

Lancier, in which I have come round. Of the five men, two returned to their work, one died, one is now ill, and I have come back; we were not beaten or otherwise ill-treated until we complained to the police; after that, Mr. Riviere took to beating the men. We did not get tobacco, or ghee, or fish; we got rice and salt, and one chittack of dholl; we were worked from gun-fire in the morning, got one hour at eight o'clock, and two hours at twelve, and were released at eight o'clock in the evening, this for six months; but in the sugar season we did not get our choottee (leave) at the regular intervals, but sometimes at four o'clock, sometimes at six. I was formerly a sepahie in the Indre ka pultun (52d N. I.); I am to be found in Chandney Bazar. I am very willing to go back to Mauritius, it is a beautiful country; but the Frenchmen are very bad. Give me food, and I am very willing to go.

Exhibit, No. 12.

BOODHOO KHAN (Boudoucan): vide Captain Finnis's Memorandum, dated 1 August 1838; returned from the Mauritius; arrived in Calcutta on board the Lancier, Captain Brown, 10 September 1838.

I am a Pathan, and my home is at Gyah; I left my home in the month of July (Assar) about two years ago; I left my home to seek service. I entered into the service of the rajah of Morbaugh, as a sepahie, for five rupees per month and food; I served him for a year, and received 15 rupees only in cash, but I got altogether nine cows, some worth three rupees, some four; I sent the cows to my home at Gyah. I have a brother in the Calcutta militia, named Sheer Khan. I got the cows for field work, not to eat. The rajah is a Hindoo; I knew that he gave cows to many. I quarrelled with the rajah's commissary about food, and took my discharge; besides, there was no fighting, or I would have remained. I met with a duffadar at Seersa, in the same district of Morbaugh; the duffadar's name is—I forget now; he had a beard; he took me to Beerbhul; the duffadar told me I was to get 14 rupees wages, of which seven would go for food, &c., and I would receive seven; and he told me the food I should get was 14 chittacks of rice, two chittacks dholl, half chittack ghee, half chittack salt, and two of salt fish. I should receive clothes every six months; that I should be five days on the voyage, should get there in a small boat (dinghee), and was to serve for six months at Meritch; I thought it was some island about five days' journey; this was at Seersa. When I arrived in Calcutta I learnt that I should have to go on board a big ship, and that I was to engage for five years. I did not know how far the island was, or what time would be expended in the passage until at sea, when the mate of the ship asked me if I knew how long I should be; I said no; he then told me I should be four months. I did not mind; I am a man, not a woman, and I am a Pathan's son; I had given my word, and I did not care if it were eight months; I would have gone if they had told me in Calcutta that I should be four months. I did come back; the ship put back from Kedgerree, and I remained 25 days in Calcutta, and then went on board another ship; I do not remember the name of the first ship nor of the second, nor do I remember the name of the captains. I first went on board the first time in the beginning of Assar (June), and we were 15 days in the big water, and we remained 25 days here, and went on board the second ship in Bhadur, the end of Bhadur (beginning of September) last year. I do not remember whether I was taken before Captain Birch; I was brought to this house (Captain Birch's) to have my arm punctured; I received my permit in another house; I was told by a very stout gentleman that I was to break stones and do field work; I forget now what else he said; I do not recollect whether he said anything about pay; he told me to behave well. It is very probable that I was told about food, but I forget now what was said; I was told I was to go to Meritch; I said I was very willing; there were a great many Coolies; I came after the rest; I know that every thing was told me in the place where I got my permit; there were 64 of us in the first ship; there were 10 Bengalees, 16 Khoothas (up-country men) and the rest all Dhangas. I received six months' wages, of which one month was cut for dustooree; one month went in plates and dishes; I gave six rupees to one man to buy me a box, a chhattah, a goorgoorie (umbrella and hoqqab) but he did me out of it; I gave six rupees to the duffadar for khorakee; I bought nine rupees' worth of clothes, and took with me seven rupees. All who went with me got six months, out of which the duffadars gave some three, some four rupees. There were two brothers, Jundeh Singh and Futteh Singh, who had nothing to do with the duffadars; they kept their own money and have got money now at the Mauritius. We had sufficient room on board; the captain was a good man; we got good food and water, and were well treated. We were two months on the voyage; all were contented on board; we were not in sloops at all; we landed from the first ship and went on board the second ship; in the interval we were taken to a house to the east of a baboo's house, I think the baboo was called Hurry Chutter. I was not confined; the rest were, that is, they were not allowed to go about as I was, for fear they should run away. On arrival at the Mauritius we were taken to the police, where we were told we were to receive daily 14 chittacks rice, two chittacks dholl, half chittack ghee, half chittack oil, half chittack fish. We then went to our master, Monsieur Lachiche, whose plantation is at Mappoo, about eight coss north of the city. I remained seven months in my situation of sirdar. I received clothes once, and food every day, as told at the police, with the

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exception of oil and fish, but did not get any pay; at the eighth month I was degraded from my sirdarship, and it was given to a Khalshee of the name of Buxoo, who understood French. I was desired to do Coolie work; I refused, and was put in the stocks; I ran away to the police sahib, who saw the marks of the stocks, and sent me back again, telling me I would get my sirdarship back, and he had written to that effect; my master told me to do Coolie work; I refused, and was again put in the stocks, after which I was desired to do carpenter's work; I said "Give me a musket and I will stand sentry; but I do not know carpenter's work;" upon this I was beaten and again put into the stocks; I broke the stocks and again ran to the police; I was again sent back; and after being beaten, stocked and confined, I tried my hand at carpenter's work; about 15 days after this some ghee was stolen from Futteh Singh by some Caffres; I saw them steal it, and I made another Caffre a witness, and said I would tell of it; when Futteh Singh came in the evening I told him of it; the Caffres accused me of the theft, and I was sent away by the police for that, not for disobeying my employers and instigating the Coolies under me to desert. Narayan was one of the Coolies under me, ask him. We commenced work at four o'clock in the morning, got half an hour at nine o'clock, again at 12 o'clock one half hour, and were released at six o'clock in the evening; but they would not let us off if it rained; at six o'clock we were made to store the sugar-cane until seven o'clock; our general work was not very hard. Mauritius is a good country (howa panee utcha), and the Coolies are all contented; I should not like to return,—why should I? I went as a sirdar, was degraded and put in the stocks, and have left the country—why should I return?

Exhibit, No. 14.

I HEREBY certify, that I have examined the Christopher Rawson, and am of opinion that the space allotted for the Coolies shipped in her for the Mauritius is sufficient for their accommodation.

Calcutta, 13 January 1838.

(signed) *F. W. Birch,*
Supt. Police.

Exhibit, No. 15. A. B. C.

Police Office, Mauritius, 1 August 1838.

THE Indian sirdar, named Boudoucan, in the service of M. Lachiche & Co. embarked by ship Lancier, Captain Brown, at his own and employer's request, for not obeying his employer's orders, and instigating the Coolies under his command to desert, as per document of Civil Commissary Riviere du Rempart.

(signed) *John Finnis,*
Chief Commissary of Police.

Police Office, Mauritius, 1 August 1838.

THE Indian sirdar, named Manique, in the service of Mr. J. B. Riviere, embarked for Calcutta by ship Lancier, Captain Brown, at his own and employer's request, for instigating the Coolies under his command to desert their employer's work, and insubordinate conduct, &c. towards his employer, as per documents of Civil Commissary Plain Wilkins.

(signed) *John Finnis,*
Chief Commissary of Police.

Police Office, Mauritius, 1 August 1838.

THE Indian female servant named Djoram, in the service of Dr. Boileau, embarked for Calcutta by ship Lancier, Captain Brown, at her own and employer's request, for not performing her engagement, being frequently in a state of va rancy, as per documents of the Civil Commissary of the district of Black River.

(signed) *John Finnis,*
Chief Commissary of Police.

Exhibit, No. 16.

To *D. McFarlan, Esq.,* Chief Magistrate.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22d instant, giving cover to Mr. Secretary Halliday's letter of the 20th instant, calling upon me to explain my proceedings with reference to a communication from Mr. C. K. Robison, which appeared in the Hurkaru newspaper of the 17th instant.

2. The best explanation I can give is a detail of facts as they occurred. On Tuesday morning, the 12th instant, Mr. Brown, a merchant of Calcutta, and a shipper of Coolies to the Mauritius, applied to me for the protection of the police in behalf of a party of Coolies who were about to proceed on board the Edward. (I will explain afterwards the nature of the protection thus afforded.) I sent chowkedars as requested, and in common course ought

ought to have had a report from them that evening, that the Coolies were on board and contented; indeed, I was waiting for this report, and the embarkation of another party shipped by Mr. Dowson, to go myself on board, and personally ascertain their being comfortable, and their continued willingness to proceed. I received no report that day; but on the following morning early, I questioned Mr. McCann, my deputy, on the subject, and learnt from him that the Coolies had shown unwillingness to go, and that the chowkedars were at the house where they lodged. I immediately directed the withdrawal of these men, and they were withdrawn at once. On the same day, Messrs. Clarke & Hare appeared before Mr. Robison, at the police, and happening to have gone there myself to speak to Mr. Robison, I was present when the representation of those gentlemen was made. Being much surprised at hearing it stated that the police chowkedars were still at the house, I immediately went and questioned Mr. McCann, who assured me they had been withdrawn in the morning according to my order. I shortly afterwards, in presence of Mr. McMahon and Mr. Brown, stated to Mr. Robison the facts of the case, and assured him that the chowkedars having been at the house at all was without my knowledge, so that Mr. Robison, before he made his communication to the newspaper, knew from my own mouth that I had not authorized or been aware of the employment of the police chowkedars in keeping the Coolies in confinement.

3. With regard to Mr. Robison's assertion, that Mr. McCann stated to him "that chowkedars had been at the house for nearly two days by desire of Captain Birch," I beg to enclose two notes in original to me from Mr. McCann; the first, marked No. 1, in reply to a note of mine, requesting to be informed what he had stated; and the other, marked No. 2, in reply to a second note of mine, asking if he had stated any thing from which Mr. Robison might have inferred that the police were at the house by my orders.

4. The number of police chowkedars employed by me to escort the Coolies to the ship, at Mr. Brown's request, was not more than three, a number quite inadequate to prevent the Coolies absconding on their way to the ship, had that been, which it is not, the object with which they were so employed. I reserve the explanation of that matter, however, for separate notice afterwards. I have here mentioned the number of police chowkedars sent to Mr. Brown, in order that it may at once be seen, that when Messrs. Clarke & Hare are stated, in the Hurkaru newspaper of the 15th instant, to have proceeded from the police to the house where the Coolies were, and found four brijabassis, armed with lattes, guarding the door, another upstairs, and again, that the door was closed on them on attempting to make their way out, it is not the police chowkedars, but other persons that are alluded to, employed without the knowledge of any authority; and not only does the number and description of the brijabassis exceed and differ from that of the chowkedars sent to Mr. Brown, but the latter had been already actually withdrawn, and therefore could not have been at the house when Messrs. Clarke & Hare liberated the Coolies. For the employment of such persons, whoever they might be, I am, of course, in no way responsible, nor called upon to account for it.

5. I believe the only remaining part of Mr. Robison's letter in the Hurkaru which I have to notice is his assertion, "that, by the police, the Coolies meant my house and my own person, and not the magistrate." This assertion is so vague and indistinct, that unless any instances are given, I am at a loss how to do more than directly negative Mr. Robison's statement. The comparison he institutes between the magistrates and myself, so much to my discredit, is wholly gratuitous, for I believe I can truly say, that no one is more earnestly anxious than I am to ascertain the real willingness of the Coolies to proceed to their destination; and every effort of which I am capable has been conscientiously exerted to explain to each individual engaged by the shippers the nature of their engagement, of the place to which they go, and every other particular which concerns their welfare; and instances have occurred of my liberating personally, even from on board ship, and after apparent willing embarkation, those who expressed their reluctance to proceed. It cannot escape observation, in considering Mr. Robison's letter, that he himself states these Coolies engaged by Mr. Brown to have made a complaint to him against one of their number, who had endeavoured to persuade them not to go, or in other words, to break their engagement, and that they did on that occasion express their willingness to proceed. Now, to me, it occurs as a natural solution of the alleged reluctance or feeling of insecurity on the part of some of the detained Coolies to go, as advised, to the police, that remembering their declaration of willingness to go, they were unwilling to appear before Mr. Robison in the light of complainants against those who were desirous to make them go, under some indistinct fear that he would oblige them to go on board. I do not mean to insinuate for one instant that Mr. Robison, or any other magistrate, would really have done so, and I should be sorry to imitate Mr. Robison in drawing calumnious inferences against any one; but, considering the above solution of the hesitation of the Coolies to go to the police as a very probable one, I have stated it.

6. I would now beg to explain why it is that police chowkedars are sent by me occasionally to escort Coolies on board their ships. I have before stated the number sent to Mr. Brown, and that number is rarely exceeded in any case, so that it is impossible to charge me with any desire or attempt to coerce the Coolies themselves to embark, the people sent by me being quite unable to effect that, if the Coolies were otherwise disposed. The fact is, that I have from time to time received complaints, on the part of the Coolies themselves, that the duffadars on the way to the ship have snatched away their bundles and other property which they are accustomed to carry on their backs to the place of embarkation. On this account, I have sent men for the sole purpose of overawing the

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duffadars, and just strong enough in force to seize and bring to me any one of those whom they should perceive molesting the Coolies. From the chowkedars so employed I have to receive reports of any complaints the Coolies may have to make, or if there are none, that they are contentedly on board. It is always after receiving such reports that either I myself go on board the ships, or some one whom I can trust is deputed by me, to satisfy myself that the Coolies are comfortable and willing to proceed. Those who even at that late period express their unwillingness are at once withdrawn (but instances of this have been rare). I mention this for the purpose of taking the opportunity of drawing the legitimate conclusion, that if all these means are taken by me to assist and to ascertain the satisfaction of the Coolies (which is known pretty generally to be the case), there can hardly be any unwillingness on their part to apply to me for redress, and that it is unjust to me to say that I either do or would allow my chowkedars to impress on the Coolies, or force them to go on board.

With the advice of some of my friends, I have already replied to the main accusation contained in Mr. Robison's letter. I beg to refer to the Harkaru of the 21st instant, and in conclusion to express my gratification at having this opportunity of explaining to government my conduct, in answer to the imputations so gratuitously cast upon it by that gentleman.

I am, &c.
(signed) *F. W. Birch.*

(A true copy.)
(signed) *F. W. Birch.*

To *F. W. Birch*, Esq., Superintendent Calcutta Police.

SIR,—In answer to your letter dated July 30th, regarding the accommodation and treatment of the Coolies on board the ship *Lord Auckland*, I beg to state, two-thirds of the between decks were given up to them, the other third having their water and part of their stores. It appeared quite sufficient for the number she took, which I believe was about 150. Captain Willie and the officers treated them with every kindness, and they appeared contented and happy. The only complaint I heard them make was, that they had not received the pay that had been promised them by the shippers.

I am, &c.
(signed) *Thomas Pitkin.*

Calcutta, 10 September 1838.

THE information and deposition of Gholam Ally, taken by me, David Macfarlan, one of Her Majesty's justices of the peace in and for the town of Calcutta, at Fort William, in Bengal, the 3d day of July 1838, who on oath saith: "I am a resident of Dowlutgunge, in Chupprah, and am a cultivator; I have a father and brothers at home; I have a brother here who is a syce in some service; I could not find him, but fell in with Bhowanny Singh, who asked me whether I would go to the Mauritius; I said I would; that was seven days ago; I lived in a place near Brijitalao provided by Bhowanny; he gave me food; five days ago a number of people, two gentlemen and a great multitude of people surrounded me, and two others here present, and inquired who had brought us, and to give up the name of the duffadar; I said I was willing to go; I was let go; they said they would give me 10 rupees to send me home."

(signed) *D. Macfarlan*, Chief Magistrate.

"Lukhun, name; I came for service; they took my latie."

"Lohun; I have no complaint; I was engaged at Hazareebaug."

The above are brought by Mr. Francis, of the Mauritius, looking for men for self and other planters, with the design of showing the state of the case in regard to them, and claiming justice for others of his men.

(signed) *D. Macfarlan*, Chief Magistrate.

Exhibit, No. 17.

To *T. Dickens*, Esq.

SIR,—I beg leave to submit, for the consideration of the committee, a few remarks for the better order and comfort of Coolies on board ship.

1st. That competent persons (not less than two) be appointed to survey every ship or vessel about to carry Coolies. They should be made acquainted with the number going, and should measure the place; each man should have at least two feet by six; many ships leave this port too much crowded. They should see the ship is furnished with windsails, one for each hatchway; life buoy over the stern; a boat always ready to lower down in case a man should fall overboard; many ships are very badly off in that respect. Places should be fixed to the outside of the fore-chain, one on each side, for the Coolies to go to, as all the transports had for the troops during the Rangoon war; it frequently occurs,

from

from bad weather or the ship pitching heavy, they cannot go to the head; I have known them to soil the decks and their berths below in a horrible manner. The surveyors should see there is a doctor, medicines, a proper place for them to cook in, and cooking utensils sufficient for the voyage. There was an instance, not long ago, where only one copper boiler for each caboose was furnished, and the bottoms of them were burned out just as the ship got to the Sandheads.

2d. A person (not a native) who understands the native language should go on board with the Coolies, and remain until the ship leaves Kedgerie in the S. W. monsoon, and Saugor in the N. E. monsoon. This person should see every thing put in order before he leaves, or have the ship detained until every thing is right, such as serving out the provisions, time for cooking, and to adjust all complaints.

3d. If the Coolies are shipped in Calcutta or Coolie Bazar, the ship should be obliged to take a steamer; if not, they should join at Diamond Harbour, and not above it, as serious accidents are likely to occur to ship and Coolies while dropping down the river. As soon as possible after the Coolies are received on board, they should be mustered, and divided into three watches of four hours each; some of the most active should be chosen from amongst them as overseers or sirdars, one to every 15 or 20 men; that they be accountable for the men under them at all times; one watch should be always on deck; there will be then more room for the other two below at night, and while on deck should be made to assist in working the ship, washing decks, &c.; having something to do will make them more healthy.

4th. The place allotted for the Coolies should be cleared out every morning after breakfast (weather permitting) by one of the watches; it should go by turns; during that operation, every thing should be sent on deck, and every soul but those employed cleaning; when the deck is reported clean, an officer belonging to the ship should go down and inspect every corner, and make his report to the captain, who should go once a week himself to see every thing in order. The place should be fumigated, or the chloride of lime sprinkled once a week at least.

Lastly, respecting the provisions, I have never heard any complaint; only when left to themselves, they will cheat each other; it is the character of all Bengalees.

I am, &c.

Calcutta, 17 October 1838.

(signed) J. Smart, Master Pilot.

Exhibit No. 18.—Mr. Dyer's Suggestions.

MAURITIUS 90 miles, in circumference. Population, about 140,000. Five hundred miles from Madagascar. Provisions very high.

1st. Considering the climate and heat from a rice cargo, a vessel with a clean 'twixt decks might carry one Coolie for every three tons measurement, and without cargo one for every two tons.

2d. Vessels should be bound to carry water at the rate of one gallon per man per day for the estimated length of the passage, which would ensure them three quarts per day each man, independent of leakage. Rice not less than three quarters of a seer per diem, with dholl, ghee, curry stuff, &c., as usually allowed to lascars.

3d. Medicines and medical attendance in proportion to the numbers. Ventilation and cleanliness to be attended to, and convenient seats of ease to be put up for them. A barber or two.

4th. Caboozes and cooking utensils complete, and spare sets of handies well tinned.

5th. Proper clothing supplied instead of blankets and red caps, which soon become dirty and full of vermin.

6th. It ought to be understood by the Coolies, and particularly by the Hindoos, that they must necessarily lose caste in going the voyage; also as to where they are going, length of passage, and to what pay, provisions and water they are entitled to.

To conclude: it will require a nautical man to report upon ships applying to carry Coolies as to their fitness, and on their embarking to survey them, and see, first, that they are all going of their free will; second, that their accommodations and provisions are good and sufficient for the voyage; and that government regulations be passed, binding commanders of vessels carrying Coolies, under a penalty, to adhere to them.

25 October 1838.

(signed) J. Dyer.

What security is there given of their being returned, after their term, should they wish it?

(Copy.)

To Captain Birch, Superintendent Calcutta Police, &c. &c.

Sir,—In answer to your letter dated 13th July 1838 (this day received), I without delay reply to your queries contained therein, "as to what I observed on board the bark *Whitby*, proceeding to Demerara with Coolies, with regard to their accommodation, treatment, health and general condition."

- Appendix.**
Accommodation. It was and is my opinion there were by far too many Coolies on board for the size of the vessel (350 tons), having I think from 270 to 280 on board, besides their crew, with a rice cargo underneath, particularly so, being on so long a voyage within the tropics the greater part of the time. Their arrangements for cooking were by no means sufficient for the number, neither were their seats of ease; their clothing was ill adapted, and ventilation insufficient for so many over so hot a cargo.
- Treatment.** I firmly believe from what I saw of the commander (Captain Swinton), that he did and would do all in his power to make them as comfortable as the scanty means put in his power enabled him to do. At my suggestion he procured interpreters, people to attend the sick and to cleanse their place. They received one meal a day (all they could cook); and their place was cleaned out and sprinkled with chloride of lime from once to twice a day. A portion of the Coolies were always on deck; in fact I could not keep the decks clear, and in one instance allowed the vessel to go on shore, for had I let go the anchor, many of them would have been killed or otherwise injured.
- Health.** They came on board in pretty good health, but before I left, there were upwards of 50 attacked with a kind of infectious or gaol fever, besides five of their own crew, there being only a slight partition between them; the number of sick were daily increasing from the confinement, heat of cargo, change of food, anxiety from fear of losing caste, &c. &c., with a general complaint of their being led away with false stories and promises, and in particular of being robbed of their advance while being brought to the ghaut for shipment in small parties, either late in the evening or early in the morning; and I firmly believe that amongst the 270 or 280 there was not 300 rupees amongst them, as on the bum-boats coming alongside they purchased dry food, such as parched gram, chuna, &c. &c., as long as they possibly could, in order to retain their caste. Their old relatives who came with them under a promise of going with them were torn away, on the ship leaving, by the peons belonging to the crimps.
- Such is the account of this Coolie shipment, who were generally composed of ignorant creatures from the interior, kidnapped or cajoled away for the benefit of a set of crimps who laugh at humanity for the sake of profit. In this ship alone, the captain, doctor and myself calculated that they had made upwards of 12,000 rupees on this shipment.
- Last year about this time I brought a ship Coolie-laden back to Calcutta, on my own report (the Lonach), an old leaky tub, deep laden with rice, filled up with Coolies, insured very high, and attempted to be put to sea in the height of the S. W. monsoon.
- I have made a similar statement to the Reverend D. Charles (one of the committee) and trust it will be put a stop to, or, if continued, be conducted in a humane and proper manner.

Calcutta, 20 August 1838.

I am, &c.
 (signed) J. Dyer, Master Pilot.

P. S.—Should you wish any more opinions, ask one of Mr. Locker, pilot for the Britannia last year, and of the Edward, now in port.

N. E. monsoons, fine cool weather!!!

Exhibit, No. 19.

REGULATIONS relative to the Coolies proceeding to Port Louis on the ship Indian Oak, R. Rayne, commander, 26 August 1836.

1. The Coolies are to be sent on deck every morning after breakfast, when the lower deck is to be swept and arranged by a gang, under the superintendence of the second mate, who will report to me when finished. Every Saturday the deck is to be well scraped and cleaned; the men having been arranged and berthed under their respective sirdars, the latter are to be held responsible for any filth or dirt in the place allotted to each gang.
2. The second officer is to go round the deck every night at sunset or earlier, and see that every thing is secure fore and aft, and report the same to me.
3. The Coolies are not to be ill-used; but if they will not obey orders, they must of course be compelled to do so, by mild measures, if possible; any improper conduct on their part is to be reported to me. A sentry is to be placed over the caboose and fore hatchway all day, to prevent any light or fire being taken below. No smoking is to be tolerated below for a moment.
4. Water is to be served out daily at the rate of five pints per man, and provisions as follows: rice, 14 chittacks; dhol, two ditto; mussalah, half ditto; salt, quarter ditto; mustard oil occasionally.
5. The Coolies are to be kept as quiet as possible, and no fighting or squabbling allowed to the detriment of good order or discipline of the crew. The officer of the watch will attend particularly to the hatches, tarpaulins and windsails in rainy weather, allowing as much ventilation as possible.

(A true copy.) (signed) R. Rayne.

MEMORANDUM.—26 June 1838, at sea, proceeding to Port Louis with Coolies.

To prevent any misconception in future as to the regulations with reference to the Coolies' provisions, it is to be understood that the officer of the morning watch is to take care that the cooking commences at or before six o'clock every morning, the cooks being provided with wood, water and rice in sufficient time; this may be easily effected by pumping off sufficient water, first for the bandaries' cooking, next for the Coolies' cooking, lastly for the cuddy; then complete the crew's allowance for drinking, &c., afterwards the Coolies. Edward Hickens is to have the assistance of a sepoy and two lascars, with the cassab when available, for the purpose of pumping off the water. A sirdar, also, and ten Coolies are to be mustered every morning at daylight to assist. The Coolies, with the exception of a gang to hoist water, and the one to pump off fresh water, are to be sent off the deck when the hands are turned out to wash decks, and are to remain below till they are finished; of course, the sirdars, cooks, &c. are not included in this prohibition. A lascar is to assist the Coolies' cooks, and urge them to do their duty.

Additional.—The weather being now moderate, a gang of 50 men is to be mustered under their sirdars every night for deck duty, and to be kept on deck until the decks are washed in the morning, when they are to bathe; and the whole of the Coolies are to be mustered every Sunday morning at seven o'clock, and to be allowed till nine o'clock, and to wash and bathe; an officer is to attend and see it carried into effect. The lower deck is to be sprinkled twice a week with chloride of lime.

(Copy.) (signed) R. Rayne.

MEMORANDUM.—3 July, proceeding to Port Louis.

CONSIDERABLE irregularity having prevailed latterly in the issuing of the Coolies' provisions, in future the second officer will be pleased to serve out the rice and dholl every evening, when the decks are cleared up, and the ghee at breakfast time every morning; the smaller articles, viz. tobacco, onions, chillies, &c. weekly, or as the sirdars may require them, always reporting to me when served out.

(Copy.) (signed) R. Rayne.

WITH respect to the Coolies embarked on the Indian Oak, I have generally adopted the following system:—

As early as possible after they were embarked, I mustered the whole of the Coolies on the upper deck, to ascertain that the number was correct, and that none were labouring under apparent disease; they were then told off in divisions, sometimes according to their castes, at others in gangs of five-and-twenty or fifty, as most convenient, and sirdars appointed to each division, either from those sent on board with the Coolies, or intelligent Coolies selected for the purpose. Cooks were also selected from each division, and the Coolies readily promised to pay them four annas each at the termination of the voyage. They were then walked down to the lower deck, and shown the place marked out and allotted to each division; arrangements were then made as early as possible for cooking their provisions, and the general regulations for the ship carried into effect, as per annexed memorandum, with the exception of water, which for the first few days I permitted free access to (having always a large quantity on board), gradually reducing them to the regulated allowance of five pints each man per day. After getting to sea, a division or gang was mustered every evening for deck duty, viz. to assist the lascars in working the ship, &c., by which means they were exercised, and those below had more room and freer circulation of air.

Every morning at ten o'clock the sick were mustered on the quarter deck, when I examined each individual, and directed the native doctor to administer such remedies as I considered necessary, entering each case, symptoms and remedies, in a book, for the purpose of future reference.

The Coolies were allowed to come on deck or return below at all times, without hinderance, except at those times when the decks were being cleaned, the ship tacked or about to come to anchor, when at such times their remaining on deck would have been hazardous, both to the safety of the ship and their own limbs or lives. I had always sufficient room below for every Coolie in rainy weather, which they always availed themselves of, for during a shower of rain one was seldom to be seen on deck.

I have always endeavoured to give them two meals per day, but had much difficulty in getting them to cook twice; they generally said they had only been accustomed to one on shore, and therefore preferred one large meal per day; for the first few days they ate very little, but after that, many of them enormously. I have never put them on an allowance of rice, but permitted the sirdars to take daily so much as they required; sometimes they exceeded their allowance, but generally took less. I have always recommended choorah and sugar to be sent for the Coolies in bad weather, for at such times they will not cook, consequently eat raw rice if there is no proper substitute for their regular meals. I apprehend that eating raw rice, scarcity of water and exposure to the weather, has been the primary cause of mortality on board of those ships where the Coolies have suffered from disease; for the principal error in embarking Coolies on board the Indian Oak has

Appendix.

been the want of a proper cooking place; and although I have on every occasion pointed out the necessity to the shippers, they have never been properly provided until last voyage, when for 259 Coolies I had two large cabooses, which enabled the cooks to prepare sufficient rice, &c. for all the Coolies at one time. With all the other arrangements of the shippers I have been satisfied, that is, so far as providing food, clothing and medicine, of which abundance was always sent on board. The only additional want that occurs to me just now, is a number of proper cooks (usually called boundaries on board of country ships), who ought to be engaged from that class of people, and, like the native doctors, sent for the trip, as it is with much difficulty the lascars can be spared to cook at first starting, at which time the Coolies are most at a loss, and most unwilling ever to cook their own food, and they are quite indifferent on board of ship as to the caste of the cook.

Calcutta, 30 October 1838.

(signed) R. Royle.

STATEMENT of Coolies embarked on board the ship Indian Oak, R. Royle, commander, for Port Louis, Mauritius, from the 23d August 1836 to 2d June 1838.

Date of Embarkation.	No. of Men.	No. of Women.	Total.	By whom Shipped.	No. of Days on Board.	No. of Deaths.	Remarks.
23 Aug. 1836 -	200	4	204	Henley & Dawson -	58	1	S. W. Monsoon.
18 Feb. 1837 -	205	2	207	- ditto - - -	42	6	placed in quarantine.
6 Dec. 1837 -	195	3	198	Mr. Gardyne - -	41	8	N. E. Monsoon.
2 June 1838 -	247	12	259	{ 200 Capt. Francis - } { 59 Hardman & Co. }	67 1/2	none	S. W. Monsoon.
Total Number embarked - -			868	Total Number died - -		9	

STATEMENT of Mortality on board on the Second Voyage.

March 5 - died - - Berrutt - - of general debility.
 9 - - - - - Mendeah - - inflammation of the lungs.
 13 - - - - - Govindsing - - wasting away; general debility.
 17 - - - - - Annenter - - inflammation of the bowels.
 22 - - - - - Pannow - - of a bilious attack.
 " - - - - - Poonsing - - general decay.

Calcutta, 30 October 1838.

(signed) R. Royle.

Exhibit, No. 20. A. R. C.

To J. H. Patton, Esq., Magistrate of the Zillah 24-Pergunnahs, Allipore.

SIR,—I beg respectfully to report that, in obedience to your orders of the 30th ultimo, I accompanied Mr. Dias with my son and the balagustee jemadar, in search of the kidnapers Rampershad and Shunker.

The witness Jameer first took us to the northern side of the village, in Bamunbustee; we there found the homesteads of Beekharee and Bhittoo; next to which a hut was pointed out as belonging to Shunker. We had been a few minutes at the place when some of the well-circumstanced villagers, having learnt the purport of our visit, surrounded us, and said that Bamunbustee had for the past two years been rendered a scene of slavery and extortion, and that the safety of the inhabitants had been endangered by the kidnapping that has been carried on by the duffadars. We were then shown the house of one Hoosainbux, from which two men were taken out; they seemed at first sight to be under the influence of some intoxication, and, being questioned by us, said they had been enticed away from their country under promise of employment in Calcutta; and that after they had been here some time, they were told that they would have to go to the Mauritius; that they objected to do so, and were answered with threats and ill treatment. We were then carried to a house, where we found some men with tin bangles soldered on to their wrists, and others with tin badges and seals, who also made the same statement, but pointed to three individuals, named Kateeloll Rugbar, Persusing and Rampaul, as their malicks or proprietors. The villagers told us that the traffic was carried on to a large extent, but, in consequence of the report of the arrest of two of the kidnapers having spread about the town, several of the duffadars had fled with the Coolies they intended for shipment. We were next told that a number of the Coolies were imprisoned in the 24-pergunnahs, and on arriving in the village, almost in the immediate south of Bamunbustee, a house was pointed out to us in which we saw several men and women, some badged and sealed, and others with tin bangles. On directing them to come out, one Narain appeared, stating that he had been at the expense of feeding the Coolies, some for a period of one month, and others for four months, and that he was in debt to the soory in the sum of 150 rupees, for spirits which had

had been supplied for consumption by the Coolies.* We then proceeded to Chukerbeer, where we traced the house of one Sreklissen Baboo, at the gate of which a burkendauze with a sabre and shield was on guard; we entered, and found ourselves in a court-yard about 40 or 50 feet square, running east and west. We found several furnaces; and some of the Coolies immediately called to us for protection, saying that they were prisoners. A woman ran from us crying, and saying she would not go on board ship; she ran into a building on the west of the court-yard, and disappeared behind a wall that intercepted the view from the spot where we stood and the interior of the building; the entrance to the interior was guarded by two burkendauzes; they stood in a verandah, round which were hung several swords, a spear, and some arrows. Having mustered our guard, we went in; we came to a second court-yard, about 15 or 18 feet square, the three sides of which had go-downs, with separate entrances about five feet long and four feet broad, some of the doors of which were firmly closed, and from others several men came out, crying, "Dohae sahibkee! Dohae companykee!" We had the whole of the doors thrown open, and we again found the woman who ran from us. She continued saying she would not go on board ship; and on our explaining to them that we had not come to ship them, but to release them, she, as well as the whole of the prisoners, said that they had been enticed away from their countries under promise of employment in Calcutta. Some inhabitants of Bancoora and Sonahmookhee said that a guard of 30 or 40 men, with badges and challans, apprehended them while they were cultivating their fields; that they represented themselves as government peons, and that Coolies were required for government work in Calcutta; that they were accordingly carried away immediately, and, on being brought down to Calcutta, were deposited at this house; that they were allowed to have no communication with strangers; that they satisfied the calls of nature attended by a couple of burkendauzes, and were peremptorily refused any liberty, such as to walk about the neighbourhood, or to go to the bazar; that some of the men were chastised almost daily with strokes from shoes, and that others were chastised in other ways. One of the go-downs was a moodee's shop, containing articles of native consumption. We found some arms in the go-down, and were informed that at night two burkendauzes kept watch in both the court-yards. We found two badges of the Alliance Insurance Company in this place, and several chalans of old date, attested by Kemp, Brothers & Co., which one of the burkendauzes claimed. The above is the report of the 29th ultimo; and on Saturday, the 30th ultimo, having obtained information that several men were also confined in Sealda, I and my son, accompanied by the jemadar and guard, proceeded to the place about six P. M. of that evening. A pukka building, about 25 feet long, having several doors to it, locked from inside, was pointed out to us as the place in which the men were kept. We did not gain admission by the doors, but went round by a passage to a tank on the south of it, from which we released several men, who also said they had been decoyed away from their countries and their families under a promise of situations in Calcutta, and that they were detained against their will, in the premises in which they were found, by the duffadars. A few men were also released from Bhowanipore, who, with the others, are in attendance before the court. The duffadars and those in their employ, 23 in number, are taken into custody; and the accompanying books, belonging to Beerbul, a sirdar residing at Bhowanipore, were made over to me by Dhunnujoy; his sircar. Beerbul was not present at this time.

I have, &c.

Allipore, 3 July 1838.

(signed)

John Floyd, Serjeant.

The contents of this report were sworn to by Serjeant Floyd on the 3d July 1838, before me,

(signed)

J. H. Patton, Magistrate.

(A true copy.)

(signed)

J. H. Patton, Magistrate.

To J. H. Patton, Esq.

SIR,—With reference to your memorandum, I beg most respectfully to state, that in the Coolie case 62 duffadars were apprehended, 36 of whom were released, and 26 punished, and 137 Coolies were liberated.

Our joint report on the subject is with the judge; I therefore beg leave to submit, to the best of my recollection, the particulars thereof. We found in one cell which we visited a number of men huddled together, some of them almost in a state of nudity, with a woman amongst them; they were in a state of intoxication, with exception of the woman, who continued crying out that she would not go on ship board, and endeavoured to make her escape; but understanding our intentions, both she and the poor men expressed their joy, stating that we had preserved them from death, &c., and gave the following account of the treatment they had experienced at the hands of their keepers; viz., that they had been daily beaten for not consenting to comply with the wishes of the duffadars; that intoxicating drugs were mixed with tobacco supplied them for smoking; not the least regard was paid to the difference of caste or sex, they having been obliged to eat together, sleep in one and the same place, and to discharge the necessities of nature in an exposed situation within the compound, in a drain having no outlet.

I beg to state that the place was in a most filthy condition, and the stench was excessive. The entrance of the premises was guarded by brijabassis; and on either side of the en-

Appendix.

trance, as well as in a go-down, there were arms, consisting of swords, spears, and bows and arrows, with a large number of latices. In another go-down there were rice, dholl, &c., and a person who had the appearance of a moodee distributed the same to the people who were confined. As we were about to quit the place with the liberated people, we were given to understand by them that there were some more people confined in the place; and seeing a barred door, we burst it open, when five men in the most miserable condition presented themselves to our view, their clothing consisting only of small lungoties, and who had amongst them only two coarse horse-blankets; they complained that the brijabassie had deprived them of their brass utensils; and on being desired to point out the articles, they did so.

The other Coolies whom we released were chiefly confined in huts, all well guarded. In every instance the poor men complained of having received very ill treatment, informing us that they were induced to leave their homes and families by the promises of the duffadars to procure them situations in Calcutta, &c. The people consisted of youths, women, and young and old men, some of them Mahomedans, but the greater part Hindoos of respectable castes; and, with few exceptions, tin or tape badges were affixed to their wrists and arms, secured with sealing wax. All their places of imprisonment were extremely close and unhealthy; no money whatever was found upon any of them; and I beg to add, that amongst the Coolies released by the girdarry pansways, there was a child of about five years old, an orphan.

Allipore, 15 November 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) J. Floyd.

MEMORANDUM.

ON the 6th July 1838, I proceeded to Sulkea, accompanied by the balagustee jemadar, having obtained information that several men were confined there. The Coolies, including men, women and children, 48 in number, were chiefly employed in cooking their victuals in temporary sheds, constructed apparently for their use, some on the side of the road, and others in the village of Belgachea. They were guarded by the duffadars; and all of them said they had been decoyed away from their countries and their friends under a promise of situations in Calcutta, and were detained against their will. The head man, Ramun Sirdar, being unwell at the time, was left at Sulkea, in charge of the police officers, with instructions to procure his attendance in court when called for, together with his books and some other documents; and 19 duffadars were taken into custody.

Allipore, 23 November 1838.

(signed) J. Floyd, senior.

Exhibit, No. 21.

Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Town of Calcutta.

The humble Petition of Hauniff Durzee;

SHEWETH,—That your petitioner's brother, Aumeer, about 18 years of age, who suddenly was concealed, and all the search your petitioner made for the last one month and half it could not be discovered; at last now your petitioner finds that his said brother, Aumeer, is unjustly and forcibly detained in the custody of one Mr. Dowson; your petitioner is surprised to see that while there are magistrates and the individuals to confine people in their own custody; your petitioner went several times to see him, but was driven away by the servants.

Therefore, your petitioner begs that you will kindly adopt such measure that his brother be released, through one of the police constables; in so doing,

Calcutta, 4 August 1838.

Your Petitioner will ever pray.

To Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Town of Calcutta.

The humble Petition of Lutchmun Bewah;

SHEWETH,—That your petitioner's son, Khyroo, and Moosdeen, her son-in-law, who had suddenly been concealed themselves, and all the search your petitioner made for the last one month and half it could not be discovered; at last now your petitioner finds that her said son and son-in-law is unjustly and forcibly detained in custody of one Mr. Dowson; your petitioner is surprised to see while there are magistrates and the individuals to confine people in their own custody; your petitioner went several times to see them, but was driven away by the servants. Therefore, your petitioner begs that your worship will kindly adopt such measure that the above-mentioned may be released from arrest, through one of the police constables; and in doing which act of favour,

Your Petitioner will ever pray.

D. Macfarlan, Esq., Head Magistrate.

SIR,—We beg to inform you that the three persons to whom allusion is made in petitions presented to you, are engaged by us to proceed to the Mauritius.

They have received respectively four months' advance of wages, at the rate of 12 rupees per

per month, and are now in the compound attached to our office; the Edward, the vessel in which they were originally embarked, having put back from sea leaky.

These men declared their willingness to proceed to the Mauritius in presence of Captain Birch, and (being of a superior class to the common Coolie labourers) understood perfectly what they were about.

We trust you will afford us protection under these unfortunate circumstances. Each Coolie costs us 100 rupees prior to embarkation, and we have already lost by desertion 30 out of a lot of 180 persons.

At the same time, should the friends of the three bricklayers be disposed to indemnify us, we are quite ready to give them up.

We have requested the constable to inspect the compound where the men now are, and he will report to you on it.

Your, &c.

(signed) *Henley, Dowson & Bestél.*

4 August.

Exhibit, No. 22.

W. F. Dowson, Esq.

Burdwan, the 11th December 1837.

DEAR Sir,—I have the pleasure to announce you my safe arrival here on Saturday night the 9th instant, and on Monday morning I visited Dr. Cheek, with your note to his address.

We had a long while suggestion in different points on the subject; but latterly he said that there is no possibility of succeeding in; however, I shall make an attempt of going to Bancoora and elsewhere, or wherever I hear that I can succeed, and try my best exertions. I shall to-morrow morning very early leave this, and proceed up to Bancoora, and on my arrival there will fully communicate to you the circumstances after few days past.

I doubt not that Dr. Cheek will also write to you on the subject. I have much pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 7th instant, with its enclosed, addressed to Captain Wilkinson, who is not at Nagpore, but informed by Dr. C. that he is at Burkaghur; should I find on my way or in the neighbouring places, I shall make a point of seeing him also.

I remain, &c.

(signed) *Mack. Carapiet.*

P. S.—Should you honour me with your kind favour, please to address me, to the care of Dr. Cheek.

Messrs. *Henley & Dowson*, Calcutta.

Burdwan, 11 December 1838.

DEAR Gents,—I am duly in receipt of your favour of the 30th November; and this day Mr. Carapiet has called on me; it would delight me to be of service, but as I told Mr. Henley, I do not think you will get any men in this part to engage with you, certainly none at Burdwan. I have advised Mr. Carapiet to go to Bancoora, and stay there till he gets orders from you; the most likely way for his succeeding would be to go to Captain Wilkinson, first trying at Hazareebaugh; this I have told Mr. C., and have told him to wait at Bancoora till he hears from me; do therefore give me a reply as soon as possible, so that he may be informed, and not throw away his time and money; my ideas are, no man will succeed on the object you have in view. Mr. C. wants a little money; am I authorized by you to pay him any?

Yours, &c.

(signed) *G. M. Cheek.*

To Mr. *Carapiet*, Kissenpore.

SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive your note. I have written to my writer, Pykajee, to request him to explain to the Coolies willing to take service, that they will be employed in an island belonging to his Majesty the King of the French, to which neither the authority of the Company nor British Government extend. I have also told Pykajee that you may take possession of the small bungalow in my compound. I am sorry that I am not at home to give you any advice.

Yours, &c.

(signed) *J. Wilkinson.*

Camp, Chimbassah, 21 January 1836.

W. F. Dowson, Esq.

Dear Sir,

Hazareebaugh, 2 February 1838.

I THINK it my duty to inform you that I have now been wandering several towns and villages, from Bancoora up to Kissenpore, where Captain Wilkinson resides, and from thence to different other villages, that is to say, Baujapore, Khuttungah, Nurvallee, Lotardagah, Jheeko, &c., and many other places on my way, halting every where for a day or two, and visiting personally and explaining to the Coolies respecting as to their service up

Appendix.

to thus far, and tried my utmost, and served with integrity and fidelity, according to your directions; but I extremely regret and feel much ashamed to say, sir, that all my labours and sufferings were in vain and fruitless. However, I do not think advisable of proceeding any where further.

On my arrival at Kissenpore, not finding Captain Wilkinson, and given to understand from his writer, named Pykajee, that he is on circuit at Chinbassah, which is about eight days' way off from Kissenpore, and that he will not return before the middle of February instant; and also he is appointed the resident of Burrah Naugpore; thought proper and did write to him, enclosing therein the recommendatory note from Mr. Abercrombie, to which his reply I beg to enclose herein; and also did act accordingly, but took no effect. However, sir, I shall leave this for Calcutta, with your permission, and I only patiently wait here, as soon as I can find a cheapest conveyance, which I hope to meet with in the course of two or three days; when, on my arrival, I shall be able to state the whole circumstances fully.

I remain, &c.

(signed) Mack. Carapiet.

Exhibit No. 23.

From R. Scott, Esq., of Glendon.

MEMORANDUM regarding the Import of Hill Dhangas of Bengal into New South Wales, showing their Pay and Allowances, and the Duties required of them.

It is desirable that they come in families, and as young as possible (say, the men not to exceed 30), and to have but few children, that their passage may be less expensive.

It is proposed to hire them under indentures for five years.

That they be supplied with sufficient food, lodging and clothing, at the master's expense, and that each family have five rupees per month besides as wages. Women when employed to have two-eight rupees per month, and half rations.

That this ration consist of nine pounds second flour or 12 pounds wheat, seven pounds meat, two ounces salt and two ounces tobacco per week for each man and woman, and half the allowance for children under 12; and above that age they will be expected to work for their full ration, and enter into service, as may be agreed upon; but the master not to be bound to supply them gratis with any thing after that age. One cow will be allowed for each family.

Their Clothing to consist of—One long pea jacket for the winter; two small cotton jackets for the summer; two lascars' caps; two dhooties of cotton, three quarters wide and three yards long; three pair of shoes.

Bedding.—Each man and woman to be supplied with a bed-tick and two good blankets every two years. Those to be the property of the master, and to be paid for if wilfully or negligently destroyed or lost.

Every two children in like manner to have one bed-tick and two blankets; bed places will also be made raised from the ground.

Lodging.—A distinct and separate cottage will be allowed to each family 20X20 feet, divided into three rooms, and one fire-place.

Attached to each cottage will be a separate garden.

Cooking Utensils.—Two iron pots for each cottage; one tin plate; each person's knives.

Employment.—As one mode of employment, it is proposed to make them a community of shepherds.

Each flock to have one shepherd to tend them by day, and every three flocks to have one watchman to take care of the sheep by night, when they are to be penned up with hurdles.

These three flocks form what is called a station, consisting of four men.

To every three stations (which are placed as nearly as possible in an equilateral triangle) there is one overseer.

And again, there is a superior man who has charge of the whole concern, called superintendent.

Each flock may be said to consist of 400 sheep. Suppose then a settler to have 36 flocks, 14,400 sheep; say out of these there will always be 4,000 prime breeding ewes; he will require—

1 Superintendent.
4 Overseers.
12 Watchmen.
36 Shepherds.
53 Men in all.

Note.—The overseer and watchmen had better perhaps be selected from among themselves.

Shepherd.—The shepherd's duty is to tend his flock from sunrise to sunset, during the whole of which time he must be at home, and never once lose sight of his flock. At night he tends them to the pens, into which the watchman counts them, and, if all right, receives them into his charge for the night; and in the morning the shepherd counts his sheep out of the pen, and, receiving them as right, becomes responsible for them during the day. If the sheep are not right, mention must be made of it at the time of delivery, and the objection taken.

Watchman.

Watchman.—The watchman's duty consists in taking care of the three flocks at night as above described, and in the morning shifting his hurdles to the adjacent ground, that the sheep may have a fresh bed every night (this does not occupy more than two hours). He also acts in some measure as an overseer, and is held responsible, from the regularity of his station, that the shepherds go out by times in the morning and do not come home too early in the evening, and that they do not come to the pens or village during the day, which he must instantly report to his overseer. So also any other irregularity or misconduct he may observe among the people of his station.

Overseer.—The overseer's duty is to be constantly on the alert, to see that the watchmen and shepherds of the three stations under his charge are all attending to their respective duties. Every morning and evening he must count all the sheep of the station he visits, so that every day he counts the sheep of the two stations, and he must so arrange his visits that he counts the stations sometimes in the morning and sometimes in the evening, but irregularly, so that the men under him may never be acquainted with his movements.

Between the hour of counting in the morning and the evening, he must be constantly moving about among the shepherds, to see that they are on their respective pastures, and attending properly to their sheep. He ought to see every flock every day upon their pastures, and if it is suspected the shepherd is inattentive, two or three times.

Indeed the great part of the well-being of the sheep depends upon the activity of the overseer; and to enable him to do his duty more effectually, he is allowed a horse. He must inspect every sheep that dies or is injured, and he must make a weekly return of all the sheep under his charge to the superintendent.

The overseers have also the charge of the rations and their distribution.

The overseer will live at one of the three stations under his charge.

Women.—It has before been stated that to each cottage a garden will be attached; their gardens are to be cultivated by the women and children for the production of vegetables for themselves, and green food for their cows, and also for the lambs and ewes that are weak and sickly at the weaning time; they will also be intrusted with cows and calves, for whose care there will be a proper yard erected.

During the lambing season the women will have to take care of the ewes which are left at home to wean, for which purpose a proper inclosure will be provided close to their cottage; indeed during the lambing season every exertion must be made.

Rewards.—Having stated the pay and allowance to be given to the Dhangas, and the duties required of each, I will proceed to describe a system of rewards I propose to establish in order to induce good conduct. But it must be distinctly understood, that as they emanate from me as a free gift, to which they are not entitled by agreement, so also shall it be in my power to withhold a part or the whole, at my own option, as I think their conduct may deserve.

1st. I propose to give 100 rupees to each family upon the expiration of their term, provided their conduct has been exemplary during their whole service.

2d. And as interim inducement to exertion, I will give half a rupee for every lamb reared and weaned above 80 from 100 ewes; one-half of the rewards to go to the shepherd, one-quarter to the watchman, and one-quarter to the overseer.

3d. At the end of each year an account of all the lambs reared shall be made out, and a reward of 20 rupees shall be given to the flock wherein the largest proportion of lambs shall have been reared and weaned; to the second flock, 10; to the third flock, five; and to the fourth flock, two and a half rupees, To be divided in the same manner as No. 2.

4th. And, in order that the exertion of the women should not go unrewarded, I will give to the station where the greatest proportion of lambs has been reared the sum of 50 rupees; to the second station, 25; to the third station, 15; to the fourth station, 10; to the fifth station, seven and a half; and to the sixth station, five rupees.

5th. The dry flocks have not yet been considered; and that they also may have rewards for them and their exertions I will give to the flock in the best condition 10 rupees.

When there are only two at the same station, and if there be three dry flocks at one station, I will give the second best flock five rupees; three-fourths to go to the shepherd, one-eighth to the watchman, and one-eighth to the overseer.

MEMORANDUM.

Amount of Rewards for Exertion.—2. There are 400 breeding ewes; out of these 80 possess per cent. of lambs are required, and 20 per cent. remain for rewards to shepherds; therefore, 4,000 at 20 per cent. 800 lambs at $\frac{1}{4}$ Re. - - - - - Rs. 400

3. Rewards to flocks for lambs	-	-	-	-	1st	-	-	-	20
"	"	-	-	-	2d	-	-	-	10
"	"	-	-	-	3d	-	-	-	5
"	"	-	-	-	4th	-	-	-	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

37 $\frac{1}{2}$

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4. To the women for flocks for lambs	-	-	-	-	1st	-	-	Rs. 50
"	"	-	-	-	2d	-	-	25
"	"	-	-	-	3d	-	-	15
"	"	-	-	-	4th	-	-	10
"	"	-	-	-	5th	-	-	7½
"	"	-	-	-	6th	-	-	5
								112½
					Rewards per annum	-	-	Rs. 550
					Rewards for continued good conduct, 100 rupees for five years, 20 rupees per annum; and as there are 52 families, at 20 rupees	-	-	1,040
					Total Rewards	-	-	Rs. 1,590

or about thirty and a half rupees every year for each family, or 50 per cent. advance on their wages.

There is not in the whole of New South Wales a more respectable individual than Mr. Scott. The property of the family, of which he is the head, is very considerable indeed as regards the extent of their estates, and the number and condition of their flocks and cattle of all kinds, and all of the very best. I will not say there is no other concern as efficiently conducted; but from all I have seen and heard in that country, I am quite certain there is no estate in the colony managed with more careful regularity than those belonging to the Glendon family, and their prosperity is in proportion.

The family is well known to many of the highest respectability in the three Indian presidencies, and also in England and Scotland.

(signed) *J. Mackay.*

Exhibit, No. 24.

WE hereby certify and declare, that the Coolie passengers on board the Christopher Rawson, on her last voyage to the Mauritius, were not beaten or mal-treated by the officers or crew of the vessel; that two punishments occurred during the passage, by order of Captain Edwards, for offences committed by two of the Coolies. That they received their rations of food daily, the quantity being abundant, and that water was served out in the proportion of five pints to each man, during the early part of the voyage, but subsequently reduced to four, in consequence of several of the casks having been attacked by cock-roaches, and found leaky. We further declare, that the Coolies were allowed to pass up and down the hatchway at their pleasure; that during both day and night, a certain proportion remained on deck (generally one-half), and this during the voyage, with two or three exceptions, when bad weather rendered it necessary to keep the whole below.

J. H. Lee, Chief Mate.

(Witness)

(signed)

Thomas Tribe, Second Officer.

(signed) *W. Dowell.*

Christopher Rawson, 24 September 1838.

CERTIFIED, that the bark Christopher Rawson, Captain C. Edwards, was piloted by me from Calcutta to sea, in the month of January last, and that I remained on board several days, during which time the Coolie passengers appeared happy and comfortable, and to the best of my knowledge none were punished during my stay on board of the said ship.

(signed)

Ed. Bartlett,

Calcutta, 24 September 1838.

Master, h. c. m.

CERTIFIED, that I have the lead down in the barque Christopher Rawson; and to my belief the Coolies were treated in a comfortable manner, having plenty to eat and drink when I left.

(signed)

T. Nelson.

Captain *S. Morton,*

DEAR Sir,—Having embarked on board the bark Edward, under your command, the number of 190 Indian labourers, destined for our friends in the Mauritius, we have now to recommend them to your care and protection, satisfied that no efforts will be wanting on your part to conduce to their happiness and comfort while passengers on board your vessel.

We have shipped a sufficient quantity of provisions and water for 200 men for the projected voyage; and a native doctor, with certificates of capacity, accompanies the men, having in his charge the usual supply of medicines, as per indent of Dr. Stewart, h. c. s., who has examined and passed them.

The

The men are distinguished from those shipped by Mr. Brown by a tin armet, marked H. D. and B. and numbered. In the event of any casualties, you will be good enough to make a memorandum of this number, in order that no difficulties may arise at the Mauritius as to who should support the loss.

The Coolies are consigned to Messrs. Malvey, Fouque & Desenne, and Messrs. Bousquet & Autard. You will receive from the former gentlemen (according to instructions now forwarded to them) the sum of 400 Company's rupees, as a gratuity for your services on production of certificates stating that the Coolie passengers have been landed in good condition.

We are satisfied that these people (now confided to your charge) will be treated with kindness and humanity by you and your officers, and that every allowance will be made for them in so novel a situation.

Wishing you a safe and pleasant passage,

Believe us, &c.

5 July 1838.

(signed) *Henley, Dowson, & Bestel.*

Clothing supplied to each Coolie.—Two blankets, two dhooties, one red cap, one jacket, one wooden bowl, one brass cooking vessel for four persons.

It would perhaps be as well to collect the jackets and one dhootie from each, so that they may be disembarked in a more cleanly state.

Daily rations of food.—14 chittacks * of rice, two ditto of dhol, half ditto of ghee, quarter ditto of oil, half ditto of chillies and curry stuff, quarter ditto of salt, and five pints of water. * The chittack above two ounces.

(A true copy.) (signed) *W. Dowson.*

COMMUNICATIONS from GOVERNMENT to the COMMITTEE.

No. 1.

(No. 873.)

To *T. Dickens, Esq., Rev. James Charles, W. Dowson, Esq., Major Archer, Russomoy Dutt, Esq., and J. P. Grant, Esq.*

GENTLEMEN,—The attention of the Government of India and of the Deputy-governor of Bengal having been drawn to the circumstances under which Indian labourers are procured to engage for service in sugar-producing and other of Her Majesty's colonies, it has been determined to make the alleged abuses of the existing system the subject of specific investigation, with a view to their correction as far as may be found practicable. The Honourable the Deputy-governor has accordingly selected you, as persons taking an interest in the question, to be a committee for the purpose stated; and I am directed to transmit to you copies of representations which have been addressed to government, the one soliciting an entire discontinuance of the permission for labourers to embark under engagements to serve in H. M. colonies, and the other deprecating such an interference with the authority of government to stop the practice. Letters have been addressed to the Governors of the Mauritius and to other governments, suggesting the appointment of local committees to investigate on the spot the condition and treatment of the labourers at the places of their destination. Your inquiries, therefore, should be chiefly directed to the nature and extent of the abuses alleged to exist in this presidency, and when satisfied on this point, I am directed to request that you will advise government as to the best means of applying a remedy, and preventing the recurrence of similar abuses. You will of course obtain from the superintendent of police and magistrates of Calcutta, and likewise from the magistrates in the interior, any information which the records and correspondence of their respective offices may furnish; and his Honor thinks that it may be useful that you should examine any returned labourers who may be forthcoming in Calcutta upon all points connected with their engagement and treatment.

General Department.

2. In order to make you acquainted with the views entertained by the government on the subject of the practice of exporting labourers, I am directed to transmit copy of a resolution recently passed on the 11th ultimo, upon the occasion of the Deputy-governor of Bengal having refused to allow permits to be granted for exportation to any colony of the West Indies, pending the inquiry about to be instituted by the Parliament of England into that branch of the subject.

I am, &c.

(signed) *H. T. Prinsep,*

Fort William, the 1st August 1838.

Secy to the Gov^t of Bengal.

Appendix.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT. The 11th July 1838.

READ letter from the secretary to the government of Bengal, dated the 6th June, enclosing a letter from the superintendent of Indian labourers, and the copy of a reply written to that officer, declining to grant further passes for the exportation of Coolies to the West Indies.

Read a minute by the Honourable W. W. Bird, Esq., dated the 2d instant, and concurred in by the Honourable Colonel W. Morison, c. b.

RESOLUTION.—The Honourable the President in Council entirely approves the orders passed by the Deputy-governor of Bengal for suspending the grant of permits for the further transportation of Indian labourers to the West Indies, pending the inquiry about to be instituted by the Legislature of Great Britain into the expediency of encouraging the emigration of Indian labourers to those colonies.

2. The President in Council is further of opinion, that the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay should be desired similarly to refuse permits for the embarkation of Indian labourers on vessels clearing out for any port in the West Indies. With reference, however, to circumstances which have recently transpired, and which afford ground for apprehending that the methods adopted for procuring labourers to engage for service in colonies and places beyond sea are productive of serious frauds, and have led to much oppression, and that the system is a source of injury and abuse rather than of benefit to the labourers in the form in which it is at present carried on, the President in Council is of opinion that committees should be formed at each presidency, to ascertain the nature and extent of the abuses which have prevailed, and to advise government as to the best means of preventing their recurrence.

3. His Honor in Council further is of opinion, that it may advantageously be suggested to his Excellency the Governor of Mauritius, and to the governments of any other colonies to which Indian labourers have been extensively carried, to appoint committees, including one or more Indian civil or military servants, or other persons residing there, who may be able to communicate personally with the labourers, in order to ascertain whether they are contented with their lot, and satisfied with the manner in which the contract with them has in general been fulfilled by the parties to whom they have been consigned, and for whom their services were engaged; also specifically to report on the facilities afforded for return when upon expiry of the contract, or from the labourers' inability to work through sickness, accident or any other cause, they may be entitled to a free passage back to India.

4. It also appears to the President in Council that the ascertainment of the treatment of the labourers on board ship is a part of the subject that belongs to the authorities at the ports of destination, and that the attention of the governments of the colonies to which labourers have been conveyed may fitly be requested to the expediency of instructing any local committee that may be appointed to inquire into that branch of the subject.

5. Copies of the rules established for the grant of permits in Bengal should be furnished to all the committees in aid of their consideration of the subject.

(A true copy.)

(signed) H. T. Prinsep.

Sec^y to the Gov. of Bengal.

Act No. V. of 1837,

Passed by the Right honourable the Governor-general of India in Council,
on the 1st May 1837.

1. It is hereby enacted, that from the 1st day of June next, no native of India, except as hereinafter excepted, who makes a contract of service to be performed without the said territories, shall be received, in pursuance of such contract, on board of any vessel at any place within the territories subject to the presidency of Fort William, in Bengal, without an order from the Governor of the said presidency, or a permit from an officer authorized by the Governor of the said presidency, to act in that behalf.

2. And it is hereby enacted, that before any such permit shall be granted by any such officer, such native, and also the person with whom such native has contracted, or an authorized agent of that person, shall personally appear before that officer, and shall exhibit a memorandum of the contract (written both in English and in the mother tongue of such native, or in some language understood by such native), which memorandum shall specify the nature, the term and the wages of the service as settled by the contract.

3. And it is hereby enacted, that no such permit shall be granted unless the contract of service shall be made determinable on the expiration of one term of not more than five years, to be reckoned from the date of the contract, or of successive terms, none of which shall exceed five years, and unless such contract shall contain a stipulation that such native shall be conveyed back to the port at which he is embarked, free of charge to himself at the expiration of his service.

4. And it is hereby enacted, that it shall be lawful for the said officer to examine the said native, and the person with whom that native has contracted, or the agent of that person, touching the terms of the contract, and shall cause those terms to be distinctly explained to the said native.

5. And

5. And it is hereby enacted, that if the said officer shall be satisfied that the said native fully understands the terms of the contract, and is desirous to fulfil the same, the said officer shall make and sign on the back of the written memorandum aforesaid, a note to the effect that the said written memorandum has been inspected by him the said officer; and such note shall be a permit authorizing the said native to embark; and the memorandum of contract, with the permit so written thereupon, shall be delivered to the native, to be kept by him during his service.

6. And it is hereby enacted, that if application is made for permits authorizing more than twenty natives to embark on board of any one vessel, it shall be lawful for the officer aforesaid to summon the person in charge of that vessel, and to examine that person as to the accommodations, food and medical attendance provided for such natives on board of that vessel, and to inspect that vessel, or by an order under his hand to depute any other person to inspect the same.

7. And it is hereby enacted, that the officer aforesaid shall not grant permits authorizing a greater number of natives than twenty to embark on board of any one vessel, unless he is satisfied that the accommodations, food and medical attendance provided for such natives on board of that vessel will be sufficient for their health.

8. And it is hereby enacted, that the officer aforesaid shall keep a register of all natives to whom he shall grant such permits as aforesaid, which register shall specify their names, the periods of the contracts, the dates of the permits, the places of their destination, and the vessel on board of which they were permitted to embark.

9. And it is hereby enacted, that for every such permit it shall be lawful for the officer aforesaid to require that a fee not exceeding one rupee shall be paid by the person with whom the native to whom the permit relates has contracted, or by the authorized agent of that person.

10. And it is hereby enacted, that whoever, being in charge of any vessel at any place within the territories subject to the presidency of Fort William, in Bengal, shall knowingly suffer any such native as is aforesaid to embark on board of that vessel in pursuance of any such contract as is aforesaid, without either an order from the Governor of the said presidency, or such a permit as is aforesaid, being produced to him by the native so embarking, shall, on conviction thereof before a magistrate, be punished with a fine not exceeding two hundred rupees for every native so suffered to embark; and in default of payment of such fine, with imprisonment for a term not exceeding thirty days for every native so suffered to embark.

11. Provided always, that nothing in this Act contained shall be taken to apply to any native seaman who shall embark on board of any vessel in pursuance of a contract to navigate that vessel, or to any person who shall embark as a menial servant.

Act No. XXXII. of 1837,

Passed by the Honourable the President of the Council of India in Council, on the 20th November 1837.

1. It is hereby enacted, that from the 15th day of December 1837, Act No. V. of 1837 be repealed.

2. And it is hereby enacted, that from the said day no native of India, except as hereinafter excepted, who makes a contract of service to be performed without the territories of the East India Company, shall embark, in pursuance of such contract, on board of any vessel, at any place within the said territories, without an order from the government of the presidency to which such place may belong, or a permit from an officer authorized to act in that behalf by the Governor in Council of the presidency, if there be a council of that presidency, but if there be no council, then by the Governor thereof.

3. And it is hereby enacted, that before any such permit shall be granted by any such officer, such native, and also the person with whom such native has contracted, or an authorized agent of that person, shall personally appear before that officer, and shall exhibit a memorandum of the contract, written both in English and in the mother tongue of such native, which memorandum shall specify the nature, the term and the wages of the services as settled by the contract.

4. And it is hereby enacted, that no such permit shall be granted unless the contract of service shall be made determinable on the expiration of one term of not more than five years, to be reckoned from the date of the contract, or of successive terms, none of which shall exceed five years; and unless such contract shall contain a stipulation that such native shall be conveyed back to the port at which he is embarked, free of charge to himself, at the expiration of his service.

5. And it is hereby enacted, that it shall be lawful for the said officer to examine the said native, and the person with whom that person has contracted, or the agent of that person, touching the terms of the contract; and shall cause those terms to be distinctly explained to the said native.

6. And it is hereby enacted, that if the said officer shall be satisfied that the said native fully understands the terms of the contract, and is desirous to fulfil the same, the said officer shall make and sign on the back of the written memorandum aforesaid, a note to the effect that the said written memorandum has been inspected by him the said officer.

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and such note shall be a permit authorizing the said native to embark; and the memorandum of contract, with the permit so written thereupon, shall be delivered to the native, to be kept by him during his service.

7. And it is hereby enacted, that if application is made for permits, authorizing more than twenty natives to embark on board of any one vessel, it shall be lawful for the officer aforesaid to summon the person in charge of that vessel, and to examine that person as to the accommodations, food and medical attendance provided for such natives on board of that vessel, and to inspect that vessel, or, by an order under his hand, to depute any other person to inspect the same.

8. And it is hereby enacted, that the officer aforesaid shall not grant permits authorizing a greater number of natives than twenty to embark on board of any one vessel, unless he is satisfied that the accommodations, food and medical attendance provided for such natives on board of that vessel will be sufficient for their health.

9. And it is hereby enacted, that the officer aforesaid shall keep a register of all natives to whom he shall grant such permits as aforesaid, which register shall specify their names, the periods of the contracts, the dates of the permits, the places of their destination, and the vessel on board of which they are permitted to embark, and also the names of the parties with whom the contracts are made, and of the agents of such parties as appear by agents, and of the masters of the vessels on which such natives are permitted to embark.

10. And it is hereby enacted, that for every such permit it shall be lawful for the officer aforesaid to require that a fee, not exceeding one rupee, shall be paid by the person with whom the native to whom the permit relates has contracted, or by the authorized agent of that person.

11. And it is hereby enacted, that whoever, being in charge of any vessel at any place within the territories of the East India Company, shall knowingly suffer any such native as is aforesaid to embark on board of that vessel in pursuance of any such contract as is aforesaid without either an order from the government of the presidency to which such place may belong, or such a permit as is aforesaid being produced to him by the native so embarking, shall, on conviction thereof before a magistrate, be punished with a fine not exceeding two hundred rupees for every native so suffered to embark, and in default of payment of such fine, with imprisonment for a term not exceeding thirty days, for every native so suffered to embark.

12. Provided always, that nothing in this Act contained shall be taken to apply to any native seaman who shall embark on board of any vessel in pursuance of a contract to navigate that vessel, or to any person who shall embark as a menial servant.

H. T. Prinsep, Esq., Secretary to Government.

Calcutta, 31 July 1838.

SIR,—We have the honour to enclose a memorial, addressed to the President of the Council, and request you will be pleased to submit it to his Honor at the earliest opportunity.

We are, &c.

(signed) *Henley, Dowson & Bestel,*
For the memorialists.

To the Honourable the President of the Council of India in Council.

The respectful representation of the Merchants of Calcutta, who are connected with the trade of the Mauritius.

May it please your Honor in Council,

We, the merchants, agents and others, resident in Calcutta, who are connected with the trade of the Isle of France, and who are deeply interested in the agricultural prosperity of that island, which prosperity mainly, if not entirely, depends on the supply of labourers from the continent of India, take the liberty to address your Honor in Council in opposition to the object of a representation agreed to by certain of our fellow-citizens, at a meeting held at the town-hall on Tuesday the 10th instant, which representation is to be addressed to the government of India, and the object of which representation is to induce your Honor in Council to put an entire stop to the emigration of free labourers from this port to the Mauritius, pending an inquiry into the system on which such emigration is said to be conducted.

We beg most respectfully and earnestly to represent, that the suspension of the trade in free labour required by the petitioners to whom we refer, would not only be a prejudgment of the case, at variance with the principle and practice of British justice, but a sure means of entailing a ruinous degree of detriment on the Mauritius sugar trade, of consequently injuring the commercial prospects of that colony to a most alarming and, perhaps, irredeemable extent, and would be in direct counteraction of the orders in council, as well as a condemnation, without a hearing, of a most respectable body of merchants, and a slur upon the executive character of the government of the island.

If

If any case whatever had been made out (even by the laxer description of proof, which may suffice as a ground for petitionary proceedings on the part of a public meeting) against the planters and others of the Mauritius who are directly connected with the free Coolie trade, we should have been as humanely ready as any other class of the citizens to pray that a stop might be summarily put to transactions of a nature discreditable to the British mercantile character, and opposed to the feelings of true philanthropy; but there was not the shadow of such a case made apparent on the above alluded to occasion, although it is impossible to conceive that, had the imputed conduct been provable at all, it would have, to some extent at least, been established on an occasion where no material opposition could be made, where the almost universal feeling was hostile to the planters, and where it may be presumed that no exertion had been spared to obtain a knowledge of whatever condemnatory circumstances might have at any time occurred. We venture to assert, that there is no record of a public body addressing a government on an important subject so completely unprovided with facts in support of their views as were the town-hall assembly; nor of one who relied so entirely for making good their case upon mere idle assumption and appeals to the feelings, concerning a state of things which has ceased to have existence.

We respectfully submit to your Honor in Council that nothing can be more unjust in assertion, or more forced in argument, than the analogy said to subsist between the now abolished slave trade and the free labour market established between those we represent and the natives of this country; the practice and principles of the former we need not stop to describe; those of the latter are, the employment of such labourers as shall voluntarily contract to serve on condition of a most liberal rate of money payment, an abundant supply of wholesome food, a degree of daily labour far within the physical powers of any race of men, kind personal treatment, and a free passage back to their own country when their time of service has expired. These are conditions superior, we believe, to those enjoyed by the labouring classes in other parts of the world; and we assert, without fear of contradiction, that they are faithfully acted up to by the employers on the island, and that the hired parties there are well satisfied with their bargain.

If there be truth in the allegations which have been made concerning the mal-treatment here of certain natives by their own countrymen, who inveigle them into crimp houses, in order to make a profit of them, by false pretences and other improper means, we respectfully submit that no excuse is thereby formed for the summary suspension of the free labour trade, any more than the partial abuses of any system can be pronounced good grounds for its destruction, unless (which is not here the case) the abuses are not remediable by any other means. It is obviously the duty of government to adopt such measures as shall improve their native subjects the good, without the evil, of a traffical arrangement, which opens to them a market for their labour far superior to any which is available for them at home; and we not only believe in the feasibility of such measures, but are most desirous to promote them by our hearty co-operation in any new or revised regulations which the wisdom of government may see fitting to adopt; for it is not only more accordant with our feelings as men, but with our interests as merchants, to procure the labour in question by unexceptionable means, than to obtain it by any devices which might operate hardly on the persons employed, and eventually render them not only unwilling instead of willing servants, but cause them to spread evil reports of their employers on their return, and thus enhance the difficulty of procuring a description of workmen whose services are indispensable to the prosperity of the island.

The planters of the Mauritius have no manner of object, but much the reverse, in encouraging a kidnapping system. Their wish and interest alike are to obtain agricultural labourers, who shall, in every sense of the word, be willing parties to the contract; and they are as eager as any of the people of this city can be, to have measures taken which shall thoroughly prevent all blindfolding and extortion by intermediate agents. If, for the effectualness or facilitation of these measures, any revision of the existing terms of contract be considered advisable, we, on their behalf, most willingly consent to it; and while we also avow ourselves ready to contribute in good faith to an official investigation into the whole state of the trade, we only solicit of your Honor in Council the adherence to that course of ordinary justice which shall secure to inquiry its prescriptive precedence of punitive legislation.

The question, properly considered, rests, we apprehend, on a much broader basis than it is allowed to do by those who insist not only on abolitionary, but on prejudicative abolitionary measures being adopted in regard to it. It is a question involving the rights of British subjects (in principle, of all British subjects) to carry their manual labour to the most productive market; the branch of the main question, which relates to the necessity for their understanding the exact nature of their bargain, and their absolutely voluntary acceptance of the engagement, being alone fairly open to legislative interference, to whatever extent may be necessary, for securing them ample opportunity to exercise their rights as free subjects on both these parts of the case. Any other political doctrine, though practically extended for the present to only a particular class of men, must obviously be extensible to all classes alike; and to assert it, therefore, in this case, would be to establish a precedent of the most perilous nature to constitutional liberty, and one (touching the particular instance of its practical application now prayed for by our adversaries) which would open the door to the establishment of a tyrannous labour monopoly in favour of Bengal, and be as oppressive to the Coolies as detrimental to the mercantile interests of the Isle of France.

Appendix.

Against a proved system of slave labour, be the same virtual or nominal, we readily admit that no arguments should be listened to by any government, on the score of mere expediency; but the case is widely different when the name of a slave is gratuitously applied, and the conditions of a slave most assumptively imputed to men in the situation of Coolie labourers in the Mauritius, who are not slave labourers in either the essence or letter of the term, and whose just rights are as honestly and vigilantly attended to by Her Majesty's Mauritius government as the rights of any of our native subjects can possibly be by the government of India. In this view of the case, then, it becomes our duty to inform your Honor in Council, by way of what we cannot doubt you will consider a most cogent argument, that persons in and connected with the Mauritius have made large purchases of land, in many instances from the government itself, and diverted much capital into agricultural channels there, on the faith of orders in council and other state guarantees, tending to make the proper cultivation of such lands a feasible undertaking by means of imported free labourers; that the said parties have procured licenses from the Mauritius government for the introduction into the island of these free labourers as cultivators; and that, therefore, great and unmerited distress cannot fail to be inflicted on all who have, in these circumstances, purchased the lands in question by a hasty and arbitrary suspension of the Coolie labour trade.

In addition to this, we humbly submit, that if the Isle of France be in its present state of prosperity, a possession of any national importance to Great Britain at all, there must be, in a proportionate measure, a national injury done by destroying its commercial status as a sugar-producing island, and that, too, upon the most vague surmises that an evil exists, which a full and dispassionate inquiry will either demonstrate to have no existence whatever, or else prove indubitably that it does exist, and thus justify an abolitionary line of policy which cannot be justified upon any other grounds.

In conclusion, we will only further occupy the time of your Honor in Council by observing, that, on general grounds of good policy, the trade in free labour is not only defensible, but worthy of commendation, laying aside the question of local or mere detail abuses, such as all extended systems are liable to be vitiated by in a greater or less degree, and which, in the case before us, are by no means ineradicable. We respectfully mention that it is highly beneficial to the inhabitants of this country to have a foreign market for their labour, more remunerative than what that labour can be made for them at home, and from whence they may return, after no very protracted absence, with a large amount of wages saved, and with such accounts of the kind of life and employment which they become liable to, on emigration, as may encourage their countrymen to follow their example, and thus draw comparative affluence to their homes, as well as expand their minds beyond the narrow circle of their various local prejudices. It is certain that there is nothing in their situation while abroad which can at all deteriorate them in the scale of humanity, unless they be really oppressed to the extent insinuated by our opponents, or worse treated than any other race of labourers, which are points that we confidently leave to the test of the most keen inquiry; and, this being the fact, it follows that they must be in many respects improved, and are so far made more valuable subjects of the Indian government by being made fairly, and, for themselves, too beneficially instrumental in promoting the prosperity of the Isle of France.

We demand but a comprehensive and impartial investigation into all the circumstances connected with the free labour traffic between the Mauritius and Calcutta, and we hesitate not to affirm, that while the result may partly be the detection (and next the future obviation) of the evils of the system, it will be for the most part demonstrative of its unobjectionableness in both a philanthropic and a political point of view, and will fully justify the government in continuing its sanction to the principle.

With the expression of our sincere respect for your Honor in Council, and our perfect reliance on your even-handed justice, we now leave our humble representations to be dealt with according to the fair public merits of the subject it involves, divested of all considerations of mere party interest.

(signed)	<i>Henley, Dowson & Bestel.</i>	<i>M. Audibert.</i>
	<i>J. A. Walker & Co.</i>	<i>G. Mathias.</i>
	<i>L. A. Richy.</i>	<i>V. Perdreaut.</i>
	<i>Thomas Francis.</i>	<i>W. E. Browne.</i>
	<i>P. W. J. Dowson.</i>	<i>J. M. Dove.</i>
	<i>C. Langloiz.</i>	<i>J. Allan.</i>
	<i>T. Tron & E. Pandelle.</i>	

Calcutta, 23 July 1838.

(True copies.)

(signed)

H. T. Prinsep,
Secy to Gov^t of Bengal.To the Honourable *Alexander Ross*, President of the Council of India, in Council.

The Petition of the Inhabitants of Calcutta;

HUMBLY sheweth,—Your petitioners respectfully pray the attention of your Honor in Council to the following statements and prayer on the subject of the exportation of the natives of Bengal to the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, Australia, British Guiana, and other places.

It is needless for your petitioners to do more than advert to the commencement of this trade under the sanction of the British and the East Indian Governments. It has now existed upwards of five years; the number of our fellow-subjects exported during that period has been

been upwards of six thousand. The number of females exported during the same period has been about one hundred, and these, but in few instances, the wives of the emigrants; your petitioners fear, therefore, that at least 3,000 families have been left without their natural protector and head.

Your petitioners have from time to time heard statements calculated to excite their apprehension, that the emigrants were neither aware of their destination, the real nature of their engagement, or of the extent of their future labour and reward; that the greatest injustice had been practiced upon them by the parties employed to procure and engage them; that they have been the subjects of transfer of one master to another at Mauritius, and other places, as well as re-shipped from that island and the island of Bourbon for Australia and the West Indies; and that, both during their voyages and the period of their engagements, many of them had suffered as men and citizens in their persons, their purse and their civil rights.

Your petitioners had hoped, however, that the cases which were brought to their notice might be isolated instances of oppression practised by a few designing men, and they had hoped that the humane intentions of your Honor in Council, and the vigilance of those employed to superintend the shipping of the emigrants, would have suppressed the evils, and placed the free emigration of these people on a basis advantageous to all; but your petitioners regret to state that the apprehensions entertained by them that the system was radically bad, and contained in itself the elements of a new species of slavery, have been all confirmed. These fears have been strengthened by the statements made in the Lords House of Parliament by Lord Brougham, from which it would appear that the slave trade, which it has cost the British people twenty millions to suppress, commenced with as professedly benevolent intentions as this trade; that the very terms "free labourers," with others now employed, were employed by those engaged in the exportation of the unhappy sons of Africa to other countries. The fears of your petitioners are more fully confirmed from the rapidity with which the trade has extended from this to the other ports of India, and from the Mauritius to the other previously enslaved colonies of Britain, and not less from the inhumanizing views entertained (and published here) by the parties contracting for the shipment and future employment of Coolies, who, both in private and confidential communications, state them to belong to the race of the monkey rather than the man; that they are ignorant of their destination, care not for their wives and families, and other arguments equally at variance with good policy, equity and humanity.

Your petitioners are convinced that your Honor in Council will recognize, in these views and sentiments, the opinions entertained by the supporters of the African slave trade from its commencement until now.

Your petitioners fear that, if the present system be continued and extended, that the coast ports of India will soon resemble the slave marts of Africa, and the Mauritius become a slave emporium for the world, and that the evils so long inflicted on the negro race will be transferred to the inhabitants of British India.

Your petitioners feel that they are bound to state, that to the vigilance and humanity of the superintendent of the police of Calcutta, to the officials at Mauritius, and not less to the kindness of many of the persons actually engaged and interested in the trade, to these sources may be traced the amelioration of many of the evils we deplore; but if the amount of oppression and injustice which has evidently been inflicted with all these preventions be so great, your petitioners apprehend, if the precautions should diminish and the vigilance of the public cease, that greater evils will arise, strengthen and flourish, to the discomfort and misery of these poor people and their families.

Your petitioners most distinctly disavow in their prayer to your Honor in Council any even the remotest idea of interfering with the free agency and civil rights of the emigrants; and did your petitioners believe that they were capable of understanding the loss they sustain in separation from their families and country, and the nature of the contract into which they enter, your petitioners would consider it both improper and superfluous to ask the interference of your Honor in Council.

Your petitioners beg to express their warmest acknowledgment for the prompt but partial suppression of the traffic pending a reference to the British Government, and would earnestly entreat your Honor in Council to adopt measures for the speedy and complete suppression of the traffic.

Your petitioners respectfully entreat your Honor in Council to institute a full inquiry into the trade we deprecate, and to suspend all further shipments until it is proved that the emigration is fraught with as great advantage to the Indian emigrants as to the exporters and employers themselves. It will afford your petitioners the highest satisfaction to provide your Honor in Council with all such evidence bearing upon the subject as may come into our possession. Your petitioners trust that your Honor in Council, under the direction of an all-wise and over-ruling Providence, will be able so to investigate and decide on this subject, that the blessings of civil and religious freedom, enjoyed by nearly all Her Majesty's subjects may be continued and extended to those residing within her densely-populated possessions in the east.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

(signed) *J. Young,*
Sheriff of Calcutta.

By order and on behalf of the inhabitants assembled
at the Town Hall in pursuance of a requisition.

(A true copy.) (signed) *H. T. Prinsep,*
Calcutta, Town Hall, 10 July 1838. Secy to the Govt of Bengal.

Appendix.

The following Rules are to be strictly observed by Shippers of Indian Labourers from the Port of Calcutta.

Rule I.—Four full days' notice must be given of intention to ship labourers, stating the number of men, the name of the ship on which they are to be embarked, her tonnage, name of captain, destination, and where lying in the river; the quantity of provisions, water, fuel and medicines about to be sent on board for the use of the labourers, and the space intended to be allotted to them.

II.—If the application be for export to an unusual colony, the laws of which applicable to Indian labourers are not known, the superintendent will deem it necessary to refer the case to government before granting any permits.

III.—The following form must be observed in giving notice of intention to ship labourers.

To Superintendent of Police.

Sir,—I beg to inform you that it is my intention to embark labourers on board the _____ of _____ tons burthen, Captain _____, bound to _____ The ship is now lying in the river off _____ Ghat, and I request you will inspect her accommodations.

The space allotted to the accommodation of the labourers is from the _____ aft to the _____ forward, being _____ feet.

The quantity of water on board intended for the use of the labourers is _____ gallons.

The provisions on board are as per enclosed list.

The medicines on board are as per enclosed list and have been examined and passed by _____ surgeon, as sufficient for _____ men for the voyage.

The fuel on board is _____ maunds.

I request you will appoint a day and hour for passing the labourers above mentioned.

I remain, &c.

Calcutta, (date.)

IV.—The quantity of water and provisions to be calculated as follows, with reference to the length of the voyage:—

To Mauritius, ships sailing in—

January	- - - 40 days.	July	- - - 65 days.
February	- - - 45 "	August	- - - 65 "
March	- - - 50 "	September	- - - 56 "
April	- - - 56 "	October	- - - 50 "
May	- - - 60 "	November	- - - 40 "
June	- - - 60 "	December	- - - 40 "

V.—The quantity of water allowed to each labourer to be not less than five pints per day, and the quantity of provisions to each man not less than the following:—

Rice	- - - 14 chittacks	} per day.
Dholl	- - - 2 "	
Ghee or oil	- - - $\frac{1}{2}$ "	
Salt	- - - $\frac{1}{4}$ "	
Turmeric	- - - $\frac{1}{2}$ "	
Onions	- - - $\frac{1}{2}$ "	
Tobacco	- - - 1 "	

VI.—The medicines must be passed by some medical practitioner as of good quality, and sufficient in quantity for the number of men shipped. A European or native doctor must be provided for each ship; if a native, to be registered at the office of the superintendent.

VII.—Each ship will be allowed to take in the proportion of one labourer to one and a half tons of actual tonnage. Should any ship take the full compliment allowed, in such case the whole of the 'tween decks, from the stern ports aft to the foremast forward, must be given up to the accommodation of the labourers, without encumbrance of any kind.

VIII.—The labourers must be brought to the office of the superintendent on the day and at the hour fixed; and in order to obviate difficulties on account of the sanitary laws of the colony to which the labourers are to be conveyed, it is earnestly recommended that they be vaccinated and passed as free from disease by some known medical practitioner of Calcutta.

IX.—Agreement will not be considered complete so as to warrant the issue of permits, unless they state the name of the labourer and that of his father, the name of the party to whom consigned (and whenever practicable, the name of the estate on which the labourer is to work), the nature of the work to be performed, the fixed hours of labour and refreshment,

ment, the period of service, rate of wages, daily rations and quantity of clothing allowed, to be contained in the body of the agreement and permit, and at foot to be inserted a memorandum of the number of months' advance in Calcutta.

X.—Each permit must be filled up in every particular, or will be liable to rejection.

By order of Government,

Calcutta, 21 February 1838.

Supt Calcutta Police.

Appendix.

No. 2.

(No. 976.)

To T. Dickens, Esq., Rev. James Charles, W. Dowson, Esq., Major Archer, Russonoy Dutt, Esq., and J. P. Grant, Esq.

GENTLEMEN,—I am directed to transmit for your information the accompanying copy of the proceedings of the government of Fort St. George, consequent on the orders of this department of 11th July last, on the subject of the exportation of Indian labourers.

I have, &c.

(signed) H. T. Prinsep,
Secy to Govt of Bengal.

Fort William, 5 September 1838.

(No. 1394.)

To the Secretary to the Government of India.

SIR,—I am directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th ultimo, and to inform you that the only districts under this presidency from whence Indian labourers have been exported are Malabar and South Arcot, the collectors of which have been instructed to institute inquiries respecting the measures adopted to induce labourers to engage for service beyond sea, and to suggest the means of remedying any abuses that may be found to exist.

2. The rules established in Calcutta for granting permits have been declared applicable to this presidency, and instructions have been issued, prohibiting the grant of permits to labourers embarking on board ships bound to the West Indies.

3. The reports called for from the principal collectors of Malabar and South Arcot will be transmitted for the information of the supreme government as soon as received; and, in the meantime, I am directed to forward copy of a communication from the magistrate of North Arcot, dated 30th June last, relative to the conduct of persons engaged in hiring Coolies for certain mercantile firms at Pondicherry; and to state that returns of the labourers embarked from ports subject to this presidency have been sent to the Mauritius government, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they have all been landed at that island.

I have, &c.

(signed) Richard Clerk,
Secretary to Government.

Fort St. George, 14 August 1838.

(No 215.)

(Copy.)

To the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George.

SIR,—I have the honour to submit, for the consideration and orders of government, copy of a letter to my address from the joint magistrate, Mr. Bourdillon, in which he reports, that a party of fifty-three persons, natives of Mysore, had arrived at Arcot, under charge of an authorized agent belonging to a house in Pondicherry. That this individual had instructions from his employers to hire the above persons as labourers, and to ship them from Pondicherry to the Mauritius.

2. It appears from the depositions of the head men, taken before the joint magistrate, that the whole party had been cajoled into a belief, that they were to be employed as labourers upon the western road, and had in consequence entered into an agreement with this agent for that purpose. They further state, that it was not until their arrival at Arnee that they had their final destination made known to them; viz. that they were to be shipped from Pondicherry to the Isle of France. The whole party then, with the exception of one young man, persisted in breaking the agreement, and expressed their wish to return immediately to their homes; and accordingly, as Mr. Bourdillon states, they did so; some having repaid the money advanced to them, others having done so in part, and the rest refunding nothing.

3. The joint magistrate's observation, how far the provisions in Act XXXII. of 1837 guarantees protection of British Indian subjects shipped from a French port to the Isle of France, is deserving of the consideration of government; also, if this whole transaction is not a positive evasion of the statute.

4. Pending the final orders of government, I have directed the joint magistrate to detain the party and the individual desirous of proceeding to Pondicherry.

5. I have to report, also, that about three weeks ago, an individual was forwarded to me by the head of police at Chittoor, engaged in the same traffic. He was a low caste Mussulman, apparently the very lowest servant one would retain in a situation; he stated

Appendix.

himself to be in the employ of Messrs. Venay & Co., of Pondicherry, and that he was directed to engage as many Coolies as he could find, and convey them to Pondicherry; but how they were to be disposed of after that, he could give no account. He had a small sum of money at his disposal, which he said he intended to distribute amongst those who were willing to engage with him. This individual, the head of police reported, was causing some alarm amongst the lower classes in the town, and it was currently rumoured that his intention was to kidnap children. On his appearing before me, he had in his possession a memorandum, signed Venay & Co., in which it was merely stated, "The bearer, Mahomed Khasim, is authorized to hire labourers for transmission to the Mauritius." I detained him, and reported the circumstance to the magistrate in South Arcot, and that officer's reply was as follows; "Messrs. Venay & Co. of Pondicherry, are engaged in hiring Coolies to proceed to Mauritius. Mr. Venay of that house, with me, this day, has informed me that he has no doubt Mahomed Khasim, the bearer of the enclosed, is a person employed by their house; only grown men, however, are engaged for the purpose."

6. The Right honourable the Governor in Council will observe the lowest class of servants to be selected by their employers for this particular duty, the Mussulman I have just mentioned, and the peon, as remarked by Mr. Bourdillon. I pretend to give no opinion on the legality of their mission into our territories; but, perhaps, his Lordship in Council may think it advisable that the magistrate should be the first to be informed of their arrival in his district, and the duty they are sent upon, to prepare him for a diminution in the number of the inhabitants, and of the class likely to make a contract of service to be performed without the jurisdiction they have hitherto lived under.

North Arcot, Magistrate's Office,
Palmanair, 30 June 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) G. M. Ogilvie, Magistrate.

To the Magistrate in the Northern Division of Arcot.

SIR,—I have the honour to report the following circumstances for your information, and request your instructions on the subject.

2. On Sunday last a party of 53 persons arrived here, sent by the acting head of police of Arnee, having been brought from some villages in Mysore, on the way to Pondicherry, but refusing to proceed thither. These men were under the conduct of two servants of a commercial house at Pondicherry (Messrs Delbrook, or some such name), one of them a sort of peon, and wearing a belt, the other an inferior servant.

3. The former, when examined by me, stated, that he had been sent to the Mysore country by his employers to hire labourers to go to the Mauritius; that he had accordingly engaged 62, and had come almost to Arnee, when 10 of them went off without his knowledge. That a few miles east of Arnee, the whole of the remaining party, with the exception of three, refused to go further, and went back to Arnee, whither he also returned; and after obtaining all that he could in repayment of the sums advanced for their subsistence, suffered the 40 men, who refused to proceed, to depart for the purpose of returning to their homes; but that before he left Arnee, the acting head of police, who had taken all the party into custody, sent for him and forwarded him to my office.

4. The people were in small parties, according to their villages, families or other circumstances; to each party there was one man, who received money for the individuals composing it from the peon, and acted as a sort of chief. These headmen I examined, and they one and all declared their unwillingness, and that of their gangs, to go to the Isle of France. They said that the peon had engaged them, not for that object, but to go and work on the Bangalore and Madras road repairs; and that when they found out, on arriving at Arnee, that they were not going thither, but to Pondicherry, and that they would have to cross the sea, they refused to proceed.

5. One individual only out of the 53, a lad of 15 or 16 (being one of the three above mentioned, who chose to go with the peon to Pondicherry), persisted in that wish, under the expectation, he said, of being able to return with a little money in a few years; this lad also said that the peon told him, when engaging him, where he was to go; but that this took place apart from all his companions.

6. The 52 who refused to proceed have returned homewards; and some of them have wholly repaid the sums advanced to them, some have done so in part, and some have repaid nothing.

7. With respect to the lad who wishes to proceed, I request instructions as to his disposal. The government of India have deemed it necessary to protect natives of India embarking from British Indian ports for service in foreign countries, by providing guarantee (in Act XXXII. of 1837) that their period of service shall have a specified limit, and that they shall be re-conveyed to this country on the expiration of that period. It seems evident, *a fortiori*, that they would require a similar guarantee in the case of embarkations from a foreign port. That such security has not been obtained from the Pondicherry government I cannot say; but I am aware of none, and no authority is produced by the peon in the present instance; and in the absence of such arrangement, the transmission of British Indian subjects from Pondicherry to the Isle of France appears a positive evasion of the statute above cited.

8. It appears to be my duty, therefore, with reference to the spirit of that enactment, to detain

detain the lad before mentioned till I may be authorized to permit him to proceed, and I accordingly do so pending this communication.

9. You will perceive from the statement of the peon Monicum, that several thousand British subjects have been embarked for the Mauritius from Pondichery, most of them, apparently, before the passing of the enactment above referred to.

10. With regard to the assertion of the 52 persons that were decoyed on false pretences, I will not offer an opinion as to its truth; their statements before me, and before the acting head of police of Arnee, are the same; and there appears some coherence in the story; it is totally denied by the Pondichery peon, whom, with his companion, I have directed to remain here till I shall receive your orders.

11. Copy of the proceedings in the case is enclosed.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. D. Bourdillon*,
Joint Magistrate.

Arcot, 27 June 1838.

P.S.—You will perceive that 53 persons came before me, while the peon states the number at only 52. This error is owing to his having no written memoranda.

(True copy.)

(signed) *G. M. Ogilvie*,
Magistrate.
Richard Clerk,
Secretary to Government.
H. T. Prinsep,
Secy to Govt of Bengal.

No. 3.

(No. 1032.)

To *T. Dickens*, Esq., *Rev. James Charles*, *W. Dowson*, Esq., *Major Archer*, *Russomay Dutt*, Esq., and *J. P. Grant*, Esq., Committee appointed to inquire into certain Abuses alleged to exist in the Export of Coolies.

GENTLEMEN,—I am directed to transmit to you for information the accompanying copy of a letter, dated the 18th August last, with its enclosure in original, from the Colonial Secretary at Mauritius, and to request that you will ascertain, as far as may be practicable, the cause of some of the Indian labourers, who had embarked for Mauritius on board the ships *Lancier* and *Indian Oak*, having thrown themselves overboard during their voyage from Calcutta to that island.

His Honor the Deputy-governor of Bengal presumes that your committee has already deliberated upon the other points brought under notice by Mr. Secretary Dick.

You will be pleased to return the original paper when no longer required.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. T. Prinsep*,
Secy to the Govt of Bengal.

Fort William, 3 October 1838.

General
Department.

To the Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government.

Sir,

Colonial Secretary's Office, Port Louis, 18 August 1838.

1. His Excellency the Governor, Sir William Nicolay, directs me to transmit to you, for the information of the supreme government of India, the enclosed lists of casualties among the Indian labourers embarked on board the ships *Lancier* and *Indian Oak*, during the voyage from Calcutta to this island, in order that the Right honourable the Governor-general in Council may cause such inquiry to be made as may appear necessary, with a view to ascertain the cause of so many of these men having thrown themselves overboard after leaving Calcutta.

2. Much difficulty has arisen, after the arrival of the Indian labourers at this port, in adjusting the advances made to them previously to their embarkation at Calcutta, and I have been directed to submit the expediency of some regulations being established by the supreme government, in order to restrict the advance of wages within a limited period (not to exceed, if possible, a period which may lapse during the voyage, or at the utmost three months), so that the labourers, instead of finding themselves with several months' advance of wages to work out on their arrival here, may at once, or at least much earlier than at present, come into the receipt of wages for their labour, and thus be enabled to provide themselves with such comforts as they may require previously to their proceeding to the different estates on which they are to be employed.

3. A regulation of this kind seems to be urgently called for in the interests of the labourers; for whatever may be the amount advanced to them in India, few of them reserve any portion of it to provide for their wants on their arrival here, and they are consequently, under the existing system, left entirely dependent on their employers, until they shall have worked out the period for which their wages have been paid in advance.

4. I have further been instructed to request that you will draw the attention of the supreme government to the propriety of withholding permission for the embarkation of Indians

Appendix.

for this island, unless the Governor's authority for their introduction here shall have been produced to the authorities in India.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Geo. F. Dick,*
Colonial Secretary.

(True copy.) (signed) *H. T. Prinsep,*
Secy to the Govt of Bengal.

SHIP INDIAN OAK.

June 3d, 1838—3 P. M. (Coolie Bazar.) Ten men jumped overboard, nine were brought back by the boats, the other missing, supposed to have sunk under the ship's stern.

June 7th, 1838—8-30 P. M. (Saugor Roads.) A man was observed swimming from the ship; cleared away a boat; but being of opinion that the lives of the boat's crew would be endangered by sending her away in a strong flood tide and S. W. breeze during a dark night, did not lower her; neither of these men's names are known, the latter supposed to be "Secree."

June 9th, 1838—Assen, one of the Coolies named "Dullat," reported to have fallen overboard during the night, having left his wife at 11 P. M. to go on deck, since which he has not been seen. The weather was boisterous during the night.

August 5th, 1838—1 A. M. One of the Coolies named "Comollee" died from the effects of chronic dysentery; 11 A. M. sent his body outside the Bell Buoy, and sunk it.

(A true copy.) (signed) *John Finniss,*
Chief Commissary of Police.
Geo. F. Dick,
Colonial Secretary.

No. 4.

(No. 1301.)

To *T. Dickens*, Esq., Rev. *James Charles*, *W. Dowson*, Esq., Major *Archer*, *Russomoy Dutt*, Esq., and *J. P. Grant*, Esq., Committee appointed to inquire into the Abuses alleged to exist relative to the Export of Coolies.

GENTLEMEN,—I am directed by the Honourable the President in Council to send you the accompanying copies of letters lately received by this government on the subject of your inquiries,* and to request that you will be so good as to inform the council when you expect that your investigation will be completed, and your report on the result thereof submitted. The reason for making this inquiry is, that the President in Council would be glad to take the papers, whereof copies are now furnished to you, into consideration, in connexion with your expected report, if that could be done without too long deferring a reply to the communication of Her Majesty's Government at Mauritius.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. T. Prinsep,*
Secy to Govt of India.

Council Chamber, 28 November 1838.

(No. 166a.)

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India.

SIR,—With reference to my letter of the 14th August, No. 1394, I am directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from the principal collector of Malabar, dated the 19th September (with an extract from his previous communication of the 11th July, therein referred to), and a transcript of one from the subordinate collector of that district, reporting upon the method resorted to for procuring labourers to engage for service beyond sea; also, copy of a letter from the principal collector of South Arcot, dated 26th September, on the same subject.

2. His Lordship in Council, considering the suggestion of the principal collector of Malabar, of prohibiting the embarkation of Coolies until within a few days of sailing of the ship by which they are to be embarked, deserving of attention, has issued instructions, directing that the embarkation shall not in future take place more than three days prior to the departure of the vessel. His Lordship has also caused printed forms of agreements in the English and native languages to be generally adopted.

3. I am desired to mention, that the Mauritius government having brought to notice, in a recent communication, that the regulations of that colony prohibited the introduction of Indian labourers, "unless under a certificate of having been vaccinated, or of having had the small-pox before leaving India," the collectors of the maritime districts under this presidency have been instructed to pay particular attention to this point.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Richard Clerk,*
Secy to Govt.

Fort St. George, 2 October 1838

(Copy.)

General Department.

* From Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, dated 2 October 1838, with Enclosures.

From Colonial Secretary of Mauritius, dated 12 Sept. 1838.

(No. 26.)

(Copy.)

Appendix.

To the Secretary to Government, Public Department, Fort St. George.

Sir,

WITH reference to the extract from the minutes of consultation, under date the 14th ultimo, No. 1395, I have the honour to state, for the information of the Right honourable the Governor in Council, that as Cochin is the only port in this district from which labourers have ever been taken for service beyond sea, I applied to the joint magistrate at Station (who was specially appointed to act in execution of Act No. XXXII. of 1837) for the required information, and the enclosed is that officer's reply.

2. Judging, however, from Mr. Tyack's proceedings during the few days that he was at this place in June last, and which I brought to the notice of government in my letter, dated the 11th of the following month, I cannot but apprehend that the method of procuring Coolies through the agency of mercenary natives, and upon the payment of a fixed sum per head, is not altogether free from abuse, in elucidation of which, I need only state that, had I not on the occasion above adverted to interfered, a number of the slaves of the soil would have been enticed away from this place, much to the injury of the landholders.

3. How many, whether freemen or slaves of the soil, were thus enticed from Travancore and Cochin (the majority of those embarked on the Porcupine and Nimbale being subjects of those states), I have not the means of ascertaining, nor am I acquainted with the extent and condition of the lower classes in those districts. I am, however, confident, if natives of Malabar are permitted to be thus allured, it will prove injurious to the agriculturist, and, as a matter of course, to the revenues of government.

4. It further appears that, as fast as Coolies were brought in to Mr. Tyack, permits were taken out, and the men sent on board; and I am credibly informed that, although the vessels continued in the river for nearly two months after the first embarkation, none of the Coolies were allowed to come on shore. The restraint thus exercised shows there is not much freedom allowed to these poor people; when once taken on board, indeed, no opportunity is given to them to back out of their engagements, if so disposed.

5. If the system is still to be continued, the rules published in the official gazette, dated the 27th July last, will in a great degree check abuses; and in addition thereto, I would suggest that the method of procuring labourers may be confined to written notices; and the agency of hired emissaries altogether prohibited. I would further recommend that restraint of every nature upon the liberty of the men engaged may be strictly prohibited, and the embarkation of the number collected not permitted, until two or three days previous to the date fixed for the sailing of the vessel; and, in the event of detention, that the final resolution of the Coolies may be again ascertained by the officer granting the permits.

I have, &c.

(signed)

F. Clementson,
Principal Collector.

Malabar, Principal Collector's Office, Calicut,
19 September 1838.

To the Principal Collector and Magistrate of Malabar.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st ultimo, and its accompaniments.

In reply thereto, I beg to state that the method resorted to by Mr. Tyack (by whom alone Coolies have been exported from this port) for procuring natives to proceed to the Mauritius seems to have been unattended with any abuses whatever.

It appears that Mr. Tyack personally visited the towns on the coast from Anjengo to Calicut, for the purpose of procuring Coolies; that he explained to them the terms of their engagement, and defrayed the expenses of such as were willing to accompany him to Cochin, and, upon their appearing before me to obtain permits, made each man an advance of three months' wages.

It is highly probable that a great proportion of the Coolies embarked from hence were in the last stage of poverty, and glad therefore to avail themselves of an opportunity of obtaining a livelihood; and the best proof, perhaps, that no undue means were resorted to by Mr. Tyack is, that the three Coolies re-landed by me under the orders of government, dated 17th July 1838, were most unwilling to break the contracts they had entered into, and remonstrated against the injustice of being sent back to the Cochin country, where they could find no employment, and would be left to starve. They were forwarded to the dewan, who set them at liberty; and I was informed that they immediately returned to Cochin, where it is not at all improbable they may now be earning a dishonest livelihood.

I may further state that those Coolies who were refused permits on account of their being subjects of the Cochin and Travancore rajahs, remained for days at this cutcherry, and endeavoured by every means in their power (setting up false names, false places of residence, &c.) to obtain the necessary permits, which it is not at all likely they would have so coveted, if any abuses had existed in the method adopted to procure their services.

I have, &c.

(signed)

D. White,
Acting Joint Magistrate.

Cochin, 5 September 1838.

(True copy.)

(signed)

F. Clementson,
Principal Collector.

Appendix.

EXTRACT of a Letter from the Principal Collector of Malabar, dated 11 July 1838.

I TAKE this opportunity of bringing to the notice of his Lordship in Council, that during the last week of June, Mr. Tyack came to this station, and his people (who receive a rupee for every Coolie procured) succeeded in prevailing upon a number of chermars (slaves of the soil) to proceed to Cochin for the purpose of being embarked for the Mauritius. The owners of these chermars, however, immediately proceeded to the spot where they were collected, and took them all away, with the exception of one who was carried to Cochin, notwithstanding I had cautioned Mr. Tyack, in writing, not to take any people of that caste. Having, in the meantime, written to the acting joint magistrate at Cochin, that officer withheld the permit applied for, and directed the chermar to return to his master at Calicut.

(No. 25.)

To the Secretary to Government, Fort St. George.

SIR,—With reference to the minutes of consultation dated the 14th ultimo, requesting me to report upon the means at present resorted to for procuring labourers to engage for service beyond sea, and to suggest measures for remedying any abuses that may be found to exist, I have the honour to state, that upon inquiry from the labourers themselves, it appears that maistries, in the service of the agents at Pondicherry, travel about the country and engage them fairly, offering the same terms as are afterwards confirmed by the agents. Many of these persons, however, are so ignorant that they could scarcely be expected to comprehend any thing of the nature of the service they were entering, beyond the simple idea of field labour, and the pay they were to receive.

2. When engaged they are clothed and fed, and as they receive an advance from the agents on their embarkation, they then settle with the maistries. I cannot perceive any thing unfair or oppressive in the treatment they meet with, and, in fact, if they were in any way deceived or compelled to enter into the engagement, they would leave it as soon as they were brought to Cuddalore.

3. The ship being ready to receive them, the enclosed memorandum of contract is read over and explained to them in my presence, or before a covenanted assistant, and they are informed that if they have any objection to go, they are not obliged to do so. They then receive each a copy, duly filled up, and are passed one by one, examined as to their understanding the contract, &c. and informed that they are fully at liberty to go or to stay.

4. The ship is surveyed, the space allotted for them ascertained to be adequate, and the provisions and water proved to be sufficient and of good quality, and the only thing which occurs to me as necessary is, that each Coolie shall be supplied with a native blanket or comelh on embarkation. This I propose to make a condition with the agents previous to issuing the permit; it is said to be necessary, for in rough weather at sea, it is found impracticable to induce the Coolies to remain under shelter.

I have, &c.

Cuddalore, Principal Collector's Cutcherry,
26 September 1838.(signed) *W. Ashton*,
Principal Collector.

(True copies.)

(signed) *Richard Clerk*,
Secy to Govt.

To the Chief Secretary to Government, Bengal.

SIR,—I have had the honour to receive and to lay before his Excellency the Governor of Mauritius your letter of the 11th July last, giving cover to the copy of a resolution passed by the President of the Council of India in Council, relative to the emigration of Indian labourers, and requesting that, in order to satisfy the government and the public of India as to the condition of the Indian labourers who have been brought to Mauritius, his Excellency would allow a committee to be appointed for the purpose of inquiring into and reporting upon the several points on which his Honor the President in Council is desirous of possessing information.

2. In reply, I have been directed to request that you will assure the supreme government of India, that as the protection of the Indian labourers has been an object of the Governor's most anxious solicitude ever since their first introduction into Mauritius, so his Excellency will be ready to afford to the government and public of India the fullest and most ample information on all points connected with the state and condition of the Indian labourers who have emigrated to this colony, and that his Excellency will proceed to institute inquiries into this subject, in the manner and by the means within his reach, best calculated to lead to an ascertainment of their real sentiments and feelings with respect to their treatment here.

3. From the feeling that appears to prevail in Calcutta respecting the treatment of the Indian emigrants here, and the mistatements put forth at the public meeting recently held there on this subject, his Excellency cannot venture to hope that any inquiry conducted by the local authorities, in conjunction with any of the servants of the East India Company, who may by chance visit this colony, will be held by those who agitate the question in Bengal, to be either satisfactory or convincing, and it would therefore be more agreeable to his Excellency the Governor, and would doubtless be more satisfactory to the government of India, that such an inquiry should take place in the presence of persons selected by

by the government of India expressly for this purpose, and unconnected, even by a short previous residence, with this colony. His Excellency would therefore recommend, that one or more officers of the India government, possessing a thorough knowledge of the native languages of Bengal and Madras, should be appointed in India, and be sent down here for the purpose of making, in conjunction with the local authorities, these and all other such inquiries, with regard to the Indian emigrants, as may satisfy the government of India as to their true position in Mauritius.

4. His Excellency desires me to express his entire confidence, that the result of such an inquiry cannot fail to prove highly satisfactory as to the state and condition of the Indian labourers generally, and, moreover, will furnish the Indian government with such full and detailed information on the subject as will enable them to form a correct judgment as to whether these people are contented with their lot, and satisfied with their general mode of treatment in this colony, which his Excellency believes them really to be.

5. The Governor does not presume to say that there are no exceptions, but whenever they occur, and the Indians are not slow in making them known, means are immediately taken by the public officers here for inquiry into and redressing the grievances of which, either individually or collectively, they may have to complain; and it will, no doubt, be a satisfaction to the India government to know, that an ordinance is now in progress through the council of government here, for placing the Indian labourers, by instructions from the Secretary of State, under the same protective jurisdiction as established by the British Parliament for the apprentice population. The special justices, upon whom this duty will thus devolve, were some months ago desired to take advantage of the opportunities afforded him by their visits to the apprentices on the different estates, to inquire into the condition and state of the Indian labourers. Their reports have been transmitted to the Secretary of State, and, together with the papers published by Parliament regarding this matter, furnished much satisfactory information in regard to these people, and show the anxiety and attention with which the Governor has watched over their interests.

6. The abuse which might have arisen out of the transfer clause in the engagements entered into in India has hitherto been effectually provided against by a local regulation, which requires that no transfer shall take place without the free consent of the Indians themselves, given before a police officer; and unless it be shown that the transfer will not be prejudicial to them, it cannot have the Governor's sanction, and without that sanction, the transfer cannot be considered legal, or be acknowledged by any public officer. To make this regulation more formal, a clause of the same kind has been introduced into the proposed ordinance, by which it is enacted, that the services of the Indian emigrants cannot be ceded or transferred without their own express consent, and the concurrence and approbation of the magistrate having jurisdiction in the district where they are employed, after he shall have assured himself that such transfer is not unfavourable to the emigrants.

7. With respect to their treatment on board ship, the Governor fears that nothing can be done at the place of arrival beyond establishing the particulars of ill-usage or misconduct towards the emigrants, whenever such may unfortunately occur. But, desirous of meeting the wishes of the India government in every point connected with these people, his Excellency has caused instructions to be given to the proper officers to inquire into and report upon the treatment which the Indian labourers have experienced in every ship which may arrive here with emigrants on board. Much, however, he conceives, may be done in India by a strict attention to the accommodation, and the provisions, medicines, &c. provided for the voyage, which should be continued up to the latest possible period previous to the vessel's departure, so as to prevent, as far as practicable, any misappropriation of any part of these stores or provisions by landing them again before sailing.

8. With reference to my former communications in this matter, his Excellency the Governor has directed me to draw the attention of the government of India to some of the evils which there is but too much reason to apprehend are extensively practised in Bengal, notwithstanding the zeal and praiseworthy vigilance which appears to have been exercised by the officer charged with the superintendence of this branch of police duty in Calcutta, and with the execution of the ordinances passed by the supreme government on the subject. The promised advance of wages, it is to be feared, is not faithfully accounted for to the emigrant; also, that false descriptions have been given them, as well of the place they were going to, as of the nature of their employment there; and that there are instances in which Indians have been hurried on board ship with whom no engagement had ever been made. It is to be observed, however, that such occurrences are confined to Bengal, and that similar complaints have not been made by the Indians from the Madras territory. In some cases, the proper allowance of food for the voyage has not been provided; medical inspection has not taken place previous to embarkation, nor medical attendance been furnished during the voyage. The consequence has been, that vessels on their arrival here have been subjected to quarantine, sometimes of considerable duration, and the Indian emigrants exposed to all the inconvenience and misery of protracted confinement on board a crowded vessel.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Geo. F. Dick*,
Colonial Secretary.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
12 September 1838.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. T. Prinsep*,
Secy to Govt of India.

No. 5.

Appendix.

(No. 1352.)

To *T. Dickens*, Esq., *Rev. James Charles*, *W. Dowson*, Esq., *Major Archer*, *Rustomoy Dutt*, Esq., and *J. P. Grant*, Esq., Committee appointed to inquire into the Abuses alleged to exist relative to the Export of Coolies.

General
Department.

GENTLEMEN,—I am directed by the Honourable the President in Council to transmit for your information the accompanying copy of a letter, No. 3418, from the acting secretary to the government of Bombay, dated the 22d ultimo, with its enclosure in original; being an extract from the proceedings of that government on the subject of the exportation of Indian labourers from the presidency of Bombay.

Council Chamber, 19 December 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. T. Prinsep*,
Secy to Govt of India.

(No. 3418 of 1838.)

To the Secretary to the Government of India.

General
Department.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th of July last, and to transmit to you, for the purpose of being laid before the Honourable the President in Council, the accompanying extracts from our proceedings, on the subject of the exportation of Indian labourers from this presidency, from which his Honor in Council will perceive that the system has, hitherto at least, been free from abuse at this port; and that no labourers have hitherto been exported from any part of the Conkan and Guzerat.

2. His Honor in Council will also observe that the rules in Bengal have been introduced under this presidency, and that some additional rules have been adopted for this presidency.

Bombay Castle, 22 Nov. 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. S. Boyd*,
Actg Secy to Govt.

(True copy.)

(signed) *H. T. Prinsep*,
Secy to Govt of India.

(No. 2397 of 1838.)

To the Senior Magistrate of Police.

General
Department.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to transmit to you the accompanying copies of a letter from the secretary to the government of India, dated the 12th ultimo, and of its enclosure, together with the rules therein alluded to, for your information and immediate guidance in preventing any export of labourers for the West Indies.

2. I am directed to inform you that the gentlemen named in the margin have been requested to form a committee to inquire into the existence of abuses in the engagement of labourers at this port, and to suggest the best method of providing a remedy. You will be pleased to furnish the members with copy of the despatch from the government of India, and all the information in your possession, to enable them to fulfil the wishes of government.

3. I am further directed to request you to frame and submit to the committee, for the eventual information of government, a register of all labourers shipped to the Mauritius or elsewhere, showing the dates, numbers, ships, rules agreed to, and places for which shipped.

4. The rules forwarded by the government of India, relative to the embarkation of Coolies, are to be observed in Bombay, to ensure every proper provision and comfort for any embarked; and you are requested to furnish copies of them on application.

5. The necessary alterations are to be first made in the Rules I., II., IV., V. and other parts, to render them applicable to Bombay, and a sufficient number lithographed. The necessary communication will be made to you as to the length of the passage to the Mauritius, for insertion in Rule IV.

Bombay Castle, 6 August 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. S. Boyd*,
Acting Secy to Govt.

(No. 2398 of 1838.)

To the Master Attendant.

General
Department.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to request you to send in a statement, showing the probable length of passage from Bombay to the Mauritius during each month of the year.

Bombay Castle, 6 August 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. S. Boyd*,
Acting Secy to Govt.

(No. 2399)

(No. 2399 of 1838.)

To the Collector of Sea Customs in Guzerat and the Conkan.

SIR,—I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to transmit to you the accompanying copies of a letter from the secretary to the government of India, dated the 11th ultimo, and of its enclosure, for your information and guidance, and to request you to report if any labourers have been exported from any port in your range.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. S. Boyd*,
Acting Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 6 August 1838.

Appendix.
General
Department.

(No. 2400 of 1838.)

To *W. C. Bruce*, Esq., Collector of Customs; *Daniel Ross*, Esq., Master Attendant; *J. Skinner*, Esq.; *R. H. Kennedy*, M.D.; Capt. *J. M. Shortt*, Superintendent of Police.

GENTLEMEN,—I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to request you to form a committee to inquire into the existence of abuses in the engagement of all labourers in this port, for service beyond sea, and suggest the best method for providing a remedy.

2. The senior magistrate of police has been requested to furnish the members of your committee with a copy of the despatch which has been received from the government of India on the subject, and all the information in his possession, to enable you to fulfil the wishes of government.

3. The senior magistrate of police has also, I am directed to inform you, been requested to frame and submit to you, for the eventual information of government, a register of all labourers shipped to the Mauritius, or elsewhere; showing the dates, numbers, ships, rules agreed to, and places for which shipped.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. S. Boyd*,
Acting Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 6 August 1838.

General
Department.

(No. 473 of 1838.)

To *W. S. Boyd*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay.

SIR,—In reply to your letter (No. 2399), dated 6th instant, I have the honour to report that I never heard of labourers having been exported from any port within my range.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. H. Pelly*,
Collector of Customs, Guzerat and Conkan.

Surat, Guzerat and Conkan,
Collector of Customs' Office,
13 August 1838.

General
Department.

(No. 160 of 1838.)

Sir,

Master Attendant's Office, Bombay,
22 August 1838.

WITH reference to your letter (No. 2398), dated the 6th instant, directing me to send in a statement, showing the probable length of passage from Bombay to the Mauritius during each month of the year, I have now the honour to transmit such a statement, being the result of inquiries amongst the commanders of ships and of the commercial gentlemen of this place.

I have, &c.
(signed) *D. Ross*,
Master Attendant.

To *W. S. Boyd*, Esq.
Acting Secretary to Government.

STATEMENT of the average time of performing the Passage from Bombay to Mauritius, throughout the year.

January	-	-	-	These being the hurricane months, the winds in the vicinity of Mauritius are unsteady as to direction and strength, and 35 days may be considered a fair passage; it has been done in 21 days, and again it has been protracted to 37 days.
February	-	-		
March	-	-		
April	-	-	-	From 21 to 25 days will be fair passages.
May	-	-	-	
June	-	-	-	
July	-	-	-	
August	-	-	-	
September	-	-	-	30 days - ditto.
October	-	-	-	35 to 40 days - ditto.
November	-	-	-	
December	-	-	-	30 to 35 days - ditto.

(signed) *D. Ross*,
Master Attendant.

Appendix.

(No. 2635 of 1838.)

General
Department.

To the Acting Senior Magistrate of Police.

SIR,—With reference to the concluding paragraph of my letter of the 6th instant, I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from the master attendant, dated the 22d instant, and of its enclosure; and to inform you that full allowance for a long passage in each month, and not merely for an average voyage, should be taken in filling Rule IV.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. S. Boyd*,
Acting Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle 25 August 1838.

To *W. S. Boyd, Esq.*, Acting Secretary to Government.

SIR,—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th ultimo, appointing us a committee to inquire into the existence of abuses in the engagement of labourers in this port for service beyond sea, and to suggest the best method of providing a remedy, &c.

2. In reply, we request you will have the goodness to acquaint the Honourable the Governor in Council, that after giving our best consideration to the documents adverted to in the second and third paragraphs of your letter, copies of which have been furnished to us by the acting senior magistrate of police, together with all the information in his possession, and having also made every inquiry into the mode in which the labourers sent from hence to the Mauritius have been engaged, we have the satisfaction of reporting, that there is no reason to believe the exportation of these people from this port to have hitherto been attended with the smallest abuse, or that the existing laws and regulations for their protection have not, in every instance, been fully acted up to. The highly respectable character, indeed, of the parties by whom and for whom all the labourers have been shipped from this port (to which their exportation from this side of India has, as yet, been entirely confined, as will be seen from the accompanying copies of the agreements and registers recorded in the police office), is in itself a strong assurance of such being the fact; and the circumstance of the whole being either natives or inhabitants of this island is a further security, as they are doubtless much more intelligent than the same class of their countrymen elsewhere; as a striking corroboration, too, of the conclusion we have arrived at, we cannot omit to mention that several time-expired labourers who have recently returned from the Isle of France would appear to have again embarked for that colony under the same engagements as before.

3. Although, however, the system would seem to have been hitherto perfectly free from abuse, we cannot disguise from ourselves the apprehension that, should the exportation of these people increase so much as to lead to their being brought for that purpose from the interior, where they are of course more ignorant, or should it extend to the subordinate ports, or the business of engaging them pass into other hands at the port of Bombay, abuses are not unlikely to creep into it which no regulation can wholly prevent, and, under any circumstances, it is one which will always require to be very narrowly watched. It must never be forgotten that these contracts are between ignorance on the one side, and knowledge on the other; they can never therefore be very equal, unless there is the most perfect good faith on the part of the possessors of the latter, as we never can be certain that the other party fully comprehends the nature of the engagement he enters into.

4. We have the honour herewith to submit a few rules, which we think it very desirable should be added to those already in force. One of these provides, as the honourable board will observe, against any of those contingencies to which mercantile men are so peculiarly liable, putting it out of their employers' powers to send the labourers back to India when their engagement is at an end,—a provision which appears to be very essential.

We also take the liberty of handing up, for the information of the Honourable the Governor in Council, a printed copy of some rules by the Mauritius government, which, if administered in the same spirit in which they have been prepared, that is, by authorities unconnected with those by whom the Indian labourers are employed, seem well adapted for the protection of the latter.

We have, &c.
(signed) *W. C. Bruce.* *J. M. Shortt.*
D. Ross. *R. Hartley Kennedy.*

Bombay, 24 September 1838.

1st. That no exportation of Coolies shall be allowed to the West Indies or Cape of Good Hope.

2d. That the agent of transports, or some naval officer of government, should be instructed to inspect the ship in which Coolies are about to be embarked, to see that sufficient room has been allotted for their accommodation; that sufficient water has been provided for their use; to survey the quality of the food, clothing, &c., to certify such are according to the agreement; and until a certificate from him satisfactory as to all these points has been given to the magistrate of police, that the magistrate grant no permission for the exportation of the Coolies.

3d. That

3d. That the port surgeon certify that a surgeon belongs to the ship, or has been provided by the shippers, and that there is a supply of such medicines on board as he considers necessary.

4th. That some police authority should examine the Coolies after they are shipped previously to the sailing of the vessel, to ascertain that they are the same who had previously appeared at the police office, and signed the agreement.

5th. That as the committee have reason to believe, from occasional sickness on board, or casualty during the passage, the Coolies are not permitted to land immediately on arrival at the Mauritius, when much distress and sickness occur by their detention on board, they would suggest, that government recommend to the Mauritius government to set apart some convenient spot for enabling the Coolies to be at once landed on arrival, and perform a stipulated quarantine on shore.

6th. That it be recommended to the Mauritius government to appoint some public officer, whose duty it should be to see the Coolies, on their arrival at the Mauritius, handed over to the parties to whom they have been engaged, and that these parties, previous to taking charge of the Coolies, should ratify and confirm the agreement entered into by their agents in India, and that the police authority in India should, on the sailing of the vessel with the Coolies, forward under cover to the said officer at the Mauritius a list of the names of the Coolies, and a copy of the agreement, and amount of advance paid to each.

7th. That all matters of dispute, also, be decided by this officer, with regard to the liberty of the party who imports the Coolies, to transfer them to a third party; even admitting that this is done with mutual consent, the committee cannot but view this as an objectionable feature in this system, although they are not prepared to recommend its entire prohibition. They would recommend, however, that the Mauritius government be invited to direct great care and attention being paid to this point by the officer adverted to, and that all such transfers be made before him only, and that it be sanctioned only where he is satisfied that the Coolie seems quite aware of what he is doing, and readily consents, and that the terms of transfer are similar to the original agreement.

8th. That every care be taken that the Coolies be only required to work during the same hours, and for the same number of hours, as is the common custom with the several free labourers on the island.

9th. That as in Calcutta great abuses have, it is said, been practised, in regard to the money advanced on entering into the agreements, and much disappointment and discontent have arisen in consequence, care should be taken that the advance agreed on be fully paid in the presence of the police authority to the Coolie, who should be strongly recommended at the time to take as little in this way as is absolutely necessary; indeed, it may be for the government to consider if it would not be proper to restrict the advance from ever exceeding three months' pay, which, as the Coolie gets clothing and food for the voyage, would seem sufficient to leave with his family, and this would prevent marwarrees entering into the views of crimps, by forcing poor creatures indebted to them, for false amounts often, to engage to go as labourers, in order that the marwarree may receive a large advance.

10th. Family notes might be allowed, viz. that the Coolie should give an order for certain monthly payment to his family, it being the duty of the police authorities to see this performed; and to certify in the agreement, for the information of the Mauritius magistrate, that such note has been given by the Coolie, and that the police have taken security for its due payment.

11th. From all the information the committee have had it in their power to collect, no provision appears yet to have been made, either in India or at the Mauritius, for the case of the party employing the Indian labourers becoming bankrupt, and to the committee it would seem desirable to make some provision against this happening, by exacting security, either at the port of departure or at the Mauritius, to an amount sufficient to pay the passage back to India of these Coolies, in the event of such a contingency.

(signed) *W. C. Bruce. R. M. Kennedy.*

N. B.—After we had prepared the foregoing rules, we received the accompanying lithographed regulations from the acting senior magistrate of police, which does away the necessity of the second, third and eighth of these rules.

(signed) *W. C. Bruce. D. Ross. R. M. Kennedy.*

Sir, Colonial Secretary's Office, Port Louis, 1837.

1st. His Excellency the Governor has had before him your letter of the soliciting to be allowed to send to India for Indian labourers; and I have received the Governor's directions to acquaint you that he is pleased to accede to your request, under the usual guarantees on your part.

2d. But it having come to his Excellency's knowledge that, in some of the engagements entered into in Calcutta with the Indians introduced here, stipulations have been made which are contrary to the laws of the colony, such, for instance, as working on Sundays, corporal punishment by the sirdar or chief, unlimited hours of work, and a claim on the part of the master to transfer unconditionally the services of the labourers, the Governor desires me to intimate to you, that every such engagement being illegal cannot be tolerated here; and it is an express condition of his assent to your request, that no such stipulations be made with the whom you have asked permission to bring into the colony.

Appendix.

3d. It having lately been attempted to bring Indian labourers here as an object of speculation, without any specific agreement as to the individuals whom they are to serve, I have been directed to warn you that transactions of this nature, not being sanctioned by any laws either of the colony or of the United Kingdom, cannot be permitted, and that Indian labourers arriving under such circumstances will not hereafter be allowed to land. On this subject, I am further desired to apprise you that no master can legally transfer the services of an Indian labourer to any other person whomsoever, unless with the consent of the labourer himself, given before a constituted authority of the colony.

4th. His Excellency the Governor directs me also to bring to your notice, that the carriage of emigrant passengers from Great Britain is regulated by a late Act of Parliament, 5 & 6 William 4th, cap. 53, under which captains of vessels are restricted from taking beyond a certain number of passengers, besides being bound to make due provision for their comfort on board; and the Governor is anxious to impress upon you how desirable and necessary it is in the interests of humanity, as well as for your own satisfaction, that you should instruct your agents in India to see that the spirit of the regulations in that Act be followed up and faithfully observed.

5th. His Excellency desires me, at the same time, to point out to you the importance of the utmost attention being observed in the selection of the persons who may be engaged to work on your estate. The disappointments and inconveniences which attended the first attempt to introduce free labour into this colony are mainly attributable to that want of selection which is so essential to the success of the undertaking; and his Excellency cannot too strongly recommend that especial care be now taken to ensure that the persons who may be engaged shall have been known as really agricultural labourers in their own country, (of the class called Hill Coolies, when coming from Calcutta); and that they and the chief or sirdar who accompanies them hither shall have been mutually known to each other before being engaged.

6th. It has also been suggested to his Excellency, that it would be very advisable to have each Indian separately inspected by a medical practitioner previously to his embarkation, in order that none but healthy subjects may be engaged; and that his certificate should accompany the individuals when they come here; a proposition of which his Excellency highly approves, and particularly recommends you to give instructions to your agent to that effect; as well as, wherever practicable, that proper medical attendance should be provided for the Indians on board ship.

7th. Considerable inconvenience appears also to have been experienced from the advance of six months' wages made in Calcutta to the Indian labourers, in consequence of which they are a long time here before they become entitled to pay; his Excellency thinks this a matter well deserving your attention, and whether it would not be prudent that the advance should be limited to three, or, at the utmost, to four months' wages.

8th. His Excellency desires me particularly to impress upon you the necessity of your making arrangements for obtaining from India adequate supplies of rice, not only for the subsistence of those labourers, but of the apprentices employed on your estate, as well as of other articles of food stipulated for in the engagements with the Indians; for, in a large portion of the differences that have arisen between the Indian labourers and their employers, the cause of complaint has originated from some real or fancied infraction of the engagements entered into with them, more particularly in regard to food.

9th. In some cases where the masters have not been able to obtain the exact kinds of food of which the rations of the Indian are composed, equivalents have been substituted, and even in larger and more liberal proportions than would compensate for the value of the deficient articles; but the people have not been satisfied with the change, and misunderstandings and complaints have followed. Now this is a difficulty which may easily be overcome by proper precaution, in having always on hand a sufficient supply of these articles of subsistence, and by the punctual and regular delivery of the rations, to which too much attention cannot be paid.

10th. To this subject, therefore, his Excellency wishes to direct your serious attention, and to impress upon you the necessity of the most scrupulous and faithful execution of all the conditions of their contracts, as the point on which will mainly depend the continuance of tranquillity, good order and obedience among the Indians in your service. The strictest punctuality and regularity should be practised in regard to the payment of their wages, the issue of their clothing, and the other stipulations in the engagements with the labourers in your service.

11th. The hours of work should be well defined, and carefully attended to by the master on his side; several of the engagements entered into in India are very defective in this respect; but as the defect can readily be remedied here, no time should be lost in regulating the hours of labour, so as to avoid any cause for complaint on that account. Task-work is understood to be well suited to the previous habits of the Indians; it will, in consequence, probably prove as much for the advantage of the master as for that of the labourers to practise it wherever the nature of their employment will admit of it.

12th. His Excellency further recommends it to you to apply for a suitable proportion of their wives to accompany the men you propose to introduce, as a measure which, his Excellency is satisfied, you will find eventually to be productive of advantage.

13th. The Governor feels convinced, that the effect of a due attention on your part to these matters will be to obtain for you the confidence of the Indians, and thereby to secure the regular and cheerful performance on their part of their daily labours, as well as a quiet and peaceful demeanor amongst them.

14th. It

14th. It is an indispensable condition of this authority that a satisfactory certificate be produced, that each Indian introduced under it has been vaccinated or had small-pox before leaving India.

15th. And further, that the Indians be retained in your own service during the whole period for which they may be engaged in India, or, if that should prove not convenient to you, that they shall be sent back to India at your expense, exclusively of your having to pay them such indemnity as may be found due to them for any non-fulfilment on your part of the agreement entered into with them by your agents in India.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Geo. F. Dick*,
Colonial Secretary.

(No. 246 of 1838.)

To the President and Members of the Committee formed to inquire into the existence of Abuses in the Engagement of Indian Labourers.

GENTLEMEN,—In obedience to the orders of government, conveyed in a letter to my address, dated the 6th instant, I have the honour to enclose for your information, copy of a letter, dated the 11th of last month, with accompaniment, from the secretary to the government of India, a register of the Indian labourers who have been shipped at this port; to which is appended copy of the agreement entered into between the labourers, and the parties who shipped them; together with copy of the correspondence which has taken place on the subject.

No labourers have been shipped from this port to the West Indies.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. A. Forbes*,
Acting Senior Magistrate of Police.

Bombay, Police-office, 10 August 1838.

AGREEMENT between Messrs. *McGregor, Brownrigg & Co.* of Bombay, acting in behalf of *Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg*, of Port Louis, Mauritius, Agent for Messrs. *Cockerell & Co.*, of London, on the one part, and the undersigned Natives of India on the other part.

Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg hereby consents to the following conditions with the undersigned native labourers:

1st. To give them employment for a term of five (5) years, commencing from the date of this agreement.

2d. To pay the expense of their passages hence to the Mauritius, as well as their return from thence to Bombay, at the expiration of the above term.

3d. With reference to the preceding article, should any of the said labourers desire to leave, or be necessitated to leave, the employment of the said Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg before the expiration of the said term of five years, the expense of the passage of such labourers shall not be at the charge of the said Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg.

4th. To pay the labourers the following wages monthly:—

Mukhadums, each, at Co.'s Rs. 7 and 4 annas	} per month.
Labourers - each " " 5 and 4 "	

And to supply them with the following rations:—

Rice, 14 chittacks	1 ½ lbs.	} daily.	1 Lascar cap,	} yearly.
Dholl 2 " "	4 oz.		2 Dhooties,	
Ghee ½ " "	1 "		1 Cumlie,	
Salt ¼ " "	¼ "			

5th. The wages of the said labourers to commence from the date of this agreement; four months to be paid in advance at Bombay.

6th. To well-treat, protect, and in all cases to act justly towards the said labourers, providing them with house or lodging on the estates, medical attendance, medicines and food when sick, but no wages, when from any cause the labourers are unable to work.

7th. To grant a free passage to the labourer's wife, with employment, and a just remuneration for whatever work they perform.

8th. To give the following clothing to each labourer on embarking at Bombay:—Two dhooties, two cumlies, one wooden plate, one cooking pot, one jacket, one lascar cap, one copper cooking pot between every four persons; with the under-mentioned rations daily, during the voyage to the Mauritius:—Rice, 14 chittacks; dholl, two chittacks; ghee, half chittack; salt, quarter chittack; mussalah, half chittack; tobacco, quarter chittack; mustard oil, half chittack occasionally.

The undersigned native labourers* hereby consent to the following conditions:—

* List of labourers omitted.

1st. To proceed to the Mauritius as general agricultural labourers for a term of five years, calculated from the date of this agreement, and to work upon any of the estates of which the aforesaid Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg may have the agency, in the cultivation of sugar-cane, manufacture of sugar, digging of land, mending roads, clearing of forest or jungle,

Appendix.

jungle, care of cattle, and all such lawful work as shall be required of them, and to labour for such number of hours daily as may be the rule of the estates.

2d. That one rupee per month shall be retained from the pay of each labourer (in case of incapacity, misconduct, or breach of contract, rendering it necessary that they or any of them should be sent back to Bombay), until a sufficient sum shall have accumulated to defray their return passage; such money to be refunded to those only who complete their term of five years.

3d. That a deduction of two days' pay shall be made for every day of unlicensed absence from work.

4th. That in case of the violation of any of the conditions herein stipulated, or in the event of dispute arising from any misunderstanding of this contract, or from discontent or bad conduct, to submit all such differences, &c. to the jurisdiction of the special and constituted authorities of the Mauritius.

5th. To work on any other estate for any other party they may be transferred to on the same conditions as herein specified; such transfer to be made by mutual consent, and declared before some public authority.

6th. That in case of disobedience of order, general misconduct or incompetency, the mukhadams be liable to be degraded, or to be sent back to Bombay at their own expense.

Done in Bombay this twenty-fifth (25th) day of June one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight (1838).

(signed) *McGregor, Brownrigg & Co.*

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of

(signed) *J. A. Forbes,*
Acting Senior Magistrate of Police.

AGREEMENT between Messrs. *Skinner & Co.*, of Bombay, acting on behalf of the Mauritius Government, on the one part, and the undersigned Natives of India on the other part.

THE Mauritius Government hereby consent to the following conditions with the undersigned native servants:

1st. To give them employment for a term of five (5) years, commencing from the date of this agreement.

2d. To pay the expense of their passage from hence to the Mauritius, as well as their return from thence to Bombay at the expiration of the above term.

3d. With reference to the preceding article, should any of the said servants desire to leave, or be necessitated to leave, the employment of the said Mauritius government before the expiration of the said term of five years, the expense of the passage of such servants shall not be at the charge of the said Mauritius government.

4th. To pay the said servants the following wages, viz.:— one mucedum, 12 rupees per month; 11 servants, nine rupees each per month; and to supply them with the following rations:—

Rice, 14 chittacks, 1½ lbs.	} daily.	1 Lascar cap,	} yearly.
Dholl, 2 " 4 oz.		2 Dhooties,	
Ghee, ½ " 1 oz.		1 Cumlie,	
Salt, ½ " ½ oz.			

5th. The wages of the said servants to commence from the date of this agreement; four months to be paid in advance at Bombay.

6th. To well-treat, protect, and in all cases to act justly towards the said servants, providing them with house or lodging, medical attendance, medicines and food when sick, but no wages when from any cause the servants are unable to work.

To give the following clothing to each servant on embarking at Bombay:—Two dhooties, two cumlies, one wooden plate, one cooking pot, one jacket, one lascar cap, one copper cooking pot between every four persons; with the under-mentioned rations daily, during the voyage to the Mauritius:—Rice, 14 chittacks; dholl, two chittacks; ghee, half chittack; salt, quarter chittack; mussalah, half chittack; tobacco, quarter chittack; mustard oil, half chittack occasionally.

The under-mentioned native servants hereby consent to the following conditions:—

1st. To proceed to Mauritius as general hospital servants; and to perform all the duties which may be required of them as hospital servants; and to attend for such number of hours daily as may be required of them in hospital.

2d. That one rupee per month shall be retained from the pay of each servant, in case of incapacity, misconduct or breach of contract rendering it necessary that they or any of them should be sent back to Bombay, until a sufficient sum shall have accumulated to defray their return passage; such money to be refunded to those only who complete the term of five years.

3d. That a deduction of two days' pay shall be made for every day of unlicensed absence from work.

4th. That in case of the violation of any of the conditions herein stipulated, or in the event of dispute arising from any misunderstanding of this contract, or from discontent

or

or bad conduct, to submit all such differences, &c. to the jurisdiction of the special and constituted authorities of the Mauritius.

Done in Bombay this sixth (6th) day of July one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight (1838).

(signed) *Skinner & Co.,*
For the Mauritius Govt.

Signed and delivered in presence of *J. A. Forbes*, Acting Senior Magistrate.
(Twelve signatures of labourers are subjoined.)

AGREEMENT between Messrs. *McGregor, Brownrigg & Co.*, acting on behalf of *Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg*, of Port Louis, Mauritius, Agent for Sir *Charles Cockerell*, of London, Merchants and Agents, and the undersigned Natives of India, being British subjects, the several parties binding themselves fully to the conditions thereof.

Firstly,—The undersigned Coolies agree to proceed to the Mauritius as general agricultural labourers, to work upon any of the estates of which he, the said Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg, may have the agency.

Secondly,—Messrs. *McGregor, Brownrigg & Co.*, on behalf of the said Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg, engage to employ the said undersigned Coolies or labourers for a term of five years, commencing and calculated from the date of this agreement; and the said undersigned labourers engage to serve the said Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg for the said period of five years, calculated from the date of this agreement.

Thirdly,—The expense of the passage of the said Coolies from hence to the Mauritius, and of their return from thence to this place (Bombay) at the expiration of this contract, shall be borne by the said Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg. But should any of them (the said Coolies) desire to leave, or be necessitated, from any cause, to leave the employment of the said Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg, and he consent or not consent to their departure, before the expiration or completion of the said term of five years, such expense of the passage of such Coolies from the Mauritius to Bombay shall not be at the charge of the said Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg.

Fourthly,—The said Coolies shall be paid their wages monthly, at the following rates:—
Muckhadums, each at Company's rupees seven and annas four (Co.'s Rs. 7-4) per month.
Coolies, each at Company's rupees five and annas four (Co.'s Rs. 5-4) per month; with the following rations:—

Rice, each 14 chittacks per day; two chittacks dholi; salt, each one-half chittack per day, a half chittack oil, half-chittack ghee.

Fifthly,—In order that the labourers may be fully aware of the nature of the engagement which they undertake, it is hereby notified, that the work which shall usually be required of them is such as a sugar estate commonly demands; such as the cultivation of sugar-cane, digging of land, clearing forest or jungle, the manufacture of sugar, and the care of cattle; but it is expressly understood that they are engaged for all such lawful work as the said Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg may require of them; and in case where accidents may render extraordinary sources necessary, they (the Coolies) engage to assist with good-will and assiduity.

Sixthly,—It is hereby provided, that in case of disobedience of orders, incompetency or impropriety of conduct, the muckhadums shall be liable to be degraded, or to be sent back to Bombay at their own charge and expense.

Seventhly,—Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg, through his agents, Messrs. *McGregor, Brownrigg & Co.*, engages to well-treat, protect, and, in all cases, to act justly towards the said labourers, providing them with houses or lodging on the estate, hospital and medical attendance, and with food when sick; but it is understood that they shall receive no wages during illness, or when unable to work, from any cause arising from their own imprudence or misconduct.

Eighthly,—The wages of the labourers to commence and date from the day of their embarkation at Bombay; and that they duly receive five months' wages in advance, payable in Company's rupees.

Ninthly,—The said labourers engage and consent, in case of absence from work without the permission of their employer, that a deduction of two days' wages shall be made for every day of such unlicensed absence; and they further agree, that in case any of the conditions herein stipulated should be violated or broken, in case of disputes arising from misunderstanding of this agreement, or from discontent or bad conduct on their part, to submit themselves, and all such differences, to the jurisdiction of the special and constituted authorities of the said island of Mauritius.

Tenthly,—As Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg may be made responsible to the government of Mauritius that the said labourers shall not become a charge to the colony, in case of their misconduct, incapacity or breach of engagement rendering it necessary that they or any of them should be sent back to Bombay, it is agreed that there shall be retained from the pay of each individual the sum of eight annas per month, until a sufficient fund shall be provided to defray their return passage; and it is agreed that the said reserve fund shall be repaid to them at the expiration of this engagement, being equally divided amongst those who have faithfully fulfilled the conditions of their contract.

Appendix.

Eleventhly,—The labourers will be allowed to take their wives with them, to whom a free passage to Mauritius will be granted; but it is understood that they are under no engagement, and it is therefore expressly provided, that they, the said women or their families, shall not be at the charge for food or clothing of Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg, who engages, however, to offer them employment, and a just remuneration for whatever they may perform.

The following clothing, &c., will be given as a present to each labourer on going on board ship at Bombay; viz.—Two dhooties, two cumlies, one jacket of Meerzapore chintz, one lascar cap, one wooden plate, one cooking pot for four persons; and the following rations will be given them only during their voyage to Mauritius; viz.—Fourteen chittacks rice, two chittacks dholl, half chittack ghee, two and a half chittack mussalah of chillies, onion tamarinds, quarter chittack salt, half chittack mustard oil (occasionally).

Twelfthly,—The nature of this agreement (which shall be duly registered at the police) is such that each labourer is individually responsible for its execution, by all those who have put their mark or signature to it.

Done in Bombay this twenty-third day of September, in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven.

(signed) *McGregor, Brownrigg & Co.*

for
Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of

(signed) *E. E. Elliot*, Acting Senior Magistrate of Police.

Sixty (60) men, natives of India, calling themselves by the names herein written, appeared before me this 23d day of September 1837; and after having heard the condition above recited fully explained to them by myself, through an interpreter, expressed their entire agreement to all the conditions specified, and to which they have signed their marks.

(signed) *E. E. Elliot*,
Acting Senior Magistrate of Police.

(No. 4.)

To the Chief Magistrate, Port Louis, Mauritius.

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit, for your information and guidance, copy of a contract of service this day entered upon between Messrs. McGregor, Brownrigg & Co., merchants, of Bombay, acting on the behalf of Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg, of Port Louis, Mauritius, agent for Sir Charles Cockerell & Co., of London, merchants and agents, and 60 Coolies, or Indian labourers, inhabitants of Bombay, being British subjects.

2. This instrument bears the attesting signatures, made in my presence, of Messrs. McGregor, Brownrigg & Co., on the behalf of Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg, of Port Louis, and of each of the said 60 agricultural labourers. The terms of the contract, in the presence of the contracting agent, particularly as to wages, &c. &c., were distinctly explained to the said labourers; and I am fully satisfied that they not only understood them, but were desirous to fulfil the same; and I now look to your kindness to see that the conditions are duly observed.

3. The said labourers are embarked on board of the ship *Palmira*, William Loader, commander; the same vessel by which this communication is forwarded.

I have, &c.

(signed) *E. E. Elliot*,

Acting Senior Magistrate of Police.

Bombay Police Office, 23 September 1837.

Captain William Loader, commander of the ship *Palmira*, has also this day, the 23d of September 1837, appeared before me, and fully and satisfactorily replied to my questions respecting the accommodation, food and medical attendance provided for the above sixty (60) Coolies, and six women, who proceed to the Mauritius on board the aforesaid vessel under his command, and here undersigned to this effect.

(signed) *W. Loader*.

E. E. Elliot,

Acting Senior Magistrate.

Police Office, Bombay, 23 September 1837.

To the Secretary to Government, Judicial Department.

No. 1. Letter from Messrs. McGregor, Brownrigg & Co. dated 13th Sept. 1837.
No. 2. My Reply.
No. 3. Their Rejoinder.

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit, for the information of the Right honourable the Governor in Council, copies of the correspondence (numbered 1 to 3) mentioned in the margin, together with the papers arising out of the same, being copies, in English and Mahratta, of a contract of service entered upon between Messrs. McGregor, Brownrigg & Co., merchants, of Bombay, acting on the behalf of Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg, of Port Louis, Mauritius, agent for Sir Charles Cockerell & Co., London, merchants and agents, and 60 Coolies, Indian labourers, inhabitants of Bombay, being British subjects.

2d. As

2. As the Act providing rules for the deportation of Indian labourers from the territories subject to the presidency of Fort William is not yet made applicable to this presidency, I deemed it advisable to act upon my own responsibility, and to ensure to the labourers embarking in the present undertaking all the assistance and protection in my power, by having the contract of service fully explained to them in my presence; and it is due to the firm of Messrs. McGregor, Brownrigg & Co., of Bombay, to observe, that they most readily complied with all my demands. I further took the precaution of forwarding, in the same vessel in which the labourers embarked, a copy of the contract of service to the chief magistrate of Port Louis, with an explanatory letter, copy of which (No. 4) I also enclose, and I trust that the Right-honourable the Governor in Council will approve of my proceedings.

I have, &c.
(signed) *E. E. Elliot,*
Acting Senior Magistrate of Police.

Bombay, Police Office, 3 October 1837.

(No. 2867 of 1837.)
To the Senior Magistrate of Police.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant, and to inform you that the Right honourable the Governor in Council approves of your proceedings regarding the 60 Coolies, Indian labourers, inhabitants of Bombay, who have embarked for Mauritius, under contract of service. General Department.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Wathen,*
Chief Secretary:

Bombay Castle, 18 October 1837.

INDIAN LABOURER'S PERMIT.

I, Papree Moteepa, engage to proceed to the island of Mauritius, to serve Charles Cornwallis Brownrigg, or such other person as I may be transferred to (such transfer being made by mutual consent, to be declared before a public officer), as a Coolie or labourer for the space of five years from the date of this agreement, on consideration of receiving a remuneration of Company's rupees five (5) per month, and food and clothing as follows;

viz. :—

14 chittacks rice,	}	daily.	1 blanket,	}	yearly.
2 " dholl.			2 dhooties,		
½ " ghee,			1 chintz mirjaee,		
½ " salt,			1 lascar's cap, 1 wooden bowl,		

Also one lotah or brass cup between four persons, and medicine and medical attendance when required; also to be sent back to _____ at the expiration of my period of service, free of all expense to myself, should such be my wish, subject to the terms of my general agreement, executed this 25th day of June 1838.

Papree Moteepa, his + mark.

Height,
Age,
Color,
Particular marks,
Caste,

I hereby certify, that this memorandum of contract has been inspected by me, and the contents thereof fully explained to the within named.

Senior Magistrate of Police.

INDIAN LABOURER'S TICKET.

Bombay, 6 July 1838.

Names, Maccood Rama Swanee, labourer.
Height,
Age, about 35.
Colour, dark.
Marks,
Caste, and from whence, Bhojee.
For whom engaged,
Passed by Doctor W. E. Foott, Surgeon.
Date of permit,
Embarked on board of the _____

Commander.

The following rules are to be strictly observed by the shippers of Indian labourers from the port of Bombay :—

RULE I. Four full days' notice must be given of intention to ship labourers, stating the number of men, the name of the ship in which they are to be embarked, her tonnage.

Appendix.

name of captain and destination, the quantity of provisions, water, fuel and medicines about to be sent on board for the use of the labourers, and the space intended to be allotted to them.

II. If the application be for export to an unusual colony, the laws of which, applicable to Indian labourers, are not known, the senior magistrate of police will deem it necessary to refer the case to government before granting any permits.

III. The following form must be observed in giving notice of intention to ship labourers:—

To the Senior Magistrate of Police.

Sir,—I beg to inform you that it is my intention to embark labourers on board the of tons burthen, Captain bound to . The ship is now lying in the Bombay harbour, and I request you will inspect her accommodations. The space allotted to the accommodation of the labourers is from the aft to the forward, being feet. The quantity of water on board intended for the use of the labourers is gallons. The provisions on board are as per enclosed list. The medicines on board are as per enclosed list, and have been examined and passed by surgeon, as sufficient for men for the voyage. The fuel on board is maunds.

I request you will appoint a day and hour for passing the labourers above mentioned.

I remain, &c.

Bombay, (date.)

IV. The quantity of water and provisions to be calculated as follows, with reference to the length of the voyage:—

To Mauritius ships sailing in—

January - - - 37 days.	July - - - 25 days.
February - - - 37 "	August - - - 25 "
March - - - 37 "	September - - 30 "
April - - - 25 "	October - - - 40 "
May - - - 25 "	November - 40 "
June - - - 25 "	December - 35 "

V. The quantity of water allowed to each labourer to be not less than five pints per day, and the quantity of provisions to each man not less than the following:—Rice, 14 chittacks; dholl, two chittacks; ghee or oil, half a chittack; salt, quarter of a chittack; turmeric, half a chittack; onions, half a chittack; tobacco, one chittack.

VI. The medicines must be passed by some medical practitioner as of good quality, and sufficient in quantity for the number of men shipped. A European or native doctor must be provided for each ship; if a native, to be registered at the office of the senior magistrate.

VII. Each ship will be allowed to take in the proportion of one labourer to one and a half tons of actual tonnage; should any ship take the full complement allowed, in such case the whole of the 'tween decks from the stern ports aft to the foremast forward must be given up to the accommodation of the labourers, without incumbrance of any kind.

VIII. The labourers must be brought to the office of the senior magistrate on the day, at the hour fixed, and in order to obviate difficulties, on account of the sanitary laws of the colony to which the labourers are to be conveyed, it is earnestly recommended that they be vaccinated, and passed as free from disease, by some known medical practitioner of Bombay.

IX. Agreements will not be considered complete, so as to warrant the issue of permits, unless they state the name of the labourer, and that of his father, the name of the party to whom consigned (and whenever practicable, the name of the estate on which the labourer is to work), the nature of the work to be performed, the fixed hours of labour and refreshment, the period of service, rate of wages, daily rations and quantity of clothing allowed, to be contained in the body of the agreement and permit, and at foot to be inserted a memorandum of the number of months' advance in Bombay.

X. Each permit must be filled up in every particular, or will be liable to rejection.

By order of Government,

Bombay.

Senior Magistrate of Police.

(True copies.)

(signed)

W. S. Boyd,
Acting Secretary to Government.

(No. 25.)

To *T. Dickens*, Esq., *Rev. James Charles, W. Dowson*, Esq., *Major Archer, Russomoy* General Department.
Dutt, Esq., and *J. P. Grant*, Esq., Committee appointed to inquire into the
Abuses alleged to exist relative to the Export of Coolies.

GENTLEMEN,—I am directed to transmit to you, for your information, the accompanying copies of letters, dated respectively the 13th November and 11th ultimo, together with copies of the returns therein alluded to, of labourers exported to Maulmain, Penang, Atcheen, Varattoocurry, &c. from the district of Tanjore, during the months of August, September and October last.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. T. Prinsep*,
Secy to the Govt of India.

Council Chamber, 2 January 1839.

(No. 1837.)

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India.

SIR,—I am directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to transmit to you, for the information of the Honourable the President in Council, the accompanying returns, received from the principal collector of Tanjore, of labourers exported from his district during the months of August and September last, and to state that these are the only instances under this presidency of labourers having embarked for any place other than the Mauritius.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Richard Clerk*,
Secy to Govt.

Fort St. George, 13 November 1838.

STATEMENT showing the Number of Coolies which have been exported from the Negapatam Port, in the District of Tanjore, during the month of August 1838.

Names of the Vessels on which the Coolies were exported.	Number of Coolies exported.	To where exported.	Date of the Shipment.
Brig Ameer Letchemy -	150	Maulmain - -	4 August 1838.
Bark Manguapookyer - -	168	Pulo Penang - -	16 - ditto.

(signed) *N. W. Kendersley*,
Tanjore, Negapatam, 27 September 1838. Principal Collector.

STATEMENT showing the Number of Coolies which have been exported from the Negapatam Port, in the District of Tanjore, during the month of September 1838.

Names of the Vessels on which the Coolies were exported.	Number of Coolies exported.	To where exported.	Date of the Shipment.
Brig Ady Lutchmy - -	20	Bengal - -	5 September 1838.
Brig Aye Tooroosoo - -	10	Pulo Penang - -	20 - ditto.
Brig Aye Tooroosoo - -	279	ditto - -	20 - ditto.
Brig Aye Tooroosoo - -	76	ditto - -	21 - ditto.

(signed) *N. W. Kendersley*,
Tanjore, Vellum, 5 November 1838. Principal Collector.

(No. 1986.)

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India.

SIR,—With reference to my letter of the 13th ultimo, No. 1837, I am directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to transmit to you, for the information of the Honourable the President in Council, the accompanying returns received from the principal collector

Appendix.

collector of Tanjore, of labourers exported from his district, during the month of October last, to Atcheen and Varattoocurry.

Fort St. George, 11 December 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Richard Clerk,*
Secy to Govt.

STATEMENT showing the Number of Coolies who have been exported from the Negapatam Port, in the District of Tanjore, during the month of October 1838.

Names of the Vessels on which the Coolies were exported.	Number of Coolies exported.	To where exported.	Date of Shipment.
Brig Saravanapooravy - -	7	{ Atcheen and Va- rattoocurry }	6 October 1838.
Brig Elisias Caudur Bux -	3	- ditto	- - ditto.
Brig Karoonthedencunny } Vettyvarlapooravy }	24	- ditto	7 - ditto.

Tanjore, Vellum, 28 November 1838.

(signed) *N. W. Kendersley,*
Principal Collector.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. T. Prinsep,*
Secy to the Govt of India.

No. 7.

(No. 295.)

To *T. Dickens*, Esq. Chairman of a Committee appointed by Government to inquire into certain Abuses alleged to exist in the Export of Coolies, Calcutta.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter bearing date the 6th instant, and in reply beg leave to submit, for the information of yourself and the committee, the following remarks which were committed to paper, merely by way of a memorandum, whilst I was on the island of Mauritius; and in forwarding them in their crude state, I hope the committee will make allowances, and perhaps may appreciate them the more, as they were drawn out unbiassed and unprejudiced, at the time, too, when the subject did not attract so much attention as it has done lately, and is doing at present. “The introduction of Indian labourers into the Mauritius” has not only attracted the notice and attention of the supreme government, but most justly that of the Isle of France. The subject is one of great importance, and deservedly so, not only in a moral, but I may say commercial point of view, inasmuch as the misery or welfare of so many human beings is at stake, and its importance is increased by the frequent and almost daily importation of Indian emigrants into the island. And the prosperity of the colony will, I am convinced, in the course of a few years, be entirely dependent upon the labour and industry of these Indian labourers, who will undoubtedly supersede the negroes; and the colony will become peopled by Indians, i. e. the labouring class, from Bengal, and the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. The Act lately passed by the Indian government regarding the transportation of the Coolies, and the precautionary measures contained in it, are highly expedient and proper, and sufficient to check, in a great measure, any undue or improper means previously resorted to, towards the ignorant and unwary beings who grasped at the bait of a handful of rupees presented to their choice, and who had probably before never seen so many cowries at once in their possession, and who entered into the engagement of servitude for a certain period of years, most likely without ascertaining where and how far the island of Mauritius was situated.

I have also learnt with pleasure that the subject still ingrosses the attention of the Mauritius government, in order to the framing of just and appropriate laws for the protection and well-being of the emigrants. References have been submitted to the home authorities, I understand, and no doubt instructions will be shortly received for the guidance of the authorities in the colony. As far as I can ascertain, the government is at a loss to determine whether the emigrants are to be viewed in the light of British subjects or otherwise, and until this is settled, no laws will be framed respecting them. For the most part, the blacks or negroes lately emancipated from slavery, and daily becoming a free people, by being released from the period of their apprenticeships, are an idle, lazy and drunken set of beings, and prefer working by jobbing or task-work to entering into service by the month or any stated period; they are certainly strong, able-bodied men, and far surpass the Indians in physical strength, but they are not so well-behaved, so tractable, or easy of management, consequently the latter are preferred, not only as menials, but labourers and cultivators

tivators of the soil. The happiness or misery of the emigrant during his sojourn on the island depends entirely, I may say, upon the master he may be destined to serve. Generally speaking, they are well treated, as far as I have been able to ascertain; but there are exceptions, and those are to be found among the planters and proprietors of small sugar estates, generally Frenchmen, who carry on their business with a very narrow and niggardly hand, consequently, the poor Indians are neither treated well nor fed well, but obliged to work hard, late and early. An English gentleman and a friend of mine (Mr. B.) told me that he was on a visit to one of his estates in the district of Flac lately, and that as he was surveying some of his own fields of canes he was accosted by three or four lean, half-starved looking wretches (Indians), letting him know in the best manner they could, that they had little or nothing to eat, were hard worked, and badly clothed, and otherwise ill-treated by their master, who was a Frenchman, the proprietor of a small factory adjoining my friend's estate. Mr. B. quite pitied the poor fellows, and recommended them to lodge a complaint to the commissary of the police; but whether they followed his advice or not he was unable to say, and even had they done so, it was a matter of doubt whether they would have obtained that justice or redress which their wretched condition merited; for a complaint of a similar nature was once brought forward by four or five Indians against their master's superintendent, before the police magistrate residing in the interior, who, instead of listening to and inquiring into the matter, sent them back under a guard, with a private note to the superintendent, stating that so and so was the case, but that he dared to say they (the Indians) were in the wrong, and therefore he had admonished and sent them back. I only hope that the distributor of such injustice was, for the sake of Great Britain, not an Englishman.

2. Not a doubt exists in my own mind that many delinquents are shipped amongst the emigrants for the Mauritius, men who have committed heinous crimes in India, either thuggee or such like, whose names have been divulged by their companions in guilt as approvers, and for whose apprehension mandates have been issued to the police, and an opportunity of so favourable a nature occurring for eluding the ends of justice for a time, with the hopes of no future trace being obtained, induced them to enlist as Coolies to the Isle of France. On board the Herfordshire, the ship in which I went, there were a few whose caste (Brahmins or Choitrees) led me to suppose they were men of suspicious and doubtful character, and who had left their native country, not with their own free choice, but in order to serve a particular end, such as above stated. There was a man of this description who looked like a thug, and who had never been in the habit, from his own account, of passing a single day as an honest or industrious labourer, in fact who had never taken up a spadeful of earth in his life, excepting for the purpose of besmearing his own filthy body, he having been throughout one of those vagabonds and pests to society called Sunyuseses,—a more profligate and debauched set of men than whom are not in existence in Hindoostan. He told me that he had been decoyed on board by the crimps in Calcutta; but to this I gave no credit whatever, for I saw several others of the same sect on the island, who had been brought down by other ships. (Since writing these remarks, I think it may be possible that these men were decoyed.) It may be so far good for such men that they thus become possessed with an opportunity of imbibing industrious and honest habits during the period of their servitude on the Mauritius, and who, should they ever return to India, may come back reformed and honest characters, and be led to follow a different and better course. The chief inducement to Indians entering into such contracts is not only the six months' advance of wages, but the rate per mensem, together with the allowance of food and clothing which they are told they are to have on the island, and which far exceeds that obtainable for like services in their own country—sufficient inducement to make them close the bargain, without troubling their minds as to the *pros* and *cons*; five rupees, however, will go a very little way towards the purchase of ghee, fish, &c., which may and must be required to savour and make the common plain boiled rice palatable, and which luxuries are not included in the agreement for food. I believe a little salt is all, I surmise, which is distributed to the emigrant, besides his allowance of rice, which may be sufficient to appease the cravings of a weak and delicate appetite, but certainly not of one produced by a cool and pleasant atmosphere, and hard work from daybreak to sometimes after dark, not always Sundays excepted. I fear few, if any, will return with a sum of money proportionably great to make up for the temporary separation from their wives, families and homes. The description of labourers called Dhangas or Hill people, from Huzareebaugh and Chota Nagpore, are better adapted for the purpose of cultivating the rocky soil of the Mauritius, and looking after the canes, than any other description of men who emigrate, and they appear to be preferred by the sugar planters. They are a quiet and contented race of beings, and more easy of management than the common Bengalee Coolie, besides being better and harder workers.

3. I visited several large sugar manufactories in the neighbourhood of Port Louis, but at none of them did I see the Indians engaged in the making of sugar, or employed during its process; they are entirely used in the labours of the field, and the blacks or negroes in feeding the presses and in the boiling, &c. of the sugar.

4. On board the Herfordshire there were about 150 Coolies, whose wants were well attended to during the passage in fact the manner they were treated reflects much credit on Captain Isaacson and his officers. The whole of the orlop deck was appropriated to their accommodation, which was well cleaned, and kept sweet with the use of chloride of lime, &c., and this duty was assigned to the particular charge of one of the officers of the ship, and to the medical man, who regularly attended the Coolies when sick, and had them examined and overhauled, to see that their bodies and what clothes they did wear were

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wholesome, and in a clean state. I have every reason to believe that, at the large concerns, the Indian emigrants are well-treated, and their comforts properly and duly attended to; but it is, as I have stated above, at the small and petty sugar estates that they are not treated as they ought to be, especially during the months of May, June, July and August, which is their winter season, and the weather is cold and damp, and the wind bleak and piercing, when, if badly housed and indifferently clad, sickness and disease ensue, and from want of due attention many are carried off to their long homes.

I have, &c.

(signed)

J. Shaw,

Zillah Tipperah, Civil and Session Judge's Office,
18 September 1838.

Civil and Session Judge.

N.B.—I have also observed, that during the time the Coolies are employed in the field that they are usually attended by an overseer, and if inclined to be idle, they are not unfrequently, I suspect, aroused to a sense of their duty by the application of the rattan, which proves that, in some measure, there is a degree of coercion resorted to, which tends to obliterate the idea of their being free labourers, in which light it is intended they should be viewed by those who transport them.

(signed)

J. Shaw,

Civil and Session Judge.

No. 8.

To T. Dickens, Esq., Chairman of the Committee appointed to inquire into certain Abuses alleged to exist in the Export of Coolies.

DEAR Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 30th ultimo, requesting such information as I may possess respecting the condition of Indian Coolies at the Mauritius, and their treatment there, as also on the voyage to that place.

2. In reply, I beg leave to inform you, that I have recently visited the Mauritius, having sailed in the Earl of Clare, which carried nearly 500 Indian Coolies; and during the month I resided there, I travelled over the island in different directions, and had frequent opportunities of seeing the Coolies, and of inquiring into their state. I may mention, in acquainting you with the result of my experience, that I have no object to gain by so doing, and no feelings but those of humanity to gratify.

3. It is customary for the planter in the Mauritius to receive permission from government to import the number of Coolies he requires, and he then employs an agent, who engages to produce, by a certain time, often under a high penalty, the number required at the Mauritius. This agent either visits Bengal himself, or employs another, who, through native agents, obtains the required number of Coolies. The greatest evil of the system, I conceive, is the manner in which this is done. Well-dressed chuprassies decorated with badges, and often armed with circulars, containing the signature and seal of the police of Calcutta,* travel about the country, particularly in those districts the inhabitants of which are in the habit of leaving their houses every year in search of work elsewhere. In this manner many of the inhabitants of the Bheerboom district visit the plains to work at indigo factories, and, meeting with well-dressed chuprassies possessing plenty of money, are informed by them that they wish to engage a number of men for an indigo or some other manufacture, down the Ganges. An advance is taken, and then the Coolie is secured, and transported to Calcutta. Many men are thus suddenly separated from their families; and their dependents are left without support, and are often by this means subjected to the greatest privations. The ignorance of these Boona Coolies is such that they cannot be made to comprehend where the island lies to which they are to be transported; but the rest of the agreement they are quite capable of understanding, and no doubt are quite satisfied with the advantageous conditions, which are offered. When the Coolies reach Calcutta, they are again confined until the forms at the police are gone through. They are then ticketed, but not sufficient care, I suspect, is taken in identifying them; so that when a Coolie dies or runs away, another is often substituted, and very nefarious means have been used to accomplish this object. The facility of substituting one man for another should certainly be checked, as it leads to one of the greatest evils in the system, by often enabling the contractors to substitute persons unfit for the duties for which they are required.

4. The serious evils attending free labourers leaving their country without providing for the support of their families during their absence should be put a stop to, as many women and children must be often reduced to the greatest state of destitution; and this fact seems to require either that their families should be taken with them to the Mauritius, or a suitable allowance made for their maintenance during the period of the Coolies' engagement.

Voyage to the Mauritius.

5. In several cases gangs of Coolies have been taken to the Mauritius without a proper allowance of room in the ship, on which account they suffered from the dangerous

* This fact was stated to me by a collector to whom the paper was presented for his signature and seal of office. This was very properly refused.

gerous diseases which are thus engendered; and their numbers retarding the working of the ship often subjected them to ill-treatment and privations. The remedy for this, however, is sufficiently simple, by preventing ships taking a greater number than can be properly accommodated on board.

6. The Hindoo student sometimes sent as the medical attendant on board ship with Coolies is quite inadequate to this duty. The ship in which I went to the Mauritius was only provided with a person of this description, who was found worse than useless; for he not only tried to extort money for any duty he was called upon to perform, but preventing the officers from paying that attention to the sick that they otherwise would have done; and had it not been for the presence of a medical man as a passenger, the large number of Coolies on board would have suffered much more from sickness than they did.

7. I do not consider this Hindoo medical assistant an exception to a general rule; but after a good deal of experience I can safely say, they are altogether incapable, with their present degree of knowledge, to do justice to such a large separate charge as is given to them on board many of the ships proceeding to the Mauritius with Coolies; and I think it would be proper that a surgeon should be required in every ship which carries Coolies.

8. Another very important change required in the transport of Coolies is in their food during the voyage. It may appear that the rice and currie-stuff, with tobacco, &c. now given, is the best food that can be selected for them, as it is this kind of diet that they are accustomed to. But this is not the question, for, as the Hindoo loses his caste on leaving his country, his food may be so modified as to be best adapted for the conveniences on board ship, and at the same time most proper for the changes of climate to which he is exposed.

9. Viewed in this light, the rice diet seems to be peculiarly ill chosen. It is so bulky as to require large boilers, and from these boilers being badly constructed, they are often rendered useless; sixteen were so destroyed in the ship, *Earl of Clare*, during the passage to the Mauritius. Besides, it is very expensive, and dangerous to the safety of the ship, from the large quantity of water, wood and attendance which is required; and as no one is engaged as a cook, this duty is often performed in a very objectionable manner, and the irregularity with which the Coolies get their food has often a most unfavourable effect on their health.

10. This rice food, with ghee, turmeric, and the small portion of red chillies, onions and tobacco allowed, is sufficiently well suited for the climate of Bengal; but is not sufficient, in my opinion, for the bracing and more variable climate they are exposed to on shipboard.

11. As a superior sort of diet, better suited to the climate and situation of board ship, I should propose that the rice be continued to be the staple article; but that their food should be varied several times a week with gram, parched rice, coarse biscuits, and dates; with chillies, salt, ghee, garlic and tobacco. To such food I should also add tamarinds, pumpkins, and the like.

12. I consider that one cook should be provided for every gang, say of 100 Coolies, to be paid separately, and whose business would be to cook for the others. No objections could be made to the Coolies performing this duty; but they should be paid for so acting, and care be taken that they perform their duty.

Coolies at the Mauritius.

13. After frequent opportunities of observing the Hindoo Coolies, I can safely say that they are generally contented and happy in that delightful island. They are obliged to work, but not more severely than, in their improved condition, they are capable of performing without difficulty. The time usually specified is from 6 A. M. to 9, and from 10 to 4 P. M.; however, they have usually tasks assigned to them, the most common being to make daily 100 holes for the sugar-cane, each hole being nine inches long, nine deep, and six broad. This requires a day's occupation, as it was found that the apprentices could only make 80 a day during the seven working hours; whereas I have known a strong expert African negro make 150 holes; which, however, was considered a remarkable performance in one day, as the soil is so hard. When the Indian's daily work is not performed, he is obliged to make up the deficiency on the Sunday, which is otherwise allowed to himself. In the houses of many of the planters, I found the Indian free labourers located, and giving great satisfaction to their masters.

14. For this work, they are well clothed, well lodged, and taken care of when sick; besides receiving good and plentiful food, consisting of rice, ghee and salt, with chillies, tamarinds, onions, vegetables and fish, with often a dram in the evening after their work; and they are allowed any ground they may wish for cultivating a garden for their own benefit. Women get three or four rupees a month, while the men have six rupees. This is certainly a small sum when compared with the price of the free African labourer, who is not obliged to work so long, and who receives a dollar a day, without his food. But it is to be considered that a planter is at much more expense with the Coolie, in selecting and sending him to the Mauritius, and for his passage on his return to Bengal. If these conditions are broken, they can claim their discharge, and have a passage provided to Bengal; but I never heard of such a case, although I knew at least one example of a jeweller, who had been persuaded to take an advance of money, and, instead of being employed in his own calling, was, he said, ill-treated for not working as a labourer. He persevered in his determination, not to degrade himself in this manner, and at last a passage was provided for him, and he returned to Bengal in the *Sterling*. In another case, a respectable Zemindar's son was inveigled away, and carried to the Mauritius. I did not

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hear the result of this man's case, but he complained much on the passage of the manner in which he had been deceived, and shipped on board the Earl of Clare. These, however, may be considered as exceptions to a general rule, as they were the only cases I saw in which dissatisfaction was exhibited.

15. It is not, however, to be supposed that no means are provided for bringing to light cases of ill-treatment among the Indian free labourers, or that they are not capable of giving vent to their wrongs. After residing for some time in the Mauritius, they get more muscular in their bodies, and more energetic in their minds. They are thrown among the apprentices, who, jealous and suspicious of their masters, impart a portion of their dissatisfaction to the free labourers, and they in their turn complain. Nor do their complaints remain unheard; for they are defended in their rights by an upright class of district magistrates, usually English, who investigate every complaint, and their masters are severely punished on conviction. So much is this the case, that the chief judicial authority on the island informed me, that in the list of crimes on the island, which is transmitted to him daily, the most common were "the theft of fowls, &c., among the apprentices, pretended ill-treatment among the free Indians, and defamation among the free negroes and creoles." This proves that an even-handed justice is dealt out to the free Indian labourer, and that he is not slow in availing himself of it, and even lodging complaints, that, after a legal investigation, are very often found to be "pretended."

16. I have had some opportunities of knowing the condition in which the natives are in at Beerbhoom, the quarter from whence a great many come, which I think it proper that I should mention. In that district, the necessaries of life are obtained with much difficulty, and labour is so cheap that, a native will carry a box or parcel to Calcutta, and back again, for two and a half rupees, a distance from Calcutta of 127 miles, or at the rate of a rupee for each 100 miles. There you procure a strong expert day labourer for two pice a day. Indeed, such is the difficulty of procuring the necessaries of life in that quarter, that many of the inhabitants leave their homes and families for several months every year in search of work at indigo factories in the plains, which is the cause of the facility with which they take advances for the Mauritius.

17. In conclusion, I beg leave to state that if free labourers are to be allowed to be taken to the Mauritius, proper checks should be instituted by which individuals cannot be forced to leave their country by unfair means, by which proper space shall be allowed for each individual, and by which proper treatment shall be ensured, medical attendance provided, and good diet allowed, with persons appointed to prepare it during the voyage to and from the Mauritius. If such a law could be enforced, I believe the exportation of Coolies cannot be properly or justly prevented without infringing on that right which as British subjects they can claim, of employing their labour and energies in any manner and at any place they may choose; particularly as they seem to understand the conditions on which they go, although they may be ignorant of the geographical position of the island, and are capable and have the means of defending their rights agreeably to the terms of their contract.

18. The advantages which the Coolie possesses in the Mauritius will certainly go on increasing; for such is the sensuality and want of care of the African negroes, that their race threatens to become extinct in the island in a few generations. They are not prolific, and the mortality among the infants is already fearfully on the increase, amounting to the death of half the children during the first year; a large proportion of whom die within the nine first days after birth. This large population is to have their liberty in a few years, when this mortality must be expected to increase, as they will then be left to their own resources.

19. The mild temper and cautious habits of the Hindoo, with the increased energy which the fine climate produces, renders him a much superior character to the African negro. It is a pity more encouragement is not given to the Hindoo to take his wife and children with him, so as to prevent the misery that too often is the consequence of the absence of the support of the family, and would prevent him getting into disputes with the negroes about females. This, I have no doubt, would often induce the Indian free labourer to remain in a country where he enjoys so many and great advantages over that of his own country.

Hooghly, 19 September 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) Thomas A. Wise, M. D.

No. 9.

(No. 220.)

To T. Dickens, Esq., &c. &c. &c., Calcutta,

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 30th August last, which an accident has prevented my replying to earlier, requesting me to ascertain, if possible, for the information of the committee, of which you are chairman, what are the inducements usually held out to the Coolies, in the neighbourhood of this district, to come down to Calcutta, and to proceed beyond sea for employment.

These Coolies are not brought down from the district under my charge, but from the Maunbhoom and Hazareebaugh districts, in the jurisdiction of the agent to the Governor-general, south-west frontier; so that I am unable to furnish any information on the subject, except

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except very generally and from report only, and I should recommend your applying for particulars on this head to Lieutenant Hannyngton, at Purulia, or Captain Bird, at Hazareebangh.

Appendix:

I have, &c.

(signed) *H. C. Halkett*,
Officiating Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector.

Bancoorah, Joint Magistrate and
Deputy Collector's Office,
11 October 1838.

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to Government.

SIR.—I have the honour to report, for the information of government, that the firm of Willis & Earle, of this town, have made application for permits for 60 Indian labourers to be shipped on board the Peter Proctor, consigned to Sydney.

Messrs. Willis & Earle having complied with all the conditions prescribed by the Act, I have no power to refuse the permits required; but as this is a novel case, I lose no time in reporting the same, and beg that I may receive instruction for my guidance with all practical despatch, as the Peter Proctor will have cleared the Custom-house in all this day, and leaves town, I believe, the day after to-morrow.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent Indian Labourers.

22 August 1837.

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to Government.

SIR.—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23d instant, relative to the application of the firm of Willis & Earle for permits for Indian labourers, consigned to Sydney per Peter Proctor. The above letter was received by me yesterday evening, the 25th instant, and I have now the pleasure of forwarding a copy of the register of the above Coolies, as called for in your letter.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent of Indian Labourers.

26 August 1837.

To *L. Hardman*, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Would you have the kindness to step over to my office about 11 o'clock? The airdar of the Coolies on board the Baboo has come to me to complain that the officers of the ship and the lascars and European sailors take liberties with the women belonging to the Coolies, and prevent both women and men from going forward, when they require to do so, to answer the calls of nature. The complainant, when remonstrating with (by his description) the chief officer, was beaten and abused, and, as he states, shoved overboard. Now this will never do. The man prays for redress, and he is entitled to it, and some measure must be adopted to prevent a recurrence of such treatment, or the whole body will take their opportunity to run off, and give a bad name, not only to the captains of the ships but to the shippers, and consequently you will get no Coolies to go. I wish to speak to you before I proceed further.

Yours, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*.

31 August 1837.

To the Chief Magistrate of Police, Port Louis, Isle of France.

SIR.—In continuation of my letter of the 5th August, I have now the pleasure to forward abstracts of my register of Indian labourers who have sailed on the ships noted in the margin.

I am anxiously waiting your reply to my last letter, and trust to hear that the system newly established has ensured every comfort to the labourers shipped from this port.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*, Captain,
Superintendent Calcutta Police.

Calcutta, 25 September 1837.

Bright Planet.
John Bagshaw.
Amwell.
Moulmein.
Baboo.
Luminy.
Farland.

Appendix.

To the Superintendent of Police, Port Louis, Isle of France.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that government have been pleased to appoint me to the duties of inspection, and granting permits to the Indian labourers consigned to the Mauritius from this port.

In performing these duties, I am anxious to do justice to all parties, and to secure to the labourer attention and comfort on the passage; but I must necessarily, at the outset, look to the information I may derive from the experience of persons situated as yourself.

Belzoni.
Lonach.
Carnatic.
Charles Heartley.

Since my entering on my duties, four ships, noted in the margin, have sailed from this port with Coolies for the Mauritius; of these, the Lonach has put back leaky, but it is yet uncertain whether she will be able to proceed on her voyage. I forward herewith copies of my register of the labourers embarked on each ship. In future the copy of the register shall be transmitted to you by the ship on which the labourers respectively embark.

A native doctor accompanies each consignment of labourers. The men are all vaccinated and inspected by a respectable medical practitioner before embarkation, so that no means have been neglected to ensure their leaving this port in a healthy state. The contract under which the labourers agree to serve is fully explained to them in my presence, and the descriptive roll of each inserted in the permit to ensure their identity. I have found them all not only willing but anxious to proceed, and perfectly contented with the terms of their agreement.

I am anxious to hear from you in what condition the labourers arrive at their destination. Each ship has been inspected by me; the provisions, water, fuel and medicine, calculated to last for a voyage of 60 days. Any remarks or suggestions that you may think it necessary to make shall be attended to and thankfully acknowledged.

Trusting that you will kindly comply with my request to be favoured with any suggestions your experience and personal observation may enable you to offer, I beg to subscribe myself, with consideration,

Yours, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent Calcutta Police.

Calcutta, 11 July 1837.

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India.

SIR,—It has been intimated to me, that in the course of a few days application will be made to me to grant permits to 300 Indian labourers to be shipped to Demerara.

As the Act gives me no discretionary power to grant or withhold permits with reference to the destination of the labourers, I beg to be honoured with instructions for my guidance on this occasion.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent of Police.

Calcutta, 30 November 1837.

To *J. Jackson*, Esq. (Messrs. *Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co.*)

MY dear Sir,—I went on board the *Whitby* yesterday afternoon. The space allotted for the Coolies is not sufficient for 300 men, taking into consideration the protracted voyage to Demerara. If you could remove the bags of rice, &c. now stowed between decks, the space would be sufficiently enlarged, and the ventilation would be better than it now is; it must be of consequence to you to ensure the health of the men shipped, independent of considerations of humanity; and as the ship is, I understand, intended to touch at the Cape, the quantity of rice might be reduced; in any case it would be better to diminish the cargo, stowing the provisions in the hold only, and thereby ensure sufficient room and ventilation for the men than run the risk of their arriving in shattered health, or their dying on the passage.

Yours, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*.

1 January 1838.

To *R. D. Mangles*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt yesterday of your letter of the 3d instant, forwarding copy of a letter from the secretary to the government of India, under date 18th ultimo, and calling on me to report whether I have any amendments to suggest on the Draft Act alluded to, in Mr. Secretary Macnaghten's letter, and published in the Calcutta Gazette of the 30th ultimo.

In reply, I beg to state that the provisions of the above Draft Act appear to me to embrace all the points required to be provided for by legislative enactment; the former Act containing the same provisions, and which has been in force from 1st June last, has, as far as my experience extends, secured all the objects contemplated.

I was

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I was desired, in a letter from Mr. Secretary Prinsep, dated 17th May last, to frame and submit to his Lordship's consideration rules as to the proportion of men to tonnage, amount of water, provisions, &c. so soon as I should have sufficient experience in that part of the duties; and I am only waiting the receipt of replies to my letter of the chief police authorities of Port Louis, in which I have requested information as to the state in which the labourers by the first five ships shall have arrived at the Mauritius, to fulfil his Lordship's injunctions on this head.

Appendix.

Entered, 3 January 1838.
Superintendent's Office, 12 October 1837.

I have, &c.
(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent Calcutta Police.

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to Government of India.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward copy of register of Indian labourers shipped by Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co. on board the *Whitby*, Captain Swinton, consigned to Demerara and Berbice.

Calcutta, 18 January 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent of Police.

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward copy of register of Indian labourers shipped by Messrs. Gillanders, Arbuthnot & Co. on board the *Hesperus*, Captain Baxter, consigned to Demerara.

Calcutta, 30 January 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent of Police.

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India.

SIR,—I have now the honour, in obedience to the instructions contained in the fourth paragraph of your letter of the 17th May 1837, to forward for submission to government the enclosed draft of rules to be observed by the shippers of labourers from this port, with the sanction of government; I propose to have copies of these rules printed for distribution.

I have also the honour to forward in original Captain Finniss's letters in reply to my communication of the 11th July 1837, together with a copy of that communication; these papers I beg may be returned to me for record.

I find the shippers perfectly willing to meet the views and wishes of government as respects the comfort of the labourers, and ready to attend to any suggestion that I make to them. There is, however, one point which I find it any difficulty to arrange, viz. the reduction in the advance made to the labourer. The present rate of six months' advance is most injurious to the labourers, and tempts the cupidity of the duffadars or crimps, who run up heavy accounts against them, the items of which the ignorance of the labourers cannot disprove; the consequence is, that in very few instances more than two or three rupees remain to each individual, and that is all he has to look to for four or perhaps five months after his arrival in the colony. I have endeavoured by every possible means of influence and intimidation to check this extortion and robbery of the unfortunate labourers, but with little success. The shippers themselves are aware of the extent of the evil, and are anxious to put a stop to it, but are afraid to take any active part, lest the duffadars withhold their supplies of men, and embarrass their transactions.

It is difficult to suggest a remedy, but if I had the power of direct interference in the settlement of accounts, and if a regulation could be passed, making it imperative on the duffadars, under penalties, to register themselves in my office, and also to register the men they bring down within 24 hours of arrival, I should possess a very effective check over these men, and be better able to protect the interest of the labourers.

Superintendent's Office,
8 February 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent of Police.

The following Rules are to be strictly observed by Shippers of Indian Labourers from the Port of Calcutta.

RULES.

1st. Four full days' notice must be given of intention to ship labourers, stating the number of men, the name of the ship on which they are intended to be embarked, her tonnage, and where lying in the river; the quantity of provisions, water, medicines about to be sent on board for the use of the labourers, and the space intended to be allotted to them.

2d. Parties applying for permits must produce the authority of the government of the colony for the introduction of labourers into that colony.

3d. The following form must be observed in giving notice of intention to ship labourers :

To Superintendent of Police.

Sir,—I beg to forward an authentic copy of the authority of the government of _____ for the introduction of labourers into that colony, and to inform you that it is my intention to embark _____ labourers on board the _____ of _____ tonnage burthen, now lying in the river off _____ Ghat, and request you will inspect her accommodations.

The space allotted to the accommodation of the labourers is from the aft to the _____ forward, being _____ feet.

The quantity of water on board intended for the use of the labourers is _____ gallons.

The provisions on board are as per enclosed list.

The medicines on board are as per enclosed list, and have been examined and passed by _____ surgeon, as sufficient for _____ men.

The fuel on board is _____ maunds. I request you will appoint a day and hour for passing the labourers above mentioned.

I remain, &c.

Calcutta, (date.)

4th. The quantity of water and provisions to be calculated as follows, with reference to length of the voyage :

Ships sailing in January	-	- 40 days.	Ships sailing in July	-	- 65 days.
" February	-	45 "	" August	-	60 "
" March	-	50 "	" September	-	56 "
" April	-	56 "	" October	-	50 "
" May	-	60 "	" November	-	40 "
" June	-	60 "	" December	-	40 "

5th. The quantity of water allowed to each labourer to be not less than five pints per day, and the quantity of provisions to each man not less than the following:—Rice, 14 chittacks; dholl, two ditto; ghee or oil, half ditto; salt, quarter ditto; turmeric, half ditto; onions, half ditto; and tobacco, one ditto; per diem.

6th. The medicines to be passed by some medical practitioner as of good quality, and sufficient in quantity for the number of men shipped. A European or native doctor must be provided for each ship; if a native, to be registered at the office of the superintendent.

7th. Each ship will be allowed to take in the proportion of one labourer to one and a half tons of actual tonnage. Should any ship take the full complement allowed, in such case the whole of the 'tween decks, from the stern ports aft to the foremast forward, must be given up to the accommodation of the labourers without encumbrance of any kind.

8th. The labourers must be brought to the office of the superintendent on the day and at the hour fixed, and the whole must have been previously vaccinated, and passed as free from disease of any kind, by some medical practitioner.

9th. Each permit must state the name of the labourer, the name of the party to whom consigned (and where practicable the name of the estate on which the labourers to work), the nature of the work to be performed, the fixed hours of labour and refreshment, the period of service, rate of wages, daily rations and quantity of clothing allowed; to be contained in the body of the permit, and at foot to be inserted a memorandum of the number of months' wages in Calcutta.

10th. Each permit must be filled up in every particular, or will be liable to rejection.

(signed) *F. W. Birch,*
Superintendent of Police.

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Appendix.

To Captain *Fimiss*, Chief Commissary of Police, Port Louis.

SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 25th October, 15th and 17th November, and return you my best thanks for your kind attention to my request.

Your highly interesting letter of the 25th October shall receive early attention; many points connected with its contents have been submitted by me to government, and I hope to receive instructions in a few days, when I will communicate with you more in detail.

I have to apologise for not having sent the accompanying papers as intended by each respective ship; sickness of establishment and other causes have prevented my doing so; but I have now made arrangements which will ensure regular transmission of these documents in future.

I have, &c.

Superintendent's Office,
13 February 1838.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*, Captain,
Superintendent of Police.

Per the following ships:

Belzoni.	Alfred.	Bombay.
Thomas Snook.	Victoria.	Christopher Rawson.
Donna Pascoa.	Elizabeth.	Donna Carmelita (Helen), and
Arab.	Herefordshire.	Lord Auckland.
Indian Oak.	Raj Rancee.	

(signed) *F. W. Birch*.

To Captain *Fimiss*, Chief Commissary of Police, Port Louis.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward a register of labourers proceeding on the Cavendish Bentinck.

You will oblige me by making inquiries after the following individuals, whose friends are anxious to have accounts of their welfare, and have requested me to make this application.

1. Nussel, age about 40 years, five feet six in height, stout make, dark brown complexion, no marks; is a sirdar, in the service of a Monsieur Charlot; caste Moochee; he has been absent nearly three years, working on an estate situated about 20 miles east of Port Louis.

2. Sreenath, caste Moochee, age about 30 years, thin, dark brown complexion, no marks; is in the service of a Monsieur Hunter, who lives near the great church; absent about three years. Their friends are well, but anxious for their return to their country, and wish to receive accounts of their welfare.

A man of the name of Beekoree, who proceeds on the Cavendish Bentinck, and one of the crew, can point these people out. The description is somewhat defective, but there was no register of labourers previous to my appointment.

I have, &c.

Calcutta, 16 February 1838.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent of Police.

To *H. V. Bayley*, Esq., Officiating Deputy Secretary to Government of India.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, (received by me on Saturday last, the 3d instant), forwarding copy of a letter from the Colonial Secretary at Mauritius, dated 19th December 1837, relative to the arrival of the ship *Mary Ann* at the colony, without any medical attendant on board.

In reply, I beg to state that an engagement was made with the captain of the *Mary Ann*, by the shippers of the labourers on board that vessel, to provide a medical attendant, and I was fully assured that he was on board when the vessel dropped down from Coolie Bazar. One instance has occurred in that of the *Belzoni*, which put to sea without a medical attendant. A man had been engaged for her, and his chest, &c. went on board with him; but finding that he had forgotten some little article, he left the ship to procure it, and meantime the ship dropped. The moment the report was made to me, I sent people to search for him, and he was found in the bazar. I immediately despatched him after the ship, and the boat proceeded as far as Kedgerie, but returned without having succeeded in overtaking the ship. This was entirely accidental and unforeseen, and is, I believe, the only instance of any ship, except the *Mary Ann*, having left the port without a medical attendant on board; and, in the case of the *Mary Ann*, I was assured that the native engaged had proceeded on board.

There is at times great difficulty in procuring medical attendants to accompany the labourers, but it is a point which has always been insisted on; and I know that both captains and shippers are anxious, for their own sakes, to engage competent persons to undertake the charge.

I have, &c.

Calcutta, 7 March 1838.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent of Indian Labourers.

To Messrs. *Haworth, Hardman & Co.*

DEAR Sirs,—I have just returned from the inspection of the Haidee, and beg to say that the space allotted is not by any means sufficient for the number of men you intend sending in her. I cannot consent to the men being shipped on board this vessel, unless the clear space between the main and fore masts is given up to their accommodation. I beg also to remind you, that no ship can be allowed to leave this port without a medical attendant; and should a native doctor be employed, it is absolutely necessary that he be registered in my books.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch.*

Calcutta, 7 March 1833.

To Captain *Finniss*, Principal Commissary of Police, Port Louis.

SIR,—I have now the opportunity of replying more fully to your letter of the 23d October, but will first acknowledge the receipt of your several communications of the 15th and 17th November, and the 4th, 13th and 14th December, all of which are highly satisfactory.

2d. The rules (a copy of which I herewith forward) are modified from a draft made by me on the receipt of your letter under reply, the government doubting the propriety of adding any specified rules on points not provided for by the Act, of such a kind as to have the effect of imposing new restrictions on the export of labourers.

3d. Under this head is included the production of the authority of the government at Mauritius for the introduction of labourers into this colony, as suggested in your second paragraph.

4th. The engagements are now regularly made out in the names of the parties by whom the labourers are to be employed in your colony.

5th. The clause mentioned in your fourth paragraph has been made conditional, on consent of both parties, since 1st of June last.

6th. The subject of difference of rations is one which has had my close attention for some time past, but I have been unsuccessful in persuading the shippers here that it would be as well to regulate this matter in the first instance. They reply that the rations actually given are much more than the quantity inserted in the permits and agreements, but they wish to have the power of rewarding those who do work, and withholding from those who do not, and that the reservation of this power in their own hands has been found to operate beneficially as regards the labourers themselves.

7th. With regard to hours of labour and refreshment, it is now inserted in the agreements that from sunrise to sunset is to be the period allotted to labourers, deducting two hours for refreshment, as is customary in India; and this is clearly explained to and understood by the labourers. It is also explained to them, that in the sugar-making, when work is more heavy, they are liable to be called on to work occasionally at night, and to this they do not at all object.

8th. On the subject of the six months' advance, I addressed a circular to the shippers at this port, recommending the immediate reduction to four months, and ultimately to two, instancing Madras and Pondicherry, where it has always been customary to give only two months. In reply, the shippers cordially adopted my suggestion, and declared their intention of reducing the advance forthwith to four months; but I found that the delay in procuring labourers, in consequence of the duffadars holding back, induced some of the shippers (particularly those having ships taken up for export) to violate their pledge, and the pledge having been broken by some, the rest were compelled to follow their example. I next adopted the plan of explaining to the labourers that it was greatly to their interest to receive as little as possible here; pointed out to them how completely the duffadars managed to get hold of every fraction they received, and advised them to refuse to take more than two or three months at the outside, but without effect. I also addressed government on the subject, applying for authority to check the evil; but I was informed that, as the law at present stands, the government could not give me any authority to restrict the amount of advance to be allowed to each labourer, or in other respects to interfere with the conditions of the contracts.

9th. In your 9th paragraph you state, "It has frequently happened that individuals arriving here are not the persons really engaged and borne upon the lists." I trust that this has been put a stop to by the descriptive roll of each party inserted in the permits, and which has obtained since my nomination to the superintendency.

10th. It is fully explained to the men that field labour is what they are generally engaged for, and as all in this country of the lower orders are accustomed to till the ground, there ought not to be any difficulty experienced on this head.

11th. The mode adopted by me of registering the wife and family at foot of the husband's permit will, I trust, have checked the evil complained of in your 11th paragraph.

12th. The suggestion contained in your 12th paragraph has been now generally adopted, and I have in most instances recommended that the selection of sirdars be left to the planters themselves, as the fittest judges on this point.

13th. The return of individuals sent back from the Mauritius, as promised in your 13th paragraph, will be most useful to this department. It is my usual custom to examine all those who return, and their constant account is, that, being unable from sickness to work, they have been returned to Calcutta; but I have no means of testing the accuracy of their statements, a defect which the returns promised by you will remedy.

14th. It

14th. It is now clearly understood by the labourers that the Mauritius is not the Eldorado which they hitherto have imagined it to be; indeed they have had frequent opportunities of hearing pretty fair accounts of matters as they really are from those who return from the place, and can form a pretty correct judgment.

15th. I am obliged by the kind offer of your last paragraph, and have made known to the labourers, since the receipt of your letter, that they will have an opportunity of communicating with their friends. The letter enclosed in yours of the 13th December shall reach its destination so soon as I can get any one to decipher the Persian direction; it is so ill written that, though pretty well accustomed to Persian writing, I cannot decipher the direction on this letter, nor can any of my native moonshees give me any assistance.

16th. I beg to tender you my thanks for your communication under reply, and trust that I shall from time to time be favoured with any observations that your further experience may suggest.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch,*
Superintendent of Indian Labourers.

Calcutta, 29 March 1838.

To Messrs. *D'Souza & Co.*

GENTLEMEN,—I am informed that you are the owners of the barque *Donna Pascoa*, about to sail with Indian labourers to the Isle of France. On her former voyage I inspected and approved of her accommodations, and having been informed by the applicants for permits that the whole of the lower deck would be given up to the accommodation of the labourers this time also, I have given permits to the extent of about 400.

I am now informed that two-thirds of the lower deck are occupied with light freight, water-casks and provisions, and as I cannot allow the labourers to proceed on her unless the lower deck be given up for their accommodation, I shall feel obliged by your giving the necessary directions to have the lower deck cleared to as far forward as the foremast.

Two native doctors will also be required to proceed in charge of the labourers, and I am informed that you have engaged to provide them; I therefore beg to remind you, that it is requisite that the native doctors be registered at my office before proceeding on board, and that the ship cannot be allowed to proceed without them.

I herewith forward a copy of the rules which have been approved of by government, and beg particularly to draw your attention to Rules VI. and VII.

I remain, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch,*
Supt. Calcutta Police.

Calcutta, 12 April 1838.

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to Government of India.

SIR,—I have the honour to submit, in original, the application of Mr. *Gardyne* to be permitted to embark six Indian labourers for the Cape of Good Hope, and solicit the instructions of government.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch,*
Supt. Indian Labourers.

Calcutta, 14 April 1838.

To *A. Gardyne*, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to inform you that government sanction your exporting six Indian labourers to the Cape of Good Hope.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch,*
Superintendent of Police.

Calcutta, 30 April 1838.

To Captain *Finniss*, Principal Commissary of Police, Port Louis.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward register of India labourers embarked on the *Lancier* about to sail from this port.

I beg to enclose a letter from a native woman to her husband *Deen Mahommed*, who went from this as a labourer about a year and a half ago. As no register was at that time kept, I have no means of ascertaining any particulars concerning the man, but you may be enabled to find him out.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch,*
Superintendent Calcutta Police.

Calcutta, 2 May 1838.

Appendix.

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to Government of India.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward in duplicate, copy of register of Indian labourers embarked for the Cape of Good Hope on board the *Frederick Huth*.

I have also the honour to forward duplicate copies of the register of Indian labourers who embarked for Demerara on board the *Whitby* and *Hesperus*, agreeably to the requisition contained in your letter of 31st January last.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent Indian Labourers.

Superintendent's Office, 11 May 1838.

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to Government of India.

SIR,—I beg to forward in original a letter received this day from Messrs. *Haworth*, *Hardman & Co.*, and request the instructions of government with regard to granting or withholding permits.

I also take this opportunity of forwarding 12 copies of the amended rules for embarkation of labourers, as approved by the government of Bengal.

I beg that Messrs. *H. & Co.*'s letter may be returned.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent of Police.

Calcutta, 31 May 1838.

To Messrs. *Haworth*, *Hardman & Co.*

DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to reply to your communication of the 31st ultimo, that the Honourable the Deputy-governor of Bengal declines giving his sanction to the grant of further passes for the exportation of Coolies to the West Indies, pending the consideration about to be given in England to the great question of managing or preventing the export of Indian labourers to that quarter. His Honor, however, intends to lay the question before the government of India.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent Calcutta Police.

20 June 1838.

To Captain *Finniss*, Principal Commissary of Police, Port Louis.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward abstract register of Indian labourers proceeding by the *Donna Carmelita*.

I am happy to inform you that I have strong hopes of government issuing immediate orders, regulating the advance of wages, restricting the amount to three months.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*.

Calcutta, 4 June 1838.

(No. 783.)

To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police.

Sir,

Police Department, Port Louis, 23 May 1838.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th of February, with its several enclosures, for which I beg to return you my best thanks.

Nothing of moment has occurred since I last wrote you, and I have only to mention the impossibility of sending you returns of the Indians who are sent back for misconduct, it is so difficult to get the masters to arrange for their passages till the last moment of the vessel's sailing, and she has generally sailed before I can ascertain what men are really gone.

There is, however, one thing I must mention, that no Indian labourer is ever sent away without his own consent being freely given and recorded in this office, and if in any case he refuses it, the matter is submitted to the proper magistrate, who cancels the engagement. Every attention is paid at this office to any claims they may set up for wages or otherwise, so that any claim they may prefer in India must be groundless.

The description of men now arriving is better than formerly; scarcely any complaints are made of ill-treatment during the passage, and their general appearance is healthier.

I have, &c.

(signed) *John Finniss*, Chief Commissary of Police.

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AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES. 183

Appendix.

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to Government of India.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward copy of a letter received on Saturday evening from Captain *Finniss*, chief commissary of police, Port Louis, for submission to government.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent Calcutta Police.

Calcutta, 25 June 1838.

To Captain *Finniss*, Principal Commissary of Police, Port Louis.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward abstract register of Indian labourers proceeding by the *Edward* and *Victoria*.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent Calcutta Police.

Calcutta, 11 July 1838.

To Captain *Finniss*, Principal Commissary of Police, Port Louis.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward abstract register of Indian labourers proceeding by the *Edward* and *Lord Auckland*.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent Calcutta Police.

Calcutta, 23 July 1838.

To Messrs. *Tiron & Pandelle*.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE just returned from on board the *William Lockerby*. There are complaints about the cooking choolah; one is certainly not sufficient, and I would recommend your sending, in room of the contrivance now on board, four of the common choolahs, which would satisfy the Coolies.

I would recommend you not giving the wages of the Coolies into the hands of the captain, but your paying the amount at once into the hands of the men themselves. They are not inclined to be satisfied with any other arrangement.

Bissoo, No. 222, is unwilling to proceed; *Mukkah*, No. 107, is very sick and not fit to send. I request the above men may be brought on shore, and before me, for the purpose of cancelling their permits.

The ayahs complain that the clothes promised them yesterday have not been sent on board; these little matters should be attended to, if you wish the people to be pleased and contented.

A lad named *Sewdeen* is anxious that his brother be allowed to accompany him; as you have lost some of your men, you might find room for him, and I trust you will so arrange.

I have spoken to the chief mate, and requested him to inform the captain that the labourers on board must have from the main hatchway to the foremast, so that both hatchways may be open to them. Should the captain object, I shall address government, with the view to stop the ship. I am going on board in the course of to-morrow, and shall expect to find the space I have defined clear.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent of Police.

Calcutta, 22 August 1838.

P. S.—I would also recommend your sending some parched gram on board, as the ship is likely to be detained a few days; it will cost you little; and if you do not, you will lose several men; a little parched gram will satisfy and content them, and save you from ultimate loss.

Appendix.

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to Government of India.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward in duplicate, copy of register of Indian labourers embarked for the Cape of Good Hope on board the *Frederick Huth*.

I have also the honour to forward duplicate copies of the register of Indian labourers who embarked for Demerara on board the *Whitby* and *Hesperus*, agreeably to the requisition contained in your letter of 31st January last.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,

Superintendent's Office, 11 May 1838.

Superintendent Indian Labourers.

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to Government of India.

SIR,—I beg to forward in original a letter received this day from Messrs. *Haworth, Hardman & Co.*, and request the instructions of government with regard to granting or withholding permits.

I also take this opportunity of forwarding 12 copies of the amended rules for embarkation of labourers, as approved by the government of Bengal.

I beg that Messrs. *H. & Co.*'s letter may be returned.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*.

Calcutta, 31 May 1838.

Superintendent of Police.

To Messrs. *Haworth, Hardman & Co.*

DEAR SIRs,—I have the pleasure to reply to your communication of the 31st ultimo, that the Honourable the Deputy-governor of Bengal declines giving his sanction to the grant of further passes for the exportation of Coolies to the West Indies, pending the consideration about to be given in England to the great question of managing or preventing the export of Indian labourers to that quarter. His Honor, however, intends to lay the question before the government of India.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,

20 June 1838.

Superintendent Calcutta Police.

To Captain *Finniss*, Principal Commissary of Police, Port Louis.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward abstract register of Indian labourers proceeding by the *Donna Carmelita*.

I am happy to inform you that I have strong hopes of government issuing immediate orders, regulating the advance of wages, restricting the amount to three months.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*.

Calcutta, 4 June 1838.

(No. 783.)

To Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of Police.

Sir,

Police Department, Port Louis, 23 May 1838.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th of February, with its several enclosures, for which I beg to return you my best thanks.

Nothing of moment has occurred since I last wrote you, and I have only to mention the impossibility of sending you returns of the Indians who are sent back for misconduct, it is so difficult to get the masters to arrange for their passages till the last moment of the vessel's sailing, and she has generally sailed before I can ascertain what men are really gone.

There is, however, one thing I must mention, that no Indian labourer is ever sent away without his own consent being freely given and recorded in this office, and if in any case he refuses it, the matter is submitted to the proper magistrate, who cancels the engagement. Every attention is paid at this office to any claims they may set up for wages or otherwise, so that any claim they may prefer in India must be groundless.

The description of men now arriving is better than formerly; scarcely any complaints are made of ill-treatment during the passage, and their general appearance is healthier.

I have, &c.

(signed) *John Finniss*, Chief Commissary of Police.

To

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES. 183

Appendix.

To *H. T. Prinsep*, Esq., Secretary to Government of India.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward copy of a letter received on Saturday evening from Captain *Finniss*, chief commissary of police, Port Louis, for submission to government.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent Calcutta Police.

Calcutta, 25 June 1838.

To Captain *Finniss*, Principal Commissary of Police, Port Louis.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward abstract register of Indian labourers proceeding by the *Edward* and *Victoria*.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent Calcutta Police.

Calcutta, 11 July 1838.

To Captain *Finniss*, Principal Commissary of Police, Port Louis.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward abstract register of Indian labourers proceeding by the *Edward* and *Lord Auckland*.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent Calcutta Police.

Calcutta, 23 July 1838.

To Messrs. *Tiron & Pandelle*.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE just returned from on board the *William Lockerby*. There are complaints about the cooking choolah; one is certainly not sufficient, and I would recommend your sending, in room of the contrivance now on board, four of the common choolahs, which would satisfy the Coolies.

I would recommend you not giving the wages of the Coolies into the hands of the captain, but your paying the amount at once into the hands of the men themselves. They are not inclined to be satisfied with any other arrangement.

Bissoon, No. 222, is unwilling to proceed; *Mukkah*, No. 107, is very sick and not fit to send. I request the above men may be brought on shore, and before me, for the purpose of cancelling their permits.

The ayahs complain that the clothes promised them yesterday have not been sent on board; these little matters should be attended to, if you wish the people to be pleased and contented.

A lad named *Sewdeen* is anxious that his brother be allowed to accompany him; as you have lost some of your men, you might find room for him, and I trust you will so arrange.

I have spoken to the chief mate, and requested him to inform the captain that the labourers on board must have from the main hatchway to the foremast, so that both hatchways may be open to them. Should the captain object, I shall address government, with the view to stop the ship. I am going on board in the course of to-morrow, and shall expect to find the space I have defined clear.

I have, &c.

(signed) *F. W. Birch*,
Superintendent of Police.

Calcutta, 22 August 1838.

P. S.—I would also recommend your sending some parched gram on board, as the ship is likely to be detained a few days; it will cost you little; and if you do not, you will lose several men; a little parched gram will satisfy and content them, and save you from ultimate loss.

RETURN given from Mr. C. B. Taylor, of Bancaorah, in consequence of a Request of the LANDHOLDERS' SOCIETY, that he would make Inquiries, and furnish the Result, as to the Number of Men who had gone from the neighbouring Districts, and the Inducements held out to them to go to the Mauritius.

No. 1.

LIST of the Men who went to the Mauritius from various Villages, 1838.

Name of Zillah.	Name of Pergunnah.	Name of the Place of Residence.	Name of the Person gone to Mauritius.	Name of Legal Representative.	Name of the Party who induced these Men to go.	Particulars of the Circumstances.
Bancaorah	Bisnoopore	Deegpara	Koozal Dorepot	-- his father, Jogoy Dorepot.	- -	-- said you will get pay at five per month; if you wish can come home yearly; five years you should remain there; afterwards remain or not, as you please; but it is now two or three years; not returned nor sent any money; their profession is labour. At present their families, for want of food, are begging from door to door.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Donye Dorepot	- ditto	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	Banktory	Pyka	Mogun Maul	Beejoy Maul	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	Khalgram	Lukhna Manjee	Puteel Manjee	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Gocool Manjee	- ditto	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	Decoly	Satoo Roy	- ditto	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	Beeburda	Bhobany Bawory	-- his wife, Dooknoo Bawory.	- -	-- it was said to him that monthly five rupees should be sent to his house; whenever you choose you may return; we shall bring the money; his profession labour; wife now supported by begging.
Ditto	- ditto	Loogry	Nundo Bawory	Balub Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Sartuc Bawory	Cheenebas Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Gunga Bawory	Bhema Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Poteet Bawory	Lochun Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Bheem Bawory	Puresh Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Gocool Bawory	Kisto Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Kanto Bawory	Sudhoo Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Gopaul Bawory	Unoop Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	Bamondiha	Mogun Bawory	Mangram Bawory	- -	-- carried away, offering five rupees monthly pay; and to return whenever inclined; not far distant; one day's journey from Calcutta; has not returned three years; profession, cultivator of Indian corn, &c.; now his family is in great distress for maintenance.
Ditto	- ditto	Torepore	Khawa Bawory	Bhika Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	Harmasra	Cheera Bawory	Joga Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	-- Chota Cheera Bawory.	Kebala Bawory	- -	-- all as before, except his profession is labour.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Nobin Bawory	Saful Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Persaud Bawory	-- his wife, Sreemutty Dossey.	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Comol Bawory	Sadhoo Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	Khuchoho	Puncha Bawory	Cheedam Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	-- Chota Mogun Bawory.	- - his wife, Sreemutty Pearee.	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Boro Mogun Bawory	Lukhun Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	Khurpye	Rugonoth Bawory	Ghaneram Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Moocheram Bawory	Chundee Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	Rampore	Rakhal Bawory	Joogul Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	Bisnoopore	Agurdow	Modoo Manjee	Sadhoo Manjee	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	Dyrika	Beeroo Bawory	Bindabun Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Mogun Bawory	Odyt Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Gopaul Bawory	Konye Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Anund Bawory	Prosaud Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	- ditto	Kisto Bawory	Poteet Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	Pithyepore	Heeroo Bawory	Jugonoth Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	- ditto	Beechurya	Golanu Bawory	Huree Bawory	- -	-- all as above, except very poor, and starving for want of food.

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES.

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Name of Zillah.	Name of Pergunnah.	Name of the Place of Residence.	Name of the Person gone to Mauritius.	Name of Legal Representative.	Name of the Party who induced these Men to go.	Particulars of the Circumstances.
Bancoorah	Bisnoopore	Deehur	Prosaud Bawory	Konoye Bawory	-	- all as before, except very poor, and starving for want of food.
Ditto	ditto	Modoobun	Jotaram Lohar	Sudoy Lohar	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Nobin Lohar	Hulodhur Lohar	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Mohun Lohar	Mutyram Lohar	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Batdewly	Konoy Gope	Goluk Gope	-	ditto.
Pooroolya	Chatna	Pooroonar	Soobul Bhoomie	Anund Bhomie	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Koomeerda	Sartuc Mal	Kisto Mal	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Benasola	Nobin Bawory	Chand Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sona Bawory	Jadoo Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Bolye Bawory	Cheendee Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Soobunter	Seetul Bawory	Jankee Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	Mohesarya	Purrya	Seebou Bawory	Choytun Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Kendya	Soobul Bawory	Prema Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Sultoria	Cheedam Bawory	Kunteeram Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Moomeeavya	Nobin Bawory	his sister, Sreemuty Taramony.	-	ditto.
						at five rupees per month; if you choose, you can come home at the end of a year; five years to remain there, after which remain or not as you choose; but this is now two or three years; has not returned, nor sent any money; their families, for want of food, begging from door to door.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Jubon Bawory	Sona Bawory	-	- all as before; their families, for want of food, begging from door to door.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Pona Gundo Brenik	Nityanund	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Hara Brenik	ditto	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Rajra	Kena Bawory	Nufer Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	Rugonothpore	Kendo Danga	Hara Bagty	Jadoo Bagty	-	ditto, ditto, only their profession is labour.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sunyaree Bagty	Rhem Bagty	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Nerya	Bagroy Khyra	Sadoo Khyra	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Bamontorya	Jadoo Bawory	Sreekant Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Gupaul Bawory	Bena Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Metela	Sartuc Bawory	Sona Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Gungaram Bawory	Panchoo Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Goviudpore	Mogun Bhoomia	Jadoo Bhoomia	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Khetoo Bhoomia	Chand Bhoomia	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sagur Bhoomia	Premchand Bhoomia	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Shaghang	Bansey Bawory	Sunyasey Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Nufer Bawory	Ram Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Rangometya	Metoonjoy Bawory	his wife, Soobee Bewa	-	ditto.
Ditto	Khaspool	Latekboora	Mothoor Bawory	Bina Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Pulmja	Nemy Kotal	Choytun Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Anurya	Moneram Bawory	Sookdeb Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Dalyadang	Bindabun Bawory	Dookraj Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Dhoolyabad	Comol Bawory	Sartuc Bawory	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Chundunkeary	Gopal Rajwar	Bhim Rajwar	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Baboodih	Naloo Kowrea	Hulodhur Kowrea	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Mohun Baebary.	Sohun Rajwar	Chand Rajwar	-	ditto.
Ditto	Mohesarya	Parrea	Guda Rajwar	Bhim Rajwar	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Hara Rajwar	Puran Rajwar	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Tetoolhitee	Suroop Mahty	Kulyan Mahty	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Kulooa Rajwar	Sartuc Rajwar	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Bhurut Goala	Odyt Goala	-	ditto.
Ditto	Khaspool	Gubira	Dhunoo Manjie	Bhiea Manjie	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Luchee Manjie	his sister, Sreemuty Kistomoney.	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Hooktur	Govindo Rajwar	Luchoo Rajwar	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sobha Rajwar	Janockey Rajwar	-	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Sooteybera	Suhebram Rajwar	Soobul Rajwar	-	ditto.
						at five rupees per month; if you choose, may come home at the end of each year; you are to remain there for five years, after which remain or not as you may be inclined; to this period, two or three years, has not returned; their profession labour; their families, for want of food, begging from door to door.

Name of Zillah.	Name of Pargunnah.	Name of the Place of Residence.	Name of the Person gone to Mauritius.	Name of Legal Representative.	Name of the Party who induced these Men to go.	Particulars of the Circumstances.
Pooroolya -	Khaspool -	Ramrea -	Seba Bhooa -	Madendruth Bhooa -	- -	-- all as before; their families, for want of food, begging from door to door.
Ditto -	ditto -	Bunguria -	Dhonoa Manjie -	Gungarm Manjie -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Saburya -	Laloo Bawory -	Pureeketh Bawory -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Coloo Bawory -	Hela Bawory -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Woehuh Bawory -	Pudoo Bawory -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Tierda -	Bula Rajwar -	Soobul Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Dhuroo Rajwar -	Gour Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Pooturo -	Kena Mahaty -	-- his sister, Sreemuty Jugee.	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Sartue Rajwar -	Kena Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Rughoo Mahaty -	Nundo Mahaty -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Boodhoo Bhooa -	Bhoyrob Bhora -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Jeetoo Bhooa -	Harceeram Bhora -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Nagore -	Kisooa Rajwar -	Durga Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Neloo Rajwar -	Chunder Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Chundepore -	Buro Bisoo Korea -	Sreemut Korea -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Choto Bisoo Koria -	Buden Korea -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Monsa Koria -	Cartic Korea -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Jharrea -	Jadoo Rajwar -	Gonesh Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Kenoo Rajwar -	Nobin Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- Koombhurdoba.	Gooroochurn Rajwar -	Subbessur Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Wodulbony -	Suroop Rajwar -	Gysaram Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Soful Rajwar -	Puran Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Amchater -	Heera Bhooa -	Beeroo Bhooa -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Bissro doss Bhooa -	Jadoo Bhooa -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Hara Bhooa -	Sahadoo Bhooa -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Jadoo Bhooa -	Mogun Bhooa -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Ushoorband -	Nundo Rajwar -	Rampersaud Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Laghung Rajwar -	-- Sreemuty Mudy Rajwar.	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Raneepore -	Bychund Rajwar -	Konyy Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Makhydee -	Jugonoth Rajwar -	Tonoo Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Goorgoria -	Suroop Mahty -	Behary Mahty -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Gumbheer Bhooa -	Adhgaruth Bhooa -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Wodoyopore -	Suroop Bhooa -	Bissonauth Bhooa -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Hara Bhooa -	Juboon Bhooa -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Cossey Bhooa -	Lochun Bhooa -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Dabarcooley -	Meetoon Bhooa -	Gumbheer Bhooa -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Kisto Bhooa -	Sreemuty Dussey -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Baluk Bawory -	Khetoo Bawory -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Sunyasey Bhooa -	Deboo Bhooa -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Amchatera -	Pipin Bhooa -	Sunker Bhooa -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Saruthee Bhooa -	Pelaram Bhooa -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Ramchand Bhooa -	Chand Bhooa -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Mohrny -	Lal Bawory -	Kanto Bawory -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Siboo Coloo -	Soobul Coloo -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Sunyaseo Coloo -	Hulodhur Coloo -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Sam Brahmun -	Janooke Baman -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	-- Chundunkeary.	Choytun Rajwar -	Cheeneebas Rajwar -	- -	-- all as before; their families, for want of food, begging from door to door; nor sent any money.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Boodhoo Mal -	Modhoo Mal -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Anund Rajwar -	Cheeneebas Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Anoo Bawory -	Sibul Bawory -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Madhub Bawory -	Anund Bawory -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Gopal Rajwar -	Pelaram Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Chundipere -	Khooderam Rajwar -	Sodoy Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Monsa Koria -	Premchaund Koria -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Laloo Koria -	Asman Koria -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Bunmolly Koria -	Sookdeb Koria -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Lal Koria -	Ram Koria -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Baboodi -	Chooruram Dhangur -	Becho Dhangur -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Barkana -	Bona Rajwar -	Koosul Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Siba Rajwar -	Bhoyrob Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Nuloo Rajwar -	Chundre Rajwar -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Narain Bangal -	Huree Bangal -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Durga Bangal -	Madhub Bangal -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	Buntunya -	Sodoy Koormy -	Nundloll Koormy -	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto -	ditto -	- ditto -	Mishitum Koormy -	Dhuroo Koormy -	- -	- - ditto.

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES.

Name of Zillah.	Name of Pergannah.	Name of the Place of Residence.	Name of the Person gone to Mauritius.	Name of Legal Representative.	Name of the Party who induced these Men to go.	Particulars of the Circumstances.
Pooroolya	Khaspool	Fulory	Manik Bawory	Sam Bawory	- -	-- all as before; their families, for want of food, begging from door to door; nor sent any money.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Bhoobun Bawory	Hareerath Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Bhoyrob Rowany	Konoy Rowany	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Jeeto Bawory	Asa Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Semoolia	Dhona Bhoora	Chaund Bhoora	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Segur Rowany	Manik Rowany	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Drup Rowany	-- Sreemuty Hurie Bawory.	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sama Bhoora	Khetoo Bhoora	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Mogun Bawory	Gudoy Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Govindoo Bawory	Rughoonath Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Rooder Bawory	Jadoo Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Suhrejoory	Sobun Bawory	Wochul Bawory	- -	-- these were told that " You will get pay at five rupees per month; will have to remain there three years; besides pay, there are perquisites; by remaining a little time there, you will return with a competency; distance two days' journey from Calcutta; whenever inclined you may return." Their profession was labour; now their families have taken menial service for maintenance.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Mohun Bawory	Radhoy Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Moleyram Rajwar	Rammobun Rwar	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Barkama	Dolye Rajwar	Seetul Rajwar	- -	-- all as before; their families have taken menial service for maintenance.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Dhona Rajwar	Sam Rajwar	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Durjun Bangal	-- his mother, Sreemuty Peary.	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Seetul Rajwar	Manic Rajwar	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	-- Chundunkeary.	Choytun Bhoora	Lolmohun Bhoora	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Kurkota	Chand Moochy	Moodoo Moochy	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Gobra Moochy	Anund Moochy	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sadho Moochy	Bhagbut Moochy	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Furzun Patan	Hyder Patan	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Caseyberia	Dulul Dhoba	Kinoo Dhoba	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Monega	Kesc Bawory	Magua Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sadho Bawory	Muga Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Jeetoo Bawory	Hara Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Soondunbund	Moothoor Bawory	Tonoo Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Mogun Bawory	Sona Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Nuler Bawory	Punchoo Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Puranpore	Gowr Bawory	Prosad Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Mohender	Sadho Bawory	Sokbee Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Gocoal Dhobee	Jeetoo Dhobee	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Kistopore	Kena Bawory	Munsa Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Rugonothpore	Moodhoo Tamooly	Bisoo Tamoly	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Runkistopore	Gopal Bawory	Khetoo Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Bindabunpore	Beroo Mangie	Nehal Mangie	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Bora Mangie	Premchund Mangie	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Paulpore	Kasub Bawory	Jadoo Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Nobin Bawory	Soye Bawory	- -	- - ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Krepa Bawory	Bindabun Bawory	- -	- - ditto.

No. 2.

Zillah.	Pergunnah.	Village.	Men.	Zillah.	Pergunnah.	Village.	Men.
Bancoorah	Bissenpore	Digparry	2	Pooroola Maun-	Khaspore	Hooructury	9
Ditto	Bactory	Paeka	1	bloom.			
Ditto	ditto	Khagram	2	Ditto	ditto	Sootibara	1
Ditto	ditto	Dawooly	1	Ditto	ditto	Randy	1
Ditto	ditto	Beebnudda	1	Ditto	ditto	Bonegurra	1
Ditto	ditto	Noogurry	8	Ditto	ditto	Saubra	3
Ditto	ditto	Bamundiba	1	Ditto	ditto	Dhirda	2
Ditto	ditto	Tobepore	1	Ditto	ditto	Poorroo	5
Ditto	ditto	Harnusrah	5	Ditto	ditto	Naulpore	2
Ditto	ditto	Khitchka	3	Ditto	ditto	Chundipore	8
Ditto	ditto	Khirpae	2	Ditto	ditto	Shajra	2
Ditto	ditto	Rampore	1	Ditto	ditto	Coomirdoba	1
Ditto	Bissenpore	Augurda	1	Ditto	ditto	Woodulboney	2
Ditto	ditto	Darika	5	Ditto	ditto	Aumchatur	7
Ditto	ditto	Pitaeppore	1	Ditto	ditto	Ooorbaund	2
Ditto	ditto	Bierah	1	Ditto	ditto	Raneppore	1
Ditto	ditto	Debur	1	Ditto	ditto	Makedoho	1
Ditto	ditto	Mudoobun	3	Ditto	ditto	Goorgoora	2
Ditto	ditto	Bautdawooly	1	Ditto	ditto	Woodoyppore	3
Pooroola Maun-	Chautna	Poorundy	1	Ditto	ditto	Bbaraucoly	4
bloom.	ditto	Coomirda	1	Ditto	ditto	Mohodary	4
Ditto	ditto	Banasulla	3	Ditto	ditto	Barcama	9
Ditto	ditto	Soobultory	1	Ditto	ditto	Bogoola	2
Ditto	Moysara	Pabra	3	Ditto	ditto	Photody	4
Ditto	ditto	Cando	1	Ditto	ditto	Sunoola	1
Ditto	ditto	Saultorah	1	Ditto	ditto	Nagorah	6
Ditto	ditto	Moneyarrah	4	Ditto	ditto	Sohurjoory	3
Ditto	ditto	Rajrah	1	Ditto	ditto	Curcota	4
Ditto	Rugnath-	Cadadangee	2	Ditto	ditto	Casaibara	1
Ditto	pore.	Nara	1	Ditto	ditto	Mungang	3
Ditto	ditto	Bamuntore	2	Ditto	ditto	Sodurbaund	3
Ditto	ditto	Matela	2	Ditto	ditto	Foraunpore	1
Ditto	ditto	Govindpore	3	Ditto	ditto	Mohinda	2
Ditto	ditto	Saka	2	Ditto	ditto	Kistopore	1
Ditto	ditto	Rangahmata	1	Ditto	ditto	Rugnathpore	1
Ditto	Khaspore	Natekhole	1	Ditto	ditto	Ramehumpore	1
Ditto	ditto	Pulma	1	Ditto	ditto	Bindabunpore	2
Ditto	ditto	Aulurra	1	Ditto	ditto	Paunpore	3
Ditto	ditto	Bhangadangee	1				
Ditto	ditto	Dhonabanddy	1				
Ditto	ditto	Chunduncasury	8				
Ditto	ditto	Baboordy	2				
Ditto	ditto	Mohulbaboordy	1				
Ditto	Moysara	Tatoohety	3				
Ditto	Khaspore	Gohera	2				
		TOTAL	91			TOTAL	101

(signed) C. B. Taylor.

No. 3.

Name of the Zillah.	Name of the Pergunnah.	Place of Residence.	Name of the Person gone to Mauritius.	Name of his Legal Representative.	Under what Inducement taken away.	In what Manner Wages paid.	How their Families support themselves.
K. Manna- bhooma.	P. Joypoore	M. Tanaspy	Hurrekiato Sing	-- his father's name, Bhanganam Sing.	-- said, "You come to the Mauritius, will get you employ- ment;" having said this took away.	-- did not agree for any wages, but only stated the words as in last column, and carried away.	by labour.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Jorun Napet	-- his uncle's name, Haryram Napet.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Domun Mahata	-- his son's name, Jetroo Mahat.	ditto	ditto	by service.
Ditto	ditto	M. Batery	Lall Mahazy	-- his father's name, Duloo Mahaszy.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Hautyram Koomar	-- his eldest brother's name, Batery Koomar.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Ghasy Koomar	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	M. Kacha Hao	Kooladono Jolah	-- his father's name, Jornun Jolah.	ditto	ditto	by weaving.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sona Mahat	-- his son's name, Coora Mahat.	ditto	ditto	by driving plough.
Ditto	ditto	M. Jora Hao	Boorun Mahat	-- his son's name, Pucha Mahat.	ditto	ditto	-- by begging in vil- lages.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Tebawa Mahat	-- his son's name, Bahadoor Mahat.	ditto	ditto	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Domon Bhoosa	-- his wife's name, Soobhagosey Bewa.	ditto	ditto	by begging.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Bejey Moora	-- his father's name, Kareem Moora.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	P. Cho- kulpoore.	M. Haroon- derpoore.	Bodar Bogal	-- his brother, Doo- man Bogal.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	M. Thara	Bedoypal Tauty	-- his father, Lukir- am Paul Tauty.	ditto	ditto	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Siagroy Sawotan	-- his father's name, Boochram Sawotaa.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Suhadeh Sawotan	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Choona Sawotan	-- his son's name, Mahcoo Sawotan.	ditto	ditto	by begging.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Bhihakur Dome	-- his son's name, Roopa Dome.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	P. Khaspool	M. Assunahone	Nufar Dhoba	-- his son's name, Thakoor Dom Dhoba.	-- said, "Come with me to the Mauritius, will get you employ- ment."	-- no wages paid here, but said, "Will get you five or six rupees wages."	by washing cloth.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Mohun Dhoba	-- his wife, Doorga Dhobany.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Munglar	Azman Bhooyea	-- his son, Gourdy Bhoovee.	ditto	ditto	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Hunasing Ghatowal	-- his father, Geban Ghatowal.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Haroo Dhoba	-- his father, Motey- ram Dhoba.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Gansah Dhoba	-- his son, Sibdeen Dhoba.	ditto	ditto	by washing cloth.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Mogon Bhooyea	-- his son, Nufar Bhooyea.	-- said, "Come with me to the Mauritius, you will get 10 rupees pay per month."	ditto	by begging.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Mungle Rowanee	-- his son, Jadoosee Rowanee.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Chundensing Bhooyea.	Nufarung Bhooyea	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Bharusing Bhooyea	-- his wife, Motey Bewa.	ditto	ditto	by spinning thread.
Ditto	ditto	M. Tetoleya	Ram Komar	-- his son, Saroop Komar.	ditto	ditto	by pottery.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Saroop Komar	-- his sister, Cano Komarrey.	-- said, "O Baboo, can you go with me to Mauritius?" when my brother replied, "Yes, I will go; but what wages can you give me?" when he said, "I will give you wages at five rupees per month."	ditto	-- by working thread in spindle.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Tobeh Komar	-- his son's name, Jagon Komar.	ditto	ditto	by pottery.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Goneoram Napit	-- his brother, Pu- resh Napit.	ditto	ditto	by shaving.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Goverdhan Rajwar	-- his father, Runoo Rajwar.	ditto	ditto	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sageep Rajwar	-- his nephew, Lo- boo Rajwar.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Chundun- keyary.	Haradho Rajwar	-- his mother, Saboo Bewa.	ditto	ditto	by begging.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Khodoo Rajwar	-- his wife, Gowry Bewa.	-- do not recollect what inducement held out.	ditto	ditto.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Name of the Zillah.	Name of the Pargunnah.	Place of Residence.	Name of the Person gone to Mauritius.	Name of his Legal Representative.	Under what Inducement taken away.	In what Manner Wages paid.	How their Families support themselves.
K. Maunbhoom.	P. Khaspool	Chandunkeyaty	Monsaramwoody	-- his younger brother, Laloo Moody.	-- do not recollect what inducement held out.	-- no wages paid here; but said, "Will get you five or six rupees wages."	by begging.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	-- Soonder Moody and his brother, Govind Moody.	-- their younger brother, Nasulo Moody.	-- ditto; but two chaprasses came and carried them away; this is four or five years ago.	ditto	by shopping.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Buro Beesoo Moody	his son, Sam Moody	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Choto Beesoo Moody	-- his son, Soondar Moody.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Palundooroy	-- Gonsah Mongy Sawotun.	-- his brother, Monsaram Sawotun.	-- e, said, "Brother, will you go to Mauritius with me? I will give you pay four or five rupees a month, and get you an employment."	ditto	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Beeborun Sawotun	-- his brother, Sunyasoo Sawotun.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Harrodhun Moody	-- his father, Ukhael Moody.	ditto	ditto	by shopkeeping.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	-- Sherufkur Mussulman.	-- his father, Mehroolah Mussulman.	ditto	ditto	by begging.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Beedoy Tanty	-- his father, Churnaram Tanty.	ditto	ditto	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Soorut Mangie	-- his son, Bburhoo Mangie.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Rutiram Mangie	-- his brother, Goo-roochun Mangie.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Kooraram Mangie	-- his wife, Lense Bewa.	ditto	ditto	by begging.
Ditto	ditto	M. Lalpore	Dugul Dhoba	-- legal representative, Aloo Dhoba.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Jadoo Rajwar	-- his son, Dhanoo Rajwar.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Aloo Bawory	-- wife, Manee Baworeen.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Jogot Bawary	-- father, Poehun Bawory.	ditto	ditto	by labour.
Ditto	ditto	M. Cadbhuta	-- Dhonoo Sawotan Mangie.	-- his brother, Bhagbut Mangie.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	M. Pathera	Neeloo Rajwar	-- his brother, Kissen Rajwar.	ditto	ditto	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	M. Chadaha	Joorun Kamar	-- his wife, Lalmoney Kamoreen.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	M. Seesela	Haradhun Sawotan	-- his father, Boorun Sawotan.	ditto	ditto	by gardener's work.
Ditto	ditto	M. Patery	Seetul Bawory	-- his son, Coloo Bawory.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Amlabody	Boodhun Rajwar	-- his son, Joorun Rajwar.	ditto	ditto	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Jogun Rajwar	-- his son, Luckheram Rajwar.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Dhonuram Mahaty	-- his son, Sojooram Mahaty.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Monceram Mahaty	-- his nephew, Woodchul Mahaty.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Mohun Bawory	-- his son, Bhugeruth Bawory.	ditto	ditto	by gardener's work.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sohun Rajwar	his son, Lol Rajwar	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Nundo Rajwar	-- his wife, Kudmee Bewa.	ditto	ditto	by begging.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Roop Rajwar	-- his brother, Soonder Rajwar.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	M. Banddaha	Goverdhun Desally	-- his son, Beeburun Desally.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Moora Rajwar	-- his father, Sona Rajwar.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Belooyer	Bheem Rajwar	-- brother, Lehag Rajwar.	ditto	ditto	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Lukeram Goldola	-- legal representative, Sabebran Gowala.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Akloos Dome	-- brother, Mohun Dome.	ditto	ditto	by basket-making.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Manee Rajwar	-- wife, Sonamoney Bewa.	ditto	ditto	by begging.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Deegum Hary	-- brother, Wodub Hary.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	M. Dareeka	Bhurut Dome	-- his father, Dolall Dome.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Doolub Dome	-- brother, Seedam Dome.	ditto	ditto	by basket-making.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sohun Dome	-- his brother-in-law, Bheekaree Dome.	ditto	ditto	ditto.

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES.

Name of the Zillah.	Name of the Pergunnah.	Place of Residence.	Name of the Person gone to Mauritius.	Name of his Legal Representative.	Under what Inducement taken away.	In what Manner Wages paid.	How their Families support themselves.
K. Maanbhoom.	P. Jhanida.	M. Pat Jhanida.	Bhimraj Mahasee	his uncle's name, Bahadoor Mahasee	said, "You come to Mauritius, will get you employment; wages offered five rupees per month."	has not agreed to pay any wages, only said so (as in last column), and carried away.	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	M. Koorunda	Premraj Mahasee	his brother's name, Bhika Mahasee	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	M. Sanung	Moola Kamar	his son, Chotoo Kamar.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	P. Khaspool	M. Choto Huncool.	Roopnarain Sing	his son's name, Ghaseeran Sing.	ditto	ditto	by driving plough.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Nabin Bhooya	his father's name, Manjee Bhooya.	ditto	ditto	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	M. Bugry	Bahader Moora	his father, Choytun Moora.	said, "Come with me to Mauritius; I will give you pay three rupees per month."	ditto	by begging.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Lukydom Byragy	his father's name, Bhoodram Byragy.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Bocharan Byragy	father's name, Lukhun Byragy.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	P. Chelama.	M. Huarer	Soodesan Sirkar	his brother, Jeebon Sirkar.	said to my brother, "O Sirkar Mahasey, can you go to Mauritius with me? if so, you can get pay at 15 or 16 rupees per month;" carried away saying this.	ditto	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Goreeb Suhur	his son, Bheehary Suhur.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Duloll Suhur	his son, Lukheram Suhur	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Ramehura Bawory	his sister, Comly Bawory.	said, "O brother, come with me to Mauritius; I will give you pay at three rupees per month;" having said this, carried away.	ditto	by begging.
Ditto	P. Bagoon Koder.	Salgram	Muhooa Ghasey	his father's name, Roop Ghasey.	said, "Come with me to Mauritius; will give you pay three rupees per month."	ditto	by labour.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Beebram Mahasee and his brother, Suroogun Mahasey.	their father's name, Lol Mahasey.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	Kachahao	Lol Mahasey	his father's name, Sabebram Mahasey.	went at his own pleasure; nobody took him away; now four or five years ago.	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Haryram Komar	his elder brother, Choytun Komar.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Ghaseeran Komar	his sister's name, Umee Komarin.	ditto	ditto	by making twice from part.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Kulyan Jala	his father, Komol Jala.	ditto	ditto	by weaving.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Rukedhooa Jala	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sookram Mahat	his son's name, Kajoo Mahat.	ditto	ditto	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sona Mahat	his son, Mungle Mahat.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sunyasay Booya	his daughter, Keene Bewa.	ditto	ditto	by working in spindle.
Ditto	P. Muhal	Talquir	Gopal Koormy	legal representative, Joogul Koormy.	ditto	ditto	by cultivation.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Suroop Koormy	Golan Koormy	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Kyias Koormy	Choonoo Koormy	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Magun Dome	his brother, Wochub Dome.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Hakoo Dome	his brother, Gohra Dome.	ditto	ditto	by basket-making.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Bhojrob Dome	his daughter, Luckey Dome.	ditto	ditto	by begging.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Goverdhun Desaly	his son, Sukeeram Desaly.	ditto	ditto	by labour.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Sonatan Rajwar	his brother, Byragee Rajwar.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Ditto	P. Lakda	M. Beeralguria	Narain Bhoomey	his wife, Kudmia Bewa.	said, "You come, you shall get employment at five rupees per month."	ditto	by begging.
Ditto	ditto	ditto	Wolas Gorae	his son, Haroo Gorae.	ditto	ditto	ditto.
Total				109			

Appendix.

No. 4.

ZILLAH.	PERGUNNAH.	VILLAGE.	MEN.
Mounbhoom - - -	Chaculkore - - -	Hurrosoonderpore - - -	1
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Chara - - -	5
Ditto - - -	Joypore - - -	Talasy - - -	3
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Batory - - -	3
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Cachuhaw - - -	2
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Jarahaw - - -	4
Ditto - - -	Khaspoeel - - -	Anunsole - - -	2
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Manglar - - -	8
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Tatoola - - -	6
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Chonden Kaury - - -	7
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Palungdory - - -	8
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Lalupore - - -	4
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Kudbhita - - -	1
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Padra - - -	1
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Chaundaha - - -	1
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Sisila - - -	1
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Pauty - - -	1
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Aumlabady - - -	8
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Baunddiha - - -	2
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Balooare - - -	5
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Daritha Paut - - -	3
Ditto - - -	Jhalda - - -	Jhalda - - -	1
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Dorunda - - -	1
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Salong - - -	1
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Jutehuckkool - - -	2
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Bugry - - -	3
Ditto - - -	Chaluma - - -	Ichrare - - -	4
Ditto - - -	Bagoocodur - - -	Saulgram - - -	3
Ditto - - -	- ditto - - -	Chachahow - - -	8
Ditto - - -	Mohaul - - -	Talgorra - - -	8
Ditto - - -	Lacda - - -	Biralgorra - - -	2
TOTAL - - -			109

(signed) C. B. Taylor.

**FORMS of CIRCULAR LETTERS issued by the different Agents employed in the
Export of Coolies.**

To the Magistrates and Collectors of Zillahs, and to all and every Person or Persons
to whom it may concern.

WE, Messrs. W. Haworth, Hardman & Co., of the town of Calcutta, agents for procuring Indian labourers, do hereby certify, that the bearer hereof, Ramsaha, duffadar, and Thakoor Perah, his arkottie, are engaged by us to procure Coolies or labourers for the Mauritius from different villages in the mofussil; and we trust no hinderance or opposition will be made to them so long as they do not illegally or forcibly induce persons to come to our house.

(signed) W. Haworth, Hardman & Co.

Registered at the Police, this }
23d day of December 1837. }

(signed) F. W. Birch, Supt. Police.

To the Judges, Magistrates and Collectors of the Zillahs, and to all and every other
Person or Persons to whom it may concern.

I do hereby certify, that the bearer hereof, Gungaram, of Jaun Bazar, duffadar, and Phaugoo Sing, his arkottie, are engaged by me to procure Coolies or labourers for the Mauritius from different villages, and proceed for that purpose into the mofussil. I trust
no

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no hinderance or opposition will be made to them by the local authorities so long as they do not illegally or against their inclinations induce them to leave their houses.

Appendix.

Bhurrutt and Chutroo.
Suddam Sing and Rajcomar.

Boodhaw and Gangaram.
Ellege Bukis and Ramton Rul.

The above are the arkotties of Lolla Dowkie Nuadun, Jann Bazar, in the town of Calcutta, duffadar.

(signed) *John Hughes.*

Registered at the Calcutta Police, }
this 6th day of January 1838. }

(signed) *F. W. Birch*, Supt. Police.

To the Judges, Magistrates and Collectors of the Zillahs, and to all and every other Person or Persons to whom it may concern.

We, Messrs. Henley, Dowson & Bestel, of the town of Calcutta, agents for procuring Indian labourers, do hereby certify, that the bearer hereof, Sew Shaw Sing, through Birbul Sirdar, is engaged by us to procure Coolies or labourers for the Mauritius from different villages, and proceeds for that purpose into the mofussil. We trust no hinderance or opposition will be made to him by the local authorities so long as he does not illegally, or against the will of the said people, induce them to leave their houses.

(signed) *Henley, Dowson & Bestel,*
Dated Calcutta, the 12th day of January 1838.

Registered this 12th day }
of January 1838. }

(signed) *F. W. Birch*, Supt. of Police.

To the Judges, Magistrates and Collectors of the Zillahs, and to all and every other Person or Persons to whom it may concern.

I, William Edward Browne, of the town of Calcutta, agent for procuring Indian labourers, do hereby certify, that the bearer hereof, Hyder Alee, duffadar, and Arkottie Ghainder, is engaged by me to procure Coolies or labourers for the Mauritius from different villages, and proceeds for that purpose into the mofussil. I trust no hinderance or opposition will be made to him by the local authorities so long as he does not illegally, or against the will of the said people, induce them to leave their houses.

(signed) *W. E. Browne,*
Dated Calcutta, the 1st February 1838.

Registered at the Police, the }
3d day of February 1838. }

(signed) *F. W. Birch*, Supt. of Police.

To the Judges, Magistrates and Collectors of the Zillahs, and to all and every other Person or Persons to whom it may concern.

I, Petumber Chuckerbutty, of the town of Calcutta, agent for procuring Indian labourers, do hereby certify, that the bearers hereof, Bahary and Alee Bux, are engaged by me to procure Coolies or labourers for the Mauritius from different villages, and proceed for that purpose into the mofussil. I trust no hinderance or opposition will be made to them by the local authorities so long as they do not illegally, or against their inclination, induce them to leave their houses.

(signed) *Petumber Chuckerbutty,*
Dated this 14th day of July 1838.

Registered at the Police, this }
17th day of July 1838. }

(signed) *F. W. Birch*, Supt. Police.

Addenda.

ADDENDA.

(No. 186.)

To *T. Dickens, Esq., Rev. James Charles, W. Dowson, Esq., Major Archer, Russomoy Dutt, Esq., and J. P. Grant, Esq.,* Committee appointed to inquire into the Abuses alleged to exist in the Export of Coolies.

Gentlemen,

General Department.

I AM directed by the Honourable the President in Council to transmit for your information the accompanying copy of a letter from the Colonial Secretary, Mauritius, dated the 6th December last, and of the return of Indian labourers introduced into that colony from Calcutta between 1st August 1834 and the end of October last, which accompanied it. His Honor in Council is still expecting the report of your committee.

I have, &c.

(signed) *H. T. Prinsep, Secy to Govt of India.*

Council Chamber, 13 February 1839.

To the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William.

Sir,

I HAVE the directions of his Excellency the Governor of Mauritius to transmit to you, for the information of the India government, the enclosed return, showing the number of Indian labourers introduced into this colony from Calcutta between the 1st August 1834 and the end of October last.

I have, &c.

Colonial Secretary's Office, }
Port Louis, 6 Dec. 1838. }(signed) *Geo. F. Dick, Colonial Secretary.*

STATEMENT showing the Number of COOLIES introduced into the Colony from Calcutta, from 1st August 1834.

NAMES OF VESSELS.	DATE OF ARRIVAL.	MEW.	WOMEN.	CHILDREN.
Sarah - - - - -	1 August - 1834	39		
Atlas - - - - -	2 November - "	36		
Vesper - - - - -	13 January - 1835	167		
Peter Proctor - - - - -	15 February - "	50		
Vesper - - - - -	22 August - "	153		
Avoca - - - - -	14 September - "	32		
Drongan - - - - -	20 " - "	236		
Maren - - - - -	- " - "	8		
Esther - - - - -	30 " - "	172		
Demerara - - - - -	12 October - "	47		
Heyworth - - - - -	3 November - "	22		
Edmond Castle - - - - -	30 " - "	146		
Elizabeth - - - - -	14 December - "	77		
Protector - - - - -	15 " - "	179		
Sir Herbert Taylor - - - - -	19 January - 1836	208	2	1
Drongan - - - - -	5 May - "	70		
Edmond Castle - - - - -	8 June - "	46		
Sir John Rae Reid - - - - -	15 " - "	15	1	
Thalia - - - - -	17 September - "	312	18	2
William Wilson - - - - -	18 " - "	62		
Nerbudda - - - - -	27 " - "	288		
Africanus - - - - -	5 October - "	75		
Indian Oak - - - - -	17 " - "	204		
Emmee - - - - -	21 " - "	311	15	4
Juliana - - - - -	28 " - "	394	24	3
Sophia - - - - -	19 November - "	335	10	5
Cavendish Bentinck - - - - -	22 " - "	259	26	
Henry - - - - -	23 " - "	20		
British Monarch - - - - -	25 " - "	169	7	1
Sir John Rae Reid - - - - -	20 " - "	8		
Ajax - - - - -	21 " - "	35		
Lady Fitz Herbert - - - - -	- " - "	76		
Ceres - - - - -	24 " - "	24		
John Bagsbaw - - - - -	1 January - 1837	269	10	3
Henry Tanner - - - - -	9 " - "	244	4	

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NAMES OF VESSELS.	DATE OF ARRIVAL.	MEN.	WOMEN.	CHILDREN.	Addenda.
Charles Dumergue	18 January 1837	78	2	3	
Helen	24 "	100			
Emily Jane	28 February "	27			
William Wilson	6 March "	198			
Regis	15 "	177	17		
Eagle	28 "	82	4	1	
Indian Oak	3 April "	201			
Mary Taylor	20 "	25			
Peter Proctor	24 "	50			
Moulmein	1 May "	25			
Hooghly	6 "	125	9	3	
Euphrasia	15 "	297			
Virginia	" "	101	1		
Herefordshire	20 "	147			
Ajax	25 "	49	2	2	
John Bagshaw	" "	159	8	3	
Henry Tanner	28 "	62			
Prince Regent	28 "	186	8	13	
Earl Grey	20 June "	37	1	2	
Britannia	8 July "	49			
Mermaid	18 "	33			
Belzoni	9 August "	175			
Carnatic	1 September "	139			
Miranda	8 "	214			
Hooghly	30 "	40			
Donna Carmelita	1 October "	86			
Bright Planet	21 "	16			
Amwell	22 "	30			
John Bagshaw	28 "	176			
Luminy	29 "	6			
Baboo	1 November "	105			
Moulmein	5 "	47			
Parland	8 "	178			
Mary	28 "	52			
Belzoni	30 "	167			
Thomas Snook	1 December "	58			
Donna Pascoa	11 "	342			
Arab	10 January 1838	103			
Indian Oak	14 "	196			
Victoria	18 "	100			
Elizabeth	26 "	185			
Alfred	28 "	27			
Majestic	1 February "	163			
Raj Rancee	20 "	176			
Donna Carmelita	1 March "	45			
Herefordshire	12 "	71			
Christopher Rawson	16 "	285			
Helen	9 April "	162			
Lord Auckland	20 "	144	10		
Cavendish Bentinck	14 May "	148			
Euphrasia	23 "	168			
Eurl Clare	5 June "	460			
Donna Pascoa	28 "	420			
Lancier	11 July "	144			
Donna Carmelita	23 "	100			
Indian Oak	4 August "	258			
Victoria	5 September "	241			
Lord Auckland	1 October "	230	3		
Apollon	12 "	98	1		
William Lockerby	24 "	109	3		
Cashmere Merchant	" "	234	12		
TOTAL		12,994	198	51	

Police Department, Port Louis, }
20 November 1838.

(signed) John Finnis,

Chief Commissary of Police.

(True copy.)

(signed) Geo. F. Dick, Colonial Secretary.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to Govt of India.

HILL COOLIES.

RETURN to an ORDER of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 11 June 1841;—for,

COPY of any PAPERS respecting the Exportation of HILL COOLIES, received
from the Government of India; in continuation of those presented to the
House of Commons on the 11th day of February last.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed, 21 June 1841.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS.

Copy of Mr. J. P. Grant's Minute on the Abuses alleged to exist in the Export of Coolies, and Appendix	p. 1
Copy of the Examinations of Coolies returned from Mauritius on board the John Bagshaw	p. 42
Copy of the Examinations of Coolies returned from Mauritius on board the Shah Allum	p. 48
Copy of the Examinations of Coolies returned from Mauritius on board the Graham	p. 52

T. L. Peacock,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

[Note.—The Marginal References to Evidence and Appendix marked with an asterisk (*) are adapted to the Parliamentary Return on the Exportation of Hill Coolies, Ordered to be Printed, 12 February 1841, (Parl. Paper No. 45.) The "Additional Evidence," referred to in the Margin, will be found in the respective pages of this Return.]

MINUTE ON THE COOLY QUESTION.

COPY of Mr. J. P. Grant's MINUTE on the ABUSES alleged to exist in the Export
of COOLIES.

1. I VERY much regret that I have found myself, after the most careful perusal of the evidence, and the most anxious consideration of the important question before us, unable to concur in the report of the majority of the committee. I should have wished, if possible, to confine the minute of my individual opinions to a mere note of the essential points wherein I am unable to agree with the report; but I have found it impossible to do this with justice to the great importance of the question, or consistently with that respect which is due to the mature opinions of the majority of the committee, and which I sincerely feel for them.

Unable to concur with Report.

2. The point on which we differ is certainly no trifling point. It is, as I conceive it, no less a question than this, whether the whole of the labouring population of the vast portion of Her Majesty's territories entrusted to the government of the East India Company ought, or ought not, to be as free as the rest of Her Majesty's subjects in respect to the disposal of their labour, and their right of going about. Holding, after all the thought I can give the subject, the affirmative of this question, and being one of a small body honoured by the commands of the Indian Government to examine and report upon the matter, I shall not, I am sure, be blamed for declining to sign a report, which, according to my understanding, advocates the negative; nor for submitting, with deference, the grounds of my opinion. But, unfortunately, I cannot explain the result of the inquiry, according to my view, without writing a long paper out of all proportion to the value of my opinion. For though my conclusion is directly contrary to that of the report in this essential point, there is a great deal in the report in which I agree; so that if I were to follow the report step by step, it could only be by a perpetual system of modification in respect to the inferences which it draws from our inquiries into facts, and of qualification in respect to arguments which I think carried too far, and conclusions which I think too general, that I should be able to show reason for my own view of the grand question at issue. The less tedious way will be to follow my own line, referring to the more prominent parts of the report as they fall into my argument. My minute shall be almost restricted to this one point; for I have very little to say on any of the less important points treated of in the report.

Point on which difference arises.

3. One of the six committee-men appointed, Major Archer, has left India. I believe he has put his opinions in writing in England, but I have not seen them. Two are dissentient, Mr. Dowson and myself. We have thought it best to enter separate minutes. I have seen Mr. Dowson's minute, and it will not seem strange that I have to explain that I think more unfavourably than he appears to do of the Cooly trade,

Views of the several members of committee.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

as it was carried on, of the treatment here of the labourers engaged, before embarkation, and of the treatment to which generally they were subject in Mauritius. In these particulars, so far from objecting to the opinions of the majority, if I had agreed in the great conclusion of the report, and so been competent to sign it, I should have felt it my duty to move for a more pointed expression of opinion in certain respects.

Origin of the inquiry. Commencement of the system. See Mr. T. C. Scott's Paper, para. 4, in Return to Address of H. of C. 22d Feb. 1835, ordered to be printed, 2 March 1835, Parl. Paper, No. 180, p. 123. *Ev. 2. 74. Abuses noticed. Regulating Acts passed in India.

*Appendix, p. 144.
*Ev. 2. 70.

*Appendix, p. 145.
Applicable only to articulated labourers.

Regulating Acts passed for British Guiana.

Return to Address of H. of C. 22d Feb. 1838, p. 3. 24.

Return to Address of H. of C. 22d Feb. 1838, p. 34.

Laws of an opposite nature passed in Mauritius.
Ditto, p. 50, et seq.

Which are disallowed.
Ditto, p. 67.

Present state of the law in Mauritius.
Ditto, p. 108.
Ditto, p. 112. 118.

Ditto, p. 148.

No information as to law in other colonies.

Excitement in England against the export of Coolies,

And in Calcutta.

Petition against the trade.

*Appendix, p. 148.
Counter-petition.

*Appendix, p. 146.
Permits to export to West Indies refused.

4. About the year 1835, Indian labourers under contracts, to serve for five years, began to be exported largely to Mauritius, and Bourbon. By the end of the year 1836, there were about 4,000 in Mauritius alone. It has been computed that before the middle of the year 1837, about 19,000 labourers had been exported from India to Mauritius, and Bourbon, of whom about 8,000 were from Calcutta, a greater number from Pondicherry, and some from Cochin. Great abuses in the treatment of Coolies sent abroad having become notorious, whilst the number exported continued to increase rapidly, the Government of India, in communication with the Government of Mauritius, took the subject into consideration, and passed a law for the regulation of what had become a systematic trade. This law had for its chief objects the protection of the labourers before embarkation, the prevention of labourers being forcibly or deceitfully sent away against their will, the ascertainment of the fact of the voluntary and intelligent consent of the labourer to go and serve under his contract, and the comfort and proper treatment of the labourer on board ship. What regulations should be made in the colonies for the proper treatment of the labourers after their arrival there, was of course beyond the province of the Indian Government, but the subject was taken up by the colonial government, closely watched by the Government at home. The first Indian Act containing these regulations (No. V. of 1837), came into operation on the 1st of June 1837, and was applicable only to the ports in Bengal; the second Act No. XXXII. of 1837, extended the same regulations to all the ports in British India. It should be noticed that these Acts applied only to natives of India, embarking under contracts to serve out of India, no necessity being apparent for making special regulations for any persons embarking otherwise than under contract. It is admitted that the operation of these laws was to a certain degree beneficial. On the 22d of June 1836, the Governor of British Guiana passed a law for that colony, which was confirmed with amendments by his late Majesty in Council, on the 1st of March 1837, having for its objects the protection of all articulated servants or labourers under contract to serve for a fixed time, imported in that colony, and the prevention of the system of making articulated servants become degraded, in substance, into something approaching to slavery. On the 12th of July 1837, another law for Guiana was passed by Her Majesty in Council, extending the limit of the term of contract from three to five years in the special case of labourers from the East Indies. Of the result of the operation of these laws we in this country have no information. On the 2d of November 1836, the Governor of Mauritius passed two laws (Nos. 16 and 17) affecting labourers in that colony. These laws are not given in the printed papers before us, but their substance may be inferred from what is given. These laws are remarkable as they seem to have had objects contrary to the objects of the laws elsewhere passed, before alluded to; inasmuch as these laws contain extraordinary provisions for the special protection of masters, and the subjugation of all labourers, especially those emigrated from India, to extraordinary and rigorous coercion. These laws, however, were immediately disallowed by his late Majesty in Council, and it is to be inferred that Indian labourers are now under the general laws of the colony, and that all disputes between master and servant fall under the cognizance of the regular courts of justice, local courts having been introduced to afford to both parties speedy and accessible justice. For the sake of having in a colony, in the present circumstances of Mauritius, tribunals unconnected with the local feelings of one class of the community, the last printed paper in the Return so frequently cited above in the margin, contains the desire of Her Majesty's Government that special justices be substituted for the civil commissaries as the judges of the local tribunals above mentioned. And we have private information of this having been now carried into effect in Mauritius, as it had before been in British Guiana. In the same despatch suggestions are conveyed for shortening the limit of the term of contract allowed, and enabling the labourer to annul it on payment of compensation, after the example of the law in British Guiana. We have no information of these last suggestions having been adopted in Mauritius.

5. We have no information of the state of the law in regard to emigrant labourers in any other of the British colonies.

6. In consequence of reports which were received in England of the treatment of the Coolies, chiefly in respect to cases which occurred before the passing of the first of the above-mentioned regulating Acts of the Indian Government, some of which doubtless rumour had exaggerated, but which nevertheless had too much foundation in fact, a considerable excitement was occasioned in England against the export of Coolies, a trade which was thought to threaten a revival of the slave trade. In Calcutta also similar fears were most conscientiously entertained, and at a meeting held at the Town Hall on the 10th of July 1838, a petition to Government was voted, praying that a full inquiry into the trade should be instituted, and that all further shipments of Coolies should be suspended, "until it is proved that the emigration is fraught with as great advantage to the Indian emigrants as to the exporters and employers themselves." A counter-petition, dated the 23d of July 1838, was presented to Government by several merchants of Calcutta connected with the Mauritius trade. A little before this time the Government of Bengal had determined to grant no more permits for the embarkation of Indian labourers to the West Indies, pending the

the inquiry into the matter then about to be instituted, as it was supposed, in England. This determination was approved by the Government of India, and the Madras and Bombay Governments were requested to follow the same course on the 11th of July 1838. About the same time permission to ship any more Coolies to Bourbon was refused. Up to that time, and since the operation of Act No. V. of 1837, of men, women and children, 427 have embarked from Calcutta to Demerara and Berbice, 89 for New South Wales, 60 for Bourbon, four labourers and one domestic for the Cape of Good Hope, and four silk winders for Batavia, according to Captain Birch, the superintendent. All the other embarkations had been for Mauritius; excepting to Mauritius or Bourbon, I believe no embarkation took place from Calcutta before the operation of that Act. The same is, I believe, true of Madras and Bombay. To Mauritius, within the same period, 7,317 labourers had been embarked from Calcutta. After that time only two embarkations were permitted, even to Mauritius, consisting of 222 labourers. These occurred in August 1838. As far as our information goes, no labourers appear to have been ever exported from Madras, under the contract system, to any place out of the territories under the Government of the East India Company (a), except Mauritius. The same would also appear to have been the case from Bombay. The great export of Indian labourers for Bourbon must have been from the French port of Pondicherry, whence also many labourers appear to have embarked for Mauritius.

* Appendix, p. 144.
And to Bourbon.
* Appendix, p. 92.
Number of Coolies exported under the Act.

* Appendix, p. 98.

* Ibid.

* Appendix, p. 169.
* Appendix, p. 158.
* Appendix, p. 97.
Return to Address of H. of C. 22d Feb. 1838, p. 105-7.
Appointment of the committee.

* Appendix, p. 143.

* App. p. 158, et seq.
Export of Coolies stopped.

Prohibitory Act passed.

Act No. XIV. of 1839.

7. On the 1st of August 1838 our committee was appointed, with orders "to make the alleged abuses of the existing system the subject of specific investigation, with a view to their correction as far as may be found practicable." Committees were soon afterwards appointed in Mauritius, Madras and Bombay, for the same purpose. A copy of the report of the Mauritius committee was, as I have ascertained, received by the Government here, but it was unfortunately sent home without any transcript having been kept for record here; consequently none of us have been able to see that report. I have not heard whether the Madras committee have reported. The report of the Bombay committee will be found in our Appendix. Shortly after the commencement of our inquiries, and before we had time to make any report, or to come to any determination, the export of labourers was stopped by order of the Executive Government, which refused to grant any more passes, though the law by which such passes were claimable remained for several months longer in force. On the 17th of December 1838, the draft of a proposed Act was read in Council, and published, for the repeal of Acts No. V. and XXXII. of 1837, and for the prohibition of the emigration of all Indian labourers, which was passed into a law on the 29th of May 1839. We know from the reports of the proceedings in Parliament, and from announcements made in the English newspapers, that these prohibitory measures were the result of specific orders from the Home Government, and that they were not the result of any inquiry, but were ordered at home to be adopted here as precautionary measures, pending the full investigation of the subject. We have lately seen that a clause in a Colonial Passengers' Bill, which would have superseded this Indian Act, and re-opened the Cooly trade under regulations, was rejected by Parliament, who would not alter the law till the opinion of the Indian Government should be before them. This Indian Act, therefore, No. XIV. of 1839, is still the law, though still only a provisional law.

Prohibitory Act examined.
Appendix to Minute, No. 1. p. 32.

8. This law is very remarkable; as it is not given in our Appendix, I have appended a copy of it to this minute. Not content with getting rid of the whole of the abuses complained of by the rough method of prohibiting entirely the system in which these abuses existed, it imposes strange and servile restrictions on the liberty and means of livelihood of many millions of people, in matters which as yet have never been alleged to have been practically subject to any abuse whatsoever. The system of hiring labourers under contract to serve in distant parts for long terms had been the source of grievous evils. Two courses were apparently open; first, either to regulate the system, in an improved manner, so as to obviate the evils; or, secondly, as a last resource, pending inquiry, to put a stop altogether to the system which had been abused. This law (Act No. XIV. of 1839) adopts the ultimate remedy. Whether in so doing, without attempting milder measures, it was right, is a matter for grave debate. But it goes greatly beyond this, for it interferes, by absolute prohibition, in a concern which has never been involved in any abuse whatever. The abuse, and the only abuse, related to labourers going, under contracts, to serve for a term. But this law prohibits all the labouring population of this immense portion of the empire, including skilled labourers or artisans, as well as unskilled labourers, from going of their own accord, as free intelligent workmen, unfettered by any contract, from hence, where their labour may be unable to feed them, to other portions of the empire where their labour may be invaluable. This is a simple statement of the effect of the law. That to justify such a law a case of necessity must be made out, there needs no argument to prove. That no such case has been made out is certain. I have never heard it seriously argued that any evils to the emigrant are likely to arise from the spontaneous emigration from India to any British colony of a labourer unfettered by any contract. Certainly there is not a shadow of evidence before us that any evil has ever actually happened from that cause in any one solitary instance. Had such instances existed, considering the feeling with which the export of labourers was regarded in Calcutta at the time we sat taking evidence, they must have been brought to our notice. That this part of the existing law

This law prohibits spontaneous emigration free from contracts.

In which no abuses have been alleged.

(a) In October 1838, 34 men appear to have sailed for Acheen.

is therefore unnecessary, even as a temporary measure, for any good purpose, seems to me demonstrated. But if so, it is an impolitic and unjust law. In some of the slave states of America, we are told legislation is very active in respect to the egress and regress of free coloured people; and in Russia and elsewhere the labourers are still serfs, incapable of moving from the soil to which they are attached. But these are not examples for imitation. To confine the labourers of a province to the soil of that province, or the labourers of a collection of provinces, such as our Indian empire consists of, to the soil of the same, seems to me but a lower degree of the barbarous system which attaches a serf to the lord on whose soil he was born, or imposes special restrictions on the movements of free coloured native subjects.

Practical effects of this law.

9. It will be no answer to say that this law practically does little harm, because there are few Indian labourers who have the means of emigrating without purchasing their passage by coming under contract, that are desirous of emigrating beyond the territories under the government of the East India Company. If this supposition be true, the law cannot possibly do any good, and it should, I submit, be repealed, if only for the sake of principle and appearances. Whether this supposition be true or not, at the present moment, I cannot pretend to say, seeing that we have no evidence on the point. That it is not likely to be true at this moment I may safely affirm, seeing that Ceylon is one of the proscribed places. Any fisherman that rows an Indian labourer across Adam's-bridge will be liable to fine and imprisonment for abetting an Indian in the new crime of seeking to earn an honest livelihood by the sweat of his brow, a few miles from his home. That, however the case may now be in regard to the general want of means for spontaneous unfettered emigration, this want will immediately cease, is certain, if the scheme of the Mauritius committee for the encouragement of free emigration takes effect. To that scheme I will allude in another place.

See para. 127.

This law is unwarranted and objectionable as going beyond the case alleged.

10. Whatever be determined regarding the systematic exportations by capitalists of labourers, under articles to serve in the British dominions for fixed terms, or whatever may be determined regarding the systematic exportation of labourers to foreign territories, where their condition may be doubtful, and where the Crown would be unable to protect them, I must report my decided conviction (but I do so with sincere deference to those who have thought otherwise) that the absolute prohibition of even temporary emigration to working men, natives of India, free to choose their own masters, is an extreme measure, which is not only wholly unwarranted by the result of our inquiries, but wholly unwarrantable even if the clamour raised about the Cooly trade were true to the letter. It is to be noted that this law allows of no exceptions but in cases of sailors and menial servants. It applies to every sort of labourer, the narrow wording of the very exceptions pointing out that the term is used in its most general sense; for a sailor and a domestic are not in common speech called labourers. If this law had been in force in August 1837, the four silk winders who sailed to Batavia then, and who are probably wealthy men by this time, could have found no ship to take them (a). How far this selfish system is wise in a country which has so much more to learn than it has to teach, may deserve consideration. We are glad to make it worth the while of Flemish labourers to come to India to prepare flax; of Chinese labourers to come to cultivate tea in the pestilent jungles of Assam; and of Americans to come to India to cultivate cotton; and we do not approve of the conduct of some American patriots, who would have prevented these last from being engaged. If it can be imagined that a highly respectable American gentleman should come to India to engage a few silk winders, he would not indeed be threatened with violence by the mob, but under this Act he must, I apprehend, be fined and imprisoned by the magistrate.

The prohibition is rigorous.

Its policy doubted.

Opinion against this law.

11. Holding these opinions of this law, intimately connected as it is with the subject on which it is our duty to report freely the result of our examination, and to give our suggestions, I cannot sign a report which in substance upholds this law.

Cooly question examined.

12. Passing from this part of the question we come to the more special case of the export in great numbers of Indian agricultural labourers to British or foreign colonies, under contracts for long terms of service; and here the chief practical question has reference to the Islands of Mauritius and Bourbon alone. On the one hand it is admitted that great abuses have existed, and that this wholesale exportation may reasonably be a matter for regulation; and it is not contended that it is impossible in the nature of things for circumstances to exist that would make it just and wise absolutely to prohibit the large exportation of articulated labourers from India by capitalists elsewhere. On the other hand, it must be admitted that those who propose prohibition must prove the practical necessity thereof by showing beyond a doubt the impossibility of wholly checking the abuses by means of any regulation, and by demonstrating that the evils of those abuses which the wisest regulation will fail to check, are, in this special case, greater than the general and peculiar evils which are involved in the prohibition (b).

The point of the inquiry stated.

13. I do

(a) I speak of the intention of the framers, as shown to all unlearned persons by the exceptions. A silk winder is as much a labourer as a sailor or domestic servant. The law to be sure is highly penal, and would be strictly construed. What classes not being idle men of fortune would escape it, in a court of law, of course I cannot say.

(b) This admission is not, I think, so broadly made in the report as it might have been; but I will not waste words in support of the statement of the question as here made.

13. I do not find it denied in the report, that as a general principle, interference with the natural arrangement of labour in any one empire ought to be avoided, except in some special case of necessity; nor that to force any class of the subjects of one sovereign to stay in or to depart from particular parts of their common territories, is a strong measure, which nothing but necessity can justify. This is slightly acknowledged in para. 26 of the report; but I must say that I think the principle much too lightly treated. The principle is not a doubtful one; it is not the fancy of a few speculative men. It is sanctioned by nature, reason, and experience. It is common law in England, and common sense everywhere. Neither are the interests involved in the application of the principle, in this instance, so trifling as to be lightly considered. The prosperity or existence of whole colonies, and the liberty of tens of millions of British subjects, are not light matters. I confess that I think these things have been too lightly treated in the report. If the recommendation of the report is adopted, we have opinions before us that Mauritius must be ruined; and it is unquestionable that the mass of our Indian fellow-subjects are no longer free men as before. These are startling results. I do not say that no unavoidable circumstances could warrant the recommendation; but I do say that all thinking persons have a right to demand of those who make so remarkable a recommendation the fullest proof of the necessity of the step suggested; and I submit that every less objectionable alternative, which holds out any reasonable prospect of success, ought to be actually tried and tested by sufficient experience before the most arbitrary government in the world would be justified in acting upon the suggestion.

Remarks on the general principle of free labour and free movement.

To warrant restriction, a strong case of necessity must be made out.

14. Upon these principles I proceed to examine the facts of the case before us, as far as our evidence, and every other available source of information we have in India, enable us to do so.

Facts of the case examined.

15. There is one preliminary question of great importance in a general view, which all must admit to be a legitimate object of scrupulous consideration; viz. the effect which the large importation of labourers from other British territories may have on the fair prospects of the lately emancipated slaves of the colonies in which they may arrive. But this great question, which is not lost sight of in the report, having no relation to the circumstances of India, will doubtless have been fully reported upon in respect to each colony by the persons appointed to inquire into the matter there, and will be separately considered by the colonial governments, and by Her Majesty's Government at home, with especial reference to the actual condition of each colony. It is evidently not only a temporary question, but one which admits of different answers in respect of different colonies. Of the West Indies, as regards this question, we have no information beyond that contained in the Parliamentary return above cited, and I need not therefore allude to them. Of Mauritius, however, on this point we have a good deal of information. As the chief practical question as it affects Indians, at present respects that colony, and as evidence reported by us can be liable to no imputation of undue bias from interested motives, I will briefly refer to it.

Effect of immigration upon the freed men of emancipated colonies. This is no ground for Indian or general legislation. Para. 26.

16. Our evidence leaves no doubt that there is ample room in Mauritius for a great number of extraneous labourers over and above the Indians now there, without unduly interfering with the market for the free labour of the emancipated negroes. That there is abundance of work for a very large number of additional labourers is proved by the well known fact that only about half the land capable of growing sugar-cane profitably is yet cultivated, for want of labourers. Without relying on the opinions of proprietors of land in Mauritius, we have the formal opinion of the Secretary of State in 1838, that the possibility or probability of such an excessive importation of Coolies as would press unduly on the means of subsistence of the lower orders in the colony was a question at all events of no immediate urgency. We have also the opinion of Mr. Scott, of the Bengal civil service, who paid much attention to this subject when visiting Mauritius, that a great addition might be made to the number of labourers for some years to come without any fear of equaling the demand; and the evidence of Mr. Cracroft, of the same service, shows that the emancipated slaves felt anything rather than want of work. There is much more evidence to the same effect, and the fact of the high price of labour obtainable by the negroes is conclusive (a).

In Mauritius great room for more labourers.

See in Parliamentary Return above cited the opinion of Messrs. Thomas Blight and Sons, p. 85, of Mr. West, p. 68, and of many others.

Parliamentary Return above cited, p. 147, para. 9. Ibid. p. 137. * Evid. Q. 1026.

* See para. 1 of the letter of Mr. Shaw, Judge of Tipperah, B. C. S. App. p. 170, para. 18 of letter from Dr. Wise, M. D. S. p. 174.

17. This question does not apply to New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, and Ceylon, nor practically, I imagine, to the Cape of Good Hope, but the prohibiting law affects them all.

This question only applicable to the old slave colonies.

18. We now come to the facts or assertions which are put forth as making up a case, for the sake of the Indian labourers alone, to justify the extreme measure of absolute prohibition that is recommended. And here it is of the utmost importance to receive every statement on both sides of the question with caution, and soberly to allow its true value, and no more, to every proved fact. There has been plenty of declamation, both in India and in England,

Alleged evils as regards the labourers considered.

(a) This is admitted and indeed enforced in the report, though another inference is drawn from the fact, see para. 26. See also Evid. Qs. 58, 301, 814, 1050. A dollar a day seems to be the rate for hard labour in the wharf, half that for ordinary labour in the town, from five to eight dollars a month besides rations, for the limited labour of an apprentice, and this rate rising. Mauritius is certainly a very dear place, but when this rate of pay is measured by comparison with the cost of the food or rations of a working man, which in the case of the Indians is estimated by Mr. Dowson at 75 dollars a month, the rate of pay will appear to be extremely high.

See App. to Mr. Dowson's Memoir, p. 16 of printed report.

England, on this subject, and there is now no need, for the sake of humanity, to rouse men's feelings by general charges. Important interests and rights are at stake, which demand that the whole case shall be grappled with point by point.

Each alleged evil must be considered in detail.

Paras. 26 to 32.

3. Abuses in India considered.
1st. Kidnapping.

See Parliamentary Return above cited, p. 107.

19. The evils in the aggregate may be monstrous, yet the case for the prohibition will not be made out unless each item allowed weight in the aggregate of evils is shown, apart from all other items, to be unavoidable by natural and less objectionable provisions than the one proposed. It is in this step (I say it with submission) that the argument of the report appears to me to break down. We have the opinions broadly expressed, of gentlemen whose opinions are of great weight on this and on all questions, but still I cannot yield my conviction, because I am not allowed to examine in detail the grounds on which that opinion is founded. These evils may all be classed into three divisions; abuses in India, abuses in the passage, and abuses in the colony.

20. The first class is the abuses in India practised upon the labourers before embarkation. The chief of these is the system of kidnapping which has existed. This is noticed in paras. 14 and 15 of the report. Before the enforcement of the regulations of Act No. V. of 1837 (1st June) the evil appears to have existed to a frightful extent, but this fact bears neither one way nor the other on the question I am arguing. There is no debate as to the necessity of regulation, and of effective regulation. Hence I agree with Mr. Dowson in thinking that paragraph 17 of the report is open to objection. The argument of that paragraph is that Captain Rapson's voyage, in command of the *Sophia* in 1836, (when nearly two-thirds of the Coolies taken, were without any pass from the police, and were embarked between Calcutta and the mouth of the river,) proves that the laws and regulations of Calcutta, restrictive of the illegal export of Coolies, can be evaded to any extent with ease. In the next paragraph of the report the same argument is turned against the efficiency of the laws and police regulations of Mauritius. I do not feel the force of the alleged proof, seeing that when that voyage was made, no law nor regulation existed restrictive of the export of Coolies from Calcutta; nor was any sort of export of Coolies, not involving a breach of the common law, illegal; nor could any master of a vessel be prevented from shipping any number of Coolies in any part of the river, with or without police passes; nor was any attempt to oppose such shipment ever, to the best of my knowledge, made; nor was any person appointed to superintend the embarkation of labourers; nor was any magistrate, having any jurisdiction between Calcutta and the sea, ever concerned even extra-judicially in the matter; all which was notorious at the time. How, then, from this embarkation of Coolies, with or without passes, below Calcutta, any inference can be drawn, except that when people are not compelled to do otherwise, they will occasionally please themselves, in the embarkation of Coolies as in other matters, I do not see it. It is plain that the committee have been led, not unnaturally, to draw their inference by para. 6 of Mr. Secretary Priusep's letter to the Colonial Secretary of Mauritius, dated the 29th of June 1836 (a), which, having been written before the *Sophia* sailed, speaks of "the rules and orders in force at this presidency," as requiring that the police should ascertain that the Coolies embark voluntarily, &c. What these rules and orders were we do not know, but certainly they were not laws which could be enforced if objected to. This is almost proved from the mere fact of the passing of Act No. V. of 1837; and it is quite proved by the resolution published as a preamble to the draft of that Act, when read in Council a first time on the 6th of March 1837, from which I give an extract in a note (b). It is clear that the chief magistrate used to explain their agreements to such Coolies as certain agents chose to send to him for that purpose; but it is equally clear that restriction, either in law or fact, did not exist.

21. I do not recollect that our evidence shows many certain instances of kidnapping, since the enforcement of the regulations of Act No. V. of 1837. I mean by kidnapping, the conveyance away by force, or by fraud, of persons acting involuntarily at the moment of embarkation. There is the case of Ameen, who was intoxicated and sent on board insensible, in November 1838. He was returned, as he did not answer to his description ticket, and probably he had been changed shortly before embarking for another man, who had gone before the police. Other instances of similar statements having been made are reported; but these statements were made some time after the parties had arrived in the colony, and were unsupported by proof. There are the cases of Bheiah and Muhded, who, if not absolutely kidnapped, were at least sent off against their wishes, and without going before the police, both of whom were returned. There were probably other cases; but I see no reason

* Appendix, p. 105.

(a) See a story of a woman dragged by three Coolies going to Mauritius, and so carried off by them, who was yet not allowed to return though she vehemently prayed to do so, "as having been illegally and forcibly" transported, because she was shipped as a Cooly, in Mr. T. P. Woodcock's paper, Parl. Return above cited, p. 132. A case where out of 356 Coolies only 25 or 30 answered to the names by which they were shipped, Evid. Q. 7 and 14. A case of endeavouring to kidnap a woman who was dragged and shut up in a box. Evid. Q. 166.

An infamous case of endeavouring by force to kidnap a woman, providentially rescued, in which several Europeans seemed to have acted as ill as native Arkoties could have done. Evid. Q. 1015 to 1017. See also Capt. Birch's Evidence, Q. 157 and 164, and Mr. M'Cann's, Q. 254.

(b) "It hence becomes incumbent on the public authorities in India, while they in no respect restrict the liberty of private agreements, to see that all the contracts of service purporting to be executed by such individuals, are duly comprehended and voluntarily agreed to by them. The cognizance of such contracts by the public officers has been felt to be so advantageous to all parties, that the practice of exhibiting contracts before the chief magistrate of Calcutta, has been very generally adopted by the agents by whom the labourers are hired for service. It is now judged necessary, upon all the information which has been received by the Supreme Government, to confirm this practice, and to give it the force of law."

to inspect that since the Act, Coolies trepanned and sent to Mauritius have in any instance not had the option, immediately on arrival, when examined before the commissary of police there, of being immediately sent back to Calcutta, free of cost.

22. I am very far from thinking that every available precaution against the great crime of kidnapping was adopted either by the law of 1837, or in its practical enforcement. One most essential precaution was omitted, viz. the inspection of the Coolies on board ship, and the grant of a licence to sail with them, as the last act before the vessel breaks ground, after which act no more Coolies should be allowed, on any pretence, to be received on board. I have no doubt that Coolies were changed between the inspection at the police and the embarkation; and these were probably the only cases of Coolies sent on board under permits who were ignorant of their destination. So also the permits were not given to the Cooly, but to the shipper. If each Cooly had received his own permit into his own hands at the police, and if none had been allowed to go on board who did not voluntarily produce his permit to an officer on board, abduction under permits granted to other persons, paid to personate Coolies at the police, and any sort of forcible abduction, would have been impossible. But the result of such measures of precaution and restriction as were used, although in my opinion, experience has shown that these were very imperfect in their details, as compared with the result when no effectual measures of precaution were taken, and when no legal restrictions existed at all (a), has convinced me that a well-regulated and well-controlled exportation of labourers will effectually prevent kidnapping. In this one particular, indeed, it seems to me certain that a well-regulated export system must have a great advantage over absolute prohibition, as moderate duties destroy smuggling, while a prohibitory law creates it.

Better precautions to prevent kidnapping might have been taken. Some precautions suggested. See Evid. Q. 112, 113, 114, 115.

* See Evid. Q. 120.

Opinion that this abuse may be entirely prevented.

23. Not only then do I differ from the report by denying that the futility of all regulation can be inferred from facts that happened when no operative regulation existed; but further, I maintain that the same cannot be inferred because any number of instances of failure occurred in a system of regulation which was avoidably defective.

Difference with the report on this point.

24. The second great evil, before embarkation, approaching in its character to kidnapping is, that Coolies who did not wish to go to Mauritius were nevertheless, when brought up to the police, induced formally to consent to go, from the belief "that they were liable to penal consequences if they expressed dissatisfaction at being sent on board ship." This is mentioned in para. 13 of the report. I believe that this was so in many cases; but we have evidence that it certainly was not so in all cases, because Captain Birch tells us at one time, out of a batch, four or five Coolies, who did not appear to have more than average intelligence, used to decline to go when the contract was explained to them at the police.

2. Fear of the police operating as an inducement to emigrate.

* Evid. Qs. 151, 152, 153.

* Evid. Q. D at p. 87.

25. That this impression existed to a great degree we have sufficient evidence. Mr. Boaz found some Coolies whom he interrogated, who had returned from Mauritius, averse to complain of their treatment there, till they found he was not a government servant, and that Captain Birch, the superintendent of Indian labourers in Calcutta, who had just sent these men to be examined by Mr. Boaz, would not be offended with them for telling the truth. Mr. Clarke gives the following statement of what occurred when he and Mr. Hare set free about 100 or more Coolies kept in durance in a house in Calcutta: "I recommended them if they had any complaint for having been locked up, or beaten, to go to the police. This produced a great shout and clamour among them, and they all objected to go to the police. They said the chowkeydars would force them on board ship; some of them made use of the sergeant's name, some said the chowkeydars, and from two or three of them I heard the name of Captain Sahib, by which I understood that they meant Captain Birch." Mr. Dias, who questioned some Coolies rescued by the 24 Pergunnahs' police from being shipped by some duffadars, as to their reason for consenting before the Calcutta police to go, and saying before the magistrate of the 24 Pergunnahs that they would not consent, states that "they answered that they were previously informed by the duffadars that the magistrate would force them to go, if they withheld consent, and that all non-compliance would be punished."

* Evid. Q. 693, p. 51.

* Evid. Q. 767.

26. But I do not think that this impression, how universally soever it may be supposed to have existed, will, after examination, be received as an argument in favour of absolute prohibition. It was a very natural plan to make over to the police the duty of protecting these poor people; but experience has shown that it was an unfortunate plan. Failure having been ascertained in one particular of a new undertaking, what is the sensible course? Not to abandon the whole undertaking as hopeless, without examination; but to discover the causes of failure, to remove them if possible, and so to profit by experience. The police in India are ill constituted for the duty of being special protectors of Coolies; that is now plain; but this does not prove that Coolies cannot be protected. It may be an English, but it is not an Indian habit to look to the police for protection. Spite or natural resentment often takes natives to the police, but I believe fear, or a real wish to be protected has seldom that effect. I shall not be misunderstood as casting any imputation on the magistracy, or the superintendent of police, for we all know the wretched tools they have to work with. Knowing this, we need not wonder that in Calcutta and out of it, all men are anxious to have the least possible connexion with the police. In the ideas of poor persons the oppression and extortion of native policemen, and the pounding of bricks in the house

Causes of this evil.

(c) See Appendix, Exhibits No. 3, p. 100, as to the examination on arrival. But the evidence of the cessation of kidnapping as a system must necessarily be of a negative character. See, however, Qs. 752, 803, 822, 427.

of correction, are intimately connected with all thoughts of the police. This is a general truth, originating in the state of society here; but the natural feeling was in this case strengthened by peculiar circumstances, which must have had great weight with timid and ignorant Coolies. We have undoubted evidence, to which I will refer in another place, that the subordinate police officers, through whom the poor acquire their only notions of the police, were often openly and notoriously engaged, not in protecting the weaker party, but in assisting the agents employed by the exporters in their most oppressive and illegal conduct towards the Coolies.

See paras. 35 and 36, and note to para. 31 of this minute, and the evidence there cited.

* App. p. 145, s. 9. Act V. of 1837—App. p. 146, s. 10, Act XXXII. of 1837.

* App. p. 89, para. 4 of Mr. Secretary Princep's letter to Captain Birch of 17th May 1837.

* Evid. Qs. 207 to 216, 242 to 244, 140, 149; App. p. 126.

* See Evid. Qs. 752, 822.

* Evid. Qs. 224 and 225.

How this evil is avoidable.

27. The law authorized the superintendent of Indian labourers to levy a fee on every labourer receiving a permit, out of which all the charges of the superintendency and registration were to be defrayed: I think this was incautious, and that it would have been better to pay fixed salaries to all employed. In saying that in this the law was incautious, I must not be understood to hint that this fee ever induced the superintendent to urge a permit on an unwilling Cooly, or disinclined him to attend to his refusal. In this case I need hardly say that I am sure it did not; and in no case need it be feared that such a consideration as this would operate upon any person who is ever likely to hold this honourable office. But the evil was this, as the orders of Government granted the superintendent of Indian labourers no establishment but what he chose to pay out of these fees, that officer, being also superintendent of Calcutta police, was obliged either to employ his policemen in the business of his office of superintendent of Indian labourers, or else to engage for that business men whose very means of livelihood depended on these fees. We can trace specifically one of the indirect evils of this error of principle, as I humbly conceive it to be. The superintendent of police, in his capacity of superintendent of Indian labourers, being authorized to take a fee of one rupee from the Cooly's master, the deputy superintendent of police, who had no official concern whatever with Indian labourers, took a fee of one rupee from the Cooly himself, without any authority at all but that of the superintendent. By the interference of the deputy superintendent, I freely admit that the Cooly was a great gainer, as he paid the rupee for a summary audit of the accounts of the duffadars against him, whereby he was saved from much greater exactions on the part of the lower agents of the exporters, and secured, if it was not taken from him afterwards, besides his ket, valued at five rupees, a cash payment of one-third of his six months' advance of wages. Here still it is the principle that seems to me objectionable. We cannot tell how much further this system of fees may have gone down the scale of policemen; it may have silently extended to persons less trustworthy than the respectable deputy superintendent, and at any rate it must have tended to confirm, in the minds of the Coolies, a notion of all the police authorities, from top to bottom, being interested in getting them to go under contracts to Mauritius.

28. I submit that from the effects of an imperfect system, such as this, the errors of which are clearly traceable to causes easily removed, it cannot reasonably be inferred that with our present experience no better system can be adopted, which would be free from this great evil, viz. the impression on the minds of the Coolies that the officer appointed to protect them from being cheated or forced away would punish them if they declined to go. I do not extenuate this evil; on the contrary I believe it to be connected with the worst abuses of the system. We laugh at the impression under which those simple people laboured, knowing not only that it was mistaken, but that it was absurd. But that the impression existed is not the less a fact for this; and that such a fact must have gone far to destroy the protective power of the superintendent is obvious. The remedy which I would suggest is the appointment of a protector of Coolies, wholly unconnected with the police, and independent of it, having his office away from it, and without any power to punish a Cooly or any one else; whose only duty it should be, in regard to coolies, to see that they are not deceived, nor threatened, nor forced, and that justice is done to them. He and all his servants (of whom the fewer the better,) would be subject to check by the magisterial authorities, if they abused their trust. Of such a public servant the Coolies could have no fear, and I think they would have confidence in him. If such an officer took proper precautions to see that no labourer emigrates involuntarily, I cannot conceive how any material abuses in India could take place. There is a class of occasional abuses common to every species of enlistment, such as deceiving a man as to his prospects, or harassing a debtor into consenting to go, absolutely to prevent which it might perhaps be Utopian to expect. But I think that even from these abuses the Indian labourer, under such a system, would be nearly free. As this is not the system which has been tried, as it is free from the causes of failure in that system, and as it is apparently suited to the object in view, the proof lies on those who deny that it can succeed. In the absence of such proof, as far as this objection goes, a trial of some plan such as I suggest, or of any other more promising plan, may surely in reason be demanded, before the undertaking can be pronounced to be hopeless.

Police ill suited for protectors of Coolies.

29. It appears to me that experience has shown that of all officers, an officer having connexion with the police, is the least suited to be an efficient protector of Coolies. If an officer who has no power to punish a Cooly, even for actual offence, or to harass him in any way, were appointed protector, the Coolies would have no fear of him; whilst as the magistrates would still be available for criminal matters, and the court of requests for civil matters, as in all other cases, justice could be none the worse administered. Experience has shown that to protect the Coolies from the lower police officers, to expose and prosecute to conviction

tion the malpractices of those officers, and to appeal to superior authority against their illegal assumption of power (a), are the great uses of a protector of Coolies; and every man conversant with Indian habits knows that the head of an office is the last person who will ever hear tangible and open complaints of the malpractices of his inferiors. Besides this the real value of the police, as a tribunal to which to appeal against oppression, is lost when it ceases to be a check upon the protector himself, and his officers. Yet such has been the case, and such must be the case when the police is the protector. I am convinced that if the Government were to refer this point to the most experienced public servants in India, and to the most intelligent European and native gentlemen in private life, there would not be a difference of opinion upon it.

30. The third evil is that the Coolies, while in Calcutta itself, and its neighbourhood, before embarkation, and before going to the police, were in great numbers kept actually in a state of false imprisonment; that the magistrates and heads of the police in Calcutta were in deplorable ignorance of the facts; and that proper measures were not taken to put a stop to this shocking abuse. This evil (with kidnapping) is mentioned in paras. 14 and 15 of the report.

a. False imprisonment of Coolies before embarkation.

31. So far from differing with the committee as to the existence and the extent of this evil, I feel it to be my duty to point especial attention to it, as shown by our evidence, inasmuch as it seems to me worthy of grave notice, with a view to prevent the recurrence of the like in future (b). For the source of this evil has no essential connexion with the Cooly trade, and for anything to the contrary which the prohibitory law contains, the evil might still be in full force, though the Cooly trade is stopped. Where I differ from the committee on this point is in this, that they do not distinguish this specimen of maladministration from the mass of evils they hold to be inherent in the Cooly trade.

32. One is prepared to hear in India of many heinous crimes passing undetected by the police, of occasionally individuals being carried away, and concealed in confinement for a length of time; of bodies of Dacoits making sudden irruptions, committing great enormities in a short time, then rapidly dispersing and evading all pursuit; of murders committed in lonely spots by secret bands, which are never detected;—all this is bad enough, but the state of society, and the consequent disadvantages under which our judicial system labours, will palliate much. At all events the remedy in such cases is confessedly difficult. But no one can say that the remedy of such cases as are exposed by our evidence, to which I have referred in the last note, is difficult. It is impossible for any one, knowing the resources of the police, to conceive that there can be any difficulty in preventing multitudes of people from being kept, openly and with impunity to their oppressors, in false imprisonment. The cases referred to are very bad, but were they a hundred times worse, it must be shown to be impossible to prevent them, before they can tell in this argument. It is much to be regretted that this evil existed so long, especially in Calcutta. But when attention began to be turned to it; it must soon have been put an end to, whether the Cooly trade had been stopped or not. This is no unsupported supposition. Happily the same evidence which assures us that cases similar to the Calcutta cases existed out of Calcutta, but in its neighbourhood, to a great extent, assures us that the measures adopted when the system was discovered by Mr. Patton, the magistrate of the 24 Pergunnahs and the suburbs, (beyond which it would seem the illegal confinement of Coolies did not extend) were completely successful. Not only was the system of false imprisonment suppressed, but the criminals engaged in it were punished. Yet Mr. Patton's means are not a tenth part of the means of the Calcutta police. No man will gravely say that in Calcutta, the seat of two governments, with all their appliances, with its supreme court, and grand and petty juries, its four paid magistrates, its numerous body of unpaid justices of the peace, its superintendent of police, and deputy superintendent of police, with all their European constables, over and above a numerous body of native thanadars and police officers, aided by no inconsiderable mass of English honesty and public spirit amongst the inhabitants, that here, with all this, open and continuous crimes, that are suppressed in the suburbs, cannot be suppressed within the Mahratta Ditch.

* Evid. Q. 755. 759 to 760. 771 and 772. 825 to 831.

33. It is plain that this is an abuse which must be rendered impossible, whether Coolies are allowed to emigrate or not. For the taking away of one out of the thousand objects for

(a) Such as driving free labourers like convicts on board ship, or countenancing such conduct. See Evid. Q. 698, p. 51.

(b) For the Tontonia-street case, see Mr. Clarke's Evid. Q. 691, &c. and Mr. Hare's, Q. 694, &c. For several other cases in Calcutta, see Mr. Smith's Evid. Q. 959—Mr. Cracroft's Evid. Q. 1027. For cases in and out of Calcutta, see Mr. Dias's Evid. Q. 759 to 764. 771 to 775—Mr. Floyd's Evid. Q. 826 to 830; also App. p. 136. The perusal of this evidence will assure all readers that the lower police officers were actually engaged in keeping Coolies in false imprisonment. That the guards were dressed and lugged as and professed to be police peons, in the Tontonia case is certain. This could not have been without the knowledge of the real police, who assuredly would have allowed of no interlopers. Captain Birch admitted to Mr. Hare the possibility of their having been what they professed to be, see Q. 701. It is very remarkable that the police officer ordered to the house when information was laid in that case, instead of going straight to the house, went to the agent by whom the men were kept in durance: see Q. 706 and 707. That the Coolies were actually confined is certain from the mere fact of their running off to a man when the door was opened; for this see also the admission made by Mr. Browne, the agent himself, who shows that if the men were allowed to go to the bazars at all, it certainly was not without a guard of brjbassees (private watchmen) "to watch them," Q. 708, &c. Yet as to the ignorance of the heads of police of all this, see Captain Birch's Evidence, Q. 702, &c.

for which the like oppression, if it can be practised with impunity, may be practised, is no remedy for this evil. If the system exist for one purpose, it may exist for others. Lascars may be thus confined, and forced on board the opium ships, there to be kept on deck and on watch incessantly for winter voyages to the China Sea; labourers may be confined to be forced into boats, and sent to the Assam jungles, or to the Soonderbuns clearings, or to the new locations in the Teraiee. Over all these Coolies kidnapped to Mauritius would have in all respects a great advantage. In the case of females the objects are even more obvious and worse. If in such cases the abuse is prevented, as I hope and believe it is, why should it not be prevented in the case of Coolies? It would be mere nonsense to say that persons intended to be sent to Mauritius are more easily confined than other persons; and under a well-regulated Cooly emigration system there would be even less inducement to confine Coolies for Mauritius than other people, because such Coolies, though they might be confined, could not be exported against their will.

Coolies marched to police under guards.

* Evid. Q. 767.

Coolies marched on board ship under guards.

* Q. 701.

* Q. 709.

* Evid. Q. 693, p. 52.

* Evid. Q. 727.

* Evid. Q. 705.

34. A part of the same system is the Coolies being marched to the police to have the contract explained, as we are told by Mr. Dias, in a manner "as like as possible to the conveyance of convicts from one district to another, with the single exception that they were not in chains, and the guards were armed with no other weapons than ratans."

35. A part also of the same system is marching the Coolies on board ship under a guard of police burkundazes. Captain Birch mentions the practice of sending police officers on such occasions, saying, in his conversation with Mr. Hare, that they are sent "to protect" the Coolies; but from whom to protect them does not appear. Mr. Browne, a Cooly agent or procurer, speaks of the Coolies not being allowed to go on board without police chowkeydars. But what sort of "protection" was afforded by these chowkeydars, we learn from Mr. Clarke's evidence, from which I give the following extract: "I beg leave to add, that from my house, which is next door to the Town-hall, I have seen several bodies of Coolies proceeding to the water side. They have always been accompanied by a great number of chowkeydars, and previous to their coming to the angle of the Meidan (Fort Esplanade), opposite to Post-office-street, I have always observed several of the chowkeydars detach themselves, and station themselves at the opening of the Post-office-street, and on the strand by Chandpaul Ghaut, as if to prevent the Coolies running off. I have seen one man run off, and caught near Chandpaul Ghaut, and evidently in custody by the Chandpaul chowkeydars (a); he had passed the chowkeydar, who was in charge, and who gave the alarm, the others arrested him and brought him back evidently in custody. I have seen, I suppose, at least a dozen gangs, and the whole conduct of the police chowkeydars was apparently that of men guarding prisoners." The evidence of Master Pilot Stuart, of an official report he heard made on board ship to Mr. M'Cann, the deputy superintendent of police, by two constables, evidently Europeans, to the effect that "they had been beaten off from a house in which some of the Coolies were, with brickbats and stones," is also very significant of the sort of "protection" afforded by the police to these poor people, and the light in which two parties mutually regarded one another. Let this evidence of the practice be contrasted with the theory of this matter of police interference, as most properly explained by Captain Birch, (whose orders these chowkeydars ought to have executed), in the following extract from our evidence. *Question.* "Supposing a Cooly, who had gone before you at the police, and expressed his willingness to engage and proceed to the Mauritius, and taken his advance, should state to you his unwillingness to proceed when the ship was just about to sail, would you direct his release?—*Answer.* In the case you put, I should make the Cooly deliver up the blankets, pots, and pans, which he receives, and as much of the advance as possible, and should direct his release, leaving the remedy for the expense to be sought by civil action."

36. Is it not apparent from this, that the lower police officers were in league with the lower Cooly agents; and that the "protection" of the Coolies could not possibly be entrusted to worse hands? Is it not further apparent, from this and the other evidence above referred to, that however correct the principles avowed by the heads of police may have been regarding the illegitimacy of forcible and summary interference on the side of the stronger party, in cases of a difference between a Cooly agent and a Cooly, in the matter of embarkation, adequate measures were not taken to enforce the observance of those principles upon the officers entrusted with their execution? And is it reasonable to infer, from the failure of a system so defective in practice, that all fitter systems, better enforced, must necessarily fail? Upon what ground can it be argued that, supposing the police of Calcutta to be disconnected with the exporters, and the protector of Coolies, and to be made fully aware that the exporters are not to be allowed to use any coercion to any Cooly on any pretence, they could not be made to check illegal violence when practised by others? The police of the 24 Pergunnahs did so whenever the magistrate's attention was turned to abuses of the system. Why could not the Calcutta police be made to do the same? We have it in evidence that police of the 24 Pergunnahs rescued a boat load of unwilling Coolies from the hands of a party of Calcutta police. Let the Cooly agent do what he likes in the way of persuasion and inducement. If he advances money to the Cooly, or lodges him, in expectation of his going to the colony, and the Cooly deceives him, let him have his ordinary remedy by civil action for damages. If, on these terms, he can get no Coolies, it is his misfortune or mismanagement; the law has no right to interfere specially against the Cooly. If

* Evid. Q. 731.

(a) This word is misprinted in the Evidence "Coolies."

this sound principle were enforced in practice, I do not see how any abuses of the sort above remarked upon could exist. That this principle was enforced in practice, no one who reads the evidence can imagine. It would be an abuse of terms to say that the Coolies were treated like slaves; but they certainly were treated, in practice, like something between impressed seamen and enlisted recruits.

37. The fourth evil is, that the labourers engaged were usually induced to come to Calcutta by gross misrepresentations and false promises of service here, &c. This is mentioned in paras. 9 and 10 of the report. That this fraud was practised largely is, I think, proved (a). But it does not appear to me that this point is material, because if Coolies are informed of the true state of the case before they sail, and are not allowed to be taken without their own free and intelligent consent, no serious evil can happen from deceptions practised before that time; and under such a system such deceptions would soon cease to be practised to any great extent, for want of a sufficient motive. To put a stop to all fraud of this sort in all cases is impracticable, even in such a country as England, but to reduce the evil in the case of Mauritius Coolies to the level of the evil in all ordinary cases of hiring men for long jobs, is most certainly practicable. Cases of occasional hardship and injustice, owing to men being induced to leave their home in the interior to come to Calcutta, in the expectation of employment they have no chance of obtaining, who may be unwilling to proceed, when they are informed of their true destination beyond sea, will probably occur. But cases of occasional hardship, from one cause or another will occur, however the law may be; and if such cases, in number and importance, be reduceable in the case of labourers proceeding from India, to the same degree, in which they must exist in all cases of similar hiring, as for example, in the case of labourers proceeding to Assam, no man will maintain that such occasional evils might be made necessarily less than the occasional evils (to say nothing of the inherent evils) which all will allow to be involved in absolute and indiscriminate prohibition.

38. Since the enforcement of the regulations of 1837, it does not appear that any batches of Coolies going to Mauritius have been deceived at the time of embarkation, as to the place of their destination, or the nature of the work required. There are many sure cases shown where the Coolies certainly were not deceived. Captain Rayne says, "Out of above 800 I have taken, not one said they had been kidnapped, or complained of the manner in which they had been taken on board;" and of the 47 Coolies who lately returned by the John Bagshaw, and who sailed for Mauritius before the regulations of 1837 were enforced, several, whom we particularly examined on this point, stated that they had not been deceived into going, and explained how they were induced to go. No one of the lot complained of having been deceived into going.

39. I am sorry, however, to say, that the Coolies in the "Hesperus," going to Guiana, appear to have embarked under the belief that they were only going to Mauritius. But the remedy for this abuse is plain, to whatever extent it may be supposed to exist, viz. the examination of the Coolies on board ship.

40. The fifth and last abuse of this class, is the cheating of the Cooly out of part or the whole of the advance of six months' wages nominally made to him in India. This is mentioned in para. 16 of the report. It is clear that this fraud existed to a great extent, and that although some small claims for board previous to embarkation may occasionally have been fairly demandable from some Coolies, the greater part of the one half of the whole advance which Mr. M'Cann made a practice of allowing to be taken from the Cooly, was altogether an extortion or a fraudulent demand. For instance, the fees of the people employed by the Cooly agent (duffadara) to procure the Cooly, so also the fees of the Cooly agent, and of the banian of the house of business through whom the Cooly is shipped, were flagrant extortions. The audit fee, as charged against the Cooly, was an unwarranted charge. The charge for board, &c. being passed as a fixed charge, without reference to or inquiry concerning the time for which the Cooly had been really boarded, or the fact of whether the Cooly had willingly boarded, or had been merely fed whilst kept in durance, was a gross fraud. The unauthorized passing of these fraudulent charges, and the countenance thereby afforded them, by an officer of police, was, I think, very wrong. Still this audit was a practical benefit to the Coolies, who before were cheated out of the whole advance by the Cooly agent and his creatures, but afterwards were only cheated out of half. To show the abuse, it is enough to say that the duffadars and other persons employed by the Cooly agent received no pay, according to the admission of a Cooly agent; and as they would not work for nothing, and had no right to demand an anna from the Cooly, they can only have lived by defrauding the latter of part of his advance, which was all he had. Indeed, sometimes

4. Deceit practised to induce labourers to come down to Calcutta.

* Evid. Q. 822. See also Mr. Grant's evidence, Q. 603.

Add. Evid. p. 46 and passim.

* See App. p. 113, Pilot Gurr's reply.

5th. Cheating out of advance.

* See Evid. Qs. 207 to 224.

* Evid. Q. 149.

* See Evid. Q. 313.

(a) See Evid. of returned Coolies: Kavoo, Q. 878—Suboo, Q. 887—of a Cooly Agent, Q. 582—of a Pilot, Q. 752. There is also some hearsay evidence, see Q. 1013; see also two cases mentioned by Dr. Wise, Appendix p. 173. As it is not said by whom, or how the Return sent to the Landholders' Society by Mr. Taylor was prepared, or on what evidence it is founded (Appendix p. 184) it seems to me to be worth nothing in the way of evidence, though it is relied on in the report. It is clearly not an official document, and it does not show that any examinations whatsoever were taken on which the entries are based. Under any circumstances, it would not be proper to draw any important inference from such a paper, and in a case of this sort, where rival interests are concerned, the necessity of proceeding only upon safe ground is evident. The paper has all the appearance of having been filled up from returns to some circular made by thannab mohurrira, or zemindaree dangals; if so, it is utterly worthless.

* See Evid. Q. 318.

sometimes the Cooly agent himself received no allowance whatever for his trouble. In those cases he must have been wholly paid by cheating the Cooly; and in all cases he was partially paid by that means. Of the half rs. 15, of which the Cooly was not cheated, rs. 5 were kept back for articles furnished to him; rs. 10, therefore, were all he received in cash for six months' wages. But it is certain that even of this, or of a great part of it, he was often robbed by the police peons and private guards set over him, whilst embarking, and on board ship.

* See Evid. Q. 727-
829.
* App. p. 111, 118.
* Rep. para. 16.

41. The committee report that "it is certain that if the advances were forbidden, the prop and main stay of the Cooly trade, as heretofore carried on, would be at once removed." I may observe, in passing, that if the committee are convinced that so legitimate and harmless a regulation as disallowing payment in advance, the features of the trade could be completely altered, or that thereby the trade, as it before existed, would fall of itself, there is an apparently inconsistency in their maintaining the necessity of adopting the extreme and to many the ruinous measure of absolute prohibition. But without stopping to press this advantage against the majority, I will join them in saying that this system of advances has been grievously abused, and that to disallow it would cut off many evils at the root; though I cannot go so far as to say that it would alone remedy all the evils of the old trade, or stop the trade entirely.

42. To disallow payment of wages in advance will by no means prevent the exporter from paying persons to procure Coolies; and to prevent this, the trade being allowed is no object. But it will prevent the procurers from being paid by fraudulent or forcible deductions from the subsequent wages of the Coolies, contrary to the spirit of the agreement, as understood by both parties. Nor will it prevent the Coolies being supplied with cash before embarkation, to supply their wants, or induce them willingly to go. This also is no object. But it will make it no longer the interest of the exporting house and the Cooly agent, that the Coolies should be cheated as much as possible. When the system of advances prevailed, the lower agents being paid by what they could cheat and extort out of these advances, it was the direct interest of all parties concerned in the exportation that the Coolies should be cheated or robbed; because thereby the work was done at no expense to their employers or themselves. But if none of these parties gain by the Coolies being cheated by third parties, which will be the case if the money put into the Cooly's hands is the exporter's own money, not the Cooly's money, it becomes the interest of all to prevent any cheating whatever. No money will be given to a Cooly, except to gain an object with him; which object certainly will not be gained if the Cooly never sees the money, as was the case heretofore when the exporter paid rs. 30 of money the property of the Cooly to the Cooly agent, who paid the Cooly rs. 10 and no more. The only disadvantage in not allowing the Cooly to contract a debt with his master upon the security of his labour (for that is what the prohibition of payment in advance amounts to,) will be when a Cooly to whom a certain amount of funds before embarkation may be a real object, shall be unable to raise that amount in consequence of the power of pledging his labour being taken from him. Without denying that possibly cases of this sort may occur, it may safely be assumed that they will be rare; for it is well worth the while of a landowner in Mauritius to make a Cooly a present of 30 rupees to induce him to go. And even were such cases frequent, this occasional disadvantage would certainly be greatly overbalanced by the absence of systematic and universal cheating, and by the good humour and plain-dealing on both sides which this prohibition would infallibly tend greatly to introduce. The alternative of paying the whole advance into the Cooly's hands before a public officer, without regard to the claims of professing creditors, if the payment were made before embarkation, would be partially open to abuses such as were practised under the old system; and if the payment were made after embarkation, the advance would be useless to the Cooly.

43. I am therefore strongly of opinion that no payment to the Cooly in India, by whomsoever made, ought to be reclaimable in the colony by a deduction of wages, or otherwise than by regular action at law. I think that under the circumstances of the present case, the making of advances upon the whole is an evil thing, and therefore one in support of which, upon the strictest application of general principles, the law may properly refuse to interfere.

Conclusion as to abuses
in India.

44. I have now run through, I hope fairly, but certainly dispassionately, the whole of the abuses alleged against the trade as occurring in India before embarkation. It will be for those whose duty it is to form a decision, calmly to consider the nature and degree of each abuse, and to say whether, in respect to such as are established by evidence, there is reasonable ground for imagining that sound precautionary regulations, suitable to the exigency of the case, and enforced with ordinary activity, are incapable of removing them. My own opinion on this part of the question is, that the negative of the above proposition is wholly untenable.

* See para. 27 of report.

7. Abuses on ship-
board considered.

45. We now come to that part of the question which involves the alleged abuses on ship-board, being the second class of abuses. This is treated very shortly, but in very unqualified terms, in para. 21 of the report. It is there stated that "the hardships and miseries endured by the Coolies in the passage to Mauritius, are proved to have been very great under the most favourable circumstances, and with the most humane commanders, acquainted with the language and manners of the natives." The terms "hardship" and "miseries" are certainly indefinite; but understanding them here to be used formally, and to the exclusion of those annoyances and pains common to landsmen of all ranks when on board ship, I must say

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say that to my mind our evidence affords no proof of this assertion, which, be it observed, is not of special but of universal application. I cannot think that the committee allude to sea sickness, for example, as a misery to be taken into account in this weighty matter; but that is the worst evil, as shown by our evidence, that according to my impressions seems to have been general, and that even seems not to have been universal. The Coolies generally seem to have felt their sea voyages, such as most of us feel our own, viz. as extremely disagreeable adventures; not, however, such as can properly be designated gravely and on formal occasions as very great hardships and miseries indeed. I will, however, descend to particulars, and bring together our evidence as it bears on each point, from which all readers may judge for themselves between the committee and me on this topic. It is the misfortune of my position in the argument that I must be particular, and so probably prolix.

* See App. p. 114, Mr. Fabian's Report.

46. It is necessary to premise that no abuse that happened before the regulations of 1837 came into operation ought to be allowed any weight, in considering the present question. The debate is not whether all regulations can be dispensed with, but whether no regulations will avail. It is important to know what abuses continued under the regulations actually enforced in 1837; but the abuses before common are irrelevant considerations (a).

Abuses before 1837 irrelevant.

47. There is no doubt that both before and after the Act of 1837 the Coolies were very plentifully and very well fed on board ship. The best evidence on this point is that of the Coolies themselves. Sheick Manick says, "We had enough" (to eat and drink) "on board ship, but not after we landed at Mauritius." Boodoo Khan says, "We got enough to eat and drink," (on board ship), "the captain is a very good man." Beebee Juhoorun says, "On our voyage to the Mauritius we got more on board ship than we could eat; on our return we got enough; we had no cause of complaint." Knaroo, says "We had plenty to eat on board ship." Seeboo says, "We had sufficient rations of food on board ship." Ramdeen says, "We were treated very comfortably," (on board ship), "we had plenty to eat and drink. Sometimes the Coolies were knocked about, but never beaten." The only adverse evidence is that of Abdullah Khan, a native doctor, who says that the Coolies in Captain Edwards' ship had not enough to eat. But his evidence is not to be relied on, Mr. Dawson having detected him in one great falsehood, which overturns nearly half his deposition, and it being plain that he had a grudge against the captain for not giving him an expected present, on the plea of his incompetency. He and the captain seem also to have quarrelled about their respective medical knowledge. His evidence is contradicted, in all particulars connected with ship board, by that of Captain Edwards and his officers, also of the pilot and leadsmen, who at least are impartial witnesses.

1. Food.

* See Evid. Q. 617.
* Evid. Q. 669.

* Evid. Q. 698.
* Evid. Q. 878.
* Evid. Q. 887.

* Evid. Q. 897.

* See Evid. Q. 463.

* Evid. Q. 1059.

* Evid. Q. 857.

* Evid. Q. 615.

* Appendix, p. 142.

2. Water.

48. It is however to be feared, that even after the enforcement of the rules of 1837, there was in some ships too little water for the comfort of the Coolies (b). In reading the evidence, allowance must be made for the feelings common to all landsmen on being put upon sea allowance of water; but still occasionally there must have been really too little. Abdoolah (the offended doctor above-mentioned) says, that in the "Christopher Rawson" the Coolies had only one quart bottle of water a-day; but this cannot certainly have been the case, as Captain Edwards and his officers distinctly declare that they had at first five pints, and afterwards four. The captain admits that they used salt water in one or two instances, which he forbade; but I believe it is usual at sea to use some salt water in boiling rice. Mate Pilot Blake, in a very fair and intelligent report, writes, that there was a great want of water on board the Lancier, when sea sickness began. The allowance was half a gallon a-day, and the Coolies did not take care of it, it not being properly explained to them that they were on an allowance, as all persons are on shipboard. I think it very likely that this was the real error. Upon the whole I do not think the want of water has ever been so great, since the Act of 1837, as to amount to an abuse; but I think that this would be a point to be more carefully attended to in any future regulations. The regulated allowance was five pints a-day, and I hardly think that can be enough for men who have to cook rice. There could be no difficulty in affording a larger allowance than usual for the first few days.

* See Evid. Q. 450.
* Evid. Q. 607.
* Appendix, p. 142.

* Appendix, p. 116.

* See also Rev. Mr. Gaslin's evid. Q. 779.

* See Evid. Q. 827-834.

* Appendix, p. 166.

3. Accommodation.

49. Sheick Manick, on being asked, if there was sufficient room on board ship, says, "We were very comfortable on board ship." And I do not find one Cooly witness who makes any complaint of having been overcrowded on board ship. But according to the reports of the pilots the Coolies had not nearly sufficient accommodation in the Whitby, proceeding to Demerara. The Charles Hartley was much too crowded, so also the Prince Regent and Hooghly. In the Donna Carmelita, though the accommodations were comparatively good, there was not room for all below. In the Euphrasia the accommodation was rather small. On board the Emerald Isle the Coolies were poorly situated for want of room. In the Amwell the accommodation was much too small, and in the Donna Puscoa and Arab it was too small. In the Raj Rancee there was only accommodation for one-third below; and in the Emerald Isle there were complaints of want of room. But according to the same reports the accommodation was sufficient on board the Thomas Snook, Hesperus, John Bagshaw, Indian Oak, Herefordshire, Alfred and Donna Carmelita." Pilot Dyer, in his examination says, there was space enough in the Louach, not in the Whitby. Notwithstanding the adverse reports of some of the pilots

* Appendix, p. 111.

* See Evid. Q. 748.

* Evid. Q. 742.

above

(a) Some of the Coolies who returned in the John Bagshaw, and who sailed before 1837, complain of hardships on board ship in going to the colony, but of none in returning. Addl. Evid. p. 43-45.

(b) Ramdeen, who sailed before 1837, says they were often in great distress for want of water; and that he had himself four times to pay one rupee for one lotah (a small copper jug) of water. Addl. Evid. p. 45.

- above alluded to, Captain Birch is of opinion, that the allowance of space and water in all the ships was sufficient. It appears to me, however, that the pilots, generally speaking, are likely to be right, and that the allowance of both in many cases was sufficient, but in other cases was much too little. The regulated allowance was one Cooly for every one and half tons; but this after all is in practice a vague specification; I think so many square feet of unnumbered deck below would be a better specification. However this be, I have no doubt that in many instances ships were allowed to take a great number too many Coolies.
- * Evidence, Q. 203. The case of the *Whitby* seems to me one of the worst. Pilot Dyer's letter of 20th August 1838, shows that the rules should have been more restrictive, or more strictly enforced. Being only 350 tons, the vessel was allowed to carry 270 or 280 Coolies, many more than the regulated proportion.
4. General Treatment. 50. None of the Coolies examined, complained of bad treatment on board ship. I have above quoted Beebee Juhoorun's evidence, who sailed with 440 Coolies, and says, "We had no cause to complain," speaking of the passage. Also Ramdeen's evidence, who says, "We were treated very comfortably" (on board ship). The only adverse native evidence we have is that of Abdullah Khan, the above-mentioned native doctor. But, for the reasons above given, no reliance can be placed on it, specifically contradicted as it is in some parts, and proved to be impossible in others, whilst the whole bears proof of ill feeling towards the captain. Now the depositions of Beebee Juhoorun, Sheick Manick, Baboo Khan, Seeboo and Ramdeen seem to me unexceptionable in this respect, for they contain good and bad accounts both, the whole given with every appearance of fairness; and some of them were smarting under ill treatment in Mauritius, and not likely to omit any bad circumstance connected with their going there.
- * See Appendix, p. 118.
- * Evidence, Q. 462.
51. It is well observed by Mate Pilot Blake that the pilots see the worst of the case of the Coolies, "for just as they begin to accustom themselves to shipboard, the sea sickness comes on, and makes them more careless and helpless than they were at first, and in this state we" (the pilots) "leave them." It will be remembered also that the pilot is on board no inconsiderable portion of the whole voyage from Calcutta to Mauritius. Great weight therefore is due to what the pilots report, as to general treatment. Of the Coolies on board the *Baboo*, *Raj Rane* and *Indian Oak*, Pilot Croke writes, "I beg to state, candidly, that they were treated more like brute beasts than human beings." The same officer states that in the "*Earl of Clare*" the Coolies were brutally treated (a). Mate Pilot Blake says that the *Lascars*, &c. fleeced the Coolies of their money by selling things, no shore boats being allowed to come alongside, but the treatment they got from the captain and officers was otherwise "good, they were not much ill-used nor abused."
- * Appendix, p. 116.
- * Appendix, p. 113.
- * App. p. 115, 116.
52. The above evidence shows occasional ill-treatment. On the other hand there is abundant evidence of good treatment in many more instances. Pilot Bartlett, of the *Coolies* on the *Thomas Snook*, writes, "I do confidently say that they received good treatment from the captain and officers." Of those on the *John Bagshaw*, and *Indian Oak*, Master Pilot Smart writes, "I must say from all I saw the Coolies appeared to be generally healthy and well treated." Branch Pilot Fabian writes of those on the *Herefordshire*, "The treatment the Coolies received, appeared to me irreprehensible, and I never knew of their once having made a dissatisfactory mention of it. When I was about to leave the *Herefordshire*, I observed that they manifested signs of satisfaction and contentment." Of the bark *Hesper*, Master Pilot Statham writes, "The treatment of the Coolies on board that vessel was good in every respect;" but he adds, of the *Adelaide* and *Helen*, "I cannot give so favourable an account of these vessels as the above; the Coolies were not ill-treated, but neglected; no attention whatever was paid to their being made comfortable, and when sick there was no one to look after them." Of the Coolies on board the *Cecilia*, Master Pilot Stevens writes, "The treatment was good, and all in good health when I left." Of those on board the *Euphrasia*, Master Pilot Wall writes, "The greatest attention was paid to their comforts whilst I was on board, as to cleanliness and food, by the captain and officers." Pilot Cooper, of the *Alfred*, writes "The Coolies were well treated, had good accommodations, and their condition altogether satisfactory;" of those on the *Emerald Isle*, he writes, "They were but poorly situated for want of room; in other respects I heard of no complaints." Of the Coolies on board the *Donno Pascoa*, Mate Pilot Moxon writes, "I do not think that men could have been better treated." Of those on board the *Arab*, Master Pilot Sharling writes, "Regarding the food and treatment, I never heard the slightest murmur." Of the *Whitby*, Master Pilot Dyer writes, "I firmly believe, from what I saw of the commander, Captain Swinton, that he did and would do all in his power to make them as comfortable as the scanty means put in his power enabled him to do." In the same officer's oral evidence he says, the Coolies "were not ill treated" on board the *Whitby*.
- * Appendix, p. 113.
- * Appendix, p. 113.
- * Appendix, p. 114.
- * Appendix, p. 114.
- * Appendix, p. 115.
- * Appendix, p. 115.
- * Appendix, p. 116.
- * Appendix, p. 117.
- * Appendix, p. 118.
- * Appendix, p. 118.
- * Evidence, Q. 754.
53. Mr. Witchlow, of the Preventive Service, whom we examined, said that in the *Earl Grey* and *Emma* the Coolies were treated "in a manner far from kind," and generally from his experience he thinks they are far from being well treated, and that their food is bad. It is proper to observe, however, that Captain Finnis, Chief Commissary of Police at Mauritius,
- * Evidence, Q. 1010.

(a) In a case where feeling is so much excited as it was in this, it is always proper to rely most upon the judgment of those spectators whose description evinces discrimination, giving a picture neither all bad nor all good. Now it must be noticed that Mr. Croke seems to have piloted only four Cooly vessels, and that these were the only four on which we have a report that the treatment was thoroughly inhuman.

tius, writes to Captain Birch that "the Indians by the *Emme* state[they were well treated on board during their passage." I take this to be the same vessel as the *Emma* above spoken of by Mr. Witchlow. * Appendix, p. 101.

54. We only examined *visá voce* two pilots: one of these, Mr. Smart, had piloted down several Cooly vessels. The evidence goes to this, that when the captain and officers understand the language and the ways of the natives, as officers of country vessels do, the Coolies are well treated; but otherwise that they are not, and that there is mismanagement. In the *Edwards*, the mates were afraid of the Coolies, having been "thrashed" by them in the river "with billets of wood." Of the Coolies on the *Indian Oak* in two voyages, the John Bagshaw, and the *British Monarch*, in one voyage each, he says "they were generally well treated." The evidence of the other pilot examined, Mr. Dyer, has been above noticed. * Evidence, Q. 727. * Evidence, Q. 728.

55. Captain Mackenzie, who commanded a vessel with Coolies on two voyages, assures us that he believed the Coolies were comfortable and happy on board ship. This witness seems to me intelligent and impartial; he thinks that the rules of the transport service should be enforced on Cooly vessels; and as in a hurricane (*a*) off Mauritius, the Coolies could not be sent below, and the hatches battened down, he fears half of them would be drowned in such an event. The Reverend Mr. Garstin went as a passenger to Mauritius in a vessel having 258 Coolies on board. He says "my impression was that they (the Coolies) were treated remarkably well, with great humanity and even tenderness on the part of the captain." He gives an excellent proof that the Coolies were not subjected to any ill-treatment from the officers or crew. * Evid. Q. 275. 295. * Evidence, Q. 438. * See also Q. 319. * Evidence, Q. 778. * Evidence, Q. 785.

56. In the great majority of reports from the Chief Commissary of Police at Mauritius to the Superintendent of Police in Calcutta (given as No. 3 of our Appendix), on the arrival of different Cooly ships, the account is that the Coolies say they were well treated, and have no complaints to make. But in some cases there are complaints. * Appendix, p. 100, &c. See particularly p. 101 102.

57. I have above fairly extracted all the evidence one way or the other that has caught my attention, and I do not think that I have missed anything very material either way. Now it is to be borne in mind that when we were taking evidence, it was just after meetings, writings, and declamations had occurred here against the Cooly trade, and just after the accounts of similar proceedings at home, in which great names appeared, had arrived here. The great majority of people in Calcutta, at that time, were enthusiastically opposed to the export of Indian labourers, and many were then labouring under a delusion to the effect that the passage of Coolies to Mauritius was much like the middle passage of a slave. We may therefore safely assume that we got all the evidence of ill-treatment available, and that such of our witnesses as were unconnected with the trade (as pilots, preventive officers, and passengers) would be apt to smooth off nothing bad that they had witnessed. With this in mind let the impartial inquirer sum up the instances of ill-treatment, and note the degree of ill-treatment proved in each instance, making fair allowance for the state of feeling, and then let him sum up the evidence on the other side, with the same allowance, noting especially that all the Coolies examined (who are the only people not likely to be led away to either side by fancy) without exception speak of good treatment, and then let him judge between me and the majority of the committee, as to whether or not the very sweeping statement relative to this very important part of the question given in para. 21 of the report, and quoted above by me, is supported by sufficient grounds. If it be not, it must be admitted that a large part of the conclusion of the majority has lost its support.

58. The report goes on to say that "the mortality from drowning and other causes is very great." The number of Coolies who have jumped overboard is certainly a very remarkable fact. But this too must be gone into soberly, and in detail; for it is not conducive to a just decision to glance at it without examination, and so to let it operate on our minds by inducing a sort of horror almost unconsciously. For it appears a very frightful thing that people, represented as being free emigrants, should not very unfrequently jump overboard, with a chance, sometimes small, but at least in three or four instances approaching to a certainty of being drowned. So striking a fact, deeply affecting the whole question, merits close attention. 5. Drowning and jumping overboard.

59. Although drowning is prominently mentioned in the report as a source of extraordinary mortality, we may put aside at once the cases of accidental drowning, for on going over our evidence, I cannot find above five cases of accidental drowning altogether (*b*). This, I imagine, is not more than occurs every season amongst the crews of the vessels in the port of Calcutta, and when we consider that in 15 months alone (1st June 1837 to 29th August 1838) 7,338 persons emigrated from Calcutta, whilst our evidence reaches much further back than 1837, this addition to the ordinary chances of mortality will not appear material.

60. The other cases of drowning occurred in consequence of the Coolies voluntarily jumping overboard. I find about 31 or 32 cases distinctly specified of Coolies who jumped overboard,

(a) I believe there are but three hurricane months in the year.

(b) In the *Sophia* four fell overboard, of whom two were drowned; Evid. Q. 45. In our voyage of the *Cavendish Bentuck* two fell overboard, of whom one was drowned; Evid. Q. 269. In the *Adelaide* one man was lost overboard; App. p. 93. And in the *Lancier* one fell overboard; App. p. 116. Perhaps I may have missed a case or two.

overboard, of whom about 23 or 24 either were certainly saved by being picked up from the ship, or are believed to have been saved by swimming on shore. Two were certainly drowned, and the fate of six is uncertain (a). Besides these several more are supposed to have jumped overboard in the river, in order to swim ashore, but without certainty or specification. There can be no doubt that by far the greater number of these cases occurred simply from a desire on the part of the Cooly to get ashore. The question here is, did this arise from bad treatment or hardship making boardship unbearable?

* See Evid. Q. 727 and App. p. 117.

61. I cannot coincide with one of our witnesses who regards the jumping overboard alone as sufficient proof of treatment considered by the Cooly to be harsh (b). A particular result cannot, I think, be held to be sufficient proof of the existence of one particular cause, when there are many other causes, each of which is at least as probable, and each capable of producing the same result as the one assumed, every one of which must, by such a process of reasoning, be arbitrarily put out of the question. Many causes may be assigned. Captain Birch, with great probability, says that some Coolies "may have had a disinclination to proceed, from not liking shipboard, and others from having received their advance, and not having a wish to fulfil their engagement." In some cases it is very probable that the individual Coolies had been forced on board unwillingly, or cheated, or frightened into going on board. Or they may have considered themselves free, from having been defrauded of their advance after expressing their willingness to go at the police, or they may have jumped overboard in a passion, in consequence of a quarrel with other Coolies. Every one of these causes is as likely to have produced the result, as bad treatment on board. In only one instance, that I recollect, have we reason to believe that bad treatment was the cause, which is the case of the man who jumped overboard, and tried to get ashore because he could not stay for want of water.

* Evidence, Q. 175.

* For instances in which this last was the cause, see Evid. Q. 559 and Q. 789.

* Appendix, p. 116.

62. The cases where the men jumped overboard near the mouth of the river, where, unless picked up, the pilots think they had a bad chance of escaping alive, though at first sight they argue that a motive was at work stronger than any but the wish to avoid unsupportable present misery, have no weight with me. The Coolies cannot possibly have had any notion of the difference between the river off Saugor and elsewhere, and they can have had a very indistinct idea even of the distinction between the sea and the great inland rivers, from which they have derived the whole of their ideas of being afloat. They knew nothing of the eddies and tides on which the pilots speculated, and even in their distance from the shore they would be greatly deceived.

63. The cases of those two Coolies who jumped overboard from the Indian Oak, when out of sight of land, are more unaccountable. I give in a note the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Ganstin upon these cases (c). But in whatever way these cases may be accounted for, they have this remarkable effect, that they weaken extremely the hypothesis which attributes the other cases of jumping overboard, in apparently much less dangerous circumstances, to the pressure of real present misery on shipboard; because, from the fortunate presence of this disinterested and unimpeachable witness, who speaks only of that which he himself saw and heard, we know with certainty that in these cases that could not have been the motive (d).

64. I think

(a) Ten men jumped overboard from the Indian Oak, when off Cooly Bazar, trying to escape, of whom nine were recaptured, and one, supposed at the time to have been drowned, it is pretty certain escaped; Evid. Q. 174. From the same vessel two men jumped overboard in the voyage, out of sight of land, and both were picked up; Evid. Q. 789. From the Cavendish Bentinck two men jumped overboard about 300 yards from land, trying to swim ashore, both of whom were picked up from the ship; Evid. Q. 261. Another man attempted to follow their example, but was prevented; Evid. Q. 263. In a second voyage of the same vessel, four Coolies jumped overboard at Fultah, and are believed to have reached the shore; Evid. Q. 280. From the Charles Hartley, off Saugor, three or four jumped overboard, and were picked up; App. p. 113. From the Lancier, one man jumped overboard in the river with a bucket, for want of water, and was picked up. Shortly before he had told the pilot that he could not stay without water; App. p. 116. From the Donna Pascoa, one jumped overboard, and was saved; App. p. 117. The two cases of drowning from jumping overboard are these; one in the Euphrasia, of a man drowned, (or believed to have been drowned), trying to swim ashore; App. p. 115. The other was one of those cases of suicide common amongst the natives, the man appearing to have drowned himself, having been ill for a fortnight, to get rid of some internal pain. But this was a case of returning from Mauritius in bad health; Evid. Q. 425. The cases of uncertain result are these: Three men are supposed to have jumped overboard from the Lancier, at Culpee; Evid. Q. 172, also App. p. 117. From the Indian Oak, one man jumped overboard, off Saugor, whose fate is unknown; Evid. Q. 788. From the Donna Pascoa, (whilst in the river, I suppose, but that is not stated, however, while the pilot was on board) two men were seen deliberately going overboard in the night, who were never heard of; App. p. 117.

(b) The Rev. Mr. Boss, who mentions that the public meeting on the Cooly question in Calcutta originated with himself and others, being asked, "Are you acquainted with any other cases of harsh treatment than the one you have just mentioned?" answers, "Yes. I know the case of several men jumping overboard in the river from a vessel proceeding to the Mauritius; I suppose on account of treatment which they considered harsh; and after making inquiry, I have not been able to ascertain that any of them reached the shore;" Evid. Q. 23, p. 89, and Q. 19, p. 88.

(c) Evid. Q. 789. "Can you explain the motives of these men in jumping overboard?"—A. "I forget the reason for jumping overboard assigned by the man who jumped overboard near the floating light, but the man who last jumped overboard assigned as his reason for doing so, that one of the other Coolies (one of the sirdars, I believe) had struck him. The weather was bad on the last occasion but one, but it was fine weather on the last occasion. I feel convinced that on the two last occasions the men jumped overboard in the conviction that they would be picked up. In order to deter any others from jumping overboard, the captain told them all on the last occasion that he would pick up no more, and after that no more jumped overboard."

(d) The case of a returning Cooly who jumped overboard in Rangoon River because of a quarrel (Evid. Q. 559, 560) has been before cited in the last note but one.

64. I think that I have shown that the "mortality" from drowning was not most serious. We must now therefore look to the other causes which with drowning are said to have caused a most serious mortality.

6. Other causes of mortality,

65. From the reports of the authorities at Mauritius, there must have been before the enforcement of the regulations of 1837, occasions of great mortality in particular vessels, owing undoubtedly to insufficient arrangements and other abuses. In the William Wilson, out of 224 labourers embarked, 31 died. In the Adelaide, out of 72 embarked, 24 died in the passage, and three more soon after landing. Cholera broke out on board the William Wilson, and it is therefore possible that no precaution would have prevented the ravages of that fatal calamity. The deaths in the Adelaide are attributed to the cruel treatment which the Coolies experienced in the river Hooghly, having been detained in the river a long time "in a state of great privation," and moved about from one vessel to another without being allowed to go on shore. But, for the reasons stated above in para. 20 of this minute, these facts are not relevant to the matter in hand.

* Appendix, p. 93.

* Appendix, p. 94.

* Appendix, p. 95 and p. 114.

66. After the passing of the regulations, there is evidence of a very great improvement in health, as in all other respects. The chief commissary of police writes to Captain Birch on the 23d of May 1836, "The description of men now arriving is better than formerly; scarcely any complaints are made of ill-treatment during the passage, and their general appearance is healthier." On what facts or arguments the majority have founded their opinion as to the serious amount of mortality I do not know. Our recorded evidence does not, in my judgment, bear out so unqualified an opinion. Besides the two diseased ships above-mentioned, and the Indian Oak, when six died in one voyage out of 212, all having sailed before June 1837, I do not find evidence of many deaths. In the Sophia, which sailed also before the regulations of 1837 were enforced, and carried a very excessive number, being more than one Cooly per ton, eight died out of 336, there seems to have been no native doctor. In the second voyage of the Cavendish Bentinck, 14 Coolies died out of 297; they had a native doctor that voyage. In another voyage three died out of 278; they do not appear to have had a native doctor that time. In Captain Hopper's ship (name not given) out of 200 Coolies two died. In the Christopher Rawson out of 305 Coolies five died. In these two last cases there was a native doctor. In a return voyage of the Cavendish Bentinck, three Coolies, returning in bad health, out of five died. There was a native doctor. In a return voyage of the Sophia, one Cooly died out of 11 or 12 Coolies returning in bad health. There were four native doctors on board. By the pilots' reports, one cooly died out of each of the following ships, before getting out to sea, viz. the Raj Rancee with 177 Coolies, Euphrasia with 205 Coolies, and the Lancier with 150 Coolies. In the Donna Pascoa there were six or seven deaths in three weeks, of which three or four were cases of cholera. There was a medical attendant on board. This makes in all, since June 1837, of coolies going to Mauritius only 34 deaths, of which I have observed that we have evidence. I dare say I have missed some, and of course more deaths must have occurred of which we heard nothing. Still bearing in mind that we should certainly have heard of any remarkable cases of mortality, had there been such, and that since June 1837, 7,337 Coolies had sailed, the passage lasting for six weeks or two months, though I consider it proved that the mortality was occasionally great, (owing I believe to occasional overcrowding, which might be avoided, as well as occasional epidemics, which are probably irresistible,) I see no reason to conclude that the mortality was uniformly or even very generally excessive.

* Appendix, p. 109.

* Appendix, p. 93.

* Evidence, Q. 8. 48.

* Evidence, Q. 281.

* Evidence, Q. 370.

* Evidence, Q. 307.

* Evid. Q. 468. 498.

* Evid. Q. 418, 421. 422.

* Evidence, Q. 242.

* Evidence, Q. 541.

* Appendix, p. 113.

* Appendix, p. 115.

* Appendix, p. 117.

67. Judging from the pilots' reports on 15 different vessels of which the health is mentioned, it seems that in general the Coolies were quite healthy; that occasionally they were not healthy; and that in some cases they were particularly unhealthy (a).

7. Health.

* App. p. 113, &c.

68. I have not spoken of one terrible case on board the Hesperus, where a Cooly, being ill of inflammation of the bowels, was kept below by one of the chowkeydars, in consequence of which he died. This case has been not unnaturally greatly exaggerated by rumour, and it has been reported at home that the hatches were battened down on all the Coolies. The case is bad enough as it really happened. The chowkeydars had as many men between decks as they could get, and then would not allow them to come up without paying for it. One chowkeydar had made the deceased pay one rupee for going upon deck, and when he went down again ill the chowkeydar would not let him go up again, and prevented his case from being mentioned to the surgeon or officers. When the man's illness was discovered "by mere accident," after he had been confined below "in a state of great misery for ten or twelve hours," it was too late. Now this is clearly a case of murder against one chowkeydar; it is also, I think, a case of want of care against the officers of the ship. It is a strong example of the evil of allowing chowkeydars to be sent down by the exporters with Coolies. The notion of sending guards over freemen is preposterous, and the evils of such

Murder on board the Hesperus.

* Appendix, p. 119.

* Evid. Q. 181 to 191.

Q. 18 to 18, p. 88.

(a) The Coolies are reported healthy on board the Thomas Snook, p. 113; Hesperus, p. id. See also p. 119, 120. John Bagshaw, 113.; Indian Oak, id.; Herefordshire, p. 114; Cecilia, p. 115; Euphrasia, id.; Carmelite, id. In the Donna Pascoa health generally good, but in three weeks six or seven deaths from cholera chiefly, p. 117. In the Donna Pascoa, another voyage, and Bombay, a few unwell, p. 114. In the Amwell, there were only two cases of sickness when the pilot left, p. 117. Of the Arab, the only observation is, that the doctor never saw such bad medicine, nor so small a quantity. The Whitty was very unhealthy indeed, the Coolies came on board in good health, but before the pilot left 20 were ill of ague fever, p. 118. In the Adelaide, the Coolies came on board in a dreadful state of ill health, p. 114. This is the vessel in which 24 died out of 72, attributable clearly to long confinement and bad treatment.

such a practice obvious. How it was ever allowed by the authorities is surprising. These chowkeydars (men perhaps hired for the job by the merchant's sirkar or the Cooly agent) leave the ship before she puts to sea, and therefore can hardly be punished for any crime committed on board. In this instance, had the chowkeydar gone on to Demerara with the ship, he would have been tried for his life there. As it was, he returned to Calcutta, and escaped with absolute impunity, because it is said there was no evidence but that of the other chowkeydars, who either could not or would not give any evidence as to the fact, except that the murderer was a man "with whom the captain and the surgeon had been angry." Seeing that the surgeon had written from the Sand Heads the full particulars to a most respectable mercantile house here (which letter we received from the superintendent of police) that the evidence of the pilot does not seem to have been called for, that the murderer never seems to have been detained, and that none of the other chowkeydars was even examined on oath, the prosecution of the offender was, I think, too hastily laid aside.

* Evidence, Q. 189.

Observation thereon.

69. Now this is but one of many instances in which I think very great practical evil has resulted from the fanciful course which the enthusiasm of the public and the legislature, and even the executive government apparently, has taken in regard to this whole matter. A man is murdered on shipboard under very aggravating circumstances of cruelty. The murder is taken up by the public here and at home, with much humane zeal, and urged as an argument for prohibiting generally all men of the class of the murdered man in like circumstances from proceeding on shipboard; but no one seems to have suggested the propriety of enforcing the existing law in the usual manner, in order to endeavour to bring the murderer to justice, and so to prevent the like in future; and no inquiry seems to have been made into the particular proceedings of the magistracy in this case. The case of the Adelaide, often mentioned above, is of the same nature, where the Coolies were turned over from vessel to vessel, and lay for a length of time off town in a state of false imprisonment, and "in a state of great privation;" in consequence of which one-third of their number died. But when the report of this came from Mauritius, no step seems to have been taken to punish the offenders. The open false imprisonment of Coolies by the hundred on shore, with absolute impunity, tells the same way. The evil is, that the old existing laws have not been duly enforced, and the proper remedy is that greater vigilance should be exercised in order to secure their enforcement in future.

Conclusion on abuses on shipboard. Suggestions as to ship rules.

70. After carefully going over the whole of the abuses on shipboard, I am convinced that there are none which may not with perfect ease be checked by obvious means. These abuses are proved to have been very partial. The regulations, I think, require amendment (a), and they should be enforced strictly against the shipper. More space should be allowed each Cooly; three tons, I should say, to a man, and a proportionate allowance of clear deck besides. More water should be allowed. A certificate of seaworthiness should be required. No chowkeydar should be allowed on any account to put his foot on deck. A code of ship rules should be prepared, which all masters should be bound to enforce, giving the Coolies as free passengers as much regulated liberty as possible. A knowledge of the language and habits of the Coolies, such as is usual with masters in the country trade, should be required in one officer on board at least. I think, too, that no Coolies should be allowed to go in a ship of which the character of the master is not known to the protector of Coolies. Generally, I believe, the masters of country vessels are by temper and kindness well qualified for such a charge; but amongst so many it would be strange if there were not some unfit men. Above all, I think that ready means should be afforded to the Coolies immediately on arrival at the colony to prosecute, if they please, effectively and speedily the officers and crew of their vessel, and to obtain pecuniary damages for all injury or maltreatment suffered on board ship. Without this the best regulations will be ineffectual.

And facilities of prosecution on landing.

Opinion as to ship surgeon.

71. As to making it necessary to have a medical man on board, I confess I think reason and experience show this to be a weak point to lay stress upon. I am inclined to put much reliance on the opinion of some of our experienced witnesses who think that the presence of one of the persons called "native doctor" is often rather disadvantageous than otherwise. And in the next place it does seem to me strange that in the case of, say one out of many hundred thousands of a class of men who from birth to death, and from generation to generation, live without medical attendance, it should be made a great point to subject him to European medical discipline for two months of his life only; and this whilst native sailors leave our ports daily in hundreds for voyages of much longer duration, without any such provision (whether for good or ill) being made for them. Yet the native crews are not unhealthy, and are not liable to an excessive rate of mortality (b).

* Evidence, Q. 515. 808. See also Dr. Wise's paper, para. 7, App. p. 173.

72. I am very sorry that I have occupied so much paper on a part of the question (the voyage) which the report disposes of, as far as the narrative of facts is concerned, in twelve lines. But it will be admitted, that to combat, by reference to the details of evidence, a general unqualified position, is a more tedious task than to lay down such a position. Fully aware that

(a) Master Pilot Smart's suggestions, contained in his paper No. 17, p. 132 of our Appendix, appear to me generally judicious and practical.

(b) There is a law in India requiring every vessel sailing beyond the limits of the charter to carry a surgeon. See rules and regulations passed by the Governor-general in Council, under authority of 4 Geo. 4, c. 80, on 31st January 1826. I can find no such regulation for ships sailing within the limits of the charter. It is the general belief that Lascais in country ships are healthy, as those ships carry medicines which are administered by the officers with good effect in common cases.

that it is the evidence that will speak, and not my humble judgment on it, which is greatly overbalanced by the bare opinion of the majority, I have tried to give what I believe a fair view of it. It is now for those who have studied it to say, first, whether such evils as have been proved, in the passage, are remediless by any regulations; and next, whether, in order to remedy them, it be necessary to conduct the transport of Coolies by Government, under command of Her Majesty's or the Honourable Company's naval officers, as proposed in para. 41 of the report. I hold the affirmative of the first proposition, and the negative of the latter.

* See also para. 30 of report.

73. I now come to the third and last class of evils which are to be considered as affecting this great question, viz. the abuses alleged to exist in the colonies to which the labourers proceed. This part of the question must nearly be confined to Mauritius alone, as we have little evidence of the state of the Coolies in other colonies.

3. Abuses in the colony.

74. It may be presumed that a colony, where nearly all the inhabitants were very lately either slave-owners or slaves, has much to learn in the management of free labourers. It is principally upon the master that the good or bad result of the relation of master and servant depends; and that a master, bred with the habits and opinions of a slave-owner, should, from his inexperience, for some years after the loss of his slaves, fail to manage free servants well, is a very natural event. It is also not unnatural to suppose that the circumstance of the first free working people arriving in an emancipated slave colony happening to differ in colour, language, and manners, from the old caste of slave owners, much in the same way that the late slaves did, would make the masters more apt than they would even otherwise have been to overlook the fundamental distinction between such working men and those to whom only they had hitherto been accustomed. All this, of course, is no reason for preventing free labourers from going to an emancipated slave colony, which must begin to learn the ways of freemen some time or other. But it is a reason for taking special precautions in the infancy of the freedom of such a colony, by providing an ample supply of ministers of justice, both high and low, brought up in a better school than a slave colony can be, and free alike from the faults, follies, and prejudices of slave-owner and slave, whose duty it should be to keep both parties in order in their new state, for which both must be ill prepared. This was all along foreseen by the great men who carried emancipation, so far as the interests of the emancipated slaves are concerned; but it was not foreseen that similar extraordinary precautions would be necessary, in regard to other freemen who might spring up in the colony. The case of Mauritius, however, has demonstrated, that in a society of late slave-owners, immigrant free labourers are as much in want of extraordinary protection as the negroes were. Habit is a strong antagonist to well-executed law, but if the law is indolently, not to say partially executed, habit is all-powerful. It is a hard thing for any set of men to be made to apply the law in their own cause; but it is wholly unreasonable to make a party apply the law in his own cause, who is in so new a position that he does not know the rights of either disputant. To remedy this evil much has lately been done in Mauritius, by making the special magistrates decide all causes between master and labourer. Our evidence was taken before that wholesome change was made; but in evidence taken from several time-expired Coolies who have returned since our committee closed its proceedings, we have the satisfaction of seeing proof that this change has been of extreme practical benefit, and that it was observed and appreciated by the Coolies. I conceive, however, that more may still be necessary to be done before the Coolies in Mauritius can be regarded as holding the same place there as freemen that they hold in their own country. I will notice the points to which I now allude, as they arise in my summary of our evidence.

General views with reference to the circumstances of the colony.

See Additional Evid. p. 46.

75. If it was supposed in Mauritius, from the respectful and obedient habits of the Indian labourers (which are freely admitted by the planters), that they were accustomed to forego any of the essential rights of freemen, a great mistake was committed. M. D'Epinay has well observed of these men that "they appear to have a just notion of their rights and of their duties." They expect to have the stipulated amount of wages paid them, and the stipulated quantity and quality of food given them. They know that they must work, but after working hours they expect not to be confined, or otherwise treated like prisoners, but to be left wholly their own masters till working time comes round again. They are unused to being apprehended when walking about on a Sunday or holiday, if they have not obtained a ticket of leave. They expect to work without having an overseer constantly behind them with a rattan, or a mule whip. In some or all of these reasonable expectations I fear they have often been disappointed.

Parl. Returns, p. 92.

76. To show the notions of the mass of land-owners and masters in Mauritius, as to what they think the lawful *status* of free labourers ought to be in their colony, it is enough to read Lord Glenelg's despatch on the Ordinances (Nos. 16 and 17 of 1835), and the remonstrances and alarm which the disallowance of those monstrous enactments caused amongst the proprietores. To show to any person who knows the character of Indian labourers, the practical effect of these notions, it will be enough to inform him that there have been several assemblies and commotions amongst various batches of Coolies, complaining more or less riotously of their treatment. Some years ago it was reported that ~~it~~ became necessary on one of these occasions to turn out the troops. To think of a regiment of English soldiers being turned out to oppose a riotous assembly of Coolies who had disputed with their employers, will make an Indian resident smile; but when he comes to reflect on the treatment that must have induced such proceedings, he will cease to smile. Who ever heard of riots of this sort in India? Villagers will often rise to resent oppression, and hired bludgeon-

Notions of the colonists.

Parl. Returns, p. 69.

Parl. Returns, p. 114.

Effects thereof.

* Evidence, Q. 995.

* Evidence, Q. 299. *

men will do their master's bidding, but who ever heard of employed Coolies turning out against their employers, and thereby endangering the peace of the country? When has the regiment in the fort been ordered down to the Fort Gloucester Cotton Mill to repress the workmen? In this very town, in a space of less than 10 square miles, it is calculated that a number of labourers enter every day to work, and depart in peace every night, equal probably to the whole population of Mauritius; and who ever heard of a riot amongst them? Putting kindness out of the question, we all know that common honesty, which, matters being here left to take their natural course, is indispensable to a man who desires to employ labourers, secures us from turbulent Coolies.

Which are remediable.

77. But for all this injustice in Mauritius which appears to me to be proved to have existed in many instances, the remedy is obvious, and it has, in great part, already been applied. There is, I apprehend, no danger of the Mauritius planters being allowed to make laws for the rest of the inhabitants of the island, for some time to come; and fair laws, administered by disinterested men, already exist. I believe some amendements are required, but if so they can easily be made. In talking of laws it will be borne in mind that law everywhere is but the last resort on special occasions. The disputes between master and servant are fewer, probably, than any other class of disputes, because it is immediately the interest of both parties to give no strong cause of complaint to each other. There are, as we have complete proof, a great number of masters in Mauritius, whose labourers had no need of law, being treated upon the whole with fairness. But these cases form no argument against the necessity of having good laws well administered to protect the Cooly, which will not be applied but when they are needed.

Details.

78. Let us now see whether the details of our evidence bear out the general views above taken.

1. Administration of justice.

79. The first point, and I believe the most important of all, is the practical administration of justice in the colony, as far as the Coolies are concerned. And here it is very necessary to bear in mind that our evidence relates to the time before the cognizance of these cases was given to the special magistrates. This point is treated in para. 19 of the report, and with what is said in that paragraph, making the allowance above-mentioned, I fully concur. I will nevertheless, in this point, pursue the scheme of this paper, of which the object is to give a more minute view of the evidence than the scheme of the report allows.

Parl. Return, p. 137.

* Appendix, p. 174.

Parl. Return, p. 119.

Parl. Return, p. 110.

* Appendix, p. 171.

Coolies' evidence on this point.

* Evidence, Q. 598.

* Evidence, Q. 838.

80. Mr. Scott, of the Bengal civil service, says, "The Indians, as a body, are infinitely less able to obtain redress in disputes with their masters than the apprentices are." He adds, "The feelings of the latter" (the Coolies) "in regard to the commissaries (a) were anything but favourable, and the impression was universal among those I saw as to the uselessness of complaint in such quarters." Dr. Wise, a gentleman of the Bengal medical service, has formed a contrary opinion. He thinks "that an even-handed justice is dealt out to the free Indian labourer, and that he is not slow in availing himself of it." I do not, however, gather that Dr. Wise's opinion was formed from personal intercourse with the Coolies, as Mr. Scott's appears to have been; Dr. Wise thinks that the Coolies often lodged pretended complaints, but I doubt whether he is right in this. Monsieur D'Epinay, a proprietor, reports that whenever he has observed differences between the Coolies and their masters, it has been because their habits have been shocked, and the letter of their agreements has not been strictly observed (b). Sir W. Nicolay, the governor of Mauritius, speaks of the paucity of complaints as rather surprising, and most complaints are reported by his Excellency to have arisen from infractions, on the part of the employer, of the terms of the agreement in the article of food. Mr. Shaw, of the Bengal civil service, adduces a gross instance of denial of justice by a commissary of police, who, when a grievous complaint of bad treatment against their master's superintendent was brought before him by some coolies, refused to inquire into the case, and sent the complainants back, under a guard, with a private note to the superintendent, stating that he dared to say the complainants were in the wrong, and therefore he had admonished them, "and sent them back."

81. Bebee Juhooron says, "Three times I complained of Mr. ——— (c) to the police; he was summoned but did not attend. There was some communication between him and the police, and I was sent back. That is a money-eating police, they take bribes; if you complain of the police, and the defendant pays money, you get no redress." Suboo says "that the blacks took 8 rs. from him before the eye of the magistrate, who took no notice of it;" but this, as it is stated, seems to me incredible. The evidence of the Coolies who complain of ill treatment in Mauritius, which I will mention in another place, if it is believed, must prove that in many cases justice was not practically attainable by the Cooly.

Must now be improved.

82. But to whatever extent there may have been a failure of justice under the old system, (and I must say that I fear it was to a very great extent), and whatever may have been the causes of that failure, whether from the distance of the head police office from most estates in

(a) The local magistrates, or judges.

(b) "Ce qui importe avec ses hommes, qui paroissent avoir une juste idée de leurs droits et de leurs devoirs, c'est de tenir punctuellement à ce qu'on leur a promis." J'ai remarqué que partout où il y avait eu des différends entr' eux et les propriétaires ou régisseurs, cela venait de ce que l'on avait heurté leurs habitudes, et pas assez strictement observé la lettre des engagements.

(c) Her master.

in the interior, the difficulty of getting the *commissaires civils* to understand that black labourers were free men, who had a right to sue planters and all other men for breach of contract, or from other causes, now that the special magistrates, being disinterested gentlemen, distributed all over the island, have been appointed to give justice to the Cooly, there cannot be a doubt that the administration of justice must have greatly improved. The opinion of Rev. Mr. Garstin, an unbiassed and intelligent inquirer, is important upon this point. He says, "I consider that the appointment of the special magistrates is calculated to remove all apprehension as to the future treatment of the Coolies of any kind. The system in regard to the apprentices is very strict in dealing out justice." The evidence of Ramdeen and six others, out of the 47 men lately returned, is conclusive on this important head; he says, "We asked them," (*viz.* Coolies belonging to other estates who used to complain of not getting enough food), "why don't you complain to the police; they said they got no justice there, they were only sent back again. Of late there has been a new arrangement, under which there is not much oppression." I understood the witness to mean a general improved administration all over the land.

* Evidence, Q. 809.

Page 46 of Additional Evidence.

83. The next consideration is the general treatment which the Coolies receive in Mauritius. This point is treated in para. 23 of the report, and with much of what is said in that paragraph I have to express my concurrence. Our evidence plainly shows that in this particular there is a great difference in the fortune of different batches of Coolies. This point, on which in my view of the subject the question mainly turns, though the fact is admitted, is not treated in the report as if it materially affected the decision. I will hereafter endeavour to show that, under the circumstances, it is not the average, but the best treatment that we ought to form our judgment by. Mr. Shaw says, "The happiness or misery of the emigrant during his sojourn on the island depends entirely, I may say, upon the master he may be destined to serve." Mr. Shaw gives an instance of very bad treatment on the part of a petty proprietor, and it seems generally believed that the smaller planters are the worse and the larger the better masters. Mr. Scott, who went about amongst the Coolies, reports thus: "The main result of these inquiries leads me to the conclusions that the condition of the labourer practically depends on the individual character of his employer, and that the terms of the agreement are trifling compared with the spirit with which they are interpreted." After giving specific proof of this, Mr. Scott instances that Mr. Hunter and M. D'Epiny were spoken of more than once very highly by the Coolies, but others were mentioned in terms equally unfavourable. The evidence of the Coolies themselves is very decisive on this point. Sheik Manick's evidence goes to the effect of there being an extreme difference in the treatment of different masters. He says, Coolies employed by English masters got enough to eat, were regularly paid, and were satisfied to remain; the exact contrary being the case with Coolies employed by French masters. Boodoo Khan says, "Those (Coolies) who are under good masters are willing to remain, but those who are in the service of Frenchmen are happy to come back." Being asked, "Did you see any Coolies serving under English masters?" He answers, "I saw many; they speak in high terms of their masters; they say they get every thing but oil." Kharoo says, "Those (Coolies) that are under good masters wished to remain, and those that are under bad masters wished to return, even without receiving their pay." The evidence of the returned Coolies, lately taken, is strikingly corroborative, in this as in all points, of the more scanty evidence before taken by our committee. I extract one part of the evidence of Ramdeen and six others in the note below (a).

2. General treatment.

Difference of treatment.

* Appendix, p. 171.

* Appendix, p. 171. See paras. 1st and 4th.

Parl. Return, p. 136.

* Evid. Q. 649 to 652.

* Evidence, Q. 688.

* Evidence, Q. 639.

* Evidence, Q. 861.

84. Now this difference of treatment, and the consequent difference in the happiness of the labourer, seems to me the most important point in our whole evidence. Fortunately it is one on which the evidence is indisputable. It seems to me to do away wholly, in the general view it is our duty to take of the question, with the effect of every case of bad treatment that occurs; because, I maintain, if you give these people fair laws, and make those laws accessible, and if you enable them to leave their employer whenever that employer breaks his part of the contract (of course without prejudice to other civil remedies,) the ill-treatment on the part of the master, in the fortunate circumstances of Mauritius, and indeed of all our colonies, as far as the interests of free labourers are concerned, must cease of itself; for such masters must either instantly be taught the necessity of managing their workmen by fairness and kindness, or they will be deserted by all their workmen, to their own certain ruin. I ask no protective laws for the Cooly; I ask only for such sound laws, and such equal justice, as will give natural principles fair play. With such the Indian labourer in Mauritius, and I believe in other colonies, will be the most fortunate labourer in the world.

Argument founded on this fact.

85. However sound a deduction may be, it is always the better if proved by actual experiment. Fortunately, since the close of the report, that proof has been afforded by the examination of the 47 time-expired Coolies just returned. In two batches, out of 49 men remaining when the contract time expired, 26, more than one-half, have, in preference to returning

Confirmed by experience.

(a) We have no ill-treatment to complain of ourselves, but on Sundays, when we mixed with other Coolies on other estates, we heard complaints of ill-treatment from some. They complained that as a punishment their hands were tied behind them, and they were whipped with the mule whip, and their feet were put in the stocks. We never saw this done, but heard of it. We have heard complaints from other Coolies of their not getting enough to eat; some said they were not allowed ghee, others that they were not allowed dall, others that they were not allowed enough rice.—Add. Evid. p. 16.

returning with the rest, voluntarily renewed their engagements at double wages, or 10 rupees a month.

86. The particular instances of bad and good treatment in the colony shall now be reviewed.

87. I will not mention the evidence of Abdoolah, the native doctor, on this point (a). Captain Mackenzie gives us a case when he brought back a Cooly who said he had received no pay for 18 months. The evidence is second-hand, but I cannot doubt the fact, as the Cooly can have had no possible inducement to volunteer a falsehood to the captain, who he must have known could do nothing in the matter. Bebee Johoorun gives a very bad account of her own treatment and that of certain other Coolies. They were defrauded, she says, of their stipulated wages, and generally ill-used; they could get no justice from those appointed to administer it; they were confined after working hours to their plantation: there was a "captain" (overseer, I suppose), an Englishman, and four sirdars, mild men, who screened the Coolies from oppression as much as they could, and would not allow the master to beat them; before that the master used to oversee the work himself, and he beat the Coolies; "it is a country of slaves; the negroes are slaves there;" three Coolies hung themselves, as the other Coolies understood, because they could not bear the hardships of the life they led, "but they did not say so to the police, for fear. I conceive that Bebee Johoorun, had she spoken in the past tense, would have pointed to the true cause of this inhumanity; it was a country of slaves." Sheik Manick states that he was shamefully defrauded of the food and wages which he was told by a gentleman at the police (in Calcutta) he was to get if he went; so also as to his hour of work; they had not sufficient food allowed them to eat; they were never paid at all, much less monthly; they were killed with overwork; on asking for his stipulated allowance of food and wages, he was sent to the police, put into the house of correction for two months and a half, and sent back to Calcutta; he got no pay at all though he worked for a "year and three quarters." The country is good, the water is good, but the people are very bad; they do not pay their servants, nor give them sufficient food. Still this witness is discriminative, and, as above shown, allows that under some masters the Coolies have no ground of complaint. It is plain that this last witness, who was engaged as a sirdar or headman, and his employer quarrelled, for which due allowance must be made; but I doubt if the Cooly had justice afforded him. The practice of putting dismissed men into the house of correction till the moment they are sent on shipboard is monstrous, as it prevents the possibility of the Cooly obtaining redress, and neither the Cooly's employer nor the police have any right to prevent a man, who has been dismissed by one employer, from trying to obtain service with another whom he may prefer. It seems to me neither the police of Mauritius, nor those who make the regulations under which the police act, suspect, when they have Indians before them, that they are dealing with free subjects of Her Majesty, with whose movements, in their own country, no one has any right to interfere.

88. The evidence of Boodoo Khan, also a dismissed sirdar, but under a different employer, is exactly to the same effect as the last. He did not get sufficient food; being engaged as a sirdar he was required to work like a Cooly, and on refusal he was sent to the house of correction; he never received a single courie of his wages. He was sent back to Calcutta, directly from the house of correction, though he had said he did not wish it, but wanted his pay.

89. The Coolies whose examination the Rev. Mr. Boaz's reports said, "We were never allowed to go out" (of the plantation), "and kept in almost close confinement."—"If a man of our own place were in the next plantation, we were not allowed to visit him." This seems to be attributed by the Coolies "to fear lest disturbance could arise if free intercourse were permitted." This dreadful system of confining free men like criminals or slaves, seems to have been universal, or nearly so. It would be childish to investigate the alleged necessity of such barbarity. Why should the free going about of a few thousand Indian labourers in Mauritius be more apt to breed disturbance than the free going about, for example, of from ten to twenty times the same number in a much smaller space around Calcutta? The real reason is plain; such a law was enforced with black slaves, and it does not seem to have struck any body that there was any essential difference between the cases. If this confinement was legal, what sort of laws must the colonial laws be? If it was not, what sort of an administration of justice, in regard to Indian labourers, must there be? This law or practice, so long as it is continued, will, I think, be a strong argument against allowing any Indian labourers, or indeed any free person at all who will be subject to it, Indian or Englishman, from going to the colony; because, in effect, it does go far to make all who fall under it slaves; and it really looks as if it were expressly intended to preserve, under a new name, the essence of a mitigated slavery, by preventing men from making a fair market for their

(a) I have before (see para. 47) shown that this man's evidence is not generally trustworthy, and it is this part of his evidence in which Mr. Dowson has specially disproved him; for he stated that in his first voyage he was two months on the island, not three weeks, as Mr. Dowson thought (Evid. Q. 380), during which time he learned the facts he details; whereas he left the island on the third day after his arrival (Evid. Q. 1059). Nor could he have confounded his two voyages, for he says he was one month on the island the second time (Evid. Q. 470.) This shows the desire of case-making, and that in a native witness, upon a general question, is fatal. What induces me to rely with such confidence on our Cooly evidence is, that none of the Coolies evince the least desire of case-making; they tell good and bad, the one as freely as the other.

* Evid. Q. 206. 426.

* Evidence, Q. 598.

* Evidence, Q. 622.
* Evid. Q. 632, 633.
* Evidence, Q. 634.
* Evidence, Q. 641.
* Evid. Q. 634 to 636.
* Evidence, Q. 637.

* Evidence, Q. 644.

* Evidence, Q. 679. &c.

* Evidence, Q. 686.

* Evid. Q. 9, p. 87.

Add. Evidence, p. 47.

their own labour, and from freely resorting to law to obtain redress, when injured by their employers. But I cannot doubt that a word from the Indian Government, explaining that innocent Indians in their own country cannot lawfully be confined, would cause a stop to be put to the practice.

90. Mr. Shaw reports his belief that the labourers are attended by an overseer in the field, and when idle they are not unfrequently rattaned by him. Here too was another manifest vestige of slavery. I am not one of those who transfer to the case of an Indian labourer who receives an occasional whipping, the feelings which would be proper in the case of an English labourer so treated. I believe that the Indian labourers would prefer this to many more legitimate punishments, though I should be sorry to make such a punishment legal, or in practice to refuse an Indian labourer reasonable redress who should complain of it. But the following about of labourers systematically with rattans, or mule whips (not to put faith in the more suspicious instruments Abdoolah describes (a), is a very different thing from an occasional whipping. The one necessarily makes the labourer work, and feel, and think like a slave, and converts the overseer into a slave-driver; the other has no such effects. This is another proof that some of the planters at least were ignorant how to treat free labourers. We have, however, Sir W. Nicolay's authority for this practice having long been unlawful (b), and all our information of such treatment is of old date.

* Appendix, p. 172.

Parl. Returns, p. 72.

91. The evidence of the lately-returned Coolies affords strong ground to believe that this slavish manner of treating labourers has already been put a stop to generally, whilst it confirms the former evidence as to its having formerly been practised by some masters, though others have eschewed it from the first. Ramdeen and six others, after mentioning that on some estates the Coolies, as a punishment, had their hands tied behind them, and their feet put in the stocks, and were whipped with the mule-whip, say, "Before the liberation of the slaves, which happened about 18 months ago, they used to force the negroes to work very hard, and the Indian labourers were similarly treated. If any one lagged behind, he used to be beaten. When the slaves were liberated, this mode of treatment ceased; now there is a good arrangement, and the work is done without beating. We were never thus treated ourselves; we speak from what we heard from others. The whipping and putting in the stocks is an old story; it occurred before the liberation of the slaves."

Additional Evid. p. 46.

92. The evidence of good treatment is necessarily less precise than that of ill treatment; but I think, considering that it is general evidence, it is quite as certain. Captain Rapson, who speaks of three estates of his own personal knowledge, thinks the Coolies generally well treated in Mauritius. Captain Edwards, speaking of about 100 Coolies employed as porters on the wharf, says that they do not appear to be overworked; that they are in good condition, and rather fine looking men. Captain Rayne gives a similar account, though he says the Coolies told him they did not expect to be so hard worked. He comments too, and I think with justice, on the hard case of a man who, being injured in the performance of his work, did not get his wages whilst he was laid up. Dr. Wise reports as follows: "After frequent opportunities of observing the Hindoo Coolies, I can safely say that they are generally contented and happy in that delightful island." The evidence of the Rev. Mr. Garstin, who visited five or six estates, and saw some hundreds of Coolies, and who also spoke to Coolies on the public roads, is to the same effect. He does not remember a single instance of a Cooly having complained of anything to him; though he remembers one complaint of having been beaten being made to another person. Being asked to describe the condition of the Coolies on one estate, that of M. Riviere, he says, "Those that I noticed struck me as being stout men. I remember that I particularly remarked the stoutness of some, and was told that the reason was that they ate so much sugar. The relation between master and workmen seemed to be very good. I remember especially the absence of servility on the part of the Coolies, and a kind and familiar style on the part of the master, such as tapping a Cooly on the shoulder, and speaking of him as a *bon sujet*," &c. Kharoo and Suboo, two Coolies returned in bad health, both say that the masters at Mauritius are good, but the black overseers bad. Ramdane says that the Coolies got their pay regularly in presence of the police judge; that they got plenty to eat, and that if there was any fault in this, by lodging information at the police, the master was fined. Mr. Onslow, of the Madras civil service, says that the Coolies in Mauritius appeared to him in exceeding good condition, well fed, not over worked, and quite contented. He does not, however, mean to say there were no complaints. Of one party, with whom he was able freely to converse, as they spoke Telooogo, he says, "They were exceedingly merry and cheerful, and expressed themselves quite satisfied with their treatment, but at the same time anxious to return to their own country when their time of servitude should expire." This last seems a very general feeling amongst the Coolies: and who, of all those whose lot it is to mend their fortunes by long service in a distant land, whether in high or low degree, could express his own feelings more clearly than by those very words?

* Evidence, Q. 57.

* Evidence, Q. 545.

* Evidence, Q. 824.

* Appendix, p. 173.

* Evidence, Q. 795.

* Evid. Q. 879, 885.

* Evid. Q. 899, 900.

* Evid. Q. 902 to 906.

93. The examination taken of four different batches of Coolies, lately arrived after serving their full time, is very satisfactory, generally, upon the head of treatment, and shows beyond

(a) A leather thong, about an inch broad, and nearly a fathom long. Evid. Q. 391.

(b) Sir W. Nicolay is surely mistaken in believing that Indian labourers in their own country, by general usage, are liable to corporal punishment. Corporal punishment is no longer amongst our legal penalties, even for criminals. To occasional violations of law all men in all countries are liable; but in that sense only are Indians liable to corporal punishments in India. The case seems the same in Mauritius.

beyond a doubt, that under good masters, of which it is but justice to say there certainly were many, both French and English, the treatment was good, and the labourer happy. Gooroodyal says, "They exact hard labour, and food is dear." "If it is my pleasure, I will go back."—"We once had a complaint at the police against our overseer. He was sent away, and then the allowance was complete. They all get their pay regularly." Fifteen men agree in this. There are no complaints of beating, though Chummun says "I was flogged (struck?) once for not working properly. I only got three or four slaps. I was never touched with any whip." Burdoo, too, said he had been beaten. Muttur was beaten if he did not do his work. The rest were never beaten. Of another batch two or three say they were flogged, one for getting drunk; another says he was beat; but if he was beat, he deserved it. He said, "they were father and mother to me." There were no complaints of bad treatment made by any one man out of 47. There was a complaint against an oppressive sirdar of another batch of men, but that is irrelevant, being merely the sort of oppression that occurs here amongst natives. Sheo Suhaee, and another set, say "We had English masters, and were well treated. We were never beat. I cannot say whether I shall return; we may after seeing our children."

Add. Evid. *passim*.

94. Of the treatment of the few Indian labourers who have gone to Sydney, we have not much information. Mr. Onslow says, "I can speak very little indeed of their (the Coolies) treatment in New South Wales, from my own knowledge. I did, however, see about 12 or 14 employed in the neighbourhood of Sydney. I could not converse with them myself, as they spoke a language I did not understand; but through the medium of an interpreter, I understood from them that they were well satisfied with their condition, and particularly that they were able to save some money. I learned also from undoubted authority that their savings were regularly deposited in the savings' bank. I saw gentlemen who employed the Coolies, and they invariably expressed themselves highly pleased with them in every respect." Mr. Mackay has engaged 42 Indian labourers in New South Wales, and gives a favourable account of them, saying that in general they are all satisfied with their service. But here, too, I suspect the five years' contract, so long as it cannot be set aside by the Cooly under any circumstances, or on any payment, a dangerous system. I look upon the case of New South Wales as a much more difficult case than Mauritius, or any other of the old tropical slave colonies. There are no special magistrates in New South Wales, nor do the general circumstances of the colony require them. Magistrates wholly unconnected with the class of employers cannot be looked for in the interior of that vast continent. If Indian labourers should become so general that a great part of the agricultural work of the settlements should be performed by them, labour would probably be despised by the white men. But this is a question beyond our province, our inquiries being confined to the case as it affects the Indians themselves. The state of feeling in regard to these labourers is by no means satisfactory, according to the account given of it by Mr. Cracroft, of the Bengal civil service; nor does it seem certain that this bad feeling was never shown otherwise than by words. A man bound to work for one master during five years, when the master has a summary criminal remedy against him, whilst he, otherwise so unfit to contend with his master, has no summary remedy, civil or criminal, against his master, is, in my opinion, placed in a very unfair position. One case where Coolies "absconded," and were taken to the police, and were there declared liable to summary punishment, is mentioned by two witnesses. I remember long ago seeing an apparently elaborate account of the proceedings in what was probably that very case, extracted from a Sydney newspaper. Perhaps that account was not a fair one, but ever since I read it, a strong impression has remained upon my mind that the proceedings of the police were very unsatisfactory, and that they were exactly what I should have anticipated from a police decision upon a case of this sort, involving, in my opinion, some of the most difficult points of natural equity. The contract is between a knowing rich man and an ignorant poor man, entered into in a far distant land, to be fulfilled under circumstances of which the weaker party can have had no conception when he agreed to the bargain. Now the real and natural equity of such a contract must necessarily be a matter of very great difficulty to be determined, and the relevant facts must, many of them, be very difficult of proof, especially those in favour of the weaker party. Yet, apparently, according to the law of Sydney, and perhaps of most colonies, such a knotty case as this, when the rich man is complainant, and then only I fear, is made over to a police magistrate to be finally settled off hand. It seems to me too much to expect that a magistrate shall be capable of doing this in such a manner as to do substantial justice.

* Evidence, Q. 1000.

* Evidence, Q. 961, &c.

* Evidence, Q. 1024.

* Evid. Q. 979, 1005.

3. Want of Indian women.

95. The third and last evil of this class alleged against the exportation of Coolies, is, that comparatively very few women emigrate with the men. (See para. 22 of this report.) But I must confess that I think this a very much overstrained objection. I find it very difficult to meet it with propriety, though certainly my difficulty is not caused by the weight of the objection. Yet the objection may imply so much, and so much stress has been laid upon it in official documents, and in public discussions, that it must be met.

96. If this were a complaint coming from the planters, to whom it is a great object to breed up a numerous and excellent labouring population, seeing that Mauritius and all the sugar colonies could employ a vast number of more labourers than are now obtainable, and that a vernacular labouring population would be cheaper and handier than imported labourers, I should readily understand it: and as the remedy would be in the hands of the colonists, whose business it is to make it worth the while of foreigners to settle with them, the complaint would not be matter of uneasiness. But the complaint is made on the part of the labourers

labourers and their families. The report goes so far as to say that it may fairly be inferred that the planters were not desirous of the immigration of women. The apparent ground of this inference is that the Colonial Government have really been anxious for the importation of women, but few have gone. But the only inference, which in my opinion can fairly be drawn from this, is, that no single planter is so very anxious to benefit the colony generally, by the importation of women, as to incur individually a great expense for what could never yield any direct or personal benefit to him. This seems to me a barren conclusion; I will therefore say no more, as far as the planters are concerned.

97. As concerns the labourers (apart from the consideration of their families, which I will speak of afterwards), the paucity of women can only affect them in their morals, and in their happiness, whilst absent. Now I cannot but think that those who have laid stress on this point, have confounded two very distinct cases of emigration; viz. the case of men going abroad for five years, in order to make wherewithal to set themselves up in comfort in their own country at the end of the time, with the case of men emigrating for life to a distant land, where they intend to live and die. To afford the latter class all facilities for transporting their families with them, if they are family men, or if they are not, and they are proceeding to a land where there are comparatively few females, to promote in all proper ways the emigration of respectable females, in order to afford the male emigrants, when their means shall justify such a step, facilities for marrying, does seem to me a very moral and kind thing to do. Yet even in this case, I can hardly look upon this as so necessary a measure that unless it can be accomplished, male emigration for life should be prohibited; for I cannot doubt that natural causes will set all right at last. But forcing a man of the former, or service-seeking class of emigrants, whether he will or not, to incur the charge of exporting a female, and maintaining her in a very expensive colony, whilst his service lasts, and of importing her and her children back with him, does seem to me a strange point to insist upon vehemently. It will not do to say that it is the employer who is to be made to pay for these expensive requirements. The employer cannot afford to pay more than a certain sum in all for the labour he imports, and whatever he pays for the labourer's wife, beyond the value of any work she may do for him, he must deduct from what he can afford to pay the labourer. The real effect of any such law as this will therefore be, to prohibit the exportation of labourers to all colonies except those where the want of labour is excessive, and thus the same law might practically open some pestilential colony in the West Indies, or South America, and close the healthful and neighbouring island of Mauritius.

98. The late Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, in his despatch of the 31st July 1838, in noticing this much agitated question, admits the difficulty of providing a remedy for the disproportion of sexes, owing to the habits of Indians; and he contents himself with recommending this point generally to the attention of the Colonial Government. The majority of the committee, however, do not hesitate to recommend specific legislation on this delicate subject. In para. 3d of the report they recommend, in case the export under any circumstances be again allowed, that it be made a *sine qua non* that every ship which exports Coolies shall carry a proportion of two females for three male adults. Now I have no peculiar objection to this specific proportion, more than to any other. I dare say, if there must be specific law, that this is as good a rule as any. Indeed I do not see how any one such rule can be preferred to any other. I only object to this rule what I think can be equally well objected to any similar rule. Considering, then, that the object here is not colonization, I ask upon what data and upon what principles, and with what special design, this proportion of two-fifths has been fixed? It cannot have relation to the families of the labourers, because it is not proposed that the females shall be the already married wives of the labourers, and it would be ridiculous to attempt to discover this fact, and impossible to enforce such a rule, in practice. I am quite sure that a community of females was not contemplated. Yet if the moral and philanthropic objects in view, in legislating upon the subject, are not sacrificed by allowing one man out of every three to serve his time as a single man, and without the chance of marrying during the term, I cannot see how they should be sacrificed if the other two were in the same situation.

99. I conjecture that this recommendation originates in the omission to distinguish between the two very different classes of emigrants above described.

* See also para. 28 of Report.

100. We in public service in India leave home with precisely the same purpose, and under precisely similar circumstances, with the Indian labourers who take service in a colony; with this difference only, that our service lasts for a quarter of a century, their's only for five years. If therefore there is a case at all, in regard to the labourers, there is a much stronger case in regard to us. But what would be thought of a corresponding proposal in our case?

101. It will be said that the case here instanced, and all cases of service abroad amongst men raised above the poorest classes, may be left to be righted in the natural course of things, because a voyage, say from Europe to India, to persons of the classes in question, is within their means; not so a voyage from India to a colony in the case of Indian labourers. And this, I admit. But without pressing the case of privates in the army, to which this defence will not apply at all, I answer, first, there is a vast difference between five years and 25 years, taken as portions of human life, which tells the other way. Secondly, a long voyage in a frequented line is not so much out of the way of the labouring classes in India on the sea-coast as is generally imagined, which will, I think, be shown by the papers relative to female emigration to the Tenasserim provinces which I have permission to

Appendix to Minute,
No. 2, p. 38.

From Mr. Commissioner Blundell, Tenasserim provinces, dated 9th Sept. 1840.

Documents received with a letter from secretary to government of Fort St. George, No. 6, dated 2d Jan. 1841.

append. From these it will be seen that already native craft sailing from Coringa to Tenasserim, convey women, who emigrate from the Coromandel coast expressly to become the wives of the thriving male emigrants, chiefly from the same coast, who have established themselves of late years in the Tenasserim provinces. Thirdly, I am convinced that when all the Indian labourers in Mauritius shall be in that condition of increased prosperity, in which those who have chosen to remain after their contract term now are, and in which all would soon be if they were free to choose their own master on paying the charges of their importer, as I think they ought to be, there will be every chance of many of them gradually procuring Indian wives, either by returning home and going back with wives, or by sending for wives. There is no chance of inducing them at first to emigrate with their formal wives and families, who are left in their villages. According to Mr. Scott's report, they would as soon think that their fields should move with them. The only chance of settlement is in the case of individuals who, having already gone to the colony with the intention of staying only a short time, have prospered there, and found that they like the place. I cannot think that this object would be assisted by importing into Mauritius several thousand females, such as might be expected to be furnished by the bazars of the sea-port towns, to captains of cooly vessels anxious to fill up their legal female complement. To this I may add, that looking at the export of Coolies as a means of benefiting India, I think more extensive good will be done by the constant return of labourers improved in mind, body, and wealth, as they certainly are by service of a few years in Mauritius, than by the formation of Indian settlements abroad.

4. Desertion of families
in India.

102. There remains the allegation of the evil to the families of the labourers from the desertion of the labourers themselves. The same para. of the report (24) thus proceeds: "The result of the emigration that has already taken place has been most disastrous to the families of those who have emigrated, and it is shown by the memorandum furnished to the Landholders' Society by Mr. Taylor, and printed in the Appendix to the Calcutta Report, (pages 366, et seq.) that the districts of Bancoorah and Maunbhoom have been burdened with a vagrant and mendicant population of paupers, composed of the deserted families of emigrant Coolies." In a note to para. 37 of this minute, I have already given my reasons for thinking that this memorandum, in its present unsupported state, cannot be relied upon. I do not mean to say that it is incapable of being so vouched for as to become evidence; I only mean to say that it is not now, as far as I know, evidence on which any argument can be supported, seeing that I do not understand who is responsible for it. I do not know how the committee came by it, and I do not remember to have seen it or heard of it till I saw it printed in our Appendix. This return is stated to have been given by Mr. Taylor to the Landholders' Society, in consequence of a request made to him by that body to make inquiries into the matter. It is signed by Mr. Taylor in two places, but no letter from that gentleman transmitting it is given, from which we might have known what he himself thought of the paper. It is not said to have been prepared by that gentleman, nor is it said how he procured it, or the information which it contains. Had Mr. Taylor written a few lines to the effect which this return is calculated to convey, viz. that many families were left destitute by the emigration of their male adults to Mauritius, this would have been evidence very worthy to be examined into, as being the belief of a most intelligent public officer, who had opportunities more or less of forming an opinion upon the matter in hand. But what is Mr. Taylor's opinion on this matter, is to me at this moment absolutely unknown. I think it so improbable as to amount nearly to an impossibility that Mr. Taylor himself examined witnesses, and recorded the result of the examination in the column of remarks in this return. For this return professes to give a precise history in the cases of 291 individuals and families inhabiting 113 villages. For any one man to have procured by personal inquiry of witnesses at first hand satisfactory evidence on all these cases would have occupied, I should say, two or three months of very hard work; at any rate, more hours than most officers would give to an incidental application of this sort. Now if, as seems probable to me, Mr. Taylor merely sent in to the Landholders' Society the answers he got to some circular order to his district native officers, of what value is this paper? I see several reasons for imagining such to have been the case. The two returns, one for Bancoorah, the other for Maunbhoom, are different in form, the former having seven columns of matter, the latter eight, and the substance of the columns differs, which does not look as if both sets originated from one individual. Again, the English of the return bears the character of a translation not made by an Englishman from a native language. I give specimens in a note (a). Again the spirit of the two returns is opposite the one to the other. I should guess that the Bancoorah return was prepared by some mohurrir desirous to please some person inimical to the system of labourers going from India to cultivate sugar elsewhere; whilst the Maunbhoom return may have been prepared by some thanna officer who had made a good thing by presents or fees from Arkoties conducting Coolies past his thanna. The 192 men of Bancoorah are represented without exception to have been labourers, cultivators, or other industrious persons (b), and their families are represented as now, for want of

(a) "Said you will get pay at five per month—if you wish can come home yearly—five years you should remain there, afterwards remain or not as you please, but it is now two or three years not returned nor sent any money—their profession is labour; at present their families, for want of food, are begging from door to door." The above is for Bancoorah. The following is for Maunbhoom—"Said you come to the Mauritius, will get you employment, having said this took away." "Did not agree for any wages, but only stated the words, as in last column and carried away."

(b) The profession of the men is omitted by oversight probably.

food, begging from door to door, except in the case of 30 men whose "families have taken menial service for maintenance." But of the 109 Maunbhoom men, the families are represented as now obtaining livelihood by honest and respectable means, such as "by labour," "by service," "by weaving," "by driving plough," "by cultivation," "by washing cloth," "by spinning thread," "by working thread in spindle," "by pottery," "by shaving," "by shopping," "by gardeners' work," "by basket making," and "by making twine from paut;" with the exception of the families of 31 men who now support themselves "by begging," but in whose case it is not said whether or not before the departure of their relatives they supported themselves in any other way. Again, a great number of the Bancoorah men are said to have been deceived as to the distance of their destination, the time of service, and their power of returning when they pleased; but amongst the 109 Maunbhoom men I find no instance of the least deceit. If these returns are to be relied on, the Maunbhoom return would go far to show that we have all been labouring under a delusion in thinking that there have been any abuses at all. Now I, for the reasons given, throw the whole return aside, as at present informed in regard to it: but I think those who choose to build upon any part of it, must admit the soundness of the whole, so that if there is much destitution, caused by emigration, proved in Bancoorah, it is proved that there is, at most, little, and possibly none in Maunbhoom; and if a deceitful set of Arkoties cheated the Coolies in the former district, all the Coolies we can hear of from the latter voluntarily proceeded to take service, with a clear knowledge from the first of the terms of their agreement.

103. Having no evidence that seems to me reasonable of the fact of any general destitution being experienced by the families at home, in consequence of the absence of these temporary emigrants, I will say that I think such a result unlikely. I have not understood that the desertion of their families is a common vice in the Indian character. All classes marry in very early youth, and for adult labouring men to leave their homes and families for years together, to seek service at a distance, is a very common and a very beneficial custom. Let any gentleman in Calcutta ask his bearers how long it is since they have seen their homes, their wives, and families. They will find five years not an unusual time. In the absence of the father, the wife is supported by the relations at home; whole families starve in India, but I never yet heard of an instance of any Indian, high or low, not starving himself who allowed a relation to starve. Of late years it has become very common to impute vices to the people of India; but I never heard it imputed by any one that a disregard of their poor relations was one of their vices. That a great number of destitute families exist in Bancoorah, whose relations have taken service in Mauritius, I fully believe; people well to do at home are not likely to go abroad for service. But I do protest against cutting off this exhaustless source (which Providence seems to have opened) of immediate maintenance to the strong adult, and of prospective wealth to his indigent family, upon the plea of compassion. If emigration must be prohibited for the general good, the thing cannot be helped; but do not let the relief of a starving population at home be an argument for the prohibition.

104. If, however, the trade were opened, I would suggest that more pains should be taken to facilitate correspondence between the Cooly abroad and his family, and to promote a system of family tickets (a). The police nominally afforded the means of sending letters from Mauritius; but practically the measures for this purpose decidedly failed, for very few letters seem to have been so sent. That this would not have been the case, had sufficient facilities been afforded in practice, there can be no doubt.

Suggestion.

105. It is now for those who have to judge, to go over the evidence referred to throughout this division of my minute, and to say whether it proves that such evils as are shown to have existed in the colony, or such as have been alleged to arise in India in consequence of emigration to the colony, are or are not remediable by improvements of law and administration. My opinion is that the negative of this proposition is wholly untenable.

Conclusion as to alleged abuses in the colony.

106. I have now exhausted all the material abuses alleged against the system, and in so doing I have noticed the greater part of the division of the report appropriated to a summary of the evidence. One or two observations in the same division require notice.

* See para. 29 of Report.

Remarks on Report.

Viz. paras. 9, 11, 13 to 19, 21 to 23.

107. In para. 10, the report treats the following proposition as distinctly proved viz.—"That if the natives in the interior, Hill Coolies or others, have been distinctly made aware that they were to go beyond seas to a great distance, and to remain absent for five years, it is probable that not one, or at least that very few, would have been induced to take such an engagement." I admit that the negative here maintained would necessarily be difficult of proof. But in my opinion the contrary is distinctly proved, viz., that when Indian labourers fully understand the thing, a great many will be found anxious to go to Mauritius. Of the other colonies we know nothing on this point.

Willingness of Coolies to go.

106. Mr. J. P. Woodcock, of the Bengal civil service, in his paper on the Cooly question, says that one of his fellow passengers amongst the labouring people was an old woman, "proceeding with one son to join her other two in the Isle of France." Mr. Patton, the magistrate of the 24 Pergunnahs, speaking of the time when he was releasing a great number of Coolies who were in false imprisonment, says, "One man, No. 137, agreed to go; he said he could

Parl. Return, p. 122.

(a) One of the Coolies last returned speaks of the want of such a system; Chummun, of Patna, says, "If we had a plan of family tickets for sending money to our families, it would be well." Addl. Evid. p. 43.

could not be worse off, and might be better." I was proceeding to explain to him the terms of the contract; he said "he did not wish to know; that he might better himself and could not be worse."

• Evidence, Q. 753.

109. The only five returned Coolies our committee examined, went knowingly and willingly, as will appear from the following summary. Sheik Manick is asked, "If you had known the distance had been so great, would you have gone?" He answers, "I was engaged twice, and therefore would have gone, whatever the distance had been."—This witness certainly understood his agreement, and he states that the other Coolies in the ship went willingly, knowing that they were to stay for five years. Suboo's evidence shows that with a full understanding of the circumstances and conditions, he willingly agreed to go. Kharroo, though brought to Calcutta in expectation of employment here, and Ramdeen, when both were fully informed, agreed to go. An attempt was certainly made to deceive Boodhoo Khan, but when undeceived by his brother, who entreated him not to go beyond sea, and offered to give him money to pay for him if he was in debt, still went willingly and knowingly in all matters, except in having a notion that he was going to serve the Company. Now our evidence at first hand may have been scanty, but seeing that the above was all we had, as far as that evidence goes, it does not seem to me to bear out the negative conclusion of the majority.

• Evidence, Q. 620.
• Evidence, Q. 622, 631 to 633.
• Evidence, Q. 623.
• Evidence, Q. 686.
• Evid. Q. 876 to 878.
• Evid. Q. 910 and his answer *passim*.

• Evidence, Q. 657.

110. Mr. White, the acting joint magistrate of Cochin, reports the extreme dissatisfaction expressed by some Coolies, who, being about to proceed to Mauritius, were relanded by him, and not allowed to go, in consequence of orders from Government (a). If this statement of a fact be read in connexion with the opinion of Mr. White's chief, through whom it is reported, which is in favour of restriction to some extent at least, and the ground for that opinion, which is, that if he had not on one occasion interfered, "a number of slaves of the soil would have been enticed away, much to the injury of the landholders," and that, "if the natives of Malabar are permitted to be thus aliured, it will prove injurious to the agriculturist, and, as a matter of course, to the revenues of government," the question will appear in a new light, and the result will not be uninteresting.

• Appendix, p. 155.

Willingness to stay or return.

111. But what is still more satisfactory than the willingness to go of some Coolies who were not deceived, is the willingness of many to stay or return when they know, by actual experience, what to expect.

112. Sheik Manick expressly told us he would have no objection to return, if well fed and regularly. Ramdeen, who has nine relatives there, told us he wishes to go back with three more relations; and that he would have wished to go back, even if he had not been promoted to be a sirdar. A sirdar, who had been sent away from Mauritius for misconduct, appears to have of his own accord returned there again. He was to be sent back again by the police of the island, by what law (b) or with what object does not appear. One instance we see of a Cooly shipped willingly, without a contract, and without having been before the police, who voluntarily remained in Mauritius; and another of a young lad who clandestinely followed his brother there and was desirous of remaining. Mr. Garstin says, "Most of these (Coolies in Mauritius) however, whom I questioned, declared that in case they returned to Bengal at the end of their term of service, they would go back to Mauritius after having seen their families."

• Evidence, Q. 648.
• Evid. Q. 914 to 916.
• Evidence, Q. 921.
• Appendix, p. 104.
• Appendix, p. 108.
• Appendix, p. 109.

Add. Evid. *passim*.

113. On the above evidence, I felt obliged to differ with the report on this point, even before the return of the 47 Coolies by the John Bagshaw. But the additional evidence given by those men will, I imagine, set at rest this question, as it shows that a large number of Coolies of particular batches, apparently more than half, on the expiration of their engagement voluntarily renewed their contracts at double wages; while of those that preferred returning home to see their friends, none are sure that they will not go back again, and many think it probable or are sure that they will; provided, of course, the prohibitory law, the use of which is not apparent to them, is repealed (c).

Capacities of Coolies to understand the bargain.

114. In paragraph 12 of the report, it is stated, as proved, that in many cases the Coolies, especially the Hill Coolies, were incapable of understanding the nature of their contracts, even when an apparently sufficient opportunity of explanation was afforded. In this I wholly disagree. The opinion is irreconcilable with my own experience, for I have always found the

(a) "Three Coolies relanded by me under orders of Government, dated 17th July 1838, were most unwilling to break the contracts they had entered into, and remonstrated against the injustice of being sent back to the Cochin country, where they could find no employment, and would be left to starve. They were forwarded to the Dewan, who set them at liberty, and I was informed that they immediately returned to Cochin, where it is not at all improbable they may now be earning a dishonest livelihood. I may further state that those Coolies who were refused permits on account of their being subjects of the Cochin and Travancore rajahs, remained for days at this cutchery, and endeavoured by every means in their power (setting up false names, false places of residence, &c.) to obtain the necessary permits, which it is not at all likely they would have so coveted if any abuses had existed in the method adopted to procure their services."—(Appx. p. 155.)

(b) As the Governor explains that Indian Coolies are under the general laws of the colony, and as we may conclude that there is no colonial law authorizing the commissary of police to transport Her Majesty's subjects, if being in service, they do not give satisfaction to their employer, this looks like an instance of that practice of treating Indians as if they were different from other free British subjects, which I think so objectionable, and unlawful.

(c) Ramdeen says, "I cannot understand why the Government should prevent us going back." (p. 43.) I agree with Ramdeen.

the lower orders in this country very shrewd in matters of this sort. I find no evidence that appears to me to support this sweeping conclusion. I find much evidence of the existence of a great many very intelligent men amongst the mass thus spoken of in the generality. I have examined a good many returned Coolies, and, without exception, they appeared to me intelligent persons. Possibly a few half-witted men went to the colony, though I remember but one such instance mentioned; but, excepting such cases, I have no doubt, without meaning the slightest disrespect to ourselves of the committee, that every individual Cooly is so far not incapable, that he understands his own interests infinitely better than all of us put together do. That they know the latitude and longitude of Mauritius I do not mean to say (a); but that, without exception, every Cooly whom I have spoken with on the subject, recollected and could give an intelligible and precise account of the food, wages, term, and work stipulated for, as compared with the actual results, I can myself bear witness.

* Appendix, p. 110.

115. One very important point I do not find noticed in the report, viz. the advantages to the labourer himself, to India generally, and to our colonies, which the system of Indians going to serve in a colony for a term affords. Yet there are few debated questions in which the weights should be put all into one scale. Hitherto I have been employed in endeavouring to lighten the scale into which the report has thrown so much. Upon the considerations which tell on the other side, luckily a very few words indeed are needed.

Advantages of free emigration.

116. Dr. Wise reports that in Beerbhoom, from whence many of the Coolies have gone, a native will carry a box for 254 miles for 2 ½ rupees. The wages of a strong export labourer are two pice a day, or less than one rupee a month. On this his wife and family have to be fed and clothed. The necessaries of life are procurable there with great difficulty, and many men leave their families every year for months to obtain work in the plains. The emigrant going from thence to Mauritius obtains better and more abundant food and clothes than he ever had in his life before, with wages of five rupees a month besides, and in five years he may return with 250 rupees or more, which must be enough to support his family at the rate of wages of the district for more than 10 years. If he remains longer abroad, he may get 10 rupees a month money wages. With a better law of contract, I have little doubt he could get that increased pay in two years. The change of circumstances is as great as it would be were a half-starved Irish link-boy to be fed, clothed, and paid like a gentleman's butler. The return with what is to them a large fortune is no idle hope. Out of a batch, composed of 17 male Coolies, by the John Bagshaw, lately returned, we find that they have brought back on an average above rupees 145 each; one had rupees 300, two had rupees 250 each, one had rupees 240, and one rupees 200. One, who was pronounced a great drunkard, had nothing; and another of the same character had very little. Another batch of eight men, from the same ship, have brought back, each on an average, the same amount, viz. rupees 145. All these men were well dressed, and had a very fat, healthy appearance. The contrast between them and a batch of Coolies going would be very striking.

To the labourer.

* Appendix, p. 174.

117. Now is a natural process, which has such results as this to the persons chiefly concerned, to be violently arrested by clamour, and by the misuse of words, which likens it to the slave trade? Because, to the shame of European civilization, slavery once existed in the West Indies, must free labourers in the East Indies now be condemned to starve on three farthings a day, when plenty and wealth are offered to them? As slavery existed in the British colonies towards its close, I do not see that it would be very imperfectly defined by calling it the condition of a class of labourers set apart from all other classes, who, by the special interference of a power they could not oppose, were denied their natural rights in regard to removal from one place to another, and disposal of their labour. In what does this definition fail, if applied to the present legal condition of the labouring class in India, as regards the transfer of their labour to places beyond sea? Yet this legal condition is insisted upon as a permanent regulation, and is defended in popular assemblies by the common-places of emancipation. Slavery was indeed a curse; but if this law is to be made permanent in order to gratify such delusion as this, the curse of slavery was not removed when slavery by that name was abolished.

118. I need not dwell on the advantages of the system to India. What benefits a poor Indian in so far benefits his country; but the benefit in this case does not stop with the family raised from poverty to affluence. The character of the returned labourer will be better. In five years he has worked harder, and made more money, and lived in greater comfort, than he had before conceived to be possible; he has learned that success attends exertion; his desires are multiplied, and his powers and activity are increased; he has become a man of forethought (b). The return of such men, with fortunes, to their native villages, cannot but do general good. We are all trying to improve the character and happiness

To India.

(a) "The ignorance of these Boona Coolies is such that they cannot be made to comprehend where the island lies to which they are to be transported, but the rest of the agreement they are quite capable of understanding." Dr. Wise's Paper, App. p. 174.

(b) When I told the Coolies by the John Bagshaw that I could get them Treasury bills upon their districts for their money, to save them from the chance of losing it on their journey home, they asked me whether they should be charged premium. When I advised them to take care they were not robbed or cheated of their money in the bazar, on first landing, one of them said, "Sir, we have become very prudent (hoshyar); we have passed five years amongst the French, who are very prudent people. We are able to take care of ourselves."

pineness of the people whose bread we eat; and we all feel every day how little human efforts avail in such a labour. Shall we forget how little has ever been done by premeditated philanthropy; how much by common sense, taking advantage in a natural way of the opportunities which Providence affords? We are willing enough to lecture the few, which is very good in its way; but why should we prevent the operation of a lesson which Nature offers to teach us, not to a few learned persons, but directly to the mass of the people?

To the colonies.

119. I have throughout received this question, as it affects Indian interests, to which the objects of our committee are confined. There is reason to think that the existence of Mauritius as a thriving colony depends upon its being allowed to induce, by natural and fair means, labourers to resort to it from other places. How far this is the case with other tropical colonies we have no evidence. We must never forget that these colonies have been placed in their present false position by the laws of the mother country, which originally fostered slavery and the slave trade. And, from the noble manner in which the emancipation was effected, we cannot doubt the anxiety of the British Legislature to alleviate, by every legitimate means, the evil consequences of past errors. This consideration, therefore, will surely be well weighed in the proper place. But even purely Indian objects should, in my opinion, prevent all connected with India from overlooking this part of the question. The interest of each portion of the empire is best promoted by equal justice to all portions. I firmly believe that this is true in respect to every colony, but no one can doubt that it is pointedly true in respect to India. If we are to rely upon the selfish struggles of rival interests, we know by experience our comparative weakness. In such a struggle we fight alone, and we have not a chance against the veteran strength opposed to us. But whenever we struggle only to make good the application of the principle of equal justice to all, we fight with the support of a daily increasing mass of intelligence and honesty; and in whatever point we succeed in this struggle, we know by experience how great is the gain. Those who should place any monopoly in competition with the benefit to India of equal laws, would have but a poor opinion of the resources of this immense empire. Yet with what face can we urge our claim to be put on a footing with others in things which they have and we want, if we would partially enslave our own population, rather than let others have that labour which to them is a necessary of life, and which we cannot use?

Conclusion.
As to British colonies.

120. I conclude then that, as far as our information goes, the whole of the evils which attended the export of Indian labourers to our own colonies were casual, and may by good regulation be prevented for the future; that the direct advantages of the emigration are great, whilst the indirect advantages are incalculable; consequently, that free emigration from India to our own colonies ought to be permitted, under such regulations in India and in the colonies as may afford a reasonable expectation of preventing the recurrence of the evils heretofore experienced. As far as Mauritius is concerned, I regard our information as complete; and therefore there can, in my opinion, be no reason to delay the opening of that colony beyond the time when the colonial laws and institutions shall be pronounced to be, in all that concerns this question, in a satisfactory state. Not having complete information in regard to our other colonies, I cannot conclude with equal confidence as to them; but I see no reason to suspect that any evils that may have been experienced in those colonies are not remediable by proper measures, in the same manner as in Mauritius. Consequently my belief is, that the conclusion applies equally to all our colonies.

As to foreign colonies.

121. In regard to Bourbon, the only foreign colony to which Indian labourers have gone in large numbers, we have no information. There are, however, strong grounds for suspecting that abuses may exist there in a higher degree than in Mauritius, from the circumstance of Bourbon being still a slave colony. In my opinion, that fact alone affects the case very materially. The government of that colony has shown a strong desire to protect imported labourers, by the enactment of protective laws. But the state of the law is a small matter, compared with the state of feeling and the administration of the law, whereof we know nothing. I cannot imagine an island of which the population consists of a few white masters, a large number of black slaves, and a large number of free black foreigners, being an eligible habitation for the last-mentioned class. The Crown cannot know that the Indian labourer there gets justice in all respects like a French labourer in his own country; and if he do not, it cannot afford him protection. This is not the case of a few stray labourers leaving their country to go to a foreign land; a case which might certainly be disregarded by the law; but this is a case where British subjects would be annually exported, systematically, and by thousands. If, therefore, there is need of interference, the importance of the matter demands legislation. Since the prohibitory Act of the Indian government the exportation of labourers from Pondicherry has been stopped. If any British ports are again opened, Pondicherry may very probably again be opened. I do not deny that this is a point which is involved in some difficulty; but as our legislation will affect only our fellow-subjects, whose protection is our first duty, we have no right, merely because foreign interests are concerned, to refuse to legislate for them in such manner as is most conducive to their good, whether in the way of restriction or in the way of relaxation (a). I believe, however,

(a) See paragraphs 30 to 32 of the Report on this point. The argument of those passages is, that, if we permit a free circulation of labour in our own dominions in regard to our Indian fellow-subjects, we shall be in a bad position when we endeavour to persuade foreign states to abolish the slave trade. I cannot admit this paradox, till the freedom I support shall be demonstrated to be slavery. In my opinion, the less we interfere with the natural freedom of our own labourers, the more effect will our arguments in favour of free labour have with other nations. I hope that we never shall be placed in the trying situation of having to choose between partially enslaving

ever, that it will only be necessary to prevent British subjects being inveigled or carried by force into foreign territories on the Indian continent. If all persons conducting labourers into those territories are subjected to proper regulations, whereby it may be certain that every labourer so proceeding shall be made aware that he is liable to be taken beyond sea, without the protection of the British Government, and whereby the option of turning back shall be freely afforded him, I do not think that any abuse is likely to occur. But conceiving this to be a point in which the Madras committee must have a great deal more information than we have, I shall say no more upon it.

122. The sort of laws which I would suggest, and which in my opinion would be sufficient for regulating the system of emigration from India, may be gathered from what I have said when touching upon the several abuses to be guarded against. What sort of regulations are proposed.

123. In India it would be necessary to limit emigration to certain ports, which might be most conveniently named from time to time by the executive government. The necessity of regulating the system involves the necessity of limiting it to places where means can be provided for the enforcement of the regulations. At each port of embarkation a protector of Indian emigrants might be appointed, having no connexion with the police, and no power to punish. He might probably conduct his duty with a very small establishment. At any rate the one or two clerks and chuprasses whom he may require should have no interest in the matter. At his office he might examine leisurely, one by one, and without the presence of any party interested in the system, every labourer who should come to him professing a desire to embark. After making sure that the labourer fully understands what he undertakes, and that he is acting voluntarily, the protector might make out a certificate containing a description of the holder's person. A registry of all certificates, containing the date of examination, and all particulars, might be kept. The system of passing Coolies in batches might be forbidden. It might be the protector's duty to see that no force, or show of force (such as marching Coolies about in gangs under burkendauses) should be allowed; and to make it well understood by all that if any labourer, at any moment, chooses to change his mind as to going abroad, no summary interference with him will be permitted. The certificate might, within a limited time from its date, be a sufficient warrant to any master of a vessel, who had obtained authority from the protector for conveying emigrants, to receive the holder on board. The protector might refuse to grant such authority, unless convinced that the master and officers are by experience, temper, character, &c. suited for such a duty as the conveyance of Indian labourers. Before the ship breaks ground, the protector might proceed on board, and grant a final permit to the master to sail with such labourers as then and there produce their certificates, and still testify their desire to proceed; provided he be satisfied that all regulations concerning space, food, water, ventilation, medicine, &c. have been duly attended to. In regard to space and water, the regulations might be more liberal in favour of the emigrant than the old regulations. Security, in the shape of a deposit of stock paper, for the return passage of the labourer, might be insisted upon: a very small amount of security would suffice for labourers going to Mauritius, whence the return passage is cheap.

124. I conceive that a law of the Imperial Legislature would be necessary, in order to insure, on the part of masters and owners of vessels, obedience to such regulations as the Indian government might frame, and to render breach of the same, on shore or at sea, punishable in any part of the British dominions. To prevent smuggling Indians to foreign parts, contrary to law, all vessels trading in British water, and British vessels everywhere, might be liable to search by men-of-war expressly with this object; and a proper penalty for every Indian labouring man found on board, contrary to law, might be imposed. If more than a very small number should so be found, the penalty might well be confiscation.

125. Permission might be refused by the government of India to ship emigrants to any colony where, in the opinion of that government, the law applicable to such emigrants is not in all respects such as is suitable for free men of that class; and where adequate practical facilities, considering the circumstances of the emigrants, are not afforded by the colonial forms of procedure and institutions. In regard to law in the colony, no power to retain labourers within the limits of an estate, nor otherwise to interfere with their liberty out of working hours, nor to inflict corporal punishment upon them, nor to inflict any other punishment upon them, otherwise than by the hands of public justice, should, in my opinion, be permitted. Breach of contract on either side should annul the bargain in respect to the party breaking it, except that the contracting employer should be obliged to return the labourer, if called upon to do so. The terms of contract should, I think, be shortened according to the distance of the colony; two years for Mauritius would certainly be ample. Taking the market rate of wages there at ten rupees, and the contract rate at five, rations being the same, that would allow the contracting employer rs. 120 for his expenses in importing and exporting again the contracting labourer. Because of the disadvantages under which the weaker party to the contract may often labour, from his

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enslaving our own labourers in practice, or abandoning the cause of foreign slaves, in theory. The argument we are recommended to hold to the emancipated slave colonies, to my mind, is this: formerly you had nothing but slave labour; slave labour is an abomination; therefore we shall now do all we can to prevent your having free labour.

original ignorance of circumstances known to the other party, and the nature of the bargain, I think he should have the power of freeing himself on paying the full charges of the other party, as proposed by Lord Glenelg. If this be not allowed, I think there should be no remedy for breach against the weaker party, but by regular civil action. After the first term I think no renewal should be allowed; but employer and working men should be left to make their own bargains for short terms, say for no term longer than six months. All bargains for terms, in anticipation of the expiry of existing bargains, should, I think, be invalid. One day of rest in seven, except upon pressing occasions, might be insisted upon. A class of labourers, who should work every day of the week, would drive labourers who work only six days out of the market. In regard to legal procedure, the appointment of competent interpreters would be indispensable. So also I think the institution of cheap and accessible courts, competent to give labourers civil damages for ill-treatment on the voyage and in the colony should be insisted on. Perhaps a colonial protector of Indian labourers, to give advice, and generally to see that these poor people obtain their rights,—to be the medium of communication between the labourer and his family, and to remit money to the labourer's home by a system of public bills,—also to report on the arrival of each Cooly vessel to the protector at the Indian port whence it sailed,—might be useful. In the colony, as in India, I think it would be better to confine the police, and all other judicial officers, to their proper duty of deciding disputes, and punishing offences, in cases where Indian labourers are concerned as in all other cases.

126. Where Indian labourers sail without contracts for our own colonies, it does not occur me that any measures are necessary, except such as will insure them against being carried off involuntarily by fraud or force. Regulations, such as are above contemplated as to be enforced in India, would seem to me sufficient for this purpose.

127. A society has been formed in Mauritius, who propose to pay the expense of importing labourers from India, to be bound to send them home again, and to find them employment at five rupees a month at least, leaving them to select their own masters, and to make their own bargains for better terms. I conceive that this scheme is not open to any reasonable objection. I have permission to append the papers relating to it, which have been forwarded by the government of Mauritius to the government of India.

Appendix to Minute,
No. 3, p. 35.

Concluding reference to
the difference of opinion
in committee.

128. I cannot conclude this minute without apologizing for its tedious length. All I can say is, that I have found myself quite unable to explain in few words the grounds of my opinion, and to refer in sufficient detail to the evidence by which, in my judgment, my conclusion is supported. I must again express the regret and diffidence with which I have differed from the majority upon the most important part of the question before us. But as the sole object of every one of our body has ever been to discover the truth, and to show it in a fair light to those whose duty it will be to decide upon the question, I am convinced that my fellow committee men will lay to the right motive the anxiety I have felt in this great matter, to substantiate my view of the question. Perhaps an honest difference of opinion, such as this, which has elicited a full explanation of the different impressions which the same evidence has made upon different minds, that have all with equal candour been engaged in the same inquiry, may not be without its advantages.

1 March 1841.

J. P. Grant.

APPENDIX TO MINUTE, No. 1.

ACT No. XIV. of 1839.

Passed by the Honourable the President of the Council of *India* in Council, on the
27th May 1839.

1. It is hereby enacted, that Acts No. XXXII. of 1837, and No. V. of 1837, be repealed on the 1st day of July next.

2. And it is hereby enacted, that on and after the said 1st day of July next, every person who shall make with any native of India any contract for labour to be performed in any British or foreign colony without the territories of the East India Company, or who shall knowingly abet or aid any native of India in emigrating from the said territories for the purpose of being employed as a labourer, shall be liable, on conviction before a magistrate or justice of the peace, to a fine not exceeding 200 rupees for every native so contracted with, aided or abetted, and in default of payment of such fine, shall be liable to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three months.

3. Provided always, that nothing in this Act contained shall be taken to apply to any native seaman who shall of his own free will contract to navigate any vessel, or who shall embark on board such vessel in pursuance of such contract, or to any person who shall contract to serve as a menial servant only, or who shall embark as such menial servant.

APPENDIX TO MINUTE, No. 2.

(No. 125.)

From *E. A. Blandell*, Esq. Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, to *G. A. Bushby*, Esq. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department, Fort William, dated the 9th September 1840.

Sir,

I THINK it my duty to bring to the notice of the Right honourable the Governor of Bengal the circumstance of the large and continued importation into this place of Coolies and women from the ports on the northern Coromandel Coast, chiefly Coringa. The Coolies come here, I have every reason to believe, in search of work, and of their own accord, in the same manner as for very many years they have been in the habit of resorting to the settlement in the Straits of Malacca; but some doubts may be entertained as to the freedom of action under which the women are brought here. It may be wrong, perhaps, to apply the word "prostitute" indiscriminately to all of them. Their object appears to be to secure a temporary establishment with their fellow-countrymen residing here, either as fixed residents or sepoy and military followers. On the arrival of a vessel from the coast these individuals go on board, and selecting a woman, pay the commander for her passage, and she follows him ashore on an agreement being made for supporting her. These transactions, though perhaps consonant with native ideas, yet certainly wear the appearance of illegality, and in all probability there are among them some instances of actual forcible sale of the persons of women.

Circumstanced as this country is with regard to population, the free and voluntary immigration of men and women from different parts of India is a circumstance to be rejoiced at; but it is a matter so liable to abuse among the natives, more especially as regards women, that I beg his Lordship's consideration of the subject, and would suggest that some arrangement be made by the authorities on the coast, whereby we may be assured that the immigrants arriving in any vessel have come of their own free will, and are in no manner under restraint.

Moulmain,
9 September 1840.

I have, &c.
(signed) *E. A. Blandell*,
Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces.

From *G. A. Smith*, Esq. Collector of Rajahmundry, to the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, dated the 3d September 1840.

Sir,

I CONSIDER it right to bring to the notice of Government, that a good many natives from different parts of the country are at present proceeding to Moulmein, as passengers, on board the native vessels sailing from Coringa. They belong principally to the classes of washermen, tailors, barbers, weavers, and such classes as are likely to find employment in an increasing community, and it is probable that their presence may be beneficial; at the same time, the unexpected debarkation of a number of strangers, whose characters are unknown, and who are without the apparent immediate means of maintaining themselves, may be embarrassing. I should be the last person (the more especially in the present depressed state of this part of the country) to wish to offer any impediment to persons desirous of taking their labour to the best market; at the same time, there are two or three points on which Government may consider a little precaution necessary; viz. 1st, That the persons should have the means of supporting themselves to some extent on their arrival at Moulmein, or should know somebody there likely to receive them in the first instance; 2d, That the commanders of vessels should be warned against a practice, which I have reason to believe prevails, of taking persons of this description without payment in the first instance, on the speculation of turning their labour to account, and thus making the transaction of an under-hand and doubtful nature; and 3d, The commanders of vessels taking passengers of this description, should be subject to some obligation for the due provision of food and water, so as to provide as far as possible against the misery which would ensue in the event of one of these vessels meeting bad weather, and being driven out of its course.

I have, &c.
Zillah Rajahmundry, (signed) *G. A. Smith*, Collector.
Collector's Office, Cocanada, 3 September 1840.

(Public Department, No. 998.)

From *Robert Clerk*, Esq. Secretary to Government, Ootacamund, to the Collector of Rajahmundry, dated the 15th September 1840.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant, No. 21, and to inform you that the Right honourable the Governor in Council is unwilling to place any restraint on the natives of the provinces subject to this presidency, who are desirous of seeking a livelihood at Moulmein.

Ootacamund, 15 September 1840.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Robert Clerk*,
Secretary to Government.

(True copies.)

(signed) *Robert Clerk*,
Secretary to Government.

(No. 26.)

From *G. A. Smith*, Esq. Collector of Rajahmundry, to the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, dated the 17th November 1840.

Para. 1. I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the extract from the minutes of consultation of government of 29th ultimo, forwarding for inquiry and report copy of a letter received from the secretary to the government of Bengal, inclosing copy of a letter from the commissioner of the Tenasserim provinces, on the subject of a large and continued importation of men and women from this coast, respecting which he observes, "Circumstanced as this country is, with regard to population, the free and voluntary emigration of men and women from different parts of India is a circumstance to be rejoiced at; but it is a matter so liable to abuse among the natives, more especially as regards women, that I beg his lordship's consideration of the subject, and would suggest that some arrangement be made by the authorities on the coast, whereby we may be assured that the emigrants arriving in any vessel have come of their own free will, and are in no manner under restraint."

2. In reply, I beg leave to state that within the last 10 years this district has suffered from two years of famine, 1832 and 1838, besides the awful storm and inundation of the sea on the 16th November 1839, while at the same time the trade in Punjum cloth, the staple manufacture of the district, has been gradually declining. The distress thus caused has naturally obliged the inhabitants to look for other than the common resources of the district for employment. To the able-bodied, of suitable constitutions and otherwise unobjectionable, the army furnishes a very wide field for employment. There are many, however, who, though willing, are prevented, from make or constitutional defects, from taking advantage of this opening, and when the emigration of Coolies to the Mauritius was allowed, many of this description had recourse to that source of employment. The emigration to the Tenasserim provinces alluded to by the commissioner, is one dictated by necessity, and is certainly perfectly voluntary, but its extent and possibility of abuse attracted my attention, and I considered it right, as shown by my letter of 3d September last, that government should be acquainted with the fact, when it was considered that interference was not necessary.

3. Every native vessel leaving the port of Coringa, is examined, with reference to the order of government of 14th January 1840, for the purpose of ascertaining that no children are taken away as slaves, and nothing would be easier than the adoption of any simple rule, should it be considered desirable, for ascertaining that the embarkation of both men and women from Coringa for the Tenasserim provinces is voluntary.

Zillah Rajahmundry,
Collector's Circuit Cutcherry, Vudlanoor,
17 November 1840.

I have, &c.
(signed) *G. A. Smith*,
Collector.

(No. 77.)

From *R. A. Bannerman*, Esq. Collector of Ganjam, to the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, dated 27th November 1840.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the extract from the minutes of consultation of government, under date the 29th ultimo, and to request that you will state, for the information of the Right honourable the Governor in Council, that upon inquiry it appears that no vessel has sailed from either of the ports in this district for Moulmein during the last five years.

Ganjam District,
Collector's Cutcherry, Ganjam,
27 November 1840.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. A. Bannerman*,
Collector.

(No. 670.)

From *W. U. Arbuthnot*, Collector of Vizagapatam, to the Secretary to Government in the Marine Department, Fort St. George, dated the 3d December 1840.

Sir,

Para. 1. I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of an extract from the minutes of consultation, under date the 29th October last, forwarding a letter from the secretary to the government of Bengal, relative to the immigration of the inhabitants of the Northern Division into Moulmein, and to state, in reply, that I have instituted an inquiry at the different ports of this district.

2. It would appear that there is very little direct communication between this district and Moulmein. A few vessels do sail to that coast from Vizagapatam and Bimlipatam, and I have ascertained, from the owners of the vessels and respectable traders, that the number of passengers by them has been very inconsiderable.

3. There can, however, be no doubt that, from the very adverse nature of the seasons during the last five or six years, and the consequent high price of food, a good many of the poorer classes have emigrated from the district, and I have reason to believe some of them have embarked at Coringa for the eastward; but this emigration has been entirely voluntary, and having originated in the cause above mentioned, is not open, in my opinion, to any objection.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. U. Arbuthnot*, Collector.

Vizagapatam District,
Vizianagrum Collector's Circuit Cutcherry,
3 December 1840.

(No. 11.)

From *P. Grant*, Esq. Collector of Masulipatam, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated the 18th December 1840.

Sir,

Para. 1. I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of an extract from the minutes of consultation, dated the 29th October last, transmitting copies of letters from the commissioner in the Tenasserim provinces and the secretary to the government of India, under dates the 9th September and 7th October last respectively, and directing inquiries to be instituted as to the manner in which Coolies and women referred to in the former letter are imported from the northern Coromandel Coast into Moulmein.

2. From the result of the most diligent inquiries which I have caused to be instituted into this important subject, it does not appear that either Coolies or women have at any time taken their passage, or were exported from the port of Masulipatam to any part of the Tenasserim coast.

3. Instructions have, however, been issued to the superintendent of sea customs to inquire into and report all the circumstances connected with the emigration of such persons, should such an event take place hereafter.

I have, &c.

(signed) *P. Grant*, Collector.

Masulipatam, Collector's Cutcherry,
18 December 1840.

(True copies)

(signed)

Robert Clerk,

Secretary to Government.

APPENDIX TO MINUTE, No. 3.

To the Secretary to the Government of India, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Para. 1. IN pursuance of the instructions of Governor Sir William Nicolay, I have the honour to forward a correspondence which has lately passed here with a committee of commercial gentlemen, who are desirous of introducing labourers from India, on terms that would obviate all objection to their emigration.

2. As the basis of the proposed plan is to leave the Indian emigrant the full benefit of his own labour, His Excellency considers that it deserves the favourable consideration of the Government of India, and he trusts that the advantages offered by it will have the effect of leading to a modification of those restrictions upon emigration enacted last year, which preclude the possibility of Indian labourers leaving their own country; and which, as intimated to you in my letter of the 26th October last, the Governor hoped would take place after the Government of India had received the several reports into the state and condition of the labourers here.

I have, &c.

(signed)

Geo. F. Dick,

Colonial Secretary.

Colonial Secretary's Office, 19 February 1840.

Extract from Correspondence.

It is proposed by the undersigned to afford relief to the present urgent and imperative demand which prevails in the colony for agricultural labour, by the encouragement of emigration of the natives of India into the Mauritius, with their families, on a system entirely favourable to the poorer class of natives, who would be enabled to visit this island free of expense, without any written contract of service whatever, and would be entirely free on their arrival to profit by the highest rate of wages obtainable, whilst the power of returning to their native country, should they desire it, would be secured to them free of charge at the expiration of five years.

The following are the details of the proposed system:

1. The sanction of the local government to be solicited for the formation of a committee, consisting of six persons, with an officer to be appointed by the government, to be termed the "Emigration Committee," upon which the following duties would devolve.

They would raise funds by such means as they might think advisable, and have the free and uncontrolled use of them for defraying the expense attending the emigration of free labourers from India.

They would establish one or more agencies in India, under the control and with the sanction of the local government, for assisting and superintending the orderly embarkation of emigrants in strict conformity with the laws.

They would receive the emigrants upon their arrival in Port Louis, and be responsible to the local government for their hospitable and humane treatment until they shall have obtained employment.

They would furnish to the local government a guarantee against any individual becoming an onus upon society here, also for the return of any emigrant free of expense, should he or she demand it, after five years' employment in any service whatever in the colony.

They would furnish bond for any penalty the government, either of India or this island, might exact, in case of any deviation from the existing laws on the part of themselves or their agents.

It is proposed to appoint an agent of the highest character and standing, approved by the governments of Mauritius and India, to represent the committee in Bengal, and to superintend all its proceedings in that country, who would be paid a fixed salary, and that of so liberal a description as to put all motives of personal interest out of the question.

2. Agents to be appointed, if necessary, to carry on the business of the committee at Madras or Bombay, or elsewhere, also with the approval of the Indian government.

3. The government of India to be invited to adjoin to the responsible agents of the committee an officer of their selection to superintend the system of emigration.

4. It is proposed to furnish to adult natives of India, of robust constitution and good character, of either sex, who may be willing to emigrate from any part of India to the Mauritius, for the avowed purpose of procuring employment at an advantageous rate of wages, the following assistance and advantages:—1. Free passage from India to this island; 2. Two suits of clothing, consisting of ———; 3. One brass pot; 4. One blanket; 5. Day's lodging and food previous to their embarkation, if necessary; 6. Ten days' lodging and food upon their arrival in the Mauritius (if not employed before the expiration of that time), that they may be enabled to choose employment without being forced into any hurried engagement; 7. Hospital treatment free of charge should they arrive in ill health; 8. Medical attendance during the passage from India; 9. A free passage back to their native country after five years' employment in this island.

5. In order to provide for the emigration of families, the committee would afford assistance to children on condition of the appropriation of one-fourth of the wages of both the father and mother, in reimbursement of the outlay incurred for them.

Those introduced under the age of 14 years would have no claim on the committee for their return passage to India.

6. The emigrants would arrive in the Mauritius free from any engagement of service whatever, and be free to profit by the highest rate of wages the colony affords, to which end the committee would afford them any assistance in their power.

7. A detailed statement of the nature of employment which the colony affords, with the customary hours of work, and the rate of wages and allowances now current, to be prepared and fully explained by the agent of the committee to every emigrant previous to embarkation.

8. The Government to be solicited to pass a law, fixing a scale of rations to which every Indian employed in this colony in agricultural labour is entitled from his employer, and which is recommended to be as follows; viz.

Per month:	} See annexed scale of rations.
lbs. Rice	
lbs. Dholl	
lbs. Ghee	
oz. Salt	
lbs. Salt Fish	

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES. 37

9. It is calculated, that the expense attending the emigration of an adult native from India, would be as follows:

1st. Victualling during the delay of the vessel until embarkation, say 10 days	- - - - -	Co.'s Rs.	1 - -
2d. Clothing	- - - - -	"	4 - -
3d. Blanket	- - - - -	"	1 - -
4th. Brass pot	- - - - -	"	1 - 6
5th. Provisions for the voyage	- - - - -	"	3 - 8
6th. Passage money	- - - - -	"	35 - -
7th. Medical attendance on board ship	- - - - -	"	4 - -
8th. Incidental charges	- - - - -	"	2 - -
Actual Outlay for each Adult	- - -	Co.'s Rs.	61 - 14

For the Liabilities of the Committee.

1st. Hospital expenses on arrival	- - - - -	"	1 - -
2d. Return passage	- - - - -	"	15 - -
3d. Expenses of agency and other charges incurred by the committee	- - - - -	"	15 - -
Total Expense of Emigration	- - -	Co.'s Rs.	82 - 14

10. It is calculated that a sum of 20,000 l. would be sufficient to furnish the expenses of the number of emigrants it would be desirable to assist during the first six months.

11. It is proposed to solicit the advance of the above sum of 20,000 l. from the local government of the colony, the committee guaranteeing its repayment in such a manner and at such periods as meet the wishes of his excellency the governor.

12. The sum advanced by the committee would be repaid them by the parties who receive the emigrants into their service upon their arrival, in virtue of engagements entered into with the committee in the following sense:

"I, A. B., hereby engage to employ, upon their arrival from India (if willing to enter my service),

"Men with or without their families, as they may be, during a term of 12 months or less, at a rate of wages to be agreed with the individuals upon their arrival, and which can in no case be less than Company's rupees five per men, and three Company's rupees per month for women, during the year 1840. I further bind myself to supply them with rations according to the scale established by Government, lodging and medical attendance; and I promise to pay to the emigration committee the charges they may declare to be due to them attending the emigration of each individual employed by me."

13. In order to insure the repayment of the outlay made by the committee by those who receive the emigrants into their service on their arrival, and who have not taken the engagement described in Article 12, the local government to be solicited to pass a law, making any person employing an emigrant introduced through the emigration committee responsible to them for the charges incurred for the individual.

This liability to extend to a period of 12 months after the arrival of the emigrant in the colony. Any person employing an emigrant otherwise than through the committee within 12 months after his arrival, to be bound to make declaration of his doing so at the office of the committee, under a penalty of 10 l. for each individual, over and above the charges due to the committee.

14. In order to furnish proof of the certainty of employment which awaits the emigrant on his arrival in the Mauritius, the committee would furnish to the government, either of India or the colony, if required, a statement of the number of hands for which demand shall have been made at their office.

15. Upon the arrival of any number of emigrants in Port Louis, the committee would give notice to the public, through the gazettes or newspapers of the colony, in order that the newcomers may profit by the highest offers of those who require their services.

16. It is hoped that the social condition of the emigrants would not only be greatly improved by their visiting this colony, as has already been the case with the Indians already introduced, especially as regards their health, appearance and habits of industry; but also that a desirable moral influence might be established amongst them, by the formation of schools for the children, under the direction of the committee.

17. Serious complaints having arisen from the alleged neglectful manner in which the Indians who were introduced in the colony under engagements of service, were embarked in Calcutta on board of crowded vessels, without sufficient care for their protection or comfort, in opposition to the declared wishes and positive instructions of those to whom the labourers were engaged, the committee would pledge themselves to make the care of the emigrants on board ship a primary object.

18. Lastly, The committee would select a confidential agent, approved of by the local government, who would proceed to England with as little delay as possible, for the purpose of promoting the success of the present object.

(signed) *Edward Arbuthnot.*
C. C. Brownrigg.
Jno. T. Rowlandson.
Henry Barlow.
Robert Bullen.
Edward Chapman.

Port Louis, Mauritius, 17 December 1839.

ABSTRACT OF MINUTE.

- Para.
1. Unable to concur with the report.
 2. Point on which difference occurs explained, viz., the possibility or otherwise of removing the abuses without prohibiting emigration.
 3. Views of the several members of the committee mentioned.
 - 4 & 5. Origin of the inquiry; sketch of the history of the system of emigration to be inquired into; state of the law in the colonies.
 6. Public feeling became excited against the system; petition; counter-petition in Calcutta; emigration under contract limited.
 7. Appointment of this committee, and of committees at Madras, Bombay, and Mauritius; emigration under contract stopped; law prohibiting all emigration of Indian labourers provisionally passed.
 8. Prohibitory Act examined; it applies to emigrating not under contract, which has not been a subject of abuse.
 9. The practical effects of this law adverted to.
 10. This law goes beyond the case alleged; remarks on its rigour; its policy doubted.
 11. Opinion against this law apart from the question of emigration under contract.
 12. Cooly question examined; the point of the inquiry stated, making the needful admissions on both sides.
 13. Remarks on the general principle of free labour and free movement; to warrant restriction in these matters a strong case of necessity must be made out.
 - 14 & 15. Before examining the facts of the case, a preliminary question treated, viz. the effect of emigration on the freed men of the old slave colonies; this is no ground for general legislation.
 16. No ground of objection to free emigration for this reason in regard to Mauritius.
 17. This objection applicable only to old slave colonies.
 18. Alleged evils of emigration under contract, as regards the emigrant, considered; caution requisite.
 19. The alleged evils must be examined in detail, each by itself—All classed into three divisions, viz. 1. Abuses in India; 2. Abuses on the passage; 3. Abuses in the colony.
 20. Abuses in India considered.—1st. Kidnapping; the existence of this abuse before the Regulation of 1837 is immaterial.
 21. Since 1827 it has been much checked.
 22. Faults attributed to the regulations and practice of 1837—Suggestions.
 23. Opinion that this abuse may be entirely prevented by improved regulation.
 - 24 & 25. 2. Fear of Police inducing Coolies unwillingly to consent to go. Existence of this abuse proved.
 - 26 & 27. This evil caused by making the police the protectors.
 28. How this abuse may be avoided.
 29. Remarks on unsuitableness of police to be the protectors.
 - 30 & 31. 3. False imprisonment.—Its existence to a great extent proved; attention drawn to the fact.
 32. Opinion that this abuse can easily be wholly prevented, as it actually was prevented in the 24 Pergunnahs.
 33. And that the prohibition of emigration is no remedy for this evil, the two things having no exclusive connexion with each other.
 34. Marching Coolies to police under guards, a part of the same system.
 35. So also marching Coolies on board ship, like convicts.
 36. Hence argument against employing police as protectors; under a better system, such as is suggested, these abuses would not occur.
4. Labourers

- Para. 37. 4. Labourers deceived into coming from their homes to Calcutta.—Existence of this abuse proved; but if the system be made otherwise good, this abuse will be no worse in the case of these labourers than in all other cases of hiring for terms.
38. Since 1837 this deceit not extensively carried up to moment of embarkation.
39. Case of the *Hesperus*, however, to the contrary.
40. 5. Cheating Coolies out of their advance.—Existence of this abuse to a great extent proved.
41. This abuse is avoidable by disallowing payment in advance.
42. Such a measure justified.
43. Opinion in favour of disallowing all advances.
44. Conclusion, that this class of evils can be removed by sound regulation.
45. Abuses on shipboard considered.—Great hardships on shipboard do not appear to have been generally experienced; only occasionally.
46. Abuses on shipboard before 1837 immaterial.
47. 1. Food.—Plenty, both before and after 1837.
48. 2. Water.—Often too little for comfort, even after 1837; a larger allowance recommended.
49. 3. Accommodation.—Often too narrow; a larger allowance recommended.
50. 4. General Treatment.—No complaints from Coolies.
51. Occasional bad treatment proved by pilots.
52. General good treatment proved by pilots.
- 53 to 56. Other evidence showing perhaps occasional bad treatment, but general good treatment.
57. Disagreement with report on this point.
58. 5. Drowning and jumping overboard discussed.
59. Accidental drowning not frequent.
- 60 to 63. Cases of voluntary jumping overboard discussed; reasons for not attributing this to insupportable treatment on board.
64. 6. Other causes of mortality discussed.
65. Mortality before 1837 occasionally excessive.
66. Great improvement in health after 1837, and mortality moderate.
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68. Case of murder on board *Hesperus*.
69. Observations thereon.
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71. Opinion as to surgeons on shipboard.
72. Why it was necessary to treat at length this point.
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76. Notions of the colonists as to free labour and the effects thereof.
77. The evils natural to the circumstances of the colony are remediable and in process of being remedied.
78. The alleged abuses examined in detail.
- 79 to 82. 1. Administration of Justice.—Not satisfactory; but since the jurisdiction given to special magistrates, it has improved.
83. 2. General treatment.—Good by some masters, bad by others.
84. Argument that with good laws the treatment must be good in all cases.
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86. Details.
- 87 to 91. Instances of bad treatment in Mauritius; reason to believe that the practice of treating labourers as slave-drivers would do, has been stopped.
- 92 & 93. Instances of good treatment in Mauritius.
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103. Reasons for not imagining the existence of this evil to any great extent.
104. Suggestions for affording facilities to Coolies abroad for remitting money.
105. Conclusion, that the abuses in the colony are all remediable.
106. Miscellaneous remarks on the report.
- 107 to 110. Willingness of Indians to go abroad for service.—Reasons for disagreeing with the report, which maintains that few, if any, would go if they were not deceived.
- 111 & 112. Willingness of Indians to remain or return abroad shown in many instances.
113. Evidence of Coolies who returned since the committee closed proceedings on the above two points.

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114. Capacity of Coolies to understand their bargain.—Reasons for disagreeing with report, which holds that the Coolies are often incapable of understanding the terms of contract.
115. Advantages of free emigration remarked upon.
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118. To India generally.
119. To the colonies; why this last advantage is important to a friend of India.
120. Conclusion upon the whole question.—As to Coolies going to British colonies; opinion in favour of freedom under regulation.
121. As to Coolies going to Foreign colonies; Bourbon being the only one to which the question applies practically; distinction between the two cases; opinion that perhaps regulations, such as are proposed for British colonies, may, in practice, suffice; but reference suggested to Madras committee's report on this point.
- 122 to 127. Summary of the regulations suggested.
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Copy of the Examinations of Coolies returned from Mauritius on board the John Bagshaw.

(No. 692.)

To G. A. Bushby, Esq. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department.
Sir,

IN obedience to the command of the Right honourable the Governor-general, conveyed in your letter of the 5th instant, we visited the John Bagshaw shortly after she came to anchor, and took the accompanying examinations. The Bagshaw appears to have brought 47 men, and to have lost none by sickness. The captain speaks of them as peaceable and useful, but much given to thieving.

2. In

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES. 43

2. In the papers now sent will be seen the feelings of men revisiting their native soil in a condition very different from that in which they left it; on their departure from the Mauritius, the recollection of the disagreeable parts of their sojourn would, perhaps, have been more vivid.

3. We would note what we suppose is fact, and is certainly gratifying, that of 30 persons who worked on Mr. Gilfish's estate, 18 have returned with sums varying from 80 to 300 rs. three only have died, and nine are still with Mr. Gilfish, receiving 10 rupees per month hire, and the same rations as before. That of 25 on Mr. Hunter's estate, one died, two ran away, 14 staid in Mauritius on similar terms.

4. The paucity of deaths is remarkable, but we are not quite sure whether the spokesman meant that this included all the deaths from India till the time he sailed from Mauritius. This might be learned for all the men who have gone from this.

5. The men were anxious to get ashore as the night closed, and as we could not get the men again, we had no opportunity of making inquiries on their notion of the manner of their original expatriation, which subsequently occurred to us as proper to be made.

I have, &c.

D. M'Farlan, Chief Magistrate.

J. P. Grant.

Calcutta, Police Office, 10 December 1840.

The Examinations of *Gooroodyal* and 15 Others, taken by Mr. M'Farlan on board the John Bagsbaw, arrived from the Mauritius in the Calcutta River, on the 7th December 1840, the Men not having been on shore, as to their Condition in the Mauritius.

Gooroodyal saith, I left Calcutta six years ago. I went from Gillanders' house. I went with 30 others to the estate of Monsieur Gilfish. Mr. Raddell worked us and gave us a chit when we came away I have about 160 rupees. The country is very dear. I was a sirdar, and got seven rupees a month. I used to get six rupees into hand. One rupee was kept by the police. Our business was plantation of sugar cane. Besides the above we got as rations, as part of our pay, dholl, rice, and ghee, salt at will. We bought greens and tobacco from our own money. We had one glass of spirits a-day, and two suits of clothes a year. If it is my pleasure I will go back. The place is a very nice place, very little sickness, and very fine water. They exact hard labour, and food is dear. There are 17 men of Gilfish's estate now on board the John Bagsbaw. We were offered higher wages, even double, when our five years were out, but we wanted to see our children, and so came back. Out of our original number of 30 persons, 18 are now here, three died, and nine are still with Mr. Gilfish. They get 10 rupees pay now, and the same rations as before. Our passage back and rations were paid for by our master. My house is at Arrah. I am a Dosaud by caste. I have not sent anything to my family all this time. My fellows got five rupees; mine was seven rupees; all the rest the same. We once had a complaint at the police against our overseer. He was sent away, and then the allowance was complete.

Randhun assents to all the foregoing, and says that he is a sirdar under Gilfish. I have a certificate. I have brought 300 rupees with me. When we could not make out full work, we were put in the stocks. I am going to Benares, my country. I cannot tell whether I shall go back. I have two brothers still at Mauritius. I cannot understand why the government should prevent us going back. I always worked well, and was never touched or beat.

3. *Chummun*, of Patna.—I have brought rupees 112, and I like the Mauritius. I was flogged once for not working properly; I only got three or four slaps; I was never touched with any whip. Perhaps, when I have seen my family I will return; if we had a plan of tickets for sending money to our families, it would be well.

4. *Suddun*, of Oude, says the same as the above; was never flogged. I have a certificate; I brought 250 rupees back with me; I like the country; I will not go back, as I now think.

5. *Russeagon*, of Oude.—Suddun is my brother. I have got rupees 250.

6. *Sooklall*, of Gopeegunge, saith: I was five years at Mauritius; I like the place; I was always well treated; I have brought rupees 140; I have relatives here that I want to see; I think I will go again when I have seen my friends. I had only slight ailments; was in perfect health.

7. *Bhyrub*, of the Kocree caste.—Comes from Gya; speaks well of the place; was never beat; I got five rupees per month; I will perhaps go back, but we will see; I have brought rupees 260 with me.

8. *Boodhee* saith, Mauritius is a very good place; I have rupees 120; I don't think I shall go back, but it will depend upon circumstances; I was never flogged.

9. *Motee*, of Jaunpore.—I cannot say whether I will return; I have brought 80 rupees; I have a father and mother, and brothers and sisters.

10. *Bisnoonath*, of Gya.—I cannot say whether I will go back; I was never beat; I have brought 200 rupees with me.

11. *Bundoo*, of Colvin's Bustee, Calcutta.—Likes the place; will perhaps return; cannot say; he is sure he will go back; he was beat; he has brought 34 rupees with him.

12. *Jewraj*, of Sultanpore, Oude, says the same as Bundoo, but was never beat; has brought 110 rupees with him.

13. *Budloo*, of Patna, says the same as the above. He was never beat and was never sick; he has brought 160 rupees with him.

14. *Muttur*, of Calcutta, says, he never was sick; he was beat if he did not do his work; he has no complaint to make; has brought 93 rupees with him.

15. *Dripun*, of Huzareebaugh.—Formerly the wife of Gooman, now the wife of Ramdhun; Gooman ill-used me; I have been four years at Mauritius; I was ayah with a lady, and then left; I had only house-work; I was never beat.

D. M'Farlan.

Further Examination of *Ramdhun*, taken by Mr. *D. M'Farlan*.

I was sent away by going direct to Mr. Gillanders. I had employment at the time at Barrackpore; a friend of mine had agreed to go; I got 25 rupees; they cut five rupees from me. Our salary does not count on the ship; we suffered a good deal of hardship in going down, but none in returning; we were kept always below, except for easing ourselves. I do not recollect the ship's name.

Original Examination of *Sheodharee*, Bunnya.—I was hired by a duffadar, of Bamun Bustee. I did not live at his house. I went through Mr. Gillanders' house. I did not live at our duffadar's. I got six months' wages, at five rupees; one month's was cut from me by the people at Mr. Gillanders' office; we suffered hardship in going down.

D. M'Farlan.

The Examination of *Bhuttun*, of Gyah Zillah, and four other Coolies named below; viz. *Bheekaree*, *Kurream Bucksh*, *Moonchur*, and *Chota Bhuttun*, taken by Mr. *J. P. Grant*.

I, *Bhuttun*, served, with four other men here present, under Mr. Hunter, at Mauritius. We all five went from Calcutta, with a company of 250 men in all; of these, 25 went to Mr. Hunter with us; one is dead, and two ran away in Mauritius; 14 men have staid in Mauritius, after their five years were out, of their own desire, receiving double their pay, or 10 rupees a month. We received five rupees a month. Three men, in the five years, of our batch, fell sick, and were returned. Mauritius is a good country. We get enough to eat. We were occasionally beaten, but not after we learned our business. I was never beaten. *Bheekaree* says he was once flogged with a rattan; he had not committed any theft; he says he was flogged for getting drunk. He shows a mark on his back. The other four say they did not see *Bheekaree* flogged, but they heard he was flogged. *Bheekaree* says he was flogged by Mr. Hunter's French overseer. *Kurream Bucksh*, another of the five, says he was beat, but if he was beat he deserved it; he says, they were father and mother to me. They all say they got plenty to eat. *Bhuttun* has brought back Sa. rs. 354; *Moonchur*, Sa. rs. 100; *Kurream Bucksh* has got rupees 60; *Bheekaree* has got rupees 100; *Chota Bhuttun*, 211. *Bheekaree* says he used often to lodge complaints before the police of Mr. Hunter's overseer, by name Mr. Surlau. He complained of not getting his food for four days, because he was ill, and they alleged that he was only shamming ill. The police ordered that he should get his food daily, whether well or ill, but that if he was ill, his money wages should be cut for the time of his illness.

All these men say they are now going to their own country. They would not now go back immediately to Mauritius, but whether they may or not after being at home for some months they do not know.

Being asked whether they would be willing to go back if they were to spend all their money in the course of a year or two, they all say that they may go back to Mauritius or not, as they may feel inclined, whether they spend all their money or not.

On being informed that a law has been passed, preventing the going of Coolies to Mauritius, and being asked whether they think that a good law, they say that whatever the law is, it will be obeyed, but that they should like to be allowed to go or to stay, as they may feel inclined.

J. P. Grant.

I should explain that the answer to the last question was what appeared to myself and all the bystanders to be the last answer after the Coolies understood the question. There were many irrelevant answers; such that all laws passed by the sirkar must be proper laws; that whatever the law is, it must be obeyed, and would be approved by such as they, &c. &c.

J. P. Grant.

To G. A. Bushby, Esq. Secretary to Government of Bengal in the General Department.

Sir,

IN continuation of our letter dated the 10th instant, we have the honour herewith to submit further and more detailed examinations of some of the Coolies belonging to the most numerous batches of Coolies of the five batches lately returned by the John Bagshaw. These examinations were taken by us, with the assistance of Mr. Dowson and Baboo Russomoy Dutt, both of the Cooly committee lately dissolved. Dr. Charles was unfortunately out of town, and Mr. Dickens too much occupied at the moment to attend. These examinations were taken on the third day after the landing of the Coolies, after several of them had already proceeded on their way home. The men all had a healthy, well-fed appearance, and were well clothed. They seemed to us to be intelligent persons, perfectly alive to their own interests. They were, in our opinion, decidedly very superior, in point of condition, to the average run of labourers we are in the habit of seeing here.

We have, &c.,
(signed) D. M. Farlan.
J. P. Grant.

Examination of *Ramdeen*, Sirdar, and six Coolies, men of Benares, Sarunpore, and Gya, taken at the Town-hall, on the 10th December 1840.

Ramdeen.—I was a syce at Barrackpore; Juggernaut, another syce, induced me to go to Mauritius. Juggernaut also went and died there. He told us Gillanders & Co. were sending men to Mauritius, and induced us to go to get service.

I came by myself to Calcutta, and the others were collected from other parts near Calcutta, where they had come in search of employ; 60 out of 250 were Dangahs. We all sailed together in a ship, the name of which I do not know; it is more than five years ago. We entered our names at the police office. The captain of the ship was named Mackenzie. We wrote agreements, and the terms were as follows: 10 rupees per mensem, of which five were to go in food and clothes and five in cash.

I perfectly understood the agreement and consented to it willingly, after having had it well explained to me by a Baboo at Gillanders & Co. The Dangahs understand Hindostanee. There were some Ooreahs also; we were 250 altogether on board ship; I never heard any one say that he was taken away against his own will. We were in very great distress for want of water on board ship; I had myself at one time to pay a rupee for each lotah of water; I did this four times during the voyage. We did not get enough to eat either, and we had occasionally to bribe the serang with the money we had of our six months' advance, to give us more; we had dal and rice mixed up, and then served out to us; we were allowed very little, only about three-eighths of a seer a day. The officer of the ship used to call us to pull the ropes; those who went were well treated, but others who said this was no part of their agreement and refused, were ill-treated, and their blankets and clothes were snatched away from them and thrown overboard. I speak of what happened to myself. [The other witnesses present confirm this.] Only one man out of 250 men died on board; he died of looseness. We reached Mauritius in two months and 11 days; I had 21 rupees in hand when I went on board ship after buying several things. [The other six men present all say they had each the same.] We were told that we were engaged to do the Company's work. Being asked what company he meant, the witness says he knew of one company, namely, the government of this country. If they had not supposed they were going to serve the Company, they would not have gone. We did not go from fear of the Company, we went for the sake of our bellies. Our families knew nothing about our going; I never wrote to them.

Seventeen of us have returned; we have each a good certificate from Mons. Rudelle, with whom we have been the whole time.

Certificates produced are as follows:

Sirdar's Certificate. { Je certifie qui le nommé Ramdine a toujours montré du zèle et de l'exactitude à son travail pendant tout le temps qu'il est resté à mon service sur l'établissement "La Baraque."
Port Louis, 27 September 1840.
Maurice.
(signed) *Thomy Rudelle*.

Labourer's Certificate. { Je certifie qui le nommé Raccana a travaillé avec beaucoup de zèle et de bonne volonté pendant tout le temps qu'il est resté à mon service en qualité de laboureur.
Port Louis, 27 September 1840.
Maurice.
(signed) *Thomy Rudelle*.

We were only under charge of the captain on board ship. On arriving at Mauritius, we were taken by the captain to Mr. Griffith's, and the same evening we were taken in a cart to La Baraque, a place about 15 coss south of Port Louis.

Ten of us came back to work in Mr. Griffith's garden at the town, and 20 remained at La Baraque.

We were never taken to the police. We got for food daily, 14 ch. rice.
 2 ch. dal.
 1 ch. ghee.
 As much as we wished of - - - - - salt.
 One glass of - - - - - shrab (rum).

In the working season, when the mill was at work, we got sugar, fish, tobacco, sugar cane also; that was for six months in the year.

We got no meat; we would only eat mutton or kid, which are very dear in Mauritius. We got no mussala, such as pepper, &c.; although we said it was stated in our agreements that we were to get mussala, they told us that it was not. We used to go after working hours to gather red pepper for ourselves, which grows wild in the island. On Sundays we did not work after eight o'clock in the morning. On Sundays we got our week's rations, and after receiving them we used to sit in our own houses; on working days we used to be called up so as to commence work in the fields by daylight; we stopped work at five o'clock in the evening, after which we were allowed to go home. At ten o'clock A.M. we had an hour allowed to eat our dinners; that was the only rest we were allowed in the day. We get four rupees a month of our wages paid into our hands. One rupee was stopped; they told us that it had been sent to the police, and that we should get it on returning to India. We did get all this back when we left, from Monsieur Rudelle, in the presence of the district judge; we got 54 rupees; the other six having been included in the six months' wages advanced in full in Calcutta. We were told before we left Calcutta that we should be subject to this deduction during our stay in Mauritius, and that the rupee a month would go to pay our passage back, if we were sick, and could not fulfil our agreement; but that if we served our time out, the whole would be restored to us, as it was. Out of our gang of 31, three died in Mauritius, and the rupee a month deducted from their wages has not been given to anybody that I know of. When on the island we were attended, if we were sick, by a French medical man. We worked during the whole five years on the same estate. We have no ill-treatment to complain of ourselves, but on Sundays, when we mixed with other Coolies on other estates, we heard complaints of ill-treatment from some; they complained that as a punishment their hands were tied behind them, and they were whipped with the mule whip, and their feet were put in the stocks; we never saw this done, but heard of it. We have heard complaints from other Coolies of their not getting enough to eat; some said they were not allowed ghee; others that they were not allowed dall; others that they were not allowed enough rice. We asked them why don't you complain to the police; they said they got no justice there; they were only sent back again. Of late there has been a new arrangement under which there is not much oppression. Before the liberation of the slaves, which happened about 18 months ago, they used to force the negroes to work very hard, and the Indian labourers were similarly treated. If any one lagged behind, he used to be beaten; when the slaves were liberated, this mode of treatment ceased; now there is a good arrangement, and the work is done without beating; we were never thus treated ourselves; we speak from what we heard from others. The whipping and putting in the stocks is an old story; it occurred before the liberation of the slaves.

I did not go as a sirdar from this; I was promoted afterwards. Ramdeen, and Dripun, who lives with him, have together rs. 300; he has rs. 150, and she has rs. 150; Juggraj has 110; Suddhye has 250; Beolee has 110; Secklal has 140; Buddool has 100; Jhummim has 300. The above are present. Of those not present, we have heard that Goordyal has 160; Old Chummun 112; Dheuruereea 34; he is a drunkard; Bhyroob has 240; Muttur has 93; Motee 80; Young Chummun has nothing at all; he is in debt, he is a great drunkard; Bishonath 200; Ruseawun 250; Buddloo Ram has 60. This completes this batch.

No women went from hence with us. There are a great many Negro women in that country, who are easily procured. Some Coolies used to live with Negro women as man and wife. Some children have been born to Coolies there.

[The whole of the coolies present, seven in number, throughout assented to the above evidence, and assisted in answering many of the questions.]

Separate Examination of Coolies of the above batch.

Jograj.—I have a statement to make. After we had gone to Monsieur Rudelle's, Ghola-mally, who had sailed from this about four months after us, came as the sirdar of a large batch of Coolies, about 200 in number, to La Baraque, where we were. He practised oppression upon us. He set up a ganjah and opium shop; those who did not buy ganjah and opium from him he used to beat and ill-use, and his gang assisted him, viz. the 200 Coolies

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Coolies that went with him. When we complained to the master, he used to say to him, that for not working we were beat. He used to take bribes from us. I paid two rupees three times to him. We have no complaint of any other sirdar except Gholamally.

On the question being put to witness whether they would like to go back to Mauritius as servants, not of the Honourable Company, but of private persons, says, If any gentleman will advance us money for the voyage, and to keep us for a short time at Mauritius, and to enable us to choose our masters and to make our own bargain for wages, &c., we should think it a good plan. Labourers are well paid there. A good working free man will make his bargain for 10 to 12 rupees per mensem, besides rations. A sirdar will get 16 rupees. On Sundays we had leave; after eight o'clock we had a pass if we wanted to go out; without a pass the police would stop us and take us to the thannah. The police did not require a pass on Sundays for passing the public roads. If we went into a private estate without a pass, they would stop us. [In the latter part of this examination, viz., after the story of Gholamally, all the Coolies assisted.] Being asked to tell the circumstances under which he was taken to Mauritius, Jograj says, I heard of the departure of parties to the Mauritius; I had no employ, but lived with a brother who was a syce in Barrackpore, and took the service; I was not inveigled; I was told the place was near; some said it was six days' journey, some a month; they told us that we should pass the Kala Panee or Great Ocean.

Bodhee.—I was a Coolie at Barrackpore; I was brought by Juggernauth, sirdar, to Calcutta to get service, to go to a Tapoo or island of the sea, to which I agreed; I passed through the house of Gillanders.

Seedhan.—I was a grass-cutter; I staid at Chitpore; Juggernauth was my sirdar; he went with us; my relations were going, and I went.

Budloo—gives the same account, having been Seedhan's companion.

Jhoommun.—I had come from Patna to seek service; I saw people enlisting and joined them.

Sookhlall.—I was enlisted the day I came to Calcutta from Benares.

Examination of *Sheo Sahae*, and eight Coolies of one batch, taken as above.

Sheo Sahae.—I am a Cooly, and embarked from this about five years ago; I do not know the ship's name; I went through Gillanders' house; I was in want of service, and enlisted on the third day after arriving in Calcutta; I was in Mr. W. Saunders' estate; we were 50 in number; we were in the same ship with Ramdeen and others; six men of our 50 have died; two sirdars were returned for misconduct after a stay of a year; one was Ramtahmer and the other Soomcoondur; I signed no papers before going; Rumna and Rowna hired me; I got 25 rupees here as six months' wages, at five rupees; five rupees was cut by the house of Gillanders & Co.; I understood the bargain, which is now fulfilled; five years' service [gives the same account as Ramdeen]; I have 80 or 85 rupees; we had English masters and were well treated; we were never beat; I cannot say whether I shall return; we may after seeing our children.

Bheem	-	-	-	Confirms the above; has 50 or 60 rupees.
Luchunn	-	-	- ditto	- I have 100 rupees.
Munnoo	-	-	- ditto	- I have 45 rupees.
Bhowanny	-	-	- ditto	- I have 132 rupees.
Hoorbun	-	-	- ditto	- I have 175 rupees.
Salljee	-	-	- ditto	- I have 150 rupees.
Jolcoo	-	-	- ditto	- I have 150 rupees.
Bhurtun	-	-	- ditto	- I have 350 rupees.

They all explain that Bhurtun dealt in hogs and fowls, his caste not preventing him from so doing, whereby he made money.

The above examinations were taken before

D. M'Farlan.
J. P. Grant.
W. Frank Dowson.
Russomoy Dutt.

I was not present in the early part of Ramdeen's examination, but he repeated again most part of what he said in my absence.

R. D.

Copy of the Examinations of Coolies returned from the Mauritius on board the Shah Allum.

(No. 37.)

To G. A. Bushby, Esq. Secretary to Government, General Department.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter (No. 16.) of the 15th instant, and to forward, for the information of the Right honourable the Governor-general, the declarations of the parties named in the margin, who have returned from the Mauritius in the "Shah Allum."

2. It is impossible to see the majority of these men and not perceive that they are considerably improved in condition; they, in truth, all look healthy, many are well-dressed, some have a good deal, and all a little money, even those who carried a family with them.

3. I was particular in questioning them about the mode of their first engaging with the Calcutta houses; they all seem either never to have had anything to complain of, or had entirely forgotten it; at least I am aware of no motive they could have in pretending ignorance.

4. I examined them separately; the husband, Punnoo, said he had 100 rupees in cash; his wife said he had nothing at all; the husband, upon being again sent for, produced the roll of money. The wife evidently thought concealment the safer plan; but I am not aware why they should profess ignorance of bad treatment.

5. I inclose in original, letters addressed to Captain Birch from the Mauritius, reporting the return of these men; also copies of a letter and an agreement given to Dabee Deen, one of the Coolies.

I have, &c.

(signed) D. M'Farlan,
Chief Magistrate.

Calcutta, Police-office,
19 January 1841.

1. Declaration of *Heengun*, taken before me on board the Shah Allum, on Saturday, the 16th of January 1841; saith, I am a native of Behar, and have been to Mauritius for three years. I was a Khidmudgar before I went, and I was one at Mauritius. I entered on the Raj Ranee, at Calcutta; we were about 100 people, Coolies and all; my term was for five years; I left my first master Mr. Blondoo, because my master's relatives insisted upon my cleaning the floor of the house, which was of wood; I was given over to another gentleman, an English gentleman, a Mr. Rieder; Mr. Rieder's lady was hard upon me; I got tired of her service and left them; I had first got from Mr. Blondoo wages of 11 or 12 months, six months went in payment of advance originally made to me, and there remained 30 rupees; they deprived me of one and a half months on the pretext that I had not been a good servant. How much Mr. Blondoo got from Mr. Rieder, I cannot tell. It was a bank note; I was nine months with Mr. Rieder; I got 10 rupees per mensem; in siccas, dollars and Arcot rupees; I got food, rice, dholl, and now and then dried fish; I then went to Mr. Missel Belownee; he is a writer in the government office; I staid one year with him in great comfort, and got leave from him for six months; I will go back to him; I came here on account of my father's death; I have about 200 rupees with me; Mr. Belownee gave me 12 rupees a month; I will go back again; I have taken service with Mr. Mackay, on board the ship. The passage down was very pleasant, only I was beat on the day I went on board about a girl, an ayah; no one has returned but me; the water at Mauritius is good, but not the air; I used to sew as well as work.

2. Declaration of *Debee Deen*, taken before me at the Calcutta police office, on the 18th day of January 1841; saith, I came on the Shah Allum, having gone to Mauritius five years ago; we were entered at the police office of Calcutta; I have brought 400 rupees as my earnings; I may go back again; I am now going to Goruckpore, my country; I am a Bunneya by caste; I was engaged on the sugar plantation; many of us would not work and were beat; we were 118, only two of us have come back in this ship; I was in the service of Mr. Barlow; I show a certificate of Mr. Barlow in my favour, also a general order to Colville, Gilmore & Co. [copied and added]; we were all in one place at Mr. Barlow's, 117 in all; 20 of us died, I cannot tell their names, but I think there must have been about a quarter; only one died on board the ship during the passage, the rest died at the Mauritius; they fell ill at first; after two years no more died; Kishna and Bhyrub were our sirdars at Mauritius; I came down to Calcutta for service as chupessay.

3. *Bustee* saith, I agree to all the above which I have heard and aided in; my wages were 10 rupees; we got five in money, the rest was cut for clothes, diet; I do not know whether the ship charges were paid out of the five rupees deducted.

4. Declaration of *Niyamat Khan*, taken before me at the Calcutta police office on the 18th day of January 1841; saith, I went to Mauritius on the Elizabeth, five years ago; our names were registered at the police office of Calcutta; about 80 of us went together; I understood that each of us were to get 10 rupees a month; I got five rupees, and the balance

balance, five, was deducted for our diet, our clothes, and the ship charges; all 80 of us were in the employ of Monsieur Bestel at La Savanne; 26 have come to Bengal on board the Shah Allum; I was sick after the first two years' work; I had a good doctor; I have about 20 rupees; I got no wages when I could not work; our master had an hospital; we were beat when we did not work.

4 J. *Mohubut* saith, I have got only 12 rupees with me; my country is at Gya; our provisions were short; I have no intention of going back; I have no complaint; if we did not work we were beat.

5. *Motee Ram* saith, I was on the same batch with the above two persons; Ramana, sirdar, got me employed; I have seen his son; I come from Bancoorah, and was sent for by a chit of his; he put me on board the Elizabeth; I have no complaint of the ship; we were kept below; my nephew and myself have 80 rupees between us.

6. *Ajodeya* saith, I am a Brahmin of Lucknow; Beerbhul took me on board; he informed me that there was service in Calcutta; I came for the situation of a durwan or chuprassy; I came to the police and had my name entered; I have brought 16 rupees; I have no complaint; if I did not work I was locked up and put in the stocks; I will not go back.

7. *Gooroo Dyal* saith, I have brought 40 rupees; I have no complaint.

8. *Sheochurn Singh* saith, I have brought 100 rupees; I have no complaint; I would have been a chuprassy in this country, or any other employment; I am not sure whether I will go back; I sent no money to my family.

- 9. *Mya Ram* saith, I have no complaint; I was put on board with the others by Ramana; I belong to Bancoorah; I have 60 rupees; I will not go back; I am an old man.

10. *Janokee* 1st saith, I have 100 rupees; I have no complaint; Gheena put me on board; I was in search of employ as a syce.

11. *Khooddee* saith, I have 20 rupees; I have no complaint; I had a cotton shop in Calcutta; one Ghousee put me on board; he met me in the Chandnee bazar.

12. *Angnoo* saith, I have no complaint; I experienced great trouble at the Mauritius; I was only allowed three hours' leave a day. The rains were incessant; two days' pay were deducted for one day's leave; I did not get the full rations promised; I was promised 14 chittacks of rice and curry stuff; I only got rice and doll, but not mussaleh; I was promised clothes every six months, but I only got annual clothing; I have brought twelve rupees; I will not go back.

13. *Mohesh Ram* saith, Ramana, sirdar, embarked me; I have brought rupees 109; I have no complaint; I was a cultivator of Hazareebagh; Ramana sent a person for me; I worked at sugar canes; I had not been accustomed to it.

14. *Boorhan* saith, Ramanath, sirdar, embarked me from Ramghur; he sent a person for me; I have 40 rupees with me; I have consumed the rest; I got five rupees in cash, the other five in clothes, diet, &c.

15. *Anundi* saith, I have no complaint; I have 120 rupees in cash with me; I got 25 rupees at coming away, the rest I have saved from time to time.

16. *Chooroo* saith, I have no complaint; Ramana embarked me from Hazareebagh; his people fetched me; I have 40 rupees; I got 64 rupees from my master; out of the five rupees deducted from our wages I conclude that the ship charges were paid, as well as clothes and food; they never gave me any account in writing; if I was sick, they cut more days' wages than was right.

17. *Janokee* 2d saith, I was shipped by Bukhshoo at Bhowanypore; I would have been a durwan or chuprassy; I have rupees 160; I have no complaint, only if I were sick one day, two days' wages were cut.

18. *Buldee* saith, I have no complaint; I came to Calcutta for service as chowkeydar or durwan; Mr. Dowson got me employment; there was no duffadar; I went with the others here present; I have brought back rupees 150; I got 54 rupees at leaving; I had consumed the rest; they gave me five rupees cash each month, the rest of the 10 was deducted for food and clothing, and one rupee was kept at the police-office; my master Bestel paid the ship charges.

19. *Punnoo* saith, I have no complaint; I took my wife with me from this; Ghowsee and Toofanee were the duffadars; the gentleman paid the passage for my wife as well as my own; my wife did not work, only cooked for me; I have 100 rupees in cash, I show it; I kept fowls at Mauritius, and made money of them; I paid 15 piastres for my wife's passage, and show the receipt.

20. *Jeetun* saith, I am wife to Punnoo; I went with him to Mauritius; I did not work.

21. *Chutter* saith, I am a Hazareebagh man; Ramanath, sirdar, brought me; I have 20 rupees; I have no complaint.

22. *Busun* saith, I am from Sooltanpore, near Lucknow; I came down for employment

as a syce ; I have 260 rupees ; I had to get 54 rupees on embarking ; five rupees were paid in money, the other five rupees were paid in kind ; clothes, food, and I think money was kept for our passage.

23. *Dukparh* saith, I have no complaint ; I got 10 rupees wages, four were paid in money, one sent to the police, and the remaining five for clothes, washing, and food ; I got 54 rupees from the police ; I have brought 260 rupees in cash ; I will not go back ; I will cultivate in my own country.

24. *Mungroo* saith, I have no complaint and have rupees 150 ; Jheena, duffadar, shipped me.

25. *Soohtut* saith, I have no complaint ; I was occasionally beat for not working ; I found a woman at the Mauritius that had gone with Domun, he is still there ; I took her ; I have 100 rupees ; I have got a child of my own ; Domun's child is there ; we had no marriage ceremony ; I show the receipt for my wife's passage ; I will not go back again.

26. *Ram Kulleeya* saith, I went with Domun ; he was not my husband ; that was five years ago, Domun left me ; I came back with Soohbut ; I cooked for Soohbut. The women had separate rooms ; the men were in a barrack.

27. Declaration of *Mohummud Ally*, taken before me at the Calcutta Police-office, on the 18th day of January 1841. Saith, I went on the Nerbudda ; I was passed at the police ; I don't remember the duffadar's name ; I took my wife with me ; she has returned ; we were 236 men and five women on the Nerbudda ; we were not subject to discomfort on the ship going or coming ; I have only 20 rupees ; we got no written account ; I believe the five rupees per month cut from us provided passage back as well as food and clothes. My master died four months ago ; his name was Leo Dubois. I have no complaint.

28. *Mahummud Ally Khan* saith, I came from Behar for service as chuprassy ; I have brought rupees 30 ; the work is hard even in the rains, but we were not beat ; we were on Mr. Boolund's estate ; one Mr. Hobson took us to the Mauritius ; Ramzan was my duffadar ; he is still there ; the rest of the 236 are there ; our time was not up, but we got leave on account of our master's death.

(True copies.)

(signed) *D. M'Farlan*,
Chief Magistrate.

(No. 2304.)

To Captain *Birch*, &c. &c. &c. Calcutta.

Sir,

Police Department, Port Louis, Mauritius, 28 Nov. 1840.

I HAVE the honour to enclose you a nominal list of 26 Indians, two women and three children, whose period of engagement with Mr. Bestel has expired, and who embark by the *Shaw Allum*.

They are part of a gang of 75 who arrived here by the *Elizabeth* on the 14th December 1835, the rest have re-engaged with Mr. Bestel or other masters, which shall be duly reported to you when I can ascertain the fact.

I enclose you a copy of the letter of the stipendiary magistrate, Mr. Williams, stating that these men have been settled with.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Finnis*, Chief Commissary.

(No. 2261.)

Captain *Birch*, Superintendent of the Police, Calcutta.

Sir,

Police Office, Mauritius, 24 November 1840.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that passports have been this day granted to *Jaggoo*, *Mamedaly* the 1st, *Mamedaly* the 2d, and the woman *Chumpal*, late in the service of Mr. Leo Dubois, to embark on board the *Shah Allum*, at their own request, the engagements having expired, and they have no claim upon their late master.

They originally arrived in the Nerbudda, for the service of Mr. Bullen.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Geo. M. Lay*, Deputy Commissary.

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NOMINAL LIST of 26 INDIANS whose Times have expired with Mr. Bestel, and who embarked on the Shah Allum for Calcutta.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1. Ajoudia.	
2. Bara Jeanky.	
3. Pannoo.	
4. Sohobut.	
5. Seebchurn.	
6. Baldy.	
7. Dapel.	
8. Mangaroo.	
9. Bassan.	
10. Goordial.	
11. Canaille.	
12. Chota Jeanky	
13. Ramjewan.	
14. Kechawa.	
15. Moteram.	
16. Mayess.	
17. Bayaram.	
18. Chattra.	
19. Chourowa.	
20. Ananda.	
21. Koody.	
22. Anganoo.	
23. Tejeane.	
24. Neamat.	
25. Bodansing.	
26. Mohobut.	
<i>Women.</i>	
1. Ramkalia, wife of Sohobut.	
2. Jettanee, wife of Pannoo.	
<i>Children.</i>	
1. Pelia, } of Sohobut.	
2. Botanee, } of Sohobut.	
3. Joumanee, of Pannoo.	

(Copy.)

The Chief Commissary of Police.

Sir,
Stipendiary Magistrate's Office, Savanne, 17 Nov. 1840.
I beg to hand you a nominal list of the Indian Labourers in the service of Mr. Bestel, junior, whose period of service has expired, to which list are annexed notes.

They have been settled with, before me, and Mr. Bestel states that he is ready to provide a passage to India for those whose wish it may be to return to that country.

I have, &c.
(signed) P. W. Williams,
Stipendiary Magistrate.

(A true copy.)

(signed) John Finnis, Chief Commissary.

Messrs. Colville, Gilmore, & Co., Calcutta.

Dear Sirs,

Port Louis, Mauritius, 23 November 1840.

THE bearer of this, Dhibby Deen, is a man of good character, who returns to his native country with a sum of money. His intention being to come back to the Mauritius, we authorise you, should he apply to you for the cost of his passage, to pay the same at a rate not exceeding Co.'s rs. 30, besides the cost of food, as well as to any able-bodied men who may wish to accompany him, not exceeding 50 in number, forwarding us their receipt in duplicate for the sum paid.

The present authority to remain in force until the 31st December 1840. We request the favour of an early advice, should you make this advance for us.

We remain, &c.
(signed) Chapman Barclay.

52 CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

We hereby promise to pay the passage from Calcutta to Mauritius of any labourers, being able-bodied, who upon arrival here may engage to work for the persons we may indicate, and also the passage of their wives.

20 November 1840.

(signed) *Barlow & Co.*

For the use of Dibbideen on his return to Bengal.

(True copies.)

(signed) *D. M'Farlan*, Chief Magistrate.

COPY of the Examinations of Coolies returned from Mauritius on board the Graham.

(No. 71.)

To *G. A. Bushby*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour, in reply to your letter of the 23d current, to submit memoranda of 48 examinations of Mauritius labourers returned to Bengal in the Graham.

2. The bulk of these persons are Dhangurs, and the statements made by them all are calculated to show that there is little use for prohibitions against persons of this class being allowed to better their lot by emigration.

3. It has been stated that the desertion of families is a serious evil, incident to the practice of emigration. My examination was directed to every individual's circumstances under that head. It will be seen in Nos. 5, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 23, 35 and 48, that his wife and family accompanied the emigrant, and were aiding in making money—the purpose for which they went; and that in Nos. 21, 33, 34, 37, 39, 40, 45, 46 and 47, where the family was left behind, the Cooly had perfect confidence that his relatives would provide for them. Each expected that the relative would borrow money on account of the absent husband or father; to repay such loan they seemed to think their bounden duty.

4. The habits of the sepoy caste, the bearer caste, and many others, are in strict analogy with this; the latter take service in Calcutta and the Lower Provinces, and return to their homes after several, sometimes five years' absence, and no one ever thinks of preventing their taking such service for fear of the injury they might do their families by deserting them. No. 47 of these emigrants very justly said, "Was it not in my own family's account that I went to Mauritius."

5. It would be easy to arrange in future emigrations that a part of the Coolies' earnings should be sent to Bengal from time to time, through a corresponding house of agency.

I have, &c.

(signed) *D. M'Farlan*,
Chief Magistrate.

Calcutta, Police Office,
27 February 1841.

Calcutta, 26 February 1841.

THE Indian Coolies returned on board the Graham from Mauritius appear before me, ordered by Government to take their examinations in regard to their present state and their treatment at the Mauritius.

1. *Gholam Ally*.—I went from this through the house of Gillanders & Co., about five years ago. I do not remember the ship's name that we went on. I went as a sirdar, in charge of 50 persons. There was another sirdar, Munnoo; he is coming back in another ship. Ramanath, sirdar, of Gillanders' house, got me the service; I was a saees before I went in Mr. Sandes' employ; the 50 men in my charge, and Munnoo, were separated into two bodies at Mauritius, 20 remained with me and 30 with Munnoo. Of my 20, eight have returned, two died, one returned after three months' service, and nine are still at Mauritius; they staid in Mauritius, having got higher rations and wages; our the first contract. Under our contract, we had 14 chittacks of rice, two of dhol, one of ghee, half a chittack of salt; no bread or vegetables. My pay was 14 rupees; seven rupees was kept to pay for the above diet and clothes, and six rupees was paid to me in cash, and one rupee was deposited at the police every month; I have brought 300 rupees with me. They gave me the 60 rupees that were in deposit, and one month's wages; the rest I saved from my monthly allowance. We worked at sugar-cane cultivation. The climate was good, and the work hard; we were warned and threatened when we did not work; I was never beat; one or two of my gang might have been beat with a cane. Those of my gang that have staid behind get 12 rupees instead of 10, and increased rations; they get also fish, grog, spices. The women that have returned went with us; they are of the Dangur caste; they used to weed, and assist at other processes of sugar-making; they got four rupees, and sauller rations. I never heard any of the persons that went with us complain of the manner they were taken away from this place; we had no trouble on board in the voyage down. My advance

advance of six months' wages I sent to my wife and two children at Purneya. I have relatives there; they will have supported my wife and children. I will go back to Mauritius, if allowed. I think it was hard to give us no wages on our voyage; our names were registered at the Calcutta police; Gillanders' people did not give us the lotah and tussula among three persons that were promised. What Jamoo says about my beating him is not true.

2. *Jamoo*.—I went to Mauritius with Gholam Ally. I was a dandee at Furredepore I have brought rupees 36, and have spent the rest. When I did not work I was beat with a stick. The sirdar, Gholam Ally, used to administer the blows by order of the overseer; one or two blows, slight, such as overseers in this country apply to idle Coolies. I have spent my money at Mauritius. I had a wife and three children at Solahdana; my wife's father and mother will have taken care of her.

3. *Fyzoo*.—I went in Gholam Ally's gang; I was a keranchee driver before I went, and lived at Fenwick Bazar; I was employed by Hingun Khan, and got four rupees per month and my food. I have 36 rupees; the rest I spent at Mauritius; we had hard work and good health at Mauritius. I will not go back. I left no dependants behind.

4. *Girdharee*.—I went in Gholam Ally's gang; I come from Patna and was a shopkeeper there; I could not get employment, and so went to Mauritius; I have brought rupees 140 with me; I have no complaint; I worked well and was never beat; I left my mother, wife and children at Patna; I have not sent them any money; my brother will have supported them; I ran away from Patna; my brother will surely have supported them.

5. *Ruggohur*.—I went with Gholam Ally; I am a Patna man; I was ready for employment as saees, grass cutter or Coolee; Jallsee, a duffehdar, got me employment at Calcutta; I was never beat; I have 240 rupees, and have good clothes; I cannot say whether I shall return; I have a wife and one child, who went with me and have now returned; the boy, about seven years old, got two rupees per month for cleaning the sugar-pans.

6. *Munsoor Ally*, of Gholam Ally's gang.—I have 280 rupees; I come from Hazareebagh; I came to Calcutta, and was saees to Mr. Sandes the attorney; I was never beat; I have no wife or children.

7. *Mata Deen*.—I am a native of Jaunpoor, and came to Calcutta as a grass cutter; Ramjewan, duffehdar, shipped me; I have nothing to complain of; I have rupees 264; I left behind me a wife and three children; God will have cared for them; I had a brother also; I sent them 40 rupees out of the advance I received before I went.

8. *Ram Tukul*.—I belong to Chunar; I was a barber, and had been for 15 days in Calcutta; I could not get work here, and went to Mauritius; I have 100 rupees; I was never beat; perhaps I may go back; I left no dependants.

9. *Khoodda Bukhsh*.—I belong to Chuppra, and came to Calcutta for service as saees or khidmutgar; I have no complaint of the manner in which I was shipped; I have brought 200 rupees with me, and was never beat.

10. *Roghoonath*.—I am of the Dhangur caste; I went five years ago in charge of 50 of my countrymen to the Mauritius through the house of Gillanders & Co.; our names were registered at the Calcutta police; Ramauath, sirdar, of my caste, wrote to me telling me the terms of service at the Mauritius; I brought away the 50 men; I have brought 300 rupees with me; I have no complaint; I was never beat; I am now old; I may send others, but probably will not go myself; I have money enough for my son; I left behind me a wife and two sons; one of 13 years, and one of eight years of age at that time; there was no danger of their being starved; I sent my advance of 36 rupees to them; we did not get the brass lotah and tusselah which was a part of our agreement; I suppose it was the villany of the sircar of the house; it was hard in my opinion that we got no salary when on the voyage; we were very comfortable on board going and coming; Jeetoo died on board, returning (of small pox), the captain gave me a receipt for his 100 rupees; only one of our men died; many of the Khullassees died; there was no doctor; our men of course will pay what their relations have expended on their families; Muhajuns would advance on that account to the relations, the latter being security.

11. *Juggurnath, Mate*.—I am a Dhangur, and used to cultivate land in Chota Nagpore; I came to Calcutta with Roghoonath here present; I have brought back rupees 264; I could never save any money from my old trade as cultivator; I took my wife and four children with me, and they are all returned, and two more are born who have come with me also—[they are here produced, fine healthy children]—their passage was paid by Messrs. Ruddul, my master; I paid for their food; the oldest boy earned three rupees the last month; he had been sick before; my wife earned two rupees a month for one year, and three rupees per month for two years; the two latter years she did not work, having a large family to look after; she was never beat. Karnie, my adopted child, was also with me; she married Bulraaj or Bhola.

12. *Jadoo*.—I went with Roghoonath, and am a Dhangur; I have brought with me 220 rupees; I took my wife with me; she is sick on board; she earned first two rupees, and then three rupees per month; I was once or twice slapped with a cane when I did not work; no artifices were used to get me to go to the Mauritius; I could never save anything as cultivator; I cannot tell whether I will return.

13. *Sookhram*.—I went with Roghooanath to Mauritius; he lives about three koss from my house—[this person will not tell how much money he has; then says 150] we were made to work; I will not go back; I left a wife behind, but no children; I sent her my advance 18 rupees.

14. *Luakhuree*.—I am of the Koormee caste; I went with Roghooanath; my house is about two koss from his; I left a wife but no children; my father and brother would take care of her; I have got 80 rupees; I was robbed at Mauritius of 90 rupees; I don't know by whom; I was deprived of one month's pay; I will not return.

15. *Burgee*.—I belong to Chota Nagpore, and am a Dhangur; I fell in with Roghooanath in Calcutta; I married my wife at the Mauritius; she has returned; she is the daughter of one of the Coolies; she worked for her mother occasionally; I have only 80 rupees; I have been 10 months married; it cost me 20 rupees.

16. *Heera Ram*.—I belong to Chota Nagpore; I met Roghooanath there; he induced me to go to Mauritius; I took my wife with me; one child was born in Mauritius; I left none behind me; my wife earned four rupees per month; I have brought 100 rupees; I have no complaint.

17. *Dhirja*.—I belong to Chota Nagpore; Roghooanath employed me; I took my wife with me, and one child. I have brought my wife and child, and one born there, and 200 rupees, back. My wife earned first three rupees per month, and then four rupees per month; I was never beat, nor my wife; I cannot say that I will return.

18. *Birsa*.—My house is at Chota Nagpore; my wife went with me; Roghooanath got me employment; I have brought back 200 rupees; my wife earned three rupees and then four rupees per month and rations. I have no complaint.

19. *Kunhayee*.—I am of the Pathan caste; Roghooanath took me; I have brought rupees 100; I have had bad health; my father and mother are at home and will take care of my wife; I had no children; my pay was cut for sickness for one month; I have no complaint; I will not return.

20. *Nungur*.—I am of the Koomar caste, and have no dependents; I have brought rupees 180; I have no complaint, and may or may not return; I was not beat, except once or twice when I did not do my work.

21. *Bhagnath*.—I am of the Dhangur caste; I went with Roghooanath; I met him at Bancorah; I have brought rupees 220. I had a wife and nine children at home in my brother's charge; I sent my family 18 rupees when I went; I have sent nothing in the interval; I will of course pay my brother what he may have expended on my family, probably about rupees 120. Mahajuns would advance grain and other stuff; if I died, my children would have to work and pay.

22. *Bissoram*.—I am of the Koormee caste; I went with Roghooanath; I have brought 198 rupees; I left no dependents, except a wife under age; I have no complaints.

23. *Dookhee*.—I am of the Dhangur caste. I met Roghooanath in Calcutta, where I had come for service; I was only six days here. I have a young wife I never lived with; she staid in her father's house. I have rupees 140, and no complaints.

24. *Seeboo*.—I am a Dhangur. I came with Roghooanath; I have no wife or dependents; I have brought 100 rupees, and no complaint.

25. *Sheeoohurn*.—I am a Patna Elwar Bramin. I used to cultivate the soil at Phoolwaree; I came down for employment as durwan; I met Roghooanath, and engaged with him for Mauritius; I was hurt, and remained past work for three years; in the last two years I have earned and brought away 40 rupees. I was well cared for in my illness. I will not return as I now think. I have no complaint; if I was slow at work I used to get a slap on my posteriors with a cane; Gholam Ally once struck me with a cane.

26. *Jeetoo*.—I am a Hazareebagh Dhangur. I have 40 rupees; I have no dependents; I have no complaint; I spent my money happily.

27. *Mohesh*.—I am a Dhangur. I have 180 rupees, and no complaints, and no dependents.

28. *Bhajravu*.—I am a Dhangur; my wife went with me; she was sick, and is now. I have only 80 rupees; the rest I spent on her. I have no complaints.

29. *Luchmun*.—I am a Dhangur, and once got two rattans for not working; Roghooanath administered it; my wife is at home; she was a child when I went in her father's house. I have 100 rupees.

30. *Gopall*.—I have 80 rupees; I left my wife and two children behind; my father and mother would take care of them.

31. *Poran*.—I am a Dhangur, of Ramghur; I have 200 rupees, and no complaints; I left no dependents behind.

32. *Jeyram*.—

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES. 55

32. *Jeyram*.—I am a Dhangur. I have 150 rupees, and no dependents. I was a boy when I went; one year I got boy's allowance, and one year man's.

33. *Anund*.—I am a Gwalah by caste. I have brought 300 rupees; my relations will have cared for my wife and six children; I shall have to pay what has been expended on my wife and two little children.

34. *Bheekaree*.—I am Dhangur, of Ramghur. I have brought back 300 rupees; I left a wife and two children; I will make good what has been expended on them; I have no complaint.

35. *Khooddes Ram*.—I took my wife with me; she used to earn two rupees; I have brought back 300 rupees, and a child born in the Mauritius; I was never beat, nor my wife; I will not go back, nor my wife.

36. *Joomra*.—I am a Dhangur, and only worked for two years; I have 60 rupees; I got four rupees per month the last two years; my father died at sea, going down.

37. *Sonatum*, Dhangur, of Ramghur. I have 180 rupees. I left a wife and two children; my brother would care for them; I will repay what has been expended on them.

38. *Bulram* or *Bhola*.—I am a Nagpore Dhangur. I married my wife, who was the adopted daughter of Juggurnath, mate at Mauritius; I have had one child; I have no complaints; I have brought rupees 100.

39. *Dookhee*.—I am a Dhangur. I have brought 100 rupees; I have no complaints; I left a wife, but no children; she may have left me; if not, I will pay what she has expended.

40. *Myaram*.—I am a Dhangur of Nagpore; I have rupees 140; I have no complaints; I left a wife and one child at home, her father and mother will have taken care of her; I will repay the charge.

41. *Jonoo*.—I am a Dhangur of Ramghur; I have 100 rupees; I left no dependents; I have no complaints.

42. *Jahil Ram*.—I am a Dhangur of Ramghur; I have no dependents; I have rupees 140.

43. *Buaram*.—I am a Dhangur of Ramghur; I have 200 rupees, and no dependents and no complaints.

44. *Molutram*.—I am a cultivator of Ramghur; I have brought 80 rupees; I have a young wife and no complaints.

45. *Mohun*.—I am a Dhangur of Bancoora, and have brought 200 rupees with me; I left a wife and three children at home; my brother will have supported them; I will repay him; I have no complaints.

46. *Boodhoo*.—I am a Dhangur of Ramghur; I have 220 rupees; I have no complaint; I left a wife and one child at home; I will pay what has been spent on them.

47. *Puhlwan*.—I am a Dhangur of Bancoora; I left a wife and three children; my elder brother will have supported them; I will repay him; it was for them I went to the Mauritius; I have brought 200 rupees.

48. *Choonnee Ram*.—I am a Dhangur of Nagpore; I took a wife and two children to Mauritius, two more were born there; I have brought them back and 200 rupees; I have no complaint.

HILL COOLIES.

COPIES of PAPERS respecting the Exportation of HILL COOLIES, received from the Government of *India*; in continuation of those presented to The House of Commons on the 11th day of February last.

(*Sir John Hobhouse.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
21 June 1841.

[*Price 7 d.*]

HILL COOLIES.

RETURN to an ORDER of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 25 August 1841 ;—for,

A COPY of any PAPERS respecting the Exportation of HILL COOLIES,
received from the Government of *India* ; in continuation of those presented
to The House of Commons on the 18th day of June last.

(*Mr. Charles Buller.*)

East India House, }
15 Sept. 1841. }

JAMES C. MELVILL.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
22 September 1841.

Under 3 oz.

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(True copies.)

East India House,
15 Sept. 1841.

David Hill,
Assistant Examiner of Indian Correspondence.

COPY of any PAPERS respecting the Exportation of HILL COOLIES, received
from the Government of *India*.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.—No. 22, of 1841.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

Fort William, 10 May 1841.

WE have the honour to bring to the notice of your Honourable Court the accompanying copy of correspondence with two houses of agency in Calcutta, on the subject of the law prohibiting the emigration of labourers, natives of India, to the Mauritius. Letter from Messrs. Colville, Gilmore, & Co. 3d May;
Reply, 5th May.
Letter from Messrs. Saunders, May, Sarkies, & Co. 3d May;
Reply, 5th May.

2. Our sentiments on the general question respecting the exportation of Cooly labourers from India to a British or foreign colony beyond the territories of the East India Company will be reported in a separate despatch by the present overland mail.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Auckland.*
J. Nicolls.
W. W. Bird.
Wm. Casement.
H. T. Prinsep.

From *G. A. Bushby*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of *India*, General Department, to Messrs. *Saunders, May, Sarkies & Co.*; dated 5 May 1841.

Gentlemen,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 3d instant, addressed to the Governor-general's private secretary, submitting the names of 10 persons, natives of India, who have applied to you for engagements to enable them to go to the Mauritius as labourers, and soliciting, under the urgent circumstances stated, that the Government will, if possible, make some arrangement, so that you may send labourers to the island.

2. I am directed by the Governor-general in Council to refer you to the Law Act, No. XIV. of 1839, and to state that the Government of India, except with the sanction of the Home authorities, is prohibited from altering the provisions of that law; but his Lordship in Council will bring your representation to the notice of the Honourable the Court of Directors by the present overland mail.

I have, &c.

(signed) *G. A. Bushby*,
Secretary to Government of *India*.

Council Chamber, 5 May 1841.

From Messrs. *Colville, Gilmore & Co.* to *G. A. Bushby*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of *India*; dated 3 May 1841.

Sir,

WITH reference to the enclosed copy of a letter which we received two days ago from our correspondents, Messrs. Chapman & Barclay, at the Mauritius, we shall feel obliged by your acquainting us, with as little delay as possible, if we will be allowed by Government to comply with their requisition, being at the same time aware of the existing regulation passed by Government, prohibiting the emigration of natives of Bengal from the territories of the East India Company.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Colville, Gilmore & Co.*

Calcutta, 3 May 1841.

4 CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

From Messrs. *Chapman & Barclay* to Messrs. *Colville, Gilmore & Co.*, Calcutta; dated
7 March 1841.

Dear Sirs,

A FEW days since we requested your obliging assistance to an Indian native, who, returning from hence to visit his native country, wishes to return with his family.

We now repeat the request in favour of the bearer, named *Potoo*, who has been employed in the service of Mr. Charles Rouillard, one of our most respectable constituents.

We beg the favour of your paying this man Company's rupees 10 per month during his stay in India, and that you will also provide for his return passage, together with that of his family and friends, men, women, or children; you are further authorized to advance to each person applying for a passage through *Potoo* the sum of Company's rupees 15, to the extent of 100 persons, debiting us in account, and advising us of the names of the parties to whom the advance is made, and the vessel by which he embarks.

We will thank you, also, to give to each person thus embarking a note of address to our house.

We take it for granted that the persons thus seeking a passage to Mauritius will previously have obtained permission from the police to embark, and thus will not be exposed to any infringement of existing regulations.

Port Louis, Mauritius,
7 March 1841.

We remain, &c.
(signed) *Chapman & Barclay.*

From *G. A. Bushby*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, General Department, to Messrs. *Colville, Gilmore, & Co.*; dated 5 May 1841.

Gentlemen,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 3d instant, forwarding copy of a letter from Messrs. *Chapman & Barclay*, of the Mauritius, requesting you to provide passage for a return labourer, a native of India, together with passage to that colony for his family and friends, men, women, or children, to the extent of 100 persons, and inquiring whether you will be allowed by Government to comply with their requisition.

2. The Governor-general in Council observes that Messrs. *Chapman & Barclay*, in their letter to you, anticipate that the persons thus seeking a passage to Mauritius will previously have obtained permission from the police to embark, and thus will not be exposed to any infringement of existing regulations.

3. His Lordship in Council can only refer you to the law which makes this condition impracticable; and the law cannot be altered without the sanction of the Home authorities.

Council Chamber,
5 May 1841.

I have, &c.
(signed) *G. A. Bushby*,
Secretary to Government of India.

From Messrs. *Saunders, May, Sarkies & Co.* to *J. R. Colvin*, Esq., Private Secretary to Governor-General; dated 3 May 1841.

Sir,

We take the liberty to send to you the names of 10 Indians, who have applied to us to-day for engagements to enable them to go to the Mauritius as labourers.

Our friends in London, Messrs. *Reid, Irving & Co.*, have large capital engaged in the trade of Mauritius, and their correspondents receive a considerable portion of the crop of the island. The letters we are constantly receiving from thence urge upon us the necessity of making some arrangements here in order to supply labourers to the island, as much of the crop that is now upon the ground must otherwise perish, and serious loss to individuals and injury to the island be the result, besides increasing the difficulties which are at present felt in England from the high prices of sugar caused by the short crops from the West India colonies.

The crop in the Mauritius will be begun to be cut in June and July this year, and we have to beg that the Governor-general will consider the urgency of the case, and, if possible, make some arrangement to enable us to send people to the island. We shall give any security for the good treatment of the people, and the faithful payment of the wages that may be stipulated for and, in short, strictly abide by any rules which his Excellency may be pleased to point out.

We have ourselves fully questioned the people who have made application to us for employment as to their knowledge that they apply to go to a distant country, and to be employed in cultivating the land: and they seem quite aware of these circumstances, and express a distinct wish to be allowed to go. We shall feel obliged by his Excellency the Governor-general's decision with reference to them.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Saunders, May, Sarkies & Co.*

Calcutta, 3 May 1841.

LIST of INDIANS who have applied for permission to proceed to *Mauritius*.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Emsumbux, native of Cawnpore. | 6. Ramjee Bun, native of Chuprah. |
| 2. Dookee, native of Arrah. | 7. Ram Doss, native of Banda. |
| 3. Byrho, native of Cawnpore. | 8. Dookee, native of Simarwar. |
| 4. Kissurmapabur, native of Cuttack. | 9. Bulday, native of Simarwar. |
| 5. Gunga Sam, native of Lucknow. | 10. Bidassee, native of Chuprah. |

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.—No. 23 of 1841.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

Fort William, 12 May 1841.

We have the honour, with this letter, of submitting, for the information of your Honourable Court, copies of minutes by the Governor-general, Mr. Bird, Mr. Prinsep, and Mr. Amos, stating their opinions upon the question of Cooly Emigration, and the footing on which it may be expedient to place it, provided the home authorities direct the law of 1839 to be modified, by which the exportation of native labourers to the colonies is prohibited.

Minute by the Right hon. the Governor-general, dated 25 April.
Minute by the Hon. Mr. Bird, dated 6 May.
Minute by the Hon. Mr. Prinsep, dated 9 May.
Minute by the Hon. Mr. Amos, dated 11 May.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Auckland.*
J. Nicolls.
W. W. Bird.
Wm. Casement,
H. T. Prinsep.

From *G. F. Dick*, Esq. Colonial Secretary, Mauritius, to the Secretary to the Government of India; dated 15 February 1841.

Sir,

His Excellency the Governor, Sir Lionel Smith, begs that you will have the goodness to lay the enclosed copy of a letter from the Free Labour Association in this colony before his Lordship the Governor-general in Council.

2. The association, anticipating that the government of India in communication with Her Majesty's Ministers will, in the course of the next session of Parliament, be induced to withdraw the existing restrictions against the emigration of labourers to Mauritius, have prepared a plan encouraging, I think, in all its conditions, and which, if necessary for the better security of all parties, could be easily embodied in a government ordinance, with such additional clauses as experience or better information may show to be necessary.

3. His Excellency the Governor requests you to inform the Right honourable the Governor-general, that, having minutely inquired into the treatment of the Indian labourers, he has been enabled to report to the Secretary of State that they have by no means been harshly dealt with, oppressed, or neglected; and his Excellency is quite satisfied that the interests of the planters themselves, and the intelligence of the Indians in the modes of ensuring redress of wrongs which they habitually enjoyed under the Company's servants in India, equally guarantee to them justice and good treatment from their employers in this island.

4. His Excellency observes, that no man could have entered into these inquiries with stronger suspicions than he did, from his intimate knowledge of the trickeries and treacheries of planters against the new-born freedom of the West Indies; but he is quite satisfied that, with a Government like this, powerful enough to enforce the Queen's commands, even the most ill-disposed planters in this colony can be controlled against the exercise of arbitrary or unjust power.

5. His Excellency, therefore, desires me to express his hopes that the Supreme Government may be disposed to promote a measure so important to the cultivation of this colony, and not less so, perhaps, in its contributing to improve the condition of a portion of India's crowded population, occasionally much distressed for subsistence, and to assure his Lordship in Council, that it will become his anxious duty to secure to them every possible protection of the Government, and their stipulated rights.

I have, &c.

Colonial Secretary's Office, Mauritius,
15 February 1841.

(signed) *George F. Dick,*
Colonial Secretary.

From *Edward Chapman, Esq.*, and Others, to His Excellency Lieutenant-general Sir *Lionel Smith, Bart. K. C. B.*, Governor, &c. &c. &c.; dated 14 January 1841.

Sir,

The acting committee of the Free Labour Association begs to submit to your Excellency the following remarks on the subject of the introduction of labourers into this colony.

Your Excellency is aware of the great urgency of the case, and of the extremities to which the planters are reduced for want of hands, being obliged to leave large portions of their crops on the ground, and unable to weed the canes which have been actually cut.

In the event of the now existing prohibition being removed in India, some measures must be taken beforehand, in order to be prepared to effect the immediate introduction of some thousand labourers for the purpose of satisfying the pressing wants of agriculture, and saving, if possible, that part of the coming crop which seems now exposed to inevitable loss, as near 7,000 engagements of Indian labourers will expire in the course of the present year.

It may reasonably be hoped that the measure submitted to the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for the Colonies may be carried shortly after the opening of Parliament, that is to say, some time in the month of March next, in which case it would reach India by the overland mail early in the month of May, when labourers might begin to emigrate to Mauritius.

The principal object at which all parties seem to aim, is to secure the perfect freedom of the labourer in the choice of a master when he reaches the colony. This point is secured by the Order in Council of 7th September 1839, which enacts that no engagement contracted out of the colony shall be valid.

Consequently no private individual, after being at the expense of introducing labourers, can be secure of obtaining their services, as they may, on their landing, choose to engage with another person, and his outlay would then become a dead loss.

It is therefore absolutely necessary that the introduction of labourers, as a matter of great public utility, should be carried on at the public expense, and in order to guard against recurrence of the injustice formerly committed but too often towards the emigrants, both in India and during the voyage, it is equally necessary that the management of the emigration should be entrusted to agents appointed jointly by the Governments of India and Mauritius.

The Free Labour Association has had the honour to lay before your Excellency some months ago the plan which it has devised for the introduction of labourers, and that plan appears to have obtained your Excellency's approbation.

The acting committee now begs most earnestly and respectfully to request that your Excellency may be pleased at an early moment to take such measures as are necessary for carrying that plan into execution, as soon as the prohibition is removed in India, with such ameliorations as your Excellency may consider proper; that is to say, firstly, by entering into correspondence with the Government of India for the purpose of obtaining its co-operation in the emigration of its subjects as soon as it ceases to be prohibited; and, secondly, by establishing the special and temporary tax already proposed to meet the expenses of their introduction, and all other measures which your Excellency may deem requisite.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Edward Chapman.*
Hollier Griffiths.
H. Hunter.
Henry Barlow.

Port Louis, 14 January 1841.

(True copy.)

(signed) *George Dick.*

Plan of Mauritius
Free Labour
Association.

PLAN of the MAURITIUS FREE LABOUR ASSOCIATION, instituted under the sanction of Government.

1. The object of the Association is to afford relief to the urgent and imperative demand which now prevails in the colony for agricultural labour, by the encouragement of immigration into Mauritius of the natives of India, Madagascar, Muscat, and other countries, with their families, on a system favourable to the immigrants, and on the conditions enumerated in the following articles.

2. All the proceedings of the Association shall be in strict conformity to the existing laws, and to the principles on which the Emancipation Act of Parliament is founded.

3. Agents shall be appointed by the Association, with the approbation and under the control of Government, to reside at Calcutta, Madras, or other parts of India, at Madagascar, Muscat, and all other places where it may be deemed necessary.

4. The agents shall act in concurrence with the local authorities of the places where they reside, and afford them every information they may require.

5. The agents shall receive the applications of emigrants, and assure themselves that they act of their own free will, without any deception or constraint.

6. They

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES. 7

6. They shall cause the emigrants to be visited by a medical officer to ascertain that they are not infirm or diseased, and, if practicable, cause them to be vaccinated previous to embarkation.

7. They shall in all cases preferably admit the applications of men wishing to emigrate with their wives and children.

8. For emigrants who may require it, the agents shall provide food and lodging previous to embarkation, during such time as may be necessary.

9. They shall provide a free passage for the emigrants to the Mauritius, and give in advance to each individual on embarkation, a suit of clothing and a blanket.

10. The emigrants shall in no case be called upon to enter into any engagement previous to their arrival in the colony.

11. The agents will see that the rules established by the Act 5 & 6 Will. 4, cap. 53, commonly called the Passenger Act, be strictly observed, particularly as regards the number of passengers on board, the shipping of sufficient provisions, of a supply of medicines, medical attendance, and the seaworthiness of ships.

12. The agents shall inform the emigrants of the conditions on which they are to be employed at Mauritius, and guarantee to them as a *minimum*, in the name of the Association, the following amount of wages, food, and clothing, with lodging and medical attendance:—

WAGES.

For Indians.		For Labourers from Madagascar, Muscat, and other Places.	
Men - -	5 Co.'s Rs. or 10s. per month.	Men - -	2½ dollars, or 10s. per month.
Women -	4 - - 8 -	Women -	2 - - 8 -
Children of both sexes from 10 to 18 years -	2 to 3 4 to 6	Children of both sexes from 10 to 18 years -	1 to 1½ 4 to 6

RATIONS, Daily Allowance.

For Indians of both Sexes above 10 years of Age.		For Labourers from Madagascar, Muscat, and other places, of both Sexes, above 10 years of Age.	
	lbs. oz.		lbs. oz.
Rice - -	1 10 Avoirdupois weight.	Rice - -	1 10 Avoirdupois weight.
Dholl, or salt fish -	3 - -	Salt meat - -	4 - -
Ghee - -	¼ - -		
Salt - -	¼ - -		
For those below 10 years, half rations.		For those below 10 years, half rations.	

CLOTHING.

All the emigrants will receive annually the articles hereafter enumerated, or an equivalent in money if they prefer it.

Indian.		Labourers from Madagascar, Muscat, and other places.	
Men and Boys above 10 years.		Men and Boys above 10 years.	
2 dhooties, of 4 yards each, per annum.		2 pair of cotton trowsers, per annum.	
1 jacket, ditto.		2 cotton shirts, ditto.	
1 Lascar cap, ditto.		1 Lascar cap, ditto.	
1 blanket or cumlie, ditto.		1 blanket, ditto.	
Women.		Women.	
10 yards of blue or white gurrah.		10 yards of blue or white gurrah.	
1 blanket or cumlie.		1 blanket.	
Girls from 10 to 15 years.		Girls from 10 to 15 years.	
6 yards of blue or white gurrah.		6 yards of blue or white gurrah.	
1 blanket or cumlie.		1 blanket.	

13. On their arrival at Mauritius the immigrants shall be provided by the Association with lodging, food, and medical treatment, if required, during such reasonable time as the local government may think proper to determine.

14. The immigrants shall be entirely free to choose their employers, at the highest rate of wages, and on the most favourable conditions to be obtained.

15. The immigrants will, like the other labourers of the colony, be under the protection of the magistrates already appointed for that purpose, they will enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and the children will have the benefit of the free schools.

Plan of Mauritius
Free Labour
Association.

16. They shall be allowed a free passage to their own country after five years service in the colony; and if they choose to return before the expiration of that period it shall be at their own expense.

17. In order to meet the expenses attendant on the immigration of labourers, Government has been solicited to impose a special tax, not exceeding 14,000*l.* annually, and will be further requested to advance the sums required for that purpose, and to recover the same by means, 1st, Of the special tax above mentioned; 2dly, Of payments to be made annually by the employers of immigrants during a period of four years.

18. The inhabitants of the colony who may be in want of labourers will be requested to inform the Association of the precise number required by each of them, and the Association will proportion the assistance to be given to emigrants to the applications made for them, and to the funds at its disposal.

19. The applicants for labourers will be required to bind themselves under a sufficient guarantee to receive the immigrants into their service on their arrival, if willing to engage with them, to give them at least the rates of wages, food, and clothing, specified above in Article 12, as well as lodging and medical attendance, and to make the annual payments mentioned in Article 17.

20. The functions of the members of the Association are essentially gratuitous, and the members shall not in that capacity derive any personal advantage from the measures of the Association.

(signed) J. Edward Arbuthnot, Merchant.
Ad. Aubin, Planter.
Henry Barlow, Merchant and
Planter.
Robert Bullen, Merchant and
Planter.
Edward Chapman, Merchant.
E. Dupont, Advocate and Land-
ed Proprietor.
J. Daruty, Planter.
Iph. Diori, Proprietor.
M. Fontenay, Planter.
Edward Francis, Merchant.
Hollier Griffiths, Merchant and
Landholder.

A. H. Huguin, Proprietor.
Henry Kaing, Avoué.
Eugeue Lulezio, Avoué.
Armi Lesur, Proprietor.
Lorton, Merchant and Landed
Proprietor.
E. Lucas, fils, Merchant.
J. Pierre Molliers, Planter.
Jn. T. Rowlandson, Merchant.
William S. Saunders, Planter.
H. Toche, Merchant.
Trebucket, Notary Public and
Landed Proprietor.
Ulcoq, Planter.
W. W. West, Planter.

Port Louis, 4 June 1840.

MINUTE by the Right Honourable the Governor-General; dated 25 April 1841.

Minute by the
Governor-General.

WE have been requested by the Court to send home the report of the Committee appointed in August 1838, to inquire into the abuses alleged to exist in the export of Coolies to the colonies of Mauritius and Demerara, with such suggestions as may occur to the Government of India upon it. We have had long to wait for this report, and, in the end, the committee have failed to agree upon the recommendations which should be made to the Government. We have before us a large body of evidence. We have a paper signed by three out of six of the members, strongly dwelling upon the abuses to which the emigration has been subject, and in favour of the continuance of the law of prohibition. We have a minute from Mr. Dowson, maintaining opposite views, and lastly, we have an able and laboured paper from Mr. Grant, who would lead us to the conclusion, that although serious evils existed in the shipment of Coolies to the Mauritius, during the period that such shipment was allowed, yet that, under proper regulations, in India and in the colony, the present prohibition may be safely and properly repealed. The sixth member of the committee left India before the investigation was completed; we cannot, therefore, in any recommendations which we may make, rest upon the collective authority of the committee; we can but examine the evidence and the arguments which have been submitted to us, refer to general principles, and to the particular circumstances of this case, and endeavour to form our own opinion.

The attention which I have been able to give to the subject, has led me to no very satisfactory general conclusion upon it, embracing as it does the difficult question of opening emigration to many distant and even foreign colonies.

I am clearly of opinion that the present law, which, to a great degree, restricts the freedom of labour and of movement to the whole Indian population, is most objectionable in principle; that it will presently become injurious and vexatious in operation; that it should not be regarded as permanent, and that no safe opportunity should be omitted of relaxing it. I do not, however, believe that this law is yet felt as pressing hardly upon the rights and interests of the natives of India. It may do so with some classes, but the system of emigration, for the purpose of obtaining high wages, is too lately established, and is too little known to have become a general want. It was upon no understood practice, and only by the busy intervention of an active agency, that the first emigrants were induced to seek their fortunes in the Mauritius; and whether the many who have since done so have done it to their own good or evil, is a proposition which is yet to be solved, and which there have not been time and experience sufficient to determine.

The

The impression to be taken from the evidence of the Coolies who have returned is, I think, upon the whole, most favourable; and it may be assumed, in regard to the Mauritius, that where there have been prudence and good conduct, and an average share of good fortune, a Cooly may return, after a few years of labour in that colony, enriched and improved, and, for the most part, bearing with him the recollection of no great hardship. Could this system fairly be carried out, could a number of voluntary and industrious adventurers annually leave India for countries where labour is more highly paid than it is here, and could nearly the same number annually return, each with an average of capital of from 100 to 200 rupees, with some acquirements in cultivation and manufacture, and with his wits sharpened by experience, I think that such a course would have an excellent effect upon the country, and be a source of general advantage, and, in the end, many of the abuses which have been found to exist, would work their own cure, and men would teach each other the manner in which fraud, and exaction, and violence are to be guarded against.

Minute by the
Governor-General.

In this view, and under ordinary circumstances, and if the slave trade and slavery had never been, we might, perhaps, approach the question of an open emigration with some hope of devising checks which might be relied on as generally effectual against abuse. But there is at present, in the sugar islands, a dearth of labour, which has so raised prices as to put in action every feeling of cupidity, with all the instruments by which labourers can be obtained. The number of labourers required is so great, that it could not be supplied by those only who could calculate the advantages of change. Even for the well understood contracts of the soldier or the sailor, it is known into what tricks and acts of violence the low, sometimes even the higher agent, is led; and when, for the supply of thousands and thousands of labourers to various remote settlements, the iniquitous craft of this great city finds its account in acting the crimp upon those who are simple and unguarded, I greatly fear that though amendment and caution would no doubt come with time, no strictness of regulation, and no vigilance on the part of the authorities, would immediately prevent the frequent infliction of grievous oppressions and deceits upon large numbers of persons helpless from their poverty, and from their utter ignorance and inexperience.

The police of the city may no doubt be stimulated to a jealous alertness on the subject, and perhaps Mr. Grant has in some degree exaggerated the reproach to which that police has in many instances laid itself open. It is, however, but too true that this branch of our service is most defective and ineffective, and the different experiments which have been tried for its reform have greatly ended in disappointment. Men must have seen India to know against what difficulties of national character those have to contend, who are attempting its improvement; but feeling, as I daily do, the extent and force of those difficulties, I cannot indulge the hope that we should yet be able successfully to enforce safeguards for the due protection and superintendence of an unlimited number of common emigrant labourers.

As regards the colonial question, I need not say, that I would earnestly wish to give relief to the Mauritius, and to all British colonies, by opening to them an efficient supply of that labour of which they stand so much in need; I would consider the important subject we have to discuss carefully in that spirit, and I would seek to limit, as much as our duty will permit, the admission of the conclusion that the liberty of emigration to any colony is to be denied.

It will be for Her Majesty's Government to decide whether distinctions as to the supply of labour can be admitted between the several Crown settlements. As respects to the interests for which we are more specially responsible, I would say that my objections are assuredly the strongest to dealings of this description with the colonies and settlements which are most distant. The sea passage to them is, from its very length, liable to suffering and to hazard; we could not follow the emigrant with our care and protection, and we do not know to what laws or usages he might be consigned. With the Mauritius, however, the case is different; it is a British settlement, easily accessible from India, and open to our observation; and if the question were that of opening emigration to that island alone, I would willingly attempt to meet the difficulties which might be opposed to us, and I should hope shortly and gradually in a very great measure to overcome them by a plan such as has been suggested by Mr. Grant. By the appointment of a distinct "protector" of emigrants, by the inspection and limitation of contracts, by the prohibition of money advances, and by the regulation of shipping, and the other rules proposed, we might, I think, do much * in the few ports from which emigration to the Mauritius might be limited, and for some stated number of emigrants, towards the entire suppression of the above mentioned, of which three or four years ago there was too much reason to complain; we could at the same time always satisfy ourselves that the measures adopted in the Mauritius for the protection of the labourers when on the island are operative and sufficient.

We must remember, however, that in permitting emigration to the Mauritius, it would be necessary to guard against the possibility of labourers shipped nominally for that island being carried elsewhere, or their being inveigled while on the island into contracts of service in other settlements, where we could have no security for their treatment. The interests of the masters in the colony would be a powerful check against the latter evil; and I should not despair of our being able to provide duly for both of these objects.

In the course of the current year the contracts of some thousands of the Coolies, who originally

* See useful suggestions on this subject in a recent letter from the Government of Mauritius, of 15 February 1841, on a plan submitted by a "Free Labour Association" in the colony.

Minute by the
Governor-General.

originally emigrated, will expire in the Mauritius, and the demand for labour within that colony will be greatly increased. If many shall, by high wages, be induced to remain, their labour will take a higher character of competition and freedom; and from those who return, we shall learn, upon an extensive scale, what has been their condition and success; and as their adventures shall become known, we shall ascertain what desire will be evinced to follow their example. This more enlarged knowledge of the prospects and feelings of the Indian labourers in the island would assist the Government here in eventually judging, if the matter should be finally remitted for its decision by the authorities in England, how far it might be desirable to relax the restrictions on future emigration to the Mauritius.

But after we shall have been satisfied of the safety of emigration to the Mauritius itself, we shall still have to consider that such emigration could scarcely be allowed without its leading also to a renewed emigration of labourers, chiefly British subjects, from Pondicherry or other European settlements in India to foreign colonies. The government of Pondicherry has co-operated with us in a manner for which all our gratitude is due, in prohibiting exportation from its territory while the prohibition was strictly in force on our own coasts; but we cannot expect that we shall be permitted to stock Mauritius with labourers without immediate facilities being again given by the French authorities for emigration to Bourbon. From papers which were before me in 1837, it is my impression that great care is taken by the Bourbon government to ensure the proper treatment of imported labourers; but this is a fact not to be assumed upon any imperfect evidence, and the importance of the consideration affecting this part of the subject will be duly estimated by the Government in England in framing final instructions for our guidance. The Home authorities alone will be able to determine how far the cordial co-operation of foreign governments is to be relied on in the steady enforcement of measures of effectual precaution and protection within the limits of their settlements.

If we cannot depend on that co-operation, I fear that we should not be justified in reopening emigration even to the Mauritius.

I have not more to offer on the general question, and I have but another suggestion to state in closing this paper.

I have said that for India the law of restriction is not yet felt as an extensive hardship, and that I would not, for one, at this time absolutely and generally repeat it; but I should yet be glad to see it relaxed, as well in respect to particular persons or classes as to places. It is vexatious and oppressive in its extreme strictness. The question of the emigration of thousands and tens of thousands in crowded vessels to an uncertain lot is one thing; but there is a wide difference between their case and that of the skilful artisan, or the man of calculating enterprise, who would take his acquirements and abilities to where he believes they would find a profitable market. All are included in the present stringent prohibition, and thus even that small spirit of enterprise which exists in this country is effectually checked. I have known, since I have been in India, contracts for buildings in the Mauritius sent to Calcutta, and carpenters, smiths, and painters go out at high salaries for their execution. It cannot be intended that such transactions should be perpetually closed; and, apart from the important question of free emigration and of colonial labour, and yet as not unconnected with them, I should be glad if steps could be devised for the gradual modification of this most anomalous law. If, therefore, all plans for an extended emigration should be for the present rejected by the Home authorities, and if the expediency of some relaxation of the existing law should nevertheless be admitted, I should be disposed to regulate but little, to have for such a restricted purpose no cumbrous machinery of inspectors, and protectors, and examiners, but simply to declare that no ship shall take more than 10 or 20 such passengers, perhaps not more than one for every 25 tons of each vessel. A provision of this kind would be open to none of the objections by which the adoption of a larger measure may be impeded, and it would take off its character of excessive and impolitic, if not unjust restraint, from the enactment as it at present stands.

25 April 1841.

(signed) Auckland.

MINUTE by the Honourable *W. W. Bird, Esq.*

EXPORTATION OF COOLIES.

Exportation of
Coolies.

WE have now before us all the information required by the Home authorities to enable them to determine the course proper to be pursued in respect to the exportation of Coolies to the sugar colonies, in order to supply the place of the emancipated slaves; and it only remains to submit, for the consideration of those authorities, the sentiments which we entertain on the subject.

It should always be borne in mind, that *Act No. XIV. of 1839*, passed by the Government of India at the express desire and with the sanction of the Honourable the Court, for the prohibition of the emigration of the natives of India to serve as labourers in any British or foreign colony without the territories of the East India Company, was intended only to be in force until adequate measures for the protection of such persons could be devised by the Legislature, and that it was not resolved upon until repeated attempts, by means of regulation, to check the abuses that were being committed had been made in vain; and it is impossible, I think, to doubt, after reading the evidence which has been adduced, that it is to this law alone we are indebted for a stop being put to a system of wholesale oppression, in which, with shame be it spoken, the police were deeply implicated, more disgraceful than

any

any that the natives have experienced at the hands of Europeans in this country for many years.

Exportation of
Coolies.

Much has been said on the interference of the law with spontaneous emigration. It has been stated that, however proper it may be to prevent the systematic exportation by capitalists of labourers from India to British or foreign colonies, the absolute prohibition of every temporary emigration to working men, free to choose their own masters, is a measure totally unjustifiable. But the disgraceful practices to which the exporters have been obliged to resort, and of which, it must be supposed, they never would have been guilty, could the labourers have been procured by less exceptionable means, prove anything but that they go of their own free will; and it may be affirmed, that to travel beyond sea, even for the purpose of bettering their condition, is an undertaking to which the natives of India, generally speaking, are but little addicted. Not a single complaint against the prohibition from any individual, except the exporters alluded to, has been made since the law was passed; and as for the Hill Coolies, so little, if left to themselves, are they disposed to emigrate to places beyond the confines of India, that when we were desirous, not long ago, of procuring a number of them to work in the tea plantations of Assam, the local authorities who were employed to entertain them failed entirely, because of their unwillingness to go to a country of which they knew nothing, and their fears of being sent, as others had been from Calcutta, beyond sea. The endeavour was made not only amongst the Dhanghurs, but in the Cote country, with the same ill success. I annex extracts from correspondence of the local officers on the subject, as I hold it to be conclusive against the argument that the Hill Coolies, the fraudulent and forcible exportation of whom it was the object of the law to prevent, are willing, of their own accord, to engage for service in foreign parts.

The law, indeed, so far from being too stringent, would, I apprehend, have been of little use had it been less so, owing to the facilities which exist everywhere for kidnapping and surreptitious shipment, whenever the temptation to practise it is sufficient to excite the cupidity of the crimps and other miscreants who form the agency employed on such occasions. This has been recently proved by the disclosure of the circumstances attending the case of the David Scott, bound from this port to Mauritius, in which 30 men were kidnapped and put on board as Lascars, without the knowledge of the captain, by means (to use the words of the magistrate who inquired into it) of the most "iniquitous proceedings;" and he adds, that "doubtless there are many other cases where ships have proceeded to sea, having some of their crew composed of the same class; but the wrongs of such landsmen may never be known; when they return they may have become habituated to a sea life, and may have no complaints to make." In fact, the demand for working men is so great, and the temptation to entrap them so powerful, that nothing but stringent laws, and the utmost vigilance in the execution of them, will prevent the perpetration of similar outrages on the ignorant and defenceless portion of the community, whenever opportunity may offer.

It is admitted by all, even those who most object to the present law, that some restrictions are necessary; that the evils attendant on the wholesale exportation of labourers by thousands and tens of thousands, as it existed before the law was passed, are far too great to admit of unrestricted emigration; and that the regulations must be passed to prevent abuses. The difficulty consists in determining what those regulations should be, and by what means the few who are desirous of carrying their labours to a foreign market may be allowed to do so, with due protection against the fraudulent or forcible transportation of the vast majority who are not.

On this point no two parties whose opinions I have yet heard are agreed, and, in fact, the difficulties are so great as to be almost insuperable.

If the wants of the colonies did not exceed what could be supplied by voluntary emigration, the question could easily be disposed of; but this is not the case. The number of labourers required cannot be so obtained by fair means; and the question really is whether, by anything short of prohibition, due protection can be afforded to the bulk of the native population, from being involuntarily taken from their homes and their families, to promote European objects in foreign countries.

If this protection cannot be afforded, we are bound, it appears to me, by all the obligations of justice and good faith, to persevere in the prohibition. There can be no objection to allow those who possess skill and enterprise, and who wish to take their acquisitions and their abilities to where they believe they shall find a probable market, the liberty of doing so; and this may be accomplished by merely reserving to the local government the power of granting permission in such cases. It is not necessary, for this purpose, to allow of free emigration, as a right to the whole population, or to expose, for the sake of a few, the most defenceless portion of the community to a renewal of all the abominations from which, by the law in question, they have so recently been rescued.

It seems to me, from the measures which have been recommended by some of the advocates of exportation, that they contemplate the necessity under any circumstances of a certain degree of coercion, and that although they are greatly shocked at the idea of any interference with the free-will of the Coolies who are willing to emigrate to our own colonies, yet they are far from entertaining the same abhorrence at any restraint being imposed on the free-will of those who are not so inclined, if necessary, to procure the supply of labourers required. Again, although they maintain that the whole of the labouring population of the territories intrusted to the government of the East India Company ought to be perfectly free in respect to the disposal of their labour, and their right of going about, yet they would prohibit them from enjoying that freedom if they desire to take their labour to foreign colonies, and even to our own, they would restrict the exercise of it to certain

Exportation of
Coolies.

ports. These inconsistencies show the difficulties which the question is involved in. To act consistently on their own principle we must leave those who are really willing to emigrate free to go to whatever part of the world they think fit, and protect those who are not from being fraudulently or forcibly taken away from their native country.

By what means this can be effected, it is for those who maintain its practicability to point out, but if a more extended modification of the law is to be allowed than I have suggested, the following precautions in connexion with those which have been recommended by others appear to me particularly to deserve attention.

1. That steps be taken to prevent labourers being brought down to Calcutta by agents sent up to collect them, without being first taken before the European authority of the district in which they reside to declare the object of their departure, and to satisfy that authority that no undue means are employed for taking them away.

2. That no ship be allowed to sail with Coolies on board without undergoing at the last place of anchorage, before finally taking their departure, an examination by European officers, whose duty it will be to reland every man on whom any deception has been practised, and who by any means whatever has been brought on board against his own free will and consent.

3. That arrangements be made for preventing the exportation of the inhabitants of the British provinces from Pondicherry and other European settlements in India to any British or foreign colony, and that it be declared unlawful for such subjects to embark for the purpose of emigration from any but British ports.

The Governor-general has observed in his minute, that we cannot expect to be permitted to stock Mauritius with labourers without immediate facilities being again given by the French authorities for emigration to Bourbon. To this, as far as concerns their own native subjects, we could offer no reasonable objection, but we know that the majority exported would be not their subjects but ours, and I agree with his Lordship in opinion that it would be impossible to prevent the British inhabitants of India from being inveigled and carried away beyond its reach through foreign ports, by any regulations that we may make, unless the authorities in the settlements alluded to agree to afford the most cordial co-operation.

I do not place much reliance on the testimony of the Coolies who have lately returned from the Mauritius. It is fortunate for the exporters that these persons should have arrived at this particular juncture, while the subject is under consideration, to give so favourable an account of the treatment which they have met with; but I am not satisfied with the summary manner in which their examinations have been taken by the chief magistrate, who appears throughout in the character of a partizan arguing in favour of the Cooly trade. It appears, however, that although arrived with considerable sums of money in their possessions, there are but few of them inclined to return, and none of them made any provision for or have had any communication with their families during their absence. To say, as the chief magistrate does, that the Coolies had perfect confidence that their relatives would provide for the families left behind, and that they expected that those relatives would borrow money for the purpose on account of the absent husband or father who might never return, is trifling with the subject. Such desertion is attended with a variety of evils too great to be disregarded, and will not I am sure be lost sight of, if extended emigration is again to be allowed.

I have only further to observe, that in the event of such renewed emigration, care should be taken to guard against giving the least countenance to a prescriptive claim to our labourers. The planters having once obtained legal permission to procure them, would doubtless demand compensation for the deterioration of their estates were the privilege of exporting them at any time to be withdrawn, and the Government of India will of course be allowed the power, in case the necessity for exercising it should, through any unforeseen circumstance, arise, of suspending the privilege in question without reference to England.

6 May 1841.

(signed) W. W. Bird.

EXTRACT from a LETTER from Captain T. Wilkinson, Agent to the Governor-General, South-western Frontier, to N. Wallich, Esq., Secretary to the Tea Committee; dated 20 February 1839.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 12th and 23d of November 1838, and 7th of January 1839, and in reply to inform you, that on the receipt of your first communication I lost no time in sending for mates and the moondas and pahus of villages who are considered to possess influence amongst their brethren, and to state to them the wishes and object of the tea committee, as communicated in your letters, and offered them rewards if they would procure the number of Dhangers required willing to proceed to Assam. They immediately went out into the country, and also visited the Haths, to which the Coles resort in great numbers, but could find none who were willing to proceed to Assam. At this time I was about to march to Singbhoom and Puruba, and desired the mates to use their best exertions to procure the people by the time I returned. I came back to this place on the 20th ultimo, and on Friday the 25th upwards of 200 Dhangers came to me to make inquiries about the place to which they were required to go; this I told them, and explained to them, on their arrival at their destination, they would never receive less than three rupees per mensem for their labour, and would be allowed land

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to cultivate free of expense for a period of five years, and have their travelling expenses to Assam paid at the rate of two rupees per mensem. The Dhangers appeared to agree to this, and promised, after considering, to return and give me a final answer. They did not return, and I again sent to them, but my people have come back and informed me that none are willing to go to a country which they cannot ascertain has been visited by any of their brethren. They also expressed their fears that I might be endeavouring to procure them to send them beyond sea, as several had been sent from Calcutta by gentlemen. This I assured them was not the case.

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COPY of a LETTER from Mr. John Davidson, Assistant in Charge of the Governor-General's Agent's Office South-western Frontier, to N. Wallich, Esq., Secretary Tea Committee; dated 30 March 1839.

(No. 144.)

To N. Wallich, Esq. M.D., Secretary Tea Committee, Calcutta.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 14th instant, to my address, and also your letter of the same date to that of Major Wilkinson. The latter communication was brought by Goordial, who was accompanied by two Dhangers, Gendra and Bundhee.

2. Previous to the receipt of these letters, and also subsequently, I have been endeavouring to forward the object of your committee, by persuading the Coles in this neighbourhood to engage, on the terms formerly stated by Major Wilkinson, to go with their families to Assam, to remain there as settlers, but I regret to say entirely without success. The whole of the Coles whom I have spoken to refuse to go as settlers to any country. They have no objection to leave Nagpore for a time, to be employed as labourers, but always refuse to take their families with them, or to leave this country permanently.

3. The late discussions in the newspapers on the exportation of Coolies, in which they have always been spoken of as Dhangers, i. e. Coles, has probably led the committee to entertain an opinion that the Coles are willing to expatriate themselves. This is directly the reverse of the fact, as there are no people with whom I have had intercourse in India more attached to their own country than the Coles, and with reason; for, from the extreme cheapness of grain in Nagpore, there is no labouring people whom I have ever seen in India which can command so much of the necessaries of life as the Coles of Nagpore. The notion entertained, that the greater number of Coolies exported from Calcutta were Dhangers or Coles, is quite a mistake. I have made frequent inquiries on the subject, and am convinced the number of the exported Coolies who were natives of Nagpore is very small indeed, perhaps under 200 in all.

4. As Goordial and the two Dhangers have only been here a few days, and are still going about the country making inquiries, I wish the above opinion not to be considered as final until the result of their exertions can be seen, my object in writing at present being chiefly to state that I shall make over the whole of the correspondence to Major Ouseley, the successor of Major Wilkinson, who is expected here in a few days, and to request that you will have the goodness to address your future correspondence to that officer; but I have deemed it proper, in giving this notice, to communicate the state of the affair at present to prevent future disappointment.

COPY of a LETTER from Major J. N. Ouseley, Agent to the Governor-General, South-western Frontier, to N. Wallich, Esq., Secretary Tea Committee; dated 7 April 1839.

(No. 150.)

To N. Wallich, Esq. M.D., Secretary Tea Committee, Calcutta.

Sir,

GOORDIAL, Bundoo and Gundra having failed entirely in inducing any of the inhabitants of the districts in this agency to proceed into Assam, although strongly supported and assisted by Mr. Davidson, and also having failed myself in my endeavours to explain away their alarm arising from the Cooly exportation system, offering to become security myself for their destination from this to that district by sending men with them, I am compelled to allow of their return to you. They have received an advance of 1. 8. each from me.

(True copies.)

(signed) W. W. Bird.

MINUTE by the Honourable *H. T. Princep, Esq.*

COOLY EMIGRATION.

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THE papers on this subject have reached me so closely upon the time for their being forwarded by the overland despatch, that I can only state briefly the conclusions I have come to after a careful perusal of them.

It has been proved that much misrepresentation, and some oppressions were resorted to for the purpose of procuring labourers from the interior; that many embarked under wrong impressions as to their destination, and almost all with a very indistinct knowledge of the purposes and kind of labour for which they were hired, and of the life they were to lead during the period of their service.

It has been proved also, that notwithstanding the precautions adopted in 1836, the crimps and sirdars in Calcutta, who contracted to procure labourers, resorted to practices quite unjustifiable for the purpose of inveigling and snaring men, and to prevent their withdrawing after the slightest promise or pledge. But with all this, there has been no actual conviction of the crime of kidnapping: nothing more serious than the magistrates have considered to be sufficiently punished under their summary powers; and the offences of the Cooly contractors have not been different in character, nor more flagrant in degree, than are known to be practised, and have been proved against Ghat Mangies serangs, and crimps who undertake to procure crews for boats navigating the Ganges, and for ships bound on voyages to all parts of the world.

I am myself inclined to make light of these evils and abuses. The ignorant and simple will always be a prey to the cunning and cupidinous, and no legislative or executive interference will ever prevent this law of nature from taking its course. All that can be done is to provide ready and prompt redress upon complaint of the aggrieved, and to give every possible facility for making such complaints.

That the labourers have embarked in ignorance and under misapprehension is a necessary result of their being required for a new field. This will be corrected by the return and spread over the country of many who have acquired experience, and through their report the population to its lowest grades will obtain the desired knowledge of the advantages or horrors of the destiny to which they are tempted; and the inducement to prefer complaints, if carried off against their will, or if shipped to a different place than they intended, will be stimulated by this knowledge.

If, arguing that the population is ignorant and simple, we keep them in perpetual leading-strings; if we forbid their trying the new line of adventure to which they are invited by the promise of high wages and a large present advance, because there is a chance of many being deceived and disappointed, what is this but to perpetuate the same state of ignorance and simplicity, by cutting off the only means of acquiring experience and knowledge?

Time-bargains for service in foreign parts, if only there be assurance of the means of return at the close of the bargain, are, as it seems to me, a more powerful agent of civilization than anything yet attempted in the way of education, and as applied to the lower orders of the population of India, there cannot be a better means than they afford of rendering the people citizens of the world, exempt from liability to the impositions from which we desire to preserve them. If therefore there be a likelihood of abuse at the first offer of such bargains to a simple people, the correction will be sure to follow from their free operation, and much more completely than from the closest tutelage and prevention.

I am therefore of opinion that the prohibition against emigration to any colony or possession out of India that was imposed temporarily by Act No. 14 of 1839 ought not to be maintained. Labourers should, I think, be permitted, under, of course, such restrictions as may best prevent abuse, to proceed to any colony by the laws of which they are assured of free rights and redress against oppression, and which may afford ready means of return.

The prohibitory law is acknowledged to be only a temporary measure, imposed pending the consideration of the question here and in England. It is obviously opposed to every principle of legislation for free men, being based upon the notion that the natives of this country are unable to decide for themselves what is best for their individual interests, and need to be kept in tutelage in the important matter of taking hire for their own labour. The present Act cannot be maintained as the permanent law on this subject, and the whole question, therefore, as it seems to me, is what particular restrictions and rules are required to correct or prevent the abuses to which contracts for service to be rendered in foreign parts are liable.

The first and most important restriction has reference, of course, to the places or colonies to which labourers are to be allowed to proceed.

The conditions for this do not seem to me very difficult to lay down. I would require the colony to be easy of access and of return; a place of usual resort for ships of the port from which the labourers embark; that it should have laws which give the labourers equal rights with free settlers, and courts of law or authorities administering them, easy of access and impartial in their decisions.

All these conditions are fulfilled by the Royal colonies on this side the Cape of Good Hope, and I see no reason why they should not all be opened without exception.

The French colony of Bourbon is in precisely the same condition as Mauritius, laws having recently been passed there which contain full provision for the security of the Indian settler or labourer, and for the due execution of the contracts made with him. Those laws, however, are liable to be changed, and Bourbon is further subject to the risk of being placed in a state of war with India through its relations with France. But these are contingencies

tingencies which might be provided for by negotiation and agreement; and the French authorities have given such evidence of good faith, and of an earnest desire to promote whatever justice or humanity may require, that I should not hesitate to conclude arrangements for giving to them the same advantages as Mauritius.

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It is to be observed, that through the possession of Pondicherry and other settlements on the continent of India, the French are in a condition to insist on favourable terms, for otherwise, by opening their ports unrestrictedly, they have the power of defeating our measures.

I would not allow labourers to proceed at present beyond the Cape of Good Hope, because of there being yet no regular direct intercourse between India and any of the Royal colonies to the west. But if Her Majesty's Government, or the local government of any one of the West Indian colonies, would undertake for the return of time contract labourers, the objection to export to such a colony would be removed. It is to be observed, that I contemplate only time contracts in the first instance, because in them there is a *locus penitentis* for the labourer in case of disappointment. A life contract should not be permitted until we have full assurance that the labourer knows perfectly the kind of life and of labour, and the climate which he is binding himself to for ever. This, however, belongs to a different head, which it may be well to specify in this place.

2. The second restriction I would impose is, that no labourer should be allowed to embark under a first contract of longer duration than five years; after return, or upon completion of the first contract, there should no longer be any limit or interference.

This condition seems to me indispensable only because of the present ignorance of the people. Hereafter the term may be enlarged, or the restriction may be altogether removed; but there will be this present advantage in shortening the time, that through the necessity of providing for return shortly, the engagement will have less present value to the contractor, and the bribe to the crimp or provider will be less.

3. The next condition I would impose is, that whatever advances might be given as an inducement to embark, the labourer should not be bound for them after landing in the colony of his destination. His right to full wages should commence from the date of his rendering service. The object of this restriction is also to lessen the payment down through the contractor as much as possible, and to prevent the labourers being dealt with in the colony as bondsmen, with imprisonment for debt hanging over them *in terrarum*, to increase their masters' power.

4. For the insurance of good treatment in the voyage to the colony, the Government should license particular ships, after having had their condition, stores, &c. particularly reported upon. This would, in my opinion, be a much more effectual check, than confining export to particular ports and localities; and in the grant of licences, the Government should use a discretion inclining to refusal, unless the ship should be of the first class, and well provided, and the captain and officers be of known good character.

5. Every ship licensed should have an officer of customs on board at the time of sailing, to take account of all the labourers shipped, and to see that the limit of the licence is not exceeded; and it should be his duty also to take down the names, and to question each individual labourer as to his willingness to go, and his perfect understanding of the place he is going to, and the nature of his contract.

6. An office of registry should be established, in which the name, father's name, and birth-place of every labourer should be entered, with the particulars of the contract, before the labourer embarks, and the customs' officer on board the ship entering the same particulars, as he questions each on his coming on board. The two should be compared when the captain applies for a port clearance, and heavy penalties levied in case of wilful substitutions, or other irregularities unexplained.

The above is briefly the view I incline to take of the kind of restrictions that should be substituted for the present absolute legislative prohibition. It will be seen that I have entered into no review of the evidence, and have not separately discussed the arguments adduced by the advocates of both sides of the question; for this I have only to repeat the apology with which I commenced, that the papers are most voluminous, and the time for transmission presses.

There is, however, one point to which the particular attention of those at home, who will have to judge this question, ought, in my opinion, to be strongly directed, and that is, the fact of there having recently been very many returns from the Mauritius, which fact proves, that the conditions of the contract are kept, and that the labourers have no difficulty in obtaining passage back; and the further yet more important fact, that almost all who have returned, have come back rich and contented, and with a disposition, some to return again, and all to advise their fellows who are in distress to follow their example.

We are indebted to the Governor-general, in his capacity of Governor of Bengal, for the care taken to obtain the examinations of all these labourers, as they have returned. They are not witnesses produced by advocates to support a particular view. If their answers to the magistrates' interrogatories had teemed with complaints of oppression and ill-treatment, the advocates of continued prohibition would have triumphed loudly. The result, therefore, being the exact contrary, those who advocate the removal of the prohibition, have a right to the full benefit of these important positions and facts.

1. That the labourers are secured, at Mauritius at least, in the exercise of their free choice of returning or remaining, on the expiration of their contracts.

2. That if they choose to return, they have facilities of doing so; and

3. That for the most part they return rich, and several with a desire to go back. This evidence seems to me fatal to the continuance of the present prohibitory law, which has been

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so drawn as to prevent any one of those returned labourers from taking his passage back to Mauritius, howsoever desirous he might be to do so, and however strong might be his motives. This surely is a kind of tutelage which no government is justified in applying, for in these cases the full capability to judge for himself cannot be denied to the individual.

9 May 1841.

(signed) H. T. Prinsep.

MINUTE by the Honourable A. Amos, Esq.

EMIGRATION OF COOLIES.

PREMISING that Mr. Prinsep's excuse for not giving this subject a more elaborate investigation, applies *à fortiori* to myself, I have, in the first instance, to notice that, in minutes dated 11th December 1838 and 11th February 1839, I expressed a dissent from the principles of the Act No. XIV. of 1839, and thought that the benefits which might arise from its provisions would not be materially impaired, whilst great counterbalancing good might be produced, if emigration were permitted under proper restrictions to Ceylon.

Assuming the expediency of interdicting the natives of India from quitting the territories under the government of the East India Company, in quest of employment in any kind of labour, or under actual contracts, I conceive that our attempts to accomplish this object by any legislative act must prove futile. At present the penalties of Act No. XIV. of 1839, may deter respectable houses of business, and captains of vessels engaged in regular trade to our ports, from exporting Coolies in any considerable numbers. In Calcutta, at least, where public attention is keenly alive to this subject, and where vessels containing Coolies, or Coolies sent to follow a vessel, must commonly be several days, sometimes a week or two, before they get out of the jurisdiction of the Indian Government, after quitting our ghauts, the law will be generally observed. No penalty has hitherto, I believe, been inflicted under the Act; but this, I think, shows the difficulty of punishing offences of this description; for it cannot be reasonably supposed that, even in Calcutta, the Act may not have been evaded in various instances. But in the smaller ports of India, and generally on the coasts, where a vessel sent for Coolies need not be brought within the jurisdiction of the Indian Government, or if brought within its limits, can be put to sea immediately, and where it would be difficult to find prosecutors at least, I think little doubt can be entertained that Coolies will be exported in large numbers, under the strong temptation produced by the premium which restriction creates. Whatever may have been the case hitherto, the money demand for the labour of Coolies will, I think, soon increase to an extent which will lead to the frequent exportation of Coolies, even in places where it may be attended with much practical risk. I conceive that the Act can only operate as a protection to Coolies who are taken away under intimidation, or whilst intoxicated; but that where, from false representations, the native is deluded into a belief that it is his interest to embark, he will never be prevented. Again, unless foreign maritime settlements in India are placed under the same restriction as our own territories, our Act will become nearly a dead letter. But I think it cannot be reasonably supposed that the government, or at least the port officers of Pondicherry, will prevent the exportation of Coolies passing through that settlement, on their way to the island of Bourbon, and thence, probably to the West Indies, by measures equally rigorous as those contained in Act No. XIV. of 1839.

If any legislative Act which we can frame is likely to be evaded, the evasions, I conceive, will be attended with much more frightful consequences than any which are likely to ensue from legal emigration, properly regulated. The worst description of characters will be engaged in the traffic. No care will be taken to provide for comfort or health on voyages. No provision will be made for wages, or for return. A better course, I think, is to diminish the premium which exists, and which will increase to a very great height on illicit emigration; to throw the business into respectable hands, and to ensure, to a certain extent, the return of the emigrant, whilst his health and comforts, during his absence, are provided for, and his wages guaranteed.

It is manifest that if the emigration of Coolies is permitted, though the permission be accompanied with stringent provisions against crimping, and careful regulations for the emigrant's interest during his absence from the Indian territories, yet that all we can do will be sometimes evaded: that, for instance, the Indian emigrants will occasionally be transported to the West Indies, and possibly under a system of absolute prohibition, such as exists at present, abuses may more frequently be prevented than if a restrictive permission to emigrate were allowed, as to which the evidence of the Coolies who have returned from the Mauritius, though upon the whole it is favourable to emigration, and proves nothing against it, is open to several qualifying considerations; but I apprehend that it is somewhat problematical under which system of qualified concession or absolute prohibition the greatest evils would be found to prevail; and if the evils of an unrestricted system should decidedly preponderate, still, I think, they ought to be very general and enormous to justify the debarring the natives of India from all the benefits attendant on emigration, and declaring them to be unfit for the enjoyment of some of the essentials of a state of liberty, by reason of their hopeless ignorance and imbecility.

It has been thought that the natives of India have no desire to emigrate in quest of labour; I should rather suppose, from the correspondence, that this was not the case, at least with the inhabitants of the coasts adjacent to Ceylon, whom the Act, I apprehend, deprives of a means of bettering their condition which they have long used; and I should doubt whether it can be predicated of the natives of India generally, if they be made to comprehend the pecuniary

pecuniary advantages of emigration, especially after the return of numerous emigrants in the possession of sums of money far exceeding the accumulations of a long life spent in India. It does not appear from the examination of the Coolies returned from the Mauritius, but that they went from a desire to go. It may be said that this desire will not be common, unless it be excited by interested individuals; but those individuals will not discontinue their inducements, because we enact prohibitions; and the returned Coolies will now provoke the appetite for gain as effectually as at first was done by the Mauritius planters. This argument, derived from the supposed reluctance of the natives of India to emigrate even temporarily, is, moreover, founded on a confined view of the consequences of emigration, consequences which involve the moral and intellectual improvement of the people, and the promotion of the arts of civilized life.

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It appears to me that a general prohibition, with a power of licensing in particular cases, whilst it will not obviate the main evils of the prohibitory system, will be attended with much evil and inconvenience peculiar to itself.

I think it would be expedient to allow of the emigration of the natives of India to Mauritius, Ceylon, and Bourbon, under the following regulations:

1. The laws of these islands should provide for the protection of the natives during their period of contract, which at first should be limited, and for their return to India; and the possibility of those islands being made an entrepôt for the shipment of Coolies to more distant and less regulated places should be carefully guarded against. It must be expected that these laws will be occasionally infringed; but as the inhabitants may, to a certain extent, prevent their infringement, it should be distinctly intimated that the emigration is only permitted so long as the laws of protection are found to be generally effectual.

2. Rules should be enacted, providing for the health and comfort of emigrants on board of ship.

3. The enactment of severe penalties against crimping, which may be extended to Lascars, and which should include false representations, especially the use of the pretended authority of Government.

4. Perhaps a register should be kept.

With some such restrictions, I conceive that the power of free emigration, though it will be attended occasionally with great abuses, will, on the whole, be eminently beneficial to the people of India, whilst an absolute prohibition, whilst it materially checks the progress of civilization, will not practically prevent emigration for labour being carried on to a great extent, and in the worst of form.

11 May 1841.

(signed) A. Amos.

(No. 121.)

From *D. M'Farlan*, Esq., Chief Magistrate, to *G. A. Bushby*, Esq., Secretary to Government of Bengal.

Sir,

General Department, 7 April 1841.

IN reply to your letter of the 5th current, I have the honour to submit the examination of 14 of the natives of Bengal provinces returned on the "Ceylon" from a five years' servitude at the Mauritius.

2. With reference to the 2d para. of your letter, I beg to remark, that it is very difficult to carry on a searching examination of people upon subjects on which there is no ground for doubt or question.

These persons all said they had met with no ill usage. If the examiner knew from other quarters that a particular man had been beat or ill treated at a particular time, or by a particular person, he might have cross-questioned the party and all his friends in regard to that particular fact; I knew of no such case.

3. It will be seen that No. 6 reports of a case of ill treatment by his own sirdar; that person, No. 1, explains the matters in a manner as much entitled to credit as the complainant. The same person speaks of the imprisonment of some of a gang; Munnoo shows that there were good grounds for the imprisonment.

4. Even if the latter case were one of mistake in the administration of justice, what country, having to deal with such classes of people, is free from such mistakes? and what a monstrous assumption it would be to say, that no man belonging to India should be trusted to a country where such justice prevailed.

5. This batch were evidently of a more promiscuous class than the Dhangur examined by me on the 27th February; they have not brought so much money, and are not near so clean and healthy looking; they describe their fellows, who are left behind, as getting very high wages.

I have, &c.

Calcutta Police, Chief Magistrate's Office,
7 April 1841.

(signed) *D. M'Farlan*,
Chief Magistrate.

Examination of
Labourers returned
from Mauritius.

EXAMINATION of certain LABOURERS, Fourteen in number, returned from the Mauritius to Calcutta, in the Ceylon; taken on the 6th April 1841, at the Police Office of Calcutta.

1. *Munoo Sheikh*.—I am a cultivator, and belong to Chupprah district. I left Calcutta for Mauritius five years ago; I forget the name of the ship; we went in all 175 in one ship. I was sirdar of 50 men; we were entered at the Calcutta police; we were at the factory of one Mons. La Borde. We have no papers from the island. I have no complaint at all; we had an excellent master. I got seven rupees per month; one rupee was retained by the police. The country was dear, and I spent a great deal of money. I have still rupees 125; my wife did not labour, she cooked for me; we had proper work, not too hard. We worked from six till nine, when we had one hour for breakfast, and from 10 to 12 when we had two hours rest; then from two till six P.M. I had no authority to beat the Coolies; they were never beat. I have no children; my brothers will have taken care of my father and mother. We were well-treated on board; one of our 50 died at the island. We are now 14 returned; 20 returned previously; 15 remained in the island on a salary of 16 rupees each. The one that died makes up my 50. I was offered 60 rupees per month to stay. I said that my father and mother were old, and that I must go and see them. I promised to return in a year, and I will go. My duffadar that got me employment was Ramanee; he hired me at Sulkhya; I was coming to send my brother to our country, and take service myself as burkundar or durwan. I only want a note to escape molestation on the road. I have no complaints of anything; when we were sick we had an hospital, but the doctor used to see us in our barrack. I had a separate house, being sirdar. There were 120 men on our estate; six of us died in the five years; no deduction from our wages was made for short periods of sickness; if we were sick more than one month and 15 days, our wages were cut; no deduction was made from men in health for charges for physic and doctors. Etwarry Sheikh (No. 6), says he was beat by me. It is not so; he fell into a sugar-cane hole. A Caffree was beat by some Coolies about a well. He was sirdar, and had given an order to them to go one by one; they disobeyed the order, and beat the Caffree. There was a case in the police about it; the Coolies were punished; a difference was made in men of good character; drunkards and malingerers were cut for every day they were sick. Mooshuruff (No. 9), was mad; he would not, or could not speak.

2. *Oomur Koormee*.—I am a native of Tyrhoot, and was a cultivator. I came down for employment as durwan, burkundaz, or syce; one Loll Lahan hired me for the Mauritius. I have a wife and son in Tyrhoot; my brothers will have supported them. I have brought only 50 rupees with me. Mauritius is a very dear country. I have no complaint; I was well treated. I will not go back again; my relations and friends are not there.

3. *Joomun Buderee* (Moossulman).—I returned on the Ceylon from the Mauritius. Ghuna was my duffadar. I was a syce, and lived in Tyrhoot. I left a wife and child, and father and mother, also one brother. I have seen my brother. I have brought 40 rupees with me; 20 in silver and the rest in clothing. I was never beat, and have no complaint. I sent my family 20 rupees of my advance. I heard that the messenger cheated them of eight rupees.

4. *Joomun Sheikh*.—I was a cultivator in Patna, but came down to Calcutta to seek for service. One Ghowssee, of Short Bazar, got me employment. I got six months' advance, in all rupees 30. I have a wife and one child; I sent them 15 rupees of my advance. My wife will have worked at spinning; I have heard of her since my arrival. I have brought 50 rupees with me. I have no complaint; I was never beat. I was sick for a year; I had fever and pains in my leg for one year. I got no salary during that time, but my rations and a medical man was provided. I don't think that I will return.

5. *Durvesh Sheikh*.—I come from Chupprah, and was a chupprassy at the Thannah of Deegwareh. I came to Calcutta to my brother, who was syce in an undertaker's establishment. I was two years in Calcutta without employment, living on my brother; Ghowssee entertained me. I have no complaint; I was occasionally sick. I have brought 50 rupees in cash with me, and my clothes value about 20 rupees. I have a wife and one child; I sent my wife 25 rupees; my relations will have supported her. I will repay them. I will not go back.

6. *Etwarry Sheikh*.—I belong to Patna, and am a cultivator. I came to Calcutta for employment as a khidmutgar, a mushalchee, or durwan. I was 10 months without employ; Ghowssee got me employ. I sent 10 rupees to my family when I got the advance. I have a wife and child. I have not heard from them; but I learn they have been living with my wife's father. I have 50 rupees now, what I got from the Mauritius police-office on coming away. I did not save any of my monthly allowance. We used to be beat; I was once beat, when I first went, with a sugar-cane; I was knocked down by it; the sirdar Munnoo beat me; he did it of his own accord; we were lifting canes into the cart, some dropped, and he struck me. I have no other complaint; I did not complain of that beating. I know of a case in which a Caffree and the Coolies quarrelled about a well; there was a case in the police; the Coolies were three months in confinement.

7. *Agharee Sheikh*.—I am a native of Poorannya, and a cultivator of land. I went in Munnoo's gang; when I went I sent my wife 20 rupees of my advance. I was cheated out of five rupees; I do not know by whom. I have no complaint. I was never beat;

when

when my work was wrong I was slapped by my fellow labourers. I have only 50 rupees; the country is very dear, and clothes also. We were comfortable in the ship. I was sick for five or six months at different times; our pay was cut when we were sick. If sick for 10 days, our wages were cut two annas per day out of our salary of four rupees per mensem.

Examination of
Labourers returned
from Mauritius.

8. *Tiloh Koormee*.—I am a cultivator of Chupprah. I came to Calcutta for employment; I was in distress in my country. Gheena duffadar hired me in Calcutta. I had been 15 days looking for employment as a chupprassy or durwan; I could get none. I left a wife at home, but no children; my father, and mother, and brothers will have cared for her. I will repay them; I have brought 100 rupees with me. I was never beat nor sick, except a day or two; my wages were not cut. Perhaps I may return, if I cannot get employment here. The place is very far off; one does not hear of one's relatives there.

9. *Moshurruf*.—I am a barber by caste; I used to cultivate the soil also. I was nine months in Calcutta before I went to the Mauritius. I had lived with my brother, who was a barber, in Coolie Bazar. I was out of employ; I was sick for three years in Mauritius. I have brought 10 rupees for my brother. I worked for two years of the five. I have 20 rupees besides. I was never beat. I do not know what was the matter with me, nor whether I was mad or not. I left a wife and two children; who has cared for them I cannot tell—I suppose my father and mother and three brothers will have taken care of them. My relative, Peer Buxsh, has been 14 years in the Mauritius; he is a barber by profession; he is well off.

10. *Nuyamut Sheikh*.—I am a barber by profession, and come from Shurgotty. I had been three or four months in Calcutta, and did not get a sufficiency to live on. I have no family. I have brought 100 rupees, and have no complaints. I may return to the Mauritius.

11. *Allum Singh Rajpoot*.—I am a native of Gya, and was employed in cultivation. I was two days in Calcutta, to which I had come for employment, where I engaged with duffadar for the Mauritius. I married at the Mauritius a native of Madras; I have brought her here. I have no children. I have no complaint; I was never beat. I was sick one or two days at a time; my pay was not cut. My wife earned nothing. I have brought 100 rupees with me. I will go to my country; I will stay in my country. I belonged to Gooch's estate.

12. *Mohun Singh Kayest*.—I am a native of Chupprah. I used to write accounts. I came to Calcutta to see it and to get service; I did not get service. I was here for five or six days, when I engaged for the Mauritius. I left a wife and no children; my father and mother will have taken care of her. I worked at sugar-cane cultivation; was never beat, and never deserved it. Never saw any one beat. I have brought 150 rupees. I belonged to Mr. Gooch's estate.

13. *Munnee Ram*.—I am a kayest of Gowhakee, and used to cultivate there. I came to Calcutta after a pilgrimage to Juggernaut; when I came here I had 10 rupees. Hussar Ally, the duffadar or sirdar, persuaded me to go to Mauritius; I went of my own accord, and got 25 rupees advance; I took it with me to Mauritius. I was robbed at Mauritius of 60 rupees; I have now 60 rupees; no oppression or beating was practised there. I was six months sick, and was well fed. I left two wives and three children behind me; my brothers will have cared for them. The work is very hard at Mauritius, and I will not go back.

14. *Furudah*.—I am a cultivator of Chupprah. I came to Calcutta seeking employment. I have brought 60 rupees, and have no complaint.

(No. 130.)—General Department.

From *D. M'Farlan*, Esq., Chief Magistrate, to *G. A. Bushby*, Esq., Secretary to Government, India.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward six statements made by time-expired Coolies returned from the Mauritius in the "Gilbert Munro."

The case No. 6* is rather whimsical; he has apparently been sent by his employer to get more men, and left some property behind him. The law of Bengal deprives him, not only of the power of bettering his condition in the Mauritius, but of recovering his lawful debts.

* Lala.

I have, &c.

(signed) *D. M'Farlan*, Chief Magistrate.

Calcutta Police, Chief Magistrate's Office,
20 April 1841.

Examination of
Labourers returned
from Mauritius.

STATEMENT of six Men returned from the Mauritius in the "Gilbert Munro;" taken at the Calcutta Police Office on the 20th April 1841.

1. *Hurry*.—I am a Belhuya by caste, of the country of Chuppra. I was a cultivator, and had employ afterwards in the service of a Major Peach as mushalchee. I embarked six years ago on a ship that put back from sea. Tooffanee got me employ. I was looking for service; I had left Major Peach at Baripore. I got six months' advance here, amounting to rupees 30. I have one son; no wife; father was alive. I have one brother; my brother will have taken care of my child. I have brought 226 rupees. I will now go home. I was to work with one Sampson (Sham Soonda), an Englishman, but I was made over to Mr. Robian. I suffered a little annoyance at first, but the new Governor has put things to rights, and we are now very comfortable; at first we were beaten, and when we went to the police, the gentleman promised he would not beat us any more; the gentleman was fined two or three times; once before the grand jury; a heavy fine; after this, during the three last years, every thing has been right; I do not think I will go back; I am now old; I was kept a year over my time by the insolvency of Rohillard, and the previous death of Sampson; I got at last only 30 rupees for seven months; I was kept by the police without work; we were fairly treated; I was occasionally sick; if not over five days, I was not cut; thirty-four of our original cargo of one hundred and fifty went to Sampson's; of these six died at Mauritius, two came back formerly, five have come now; and there twenty-one took service at the Mauritius, at 10 rupees per month, and the old rations that we had; only two of the one hundred and fifty died on the passage to Mauritius.

2. *Gunoo*.—I am a Mochee by caste, and lived at Gya; I was a mochee here in Calcutta; I went to the Mauritius; Tooffanee got me employ; I got 30 rupees advance, 20 I sent to my country; I left a wife and five children, they will have been taken care of by my brother; whatever money is my brother's is mine, and *vice versa*; I have brought 150 rupees with me; I was kept six months over my time, we could not get a ship, our employer was involved in debt; I have no complaint; I was occasionally employed as a mochee, and sometimes as sugar cultivator.

3. *Gowree*.—I was a cultivator of Chupprah; Tooffanee got me employ; I have no complaint of the manner in which I was employed, nor of the Mauritius; I have brought only 100 rupees; I was extravagant; we complained at the Mauritius, and got redress; latterly there were no complaints; I left behind a wife and two children; I sent 21 rupees of my advance to them; my father and mother will have taken care of them.

4. *Bydenath*.—(This person is particularly well dressed, has a flowered silk jacket with blue border, gold embroidered neck.) I was a cultivator at Gya, and had service as a syce at Mr. Hugh's stable; my horse was sold, and I took service to the Mauritius. Tooffanee was my duffadar. I got 30 rupees advance. I have no wife or family; I sent 20 rupees to my father and mother. I have rupees 175 with me. I have no complaint; at first we were beat; I was never; those that committed faults were beaten. I will go back, if I get the leave of my father and mother.

5. *Jettoo*.—I am a Chumar of Benares, and came to Calcutta for service; Tooffanee got me employ. I had no one to send any advance to my father and mother; I will now go home. I have 300 rupees. The treatment was excellent at last; at first we were troubled; we did not know the work, and got a slap or two. I was never sick, except a day or two; if a man was sick for a month his pay was cut, but not a person who worked hard generally. I was with Sampson.

6. *Lala*.—I was a cultivator of Arrah Zillah, and came to Calcutta for employ, such as I could get. Ram Rukba was the duffadar who got me employment in the Mauritius; I got 30 rupees as advance, with which I paid my debts. I went in a ship with 300 Coolies in the rains; I forgot the ship's name; my name was entered at the police; we were very sick; 25 of us died. I have not been five years out; about seven months are short. My master, Declaseh, sent me here; I understood that I was to go back; I did not promise it, but after seeing my family I will go back. I was sirdar on the island; my pay was six rupees per mensem. I have only 60 rupees with me, but have property on the island. I have six pigs, about 25 rupees in value; people owe me 150 rupees. I have not got the monthly rupee kept in the Mauritius by the police; the time was not up. I have a commission to get more Coolies.

EXAMINATIONS of Five COOLIES returned from the Mauritius.

1. *Buddun* appears of his own accord with the paper, a copy of which is annexed; says he came back to India six weeks ago, having been six years in the Mauritius, and that he now wants to return to Mauritius; that his native country is Burdwan, and that he returned to see his father and mother; that he now wants to return to Mauritius, where his wife, a native of Mauritius, and two children are; that his wife was a Christian and he a Mohummedan; his wife is now a convert to the Mohummedan faith; that he now wants an order to return to Mauritius; that he brought 600 rupees with him, which he has given to his father and mother, reserving a portion to defray his expenses. I have no complaints, only I want to be allowed to return.

I certify

AND COURT OF DIRECTORS RELATING TO THE HILL COOLIES. 21

I certify with pleasure, that of the whole number of Indians attached to this estate, no one conducted himself with such undeviating good conduct as the bearer of this letter, named Buddun. He returns to India to visit his friends, with intention of returning to Mauritius; should he require aid, and any captain of a vessel desire to afford him passage, I hereby willingly engage to bear the expense, on demand, on the arrival of the said Buddun in this island.

Examination of
Labourers returned
from Mauritius.

Pearc Signee,
26 January 1841.

(signed) T. F. Henley.

2. Statement of *Bhurosee*.—I am a Koormee, and cultivated land in Tyrhoot. I came to Calcutta in distress, and used to get occasional employment as a chokeydar to rich natives. Cheder duffahdar got me service in the Mauritius. I went in the Nerbudda, about four years ago; I have no complaint regarding the manner in which I was sent down; after being one year in Mauritius my eyes became affected; I was three years in hospital in vain; they could not cure me. I worked none since; I cannot work now; the honourable Company must support me; I have nothing left. I have a wife in Tyrhoot; I left her nothing; I cannot tell whether she is alive or not.

3. *Dussayin*.—I was a cultivator of Tyrhoot; by caste, a Koormee. I have no charge against the people here for sending me to Mauritius, nor against the Mauritius people. I never committed any fault, and was never beat. I fell sick, and was treated well during the time; they did not understand my disease. I have brought 40 rupees with me. I will go home. I have heard of my wife; her relations took care of her.

4. *Mohun*.—I was a Mathee, by caste, of Nagpoor. I was away six years; the last year I got 20 rupees a month; the Coolies that remained got 10 rupees a month. My younger brother is in Mauritius; I left 200 rupees with him; I brought 60 with me for expenses. I want to go back. I have only a sister at Nagpoor. I will take her with me, and rejoin my brother; if my sister is married, I will take her husband also. There is plenty of good work. I have orders to get 25 men, if I can, to take with me; they are promised 7 rupees the first year, and 16 the next, and subsequent ones. I was in Edoorad's estate.

5. *Khottoo*.—I am a lohar, or ironsmith, of Bancoorah Zillah. I belong to Keal's estate. I served three years at Mauritius. I came to see my father and mother, and then to go back and take Coolies, if I can. I was a groom at Mauritius, and got rupees 7 per month; I shall get 10 rupees per month. I left 300 with my master. My wife and child are at Mauritius. I took my wife from this country; she is female servant to the lady of the house.

HILL COOLIES.

A COPY of any PAPERS respecting the Exportation of HILL COOLIES, received from the Government of India ; in continuation of those presented to The House of Commons on the 18th day of June last.

(Mr. Charles Buller.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
22 September 1841.

MAURITIUS.

CORRESPONDENCE relative to the Introduction of INDIAN LABOURERS
into the *Mauritius*.—(In continuation of the Papers presented to The House
on the 7th of October 1841, Sess. No. 66.)

[PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT BY COMMAND OF HER MAJESTY.]

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
15 February 1842.

SCHEDULE.

No.

- 1.—Copy of a Despatch from Governor Sir Lionel Smith to Lord John Russell, dated Mauritius, 7 July 1841, (No. 68.) - - - - - p. 3
 - 2.—Copy of a Despatch from Governor Sir Lionel Smith to Lord John Russell, dated Mauritius, 14 August 1841, (No. 84.) - - - - - p. 4
 - 3.—Copy of a Despatch from Lord Stanley to Lieut.-General Sir Lionel Smith, dated Downing-street, 14 December 1841, (No. 39.) - - - - - p. 31
 - 4.—Copy of a Despatch from Lord Stanley to Lieut.-General Sir Lionel Smith, dated Downing-street, 22 January 1842 - - - - - p. 31
 - 5.—Copy of a Letter from Lord Stanley to the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, dated Downing-street, 27 January 1842 - - - - - p. 37
-

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATIVE TO THE INTRODUCTION OF

INDIAN LABOURERS INTO THE MAURITIUS.

— No. 1. —

(No. 68.)

COPY of a DESPATCH from Governor Sir *Lionel Smith*, Bart. G. C. B. to Lord
John Russell.

No. 1.
Sir *Lionel Smith* to
Lord *John Russell*,
7 July 1841.

My Lord,

Mauritius, 7 July 1841.

1. I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship the arrival, on the 4th instant, of the barque *Ganges*, having on board 297 Chinese labourers from Prince of Wales's Island.

2. These men have been duly interrogated by the chief commissary of police, and as they appear to have come here with a full knowledge of the nature of their engagements and of the description of work they are to be employed in, I have not hesitated to admit them to residence here. The colony whence they come is part of the East India Company's territories; but as the restrictions imposed on emigration from those territories by the Act of the Indian Government, No. 14 of 1839, relate only to natives of India, they are, I apprehend, in no degree infringed by Chinese labourers emigrating to Mauritius.

3. I have, however, to acquaint your Lordship that recently two distinct attempts have been made by persons residing at Pondicherry to evade the provisions of that law, by sending agricultural labourers to this island; but I have pre-emptorily refused to allow the Indians to enter the service of the persons for whom destined, in the hope of thereby arresting the irregularity at its outset. My first intention was to have sent the labourers back to their native land; but there were legal objections to such a proceeding, and as, on the examination of the men at the police, it appeared that they really desired to remain here, I did not insist on their return, as that would have been to punish them for the acts of those who had induced them to come hither in violation of the Indian law, and I trust that your Lordship will approve of my conduct on the occasion.

4. I will communicate the whole proceedings to the Madras Government, as it was at Cuddalore the Indians were embarked, in order that the necessary measures may be taken there for putting a stop to such illicit emigration, and to which, however great the want of labourers in this island, I cannot give the smallest sanction so long as the restrictions remain in force in India. In justice to the colonists, I may add that they almost universally approved of the course which I have followed in this matter.

5. Labourers continue to arrive from Madagascar in small numbers, in the manner described in my despatch of the 16th October 1840, and the number in the island is now stated to be about 650. The same precautions are taken, in every instance, to ascertain that their emigration is their own free act, and to explain to them that they are in no way bound by any engagement they may have been induced to enter into before their arrival here, but are at perfect liberty to return or to remain, as they themselves may prefer. Hitherto they have generally produced a passport from some public officer, and have stated their object in coming to Mauritius to be to gain money, which they have no opportunity of earning by their labour in their own country.

6. I take this opportunity also of acquainting your Lordship, that in the beginning of the year, 202 labourers were introduced from the Comoro Islands. The agent employed on the occasion was Mr. Griffiths, formerly a missionary at Madagascar, where he resided for many years, but ultimately was forced to leave that country, on account of the share he took in the escape of the native Christians so grievously persecuted by the Hova government. Mr. Griffiths's agency was *præsumptively* evidence of fair dealing towards the Comoro labourers; but I considered it right notwithstanding to have them carefully interrogated on

No. 1.
Sir Lionel Smith to
Lord John Russell,
7 July 1841.

their arrival here; and the result proved that they had emigrated freely and willingly, with a clear understanding of the nature of their work, as well as of the terms of their remuneration.

7. Like the Madagascar men, they were told that they were quite at liberty to return to their own country or to remain here, and with any master they might choose. They had also a month's probation with their future employers, but they all have remained where they first went. At the outset they were reported to be troublesome, and exacting beyond the terms of their agreements, but since they have become acquainted with the customs and habits of the colony they are said to have turned docile and industrious.

Nevertheless, I have discouraged the introduction of any more labourers from that quarter, on account of the disturbed state of the Comoro Islands generally.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Lionel Smith.*

— No. 2. —

(No. 84.)

No. 2.
Sir Lionel Smith to
Lord John Russell,
14 August 1841.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Governor Sir *Lionel Smith*, Bart. G. C. B.
to Lord *John Russell*.

My Lord,

Mauritius, 14 August 1841.

1. AT the request of the Free Labour Association, I lay before your Lordship a reply, prepared by that body, to the report drawn up by three members of the Committee on Emigration, appointed by the Bengal Government on 1st August 1838, and printed by an Order of The House of Commons, dated 12th February 1841.

2. In my own opinion, the spirit in which that report has been drawn up is so self-evident, that no unprejudiced person is likely to be biassed by it; and it has, moreover, been answered in the way most likely to carry conviction, by the declarations, published in Bengal, of the Indian labourers who have returned to Calcutta, after having completed in Mauritius their term of five years' service. The report, therefore, did not appear to me to require further notice; but as it is apprehended here, that, with the prejudice against this colony which prevails so strongly in England, the statements in that document may obtain credit unless contradicted, I have not hesitated at forwarding the answer of the Association for your Lordship's consideration.

3. With reference to my despatch, No. 68, of the 7th ultimo, I have to acquaint you that three more vessels have arrived from Penang and Singapore with Chinese labourers, to the number of 518.

4. I have also to add that men from Madagascar continue to come in small numbers, and from different ports upon the east coast, which implies that the local authorities do not concur in the prohibitive policy of the Hova government, and also the weakness of the latter; for, in former years, no chief on the coast would have dared to act in opposition to the Queen's authority.

5. From the information I have recently received, the desire of the Malagashes to emigrate to this island has spread very wide, and would soon become general, if the Hova government would suspend their restrictions. At first there was some considerable hesitation among the people themselves, on account of an impression prevailing among them that here they would be treated as slaves; but having seen so many of their countrymen return with money, acquired by labour in Mauritius, that prejudice has been overcome, and large numbers, and in families, would flock hither, if emigration were tolerated at Madagascar. Some, it is said, have already gone for the purpose of bringing their wives and children to settle here.

6. There is little doubt that a similar effect would follow the removal of the restrictions in India, for, by late intelligence from Calcutta, it appears that several of the Indian emigrants who had gone back, are desirous of returning here, and have made application for passages with that view, but could not obtain them, on account of the penalty imposed by the Indian Ordinance for aiding or abetting agricultural labourers in emigrating.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Lionel Smith.*

Enclosure in No. 2.

Port Louis, 4 August 1841.

TO his Excellency Lieut.-General Sir *Lionel Smith*, Bart., K. C. B. Governor, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

WE have the honour of laying before your Excellency, on behalf of the Free Labour Association, the copy of a reply made by the same to the Report of some members of the Committee of Inquiry on the subject of emigration of Indian Labourers, instituted at Calcutta by the India Government; and we doubt not that on perusal of this reply, your Excellency will be struck with the really hostile spirit towards this colony that presided at the drawing up of the said Report; and we trust that your Excellency may be pleased to point this out to the Right hon. the Secretary of State, in forwarding our reply to his Lordship.

We have, &c.

(signed) *H. Hunter.* *E. Dupont.*
 — *Lorton.* *Jno. T. Rowlandson.*
 Edward Chapman. *Hollier Griffiths.*
 Eugene Leclézio.

No. 2.
 Sir Lionel Smith to
 Lord John Russell,
 14 August 1841.

Encl. in No. 2.

REPLY of the FREE LABOUR ASSOCIATION to a REPORT made by Messrs. *T. Dickens*, *James Charles*, and *Russomy Dutt*, three Members of the Committee of Six, instituted in Calcutta to inquire into a Report on the Abuses alleged to exist in the Emigration of Indian Labourers to the British Colonies.

THIS Report is stated to be made by a majority of the committee then (*i. e.* at the time it was made) present in Calcutta; and as in principle the act of the majority of the members of a body is deemed to be the act of the body itself, we were at first not a little surprised at the extreme modesty of this title. On closer examination, however, we discover¹ that our admiration ought rather to be directed to the very careful and prudent choice of *us*, calculated to mislead, yet still literally within the verge of truth, since the committee was originally composed of six members, *viz.* the three authors of the Report, and Major Archer, J. P. Grant, and W. F. Dowson, esqrs., all of whom dissent from it in the most essential points. Major Archer attended up to the 23d sitting of the committee, at which he was present, on the 26th October 1839, about which time he departed for England. All the communications made by the Government of Bengal to the committee are addressed nominatively to the whole of the six members we have designated; the last in date published is of the 13th February 1839 (volume of Evidence, &c., p. 380, Addenda); by which letter, and a preceding one of the 28th November 1838 (p. 296), the Government demanded in vain the Report, which they were unable to furnish, in consequence of their being entirely divided in opinion on almost every essential point that Report was to embrace. It is evident that three members could not form, under any circumstances, a majority of a committee of six; and that no report could properly be made that did not obtain the assent of four members. As for the qualified term of "members present at Calcutta," it is merely necessary to remark, that it might have so happened that only one member should have remained. Would he, in such case, have considered himself authorized to report? would his report have been considered to be that of the committee? This Report must then be taken as that of three members of the committee, the other three members being dissentient.

At the very first paragraph of this Report we are struck with the excessive slowness of the committee in producing it. It is there stated, that the committee was appointed in August 1838; and it will be seen in paragraph No. 5, that it closed its proceedings (that is to say, ceased to receive evidence) on the 14th January 1839, after 43 meetings, thus taking about five months to collect evidence. But the present Report, notwithstanding the repeated applications of the India Government, was not ready before the 14th October 1840, *viz.* 21 months after the evidence had been completed. From these facts it may be inferred what was the spirit of the authors of the Report, and that their object was to deprive the parties interested of the very document which the Home Government and the House of Commons were most anxious to possess, and for want of which the decision of the question was adjourned from one session to another.

The authors of the Report, after endeavouring to make it pass for the Report of the majority of the committee, which it is not, attempt to induce a belief that the whole of the members were pretty nearly of accord on the views and opinions it expresses. Thus they say, "Some differences of opinion which still exist will prevent the remaining members from signing the Report. In many essential points, however, we believe it will be found that there is an entire agreement of opinion."

The different points this Report embraces may, with due regard to perspicuity, be most conveniently classed under the four following heads:

- 1st. The existence of certain alleged abuses in India.
- 2d. The existence of certain alleged abuses at Mauritius.
- 3d. The possibility of remedying these alleged abuses.
- 4th. The nature of the remedies proposed to be applied.

No. 2.
 Sir Lionel Smith to
 Lord John Russell,
 14 August 1841.

Encl. in No. 2.

Now it most unfortunately occurs, for the authors of the Report, that on not one of these four points does this "entire agreement of opinion" exist between them and the dissentient members, and that on one only, the first, is there the least approximation towards a coincidence of opinion between the three authors and any one of their colleagues. It was, indeed, impossible that there should not exist a difference of opinion between persons avowedly hostile to emigration, as Messrs. Dickens, Charles, and Russony Dutt on one side, and Mr. Grant, Major Archer, and Mr. Dowson on the other. Mr. Dickens and the Rev. Mr. Charles had been the principal speakers in the public meeting held at Calcutta in July 1836, for the purpose of petitioning against the importation of labourers. Baboo Russony Dutt was also notoriously opposed to emigration. Mr. Dickens, the writer of the Report, is a large speculator in sugar and indigo, and in partnership with a commercial house, which is the owner of large plantations.

We have here to regret that we have not had communication of Mr. Grant's opinion, which, from the observation made at the commencement of Mr. Dowson's minute, appears to have been given previously to the Report in question being printed. It would have been a very valuable document. From our knowledge of this gentleman's integrity and independence, from the authors of the Report having omitted to annex his opinion to it, and from Mr. Dowson having intentionally abstained from any remark upon its tenor, we believe we may safely assume that it does not materially differ from that expressed by Major Archer. If we are wrong in this assumption, the fault must be with the authors of the Report, whose duty it was, in our humble opinion, to give the same publicity to Mr. Grant's opinion as to their own. Perhaps, however, the circumstance of his being a Government officer prevented its publication.

With regard to the opinions of Major Archer, we have extracted them from his letter to Lord John Russell, published in London in April 1840. We would beg permission to recal the attention of our readers to the part he had taken in the proceedings of the Calcutta committee, as mentioned above.

As we do not conceive it could be consistent with our character and duty to follow the example of the authors of the Report by setting up hardy assertion for irrefutable proof, we shall proceed to examine how far this delightful harmony of opinion and sentiment alluded to above exists between the three authors of the Report and the remaining members of the committee on the four respective points laid down by us.

On the first point, viz. the abuses alleged to exist in Calcutta, the authors of the Report conclude—

That it is distinctly proved, beyond dispute, that the Coolies were, generally speaking, induced to come to Calcutta by gross misrepresentation and deceit (No. 9 of the Report):

That they seem generally to have been induced so to come, by being persuaded that they would be employed by the Honourable Company (No. 11):

That if they had been distinctly made aware that they were to go beyond seas to a great distance, and to remain absent for five years, it is probable that not one, or at least that very few, would have engaged (No. 10):

That in the cases of the Hill Coolies especially, and in many other instances, they were really unable to understand the nature of the contracts (No. 12):

That an impression was created amongst them that they would be liable to penal consequences if they expressed dissatisfaction at being embarked (No. 13):

That kidnapping prevailed to a very considerable extent, and that they were kept in Calcutta and its neighbourhood in a state of close imprisonment (No. 14):

That the police authority do not seem to have been well informed of these practices of kidnapping and illegal imprisonment; and that it is certain that whatever measures they adopted were completely ineffectual as a check upon these abuses (No. 15):

That the advance of six months' wages was real in respect of the employer, but nominal as far as the Coolie was concerned (No. 16):

That the legislative enactments and regulations of the police at Calcutta were of very little effect, when enforced at all, and can be evaded to any extent with the utmost ease and impunity (No. 17):

That the hardships and miseries endured during the voyage to Mauritius are proved to have been very great under the most favourable circumstances, and with the most humane commanders, and that the mortality from drowning and other causes was most serious (No. 21).

The opinion of Major Archer on this first point, although conformable in many respects to the conclusions just cited, does by no means go to the same length. He says (page 13 of his letter to Lord J. Russell), that the inhabitants of the Mauritius, "instead of having to welcome to their shores men such as they naturally expected, were obliged to receive the offscourings of Calcutta and other large towns: servants of every class who were unable to obtain places at home, the lame, the lazy, the sick, men of bad character and debauched habits, and wholly unaccustomed to manual labour such as was required. It is asserted, that to a great extent the above was the description of persons sent down from Bengal; that some of these, perhaps many, were deceived as to the nature of the employment, I do not doubt, although if the evidence of the officer appointed by the Bengal Government to superintend the emigration of labourers is to be received, the reverse is certainly the case." At page 14 of his letter he says, "It is admitted that the Indian labourers were, in numerous instances, deceived, defrauded, and most cruelly treated;" and again, "the atrocities commenced in Calcutta were, in some instances, continued during the voyage to the Mauritius, or perhaps their effects were then felt with keener feelings, and under an inability to withstand them.

them. Some of these unfortunate individuals, who found themselves deceived, and unable to bear up against their misery, threw themselves overboard." After these admissions, of which we most cheerfully leave to our adversaries all the profit they can reasonably desire, he adds the following remark, in which they assuredly will not concur (page 15): "If the regulations necessary for the emigration of Indian labourers has been as well understood and as fitting at Calcutta as were the Colonial laws passed on the occasion at the Mauritius, I do not scruple to aver that the public would not have had its just indignation roused at the recital of such detestable atrocities." We will further cite, from pages 19 and 20 of his letter, the following observations: "As to the ignorance of the natives in not understanding the nature of the engagements, the evidence which will shortly be adduced, as that of the officer appointed by the Bengal Government to superintend the emigration of the natives of India, will perhaps satisfy the public; but I will, in deference to the feelings of the friends of the Indians, suppose that many embarked for the Mauritius under a misapprehension of the nature of the employment expected from them. This, if it did occur, must have proceeded from the want of attention on the part of those appointed to guard against it, not from the impracticability of administering the law, which, being sufficiently clear on this point, only required an adherence to its spirit and letter."

As to the opinion of Mr. Dowson on this point, we confidently refer our readers to it, as printed at the end of the Report, and particularly to the third paragraph thereof.

On the second, third, and fourth points the divergence of opinion becomes greater and greater. The second point refers to the existence of certain alleged abuses in the Island of Mauritius. The conclusions drawn by the authors of the Report are—

That the local police of the interior of the Mauritius was not very accessible to complaints; that the regulations of the plantations are such as closely to resemble imprisonment within their boundaries; and that the magistrates of the interior are not very cordially disposed to enforce the provisions of the contract inserted for the advantage of the Coolies (No. 19):

That it is clear from the evidence that the contracts, generally speaking, are not fulfilled by the planters; that the conclusion of their (the author's) mind, from the whole evidence, is, that they have been strictly and literally fulfilled in no instance (No. 23):

That rice, salt, and clothing seem to be all that the Coolies receive, under bad masters, and no money-wages at all seem to be paid in the majority of instances (No. 23):

That the Coolie, when arrived in the Mauritius, undergoes a stoppage of one rupee per month (that is 54 rupees for the five years), for the expenses of his return passage, &c., which, according to the evidence of Mr. Dawson, are only 10 rupees a head (No. 25):

Major Archer, who, as he correctly remarks (page 5), has had, with respect to the Mauritius, peculiar opportunities and means of obtaining information, makes the following observations in regard to this point of the discussion:—

"The most lynx-eyed friend of the ill-used Indians may sift over and over the evidence laid before Parliament, and be unable to find wherewithal to criminate the inhabitants of the Mauritius *en masse*. If some individual instances of aggression have unhappily been substantiated, are they to be taken as colouring the acts of the entire population? Either the inhabitants are guilty, or they are not guilty; if the former, where are the proofs?" (page 10.) "It is to be hoped, however, that loud complaints, imputed violences, and assumed culpability, will not be unhesitatingly taken for facts." (page 11.) "They (the planters) do not deny that instances involving harshness and unfairness have occurred upon the island, and in which the Indians have suffered wrong; but can it be considered wonderful that occasional complaints should be made, when it is stated that the number of emigrant labourers already in the Mauritius is 23,000? In what country of the world can it be said that such a population of paid servants would have so few real causes of complaint? I speak from good authority, and from some personal knowledge, when I assert that the allegations of ill treatment of the Indian labourers by their masters are, in 19 cases out of 20, vexatious and ill-founded." (page 11) After citing an occasion on which he was present, when some 15 cases of such complaints were declared by a superior public functionary to be unfounded, or unsupported by a tittle of evidence, with the additional remark, "Such is the constant result of similar complaints," he proceeds, at page 12: "I do not wish to build my argument upon this isolated instance, but it will, I hope, serve to show that the Indian labourers are not disposed to let the law remain a dead letter; but that, on the contrary, they strive to render it available to themselves, even where they must know they have no just claim to its favourable judgment. That differences have arisen, and must arise, between 23,000 labourers and their respective employers, would be absurd not to expect. I will go further than perhaps the exact case may warrant, and will admit that many of the acts of the masters were marked by violence. But even this, I am warranted in supposing, was the result of a conviction on their parts that they were imposed upon by the labourers, and that the law left them more at liberty than it actually does to enforce the conditions of the agreement on the side of the Indians, rather than it proceeded from a disposition to injustice and oppression." And again, at page 14: "If, therefore, there was subject for surprise in any alleged delinquency on the part of the master, it ought rather to have been in the rarity of the instances, and their not very heinous character." And again, page 20: "As to the charge of violence and injustice to the Indians upon the island, I would oppose the opinion of Sir William Nicolay, Governor of the Mauritius, formed after minute and searching investigation; I would urge an examination of the papers which have been already submitted to Parliament, and of others which will hereafter be laid before it." And at page 23: "As to the charge of overwork, the colonial laws are amply protective and satisfactory. By the law, personal chastisement of any kind is illegal; and a conviction upon the violation of this safeguard

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safeguard to the labourers subjects the offender to heavy penalties. The Indians are perfectly aware of this protection, and are not disposed to let it prove a dead letter." Finally, in regard to wages, he observes, at page 21: "As to the charge of inadequate wages, I can only say it is gratuitously made, unless it is meant to deny comparison. Is it no inconsiderable change of circumstances to pass from the misery and risk of a precarious existence to a sufficiency of good and wholesome food, secure and comfortable shelter, decent clothing, aid and attention in sickness, and, lastly, an amount of wages in money, in itself far above the average of agricultural wages in any part of India?"

For Mr. Dowson's opinion on this point, we, as in the former instance, refer to his minute; from which, however, we cannot refrain from presenting the following well-expressed passage: "It seems to me quite impossible that any unprejudiced person can read these proceedings and come to any other decision than that the case, as against the Mauritius interests, has been got up in a spirit of the most reckless exaggeration, and has crumbled almost entirely away under the test of evidential inquiry."

The third point is the possibility of remedying the alleged abuses, and on it the conflicting opinions are utterly irreconcilable. The conclusions of the authors of the Report are as follows:

They are thoroughly and intimately persuaded that scarcely any human precaution would avail to prevent a repetition of abuses. No system, they are firmly convinced, would ever suffice completely to counteract the tricks and artifices that would be resorted to in India by the duffadars and others. (No. 27.)

They doubt whether any regulations in the Island of Mauritius would suffice to secure the strict and just performance of any contracts. They think that no contracts just and beneficial to the Coolie would be entered into if the regulations were so enforced as that a near approach were made to such performance. (No. 28.)

Major Archer's opinion on this point is sufficiently expressed in the following short passage (page 27):

"I should deem it a work of supererogation to advocate the opinion that laws can be made which would embrace, to the largest extent, the desired object." We add, however, the following quotation from p. 24: "Then comes the sweeping assertion, that it is impossible to legislate so as to embrace with effectiveness the various and mutual interests of all concerned. This at least is but to acknowledge the impotency of legislation, or to substantiate the want of energy in those appointed to administer the law. This must be met with a firm denial. That a code of regulations could be framed which would guarantee to the Indians and to the inhabitants the most complete protection, and prove to both a source of great and solid benefit, and in this of incalculable advantage to this country, is no more to be doubted or questioned than is at this moment the efficacy of the law which abolished slavery in our colonies."

Mr. Dowson's opinion on this point, conformable to the one which precedes, is frequently expressed in his minute. We limit ourselves to the two following quotations: "Nothing has been shown in respect of imposition on the Coolies by native agents in Bengal, calculated to prove it impossible, or even difficult, for the Legislative and the Indian Government to establish such rules and regulations* as should render the interests of the labourers safe from the effects of all such imposition, and secure to them the full pecuniary and other benefits of the system." (1st paragraph.)

"The present inquiry, which, accepted in even the most unfavourable light to the cause of Mauritius, demonstrates no evils of detail (it cannot touch the great principle of the question), save such as the Legislature and the local Governments can without difficulty prevent the recurrence of, and of which the prevention would be hailed nowhere with greater satisfaction than on the island itself, and by the employers of the workmen." (Concluding paragraph.)

The fourth point remains, viz. the remedies proposed to be employed for the correction of these alleged abuses; and here we trust we may, without inconvenience to our readers, be dispensed with transcribing the multitudinous measures recommended by the authors of the Report, embracing, we believe, every means that the wit of man could invent to render the emigration of labourers to this colony as utterly impossible as if it were formally prohibited. The nature of these suggestions is indeed sufficiently illustrated by the very naive confession of their authors, in the following passage of their Report, which we have perused with some surprise.

"We have framed these suggestions, moreover, not without a hope that if our views of the necessity of regulating to the full extent pointed out should be adopted, the trade would be abandoned as unprofitable by all parties now engaged in it." (No. 33.)

What we have already cited in regard to the third point, respecting the extreme facility with which the dissentient members consider that every possible abuse can effectually be obviated for the future, is sufficient to show the utter impossibility of their subscribing to the suggestions on this fourth point of the authors of the Report in question. Mr. Dowson, who was acquainted with these suggestions, says not one word respecting them in his minute; his silence, which appears to us sufficiently expressive, may have arisen either from his considering these suggestions, as we do, to be equivalent to the formal prohibition

against

* Note.—The text stands "for the trade in the free labour alluded to;" but we do not want that trade; and "*à fortiori*," for emigration under the superintendence of the two Governments.

against which he so strongly protests, or from another cause which it is easy to divine, although it might not be strictly conformable to politeness more particularly to indicate it. Major Archer was necessarily unacquainted with these suggestions when he wrote his letter from which our quotations are taken. His views in regard to the remedial laws and regulations required are expressed as follows:

"It would be advisable to leave the minor details of the measure to the practical experience of the Indian Government, as possessing what is of extreme importance—a local knowledge impossible, I may almost say, to be acquired in this country. . . . Let Parliament therefore content itself with permitting emigration, and, confining itself to the broad principle of the measure" (page 29), "fix the amount of food and hours of labour, fix remuneration for extra work, stipulate for clothing, medical treatment, and return to India; in short, legislate for all save wages (that is, the amount of wages); (page 28). At Calcutta, and other ports at which the embarkation of labourers takes place,—and I would confine it to the principal ones,—I think a board of emigration should be formed. The duties belonging to it are too obvious to need enumeration. It may be, however, satisfactory to the friends of the Indian to state, that the attention of the board would be directed to the mode and conditions of the engagements of the Indians, who would, under such a protection, run no risk of being unfairly dealt with; also all matters belonging to the passage to the Mauritius, such as the size and seaworthiness of the ship, numbers on board, accommodation, provisions, medical aid, and a person to superintend their concerns during the voyage. At the Mauritius a similar board would receive, and, after such forms as the law required, arrange their location with their respective masters; (page 30). The period of service might be shortened to three years instead of five, dating from the day on which they begin to work. I object to large advances being made in Calcutta, which were usually as much as six months; (page 31). A commission at Mauritius, composed of one or two magistrates, might be continually moving about the island for the hearing of complaints, and for the redress of grievances;" (page 31).

Another question not directly referable to any of the four points we have just been treating of, but which is a most essential one, and one on which a most decided difference of opinion exists between the authors of the Report and their colleagues, is whether there be in British India a superabundance of labour or not. The former, entirely forgetful of the admission that India is "densely populated," made in the petition of the meeting at the town-hall on the 10th July 1838, and to which they owed their nomination in committee, (*Vote Volume of Evidence*, p. 236,) express doubt on this subject in regard to any part of India; and in respect to the presidency of Fort William, they say, "they are by no means convinced that such supposed superabundance exists, but are rather persuaded that the contrary is the fact;" and they add gravely, that this would become apparent if a decided stimulus were given to agricultural production, and kept up sufficiently long to make it extensively felt, (No. 24 of the Report). This argument reminds us of the apology of the Spanish author for the place of his birth: "It is true I was born in a small village, but it might have been a very large town, for it is situated in the middle of a plain, ten leagues over each way, and, therefore, there was nothing to prevent people from building there the largest city in all Spain." Major Archer, on the contrary, says at page 17 of his letter, "The Hill Coolies inhabit the ranges of mountains bordering upon the western bank of the Ganges, from 200 to 300 miles distant from Calcutta. These people are every year compelled by paucity of food to resort in great numbers to the plains. In the province of Lower Bengal a large proportion of them are employed in the indigo factories; and lately large drafts have, as I understand, been engaged for the Assam tea plantations. The Hill Coolies, in their own country, are necessitated to subsist upon the products of the chase, reptiles, and insects; in short, they are obliged to have recourse to all sorts of disgusting food wherewith to satisfy the cravings of nature and to avert famine. Hence the cause of their coming down to the plains to engage in one of the most fatiguing employments possible to execute, that of the manufacture of indigo. For any other employment of husbandry it would be useless for them to seek, the population of the grain producing countries being beyond even the number sufficient." And at page 18, "It may be relied on, that nothing but necessity, and that of a sharp nature, will ever induce the natives of India to quit their country, to which they are attached by no ordinary ties of affection."

Mr. Dowson's opinion on this subject is sufficiently manifested in the two passages of his minute, where he speaks (para. 1.) of compelling the Indian "labourers to remain in a country where their labour barely suffices (and not even always that) to subsist them in the most wretched manner, and where they are subject to almost annual visitations of famine and disease;" and in the fourth, where, speaking of the wages stated by the authors of the Report to be paid in the factories of Bengal, he says, that "this only lasts during the manufacturing season, and that even then they get nothing but the pay, and are left almost to starve for the remainder of the year."

So much for the "some differences of opinion," and the entire agreement of opinion in many essential "points," stated by the authors of the Report to exist in their belief, between their colleagues and themselves. We believe there have seldom arisen in a committee more differences of opinion, or a more perfect disagreement of sentiments on essential points, and we have entered into all these details, because we feel satisfied that the Government and the public will be thus convinced that these gentlemen have not only made a report, which they were not duly qualified to make, but also endeavoured at the expense of the character and sound judgment of their colleagues to give it a weight and authority to which it is in no degree entitled, and that they will, therefore receive with extreme caution, or rather we

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should say, with salutary distrust the assertions, inductions, and suggestions embodied therein.

The fourth paragraph of the Report presents another example of the exercise of that species of wisdom which the celebrated Lord Mansfield so perfectly designated by a single epithet (crooked wisdom).

The authors of the Report knew well that out of 100 persons who would peruse it, hardly one would be able to procure the evidence and documents to which their attention is directed, and that, out of 100 who might possess them, very few again would feel disposed to undertake the irksome task of attentively examining upwards of 400 pages in folio of such evidence and documents. They knew well, also, that their Report, wheresoever it is intelligible at all, can be as perfectly understood without the evidence as with it, and that many parts of it, which are quite intelligible as simple assertions resting on the authority of those who make them, become, as will be shown further on, nearly incomprehensible when brought in presence of the evidence in the teeth of which they are made. But then there is such an admirable appearance of candour in thus courting an investigation, which they are persuaded will not be entered upon; and should the contrary in any rare instance occur, and the error of their assertions be manifestly proved, this voluntary appeal to the judgments of their readers will furnish the justification of their good faith, the proof of their unwillingness to deceive.

In this paragraph the committee feel it necessary to apologise for the very great duration of their proceedings, the real motive of which has been before explained.

This article contains a very unnecessary observation on the original composition of the committee, which is again referred to in the 16th article, for the purpose of making a very illiberal attack upon Mr. Dowson in these words:—"Two" (of the members) "being favourable to the trade, and one of them actually engaged in it." (The "trade" is a very favourable though extremely incorrect expression with these gentlemen; but let it pass.) It would, in our opinion, be more correct to hold, in due deference to the Government by which the committee was named, that the choice of its members was well made. It is certainly anomalous that any members of a committee should criticise the act from which alone their own authority as such is derived, and such criticism is still more indecorous on the part of Mr. Dickens, who, as we have already stated, was in a manner pledged to one side of the question by the part he has taken as a principal orator at a public meeting, and was, as stated above, at the time this Report was drawn up, engaged in speculations on sugar and indigo, and in treaty to unite in partnership with a commercial establishment in Calcutta deeply interested in the same way. There is an article in *The Friend of India* of the 7th January last animadverting strongly on this gentleman's trading propensities, which it states to have led him into commercial transactions, in connexion with the grand indigo speculation during the past year, to the extent of 500,000 *l.* It adds, however, that when he accepted his office of Registrar of the Supreme Court, worth at least 10,000 *l.* a year, he made no stipulation against entering into business on his own account. It is in general a difficult and, perhaps, often an impossible task to find six intelligent persons perfectly disinterested in a very important question, which has been for a considerable time past the subject of violent public discussion; and, after all, it is at least a matter of doubt whether such persons would be the most competent judges. Personal interest and party spirit, which is often merely the cloak that covers it—may, even strong prejudice—though they may obscure for a moment, cannot obliterate the faculty which God has implanted in the breast of every man, of distinguishing truth from falsehood, right from wrong; they may render it sometimes more difficult to form a correct judgment, perhaps sometimes more easy, from the stimulus they give to the acquirement of information; but they do not incapacitate from judging correctly, though they may lead a depraved man to prevarication: but this we hope it is not intended to insinuate. For our own part, we are convinced that every member of this committee was perfectly capable of forming a correct judgment on the matters submitted to its investigation. Whether they have promulgated such a judgment or not is a solemn question which for the present their own consciences must decide.

The authors inform us that they have endeavoured to condense their report as much as possible, in the laudable view of facilitating its transmission by the overland mail. If they mean that they have endeavoured to concentrate the venom it contains, we are prepared to give them credit for their good intentions, though in neither case can we congratulate them on the success they have obtained. We are, moreover, persuaded that no degree of condensation would ever fit their composition for the very small space it is destined to occupy in the mind of an enlightened public; whilst if it were submitted to a contrary operation, that of minute analysis, such principal elementary constituents would be brought to view as they ought not to be at all jealous of conserving. It might be a matter of surprise that after endeavouring so earnestly to demonstrate the extreme elasticity of the indispensable evidence, they should not have tried to compress it to a little, instead of which they have augmented its volume by reprinting at least eight of the documents it contains (*vide* pages 65. 66. 74. 177. 184. 202. 222. 241. 243. 244. 254. 287. 311. 340. 344. 355.) and then left it to "drag its slow length along," and work its way as it best can to join the Report, from which, in their view, it ought to have been inseparable.

The committee point out the three heads into which the Report is to be divided. We object to this division because it confounds together the abuses alleged to have been committed at Calcutta and those at Mauritius, which must necessarily form two separate objects of legislation. It is true that under one view of the question, all these abuses form objections to the system, and must be obviated in future: but we of Mauritius have another duty to perform; it is to vindicate our characters. Parties in the cause, and deeply interested therein,

we feel that we can go into court with clean hands, and we insist on showing that we can do so. Looking at the case under this point of view, we say that we have nothing whatever to do with the abuses that may have been committed at Calcutta, and respecting which we have not the means of sufficiently informing ourselves. All that it is necessary for us to add, is, correct them for the future by means of wholesome laws and regulations, duly executed, as we have already shown on the best authority, you can easily do. It were indeed absurd to say that you cannot regulate the emigration which you have easily arrested altogether. For the former reason we cannot help thinking that it would have been more prudent on the part of the committee to have limited its investigation to what took place there, and not to have hazarded opinions on such insufficient evidence as by chance might turn up touching facts which they were not in a situation fully to examine into.

We may again remark that the authors of the Report improperly call the emigration of Coolies "a trade," and speak of the "resumption of the trade." This is what the colonists of Mauritius particularly object to. They wish it to be no trade at all, but the free, voluntary, and spontaneous act of the Indian labourers going abroad to better themselves by high wages, good food, and good clothing, all of which they cannot obtain in their own country. And in order that it may not again be made a trade, they hope and wish that the Governments of India and Mauritius may jointly take it into their own management.

We must also protest against the second intention stated, of inferring that the future consequences of emigration will be the same as the past. This would be correct in case only it were intended to leave everything on the same footing; whereas everything is to be changed. The same force would doubtless produce the same effect, where the resistance is the same; but here the resistance is to be increased, the force diminished, and its direction modified. The effect cannot, therefore, be identical. Because, when there was no law, or imperfect laws loosely executed, to impose restraint, abuses and evils arose, does it follow that they will be perpetuated under the empire of judicious laws well enforced? To maintain the contrary would be to declare nugatory all remedial legislation.

It is not our intention to sift the evidence adduced in proof of the abuses alleged to have existed in Calcutta. To perform such a task properly, it would be necessary to reprint the whole of it, and the work of classing it would be very considerable; and, after all, no important end would be attained, since we do not deny the existence of those abuses to a certain extent; neither do we seek to palliate them, nor, least of all, do we desire their perpetuation.

We will, however, take one example, the first that offers itself to our notice in the order in which the conclusions of the authors of the Report are presented, to show how very faithfully they have adhered to the rule laid down in No. 8, of drawing conclusions of fact strictly warranted by the evidence.

Before proceeding further, however, we would beg permission to remark that according to the principles held in our courts of law, oral evidence (of which it is here the question) consists in the depositions of witnesses to pertinent facts within the scope of their own knowledge. If the so-called evidence produced by our authors were in conformity with this rule, purged of all that is mere hearsay, assumption, supposition, or opinion, it would soon be so reduced in volume, as, without the aid of "condensation," to become very conveniently portable by the overland mail.

The example to which we alluded above is furnished by the 9th conclusion, which states that it is "distinctly proved beyond dispute" that the Coolies and other natives were, generally speaking, induced to come to Calcutta by gross misrepresentation and deceit. To this allegation is subjoined a marginal note, longer than the article itself, containing reference to upwards of 30 points of evidence in support of it, and therefore calculated to carry conviction into the most incredulous mind. Let us see, however, what these points of evidence are.

Deposition of Captain Rapson, Question 49.

Question. "How do you account for the circumstance of so few of the Coolies you took with you answering to the names given in the Calcutta police list?"—*Answer.* "I should say that the reason why the men on board did not answer to the names taken at the police arose from the roguery of the native agents in changing those for others who were probably trepanned."

This, it will be observed, is mere supposition. Capt. Rapson might have supposed anything else. A more reasonable one would have been that of some error committed in shipping the men, as it appears that no less than six other vessels with similar passengers arrived here within six days after the *Sophia*. At all events, this deposition has no connexion whatever with the specific allegation of deceit practised to decoy the men from their homes.

Answers of Captain Birch to Questions 100, 157, 158, 159, 160, 163, 164, 166, 166, 167, 168.

First Question, 100. "Have many cases occurred since the operation of the Act of Coolies not answering to their names having been returned, or as not answering to the description?"—*Answer.* "Very few cases have occurred since the operation of the Act of May 1837, of Coolies having been returned as not answering to the description, five or six only. I know it was proved at the Mauritius that a duffadar, when one Coolie had run away, had intoxicated another man in the bazar, and got him on board; since the operation of the Act, I have heard

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heard from Capt. Finniss that there is an evident amelioration in the appearance of the men, and fewer complaints."

This deposition has no connexion with the specific charge enounced under No. 9. Its tendency is to prove the existence of more regularity than the authors of the Report are willing to recognise, as well as the adequacy of the law cited to correct the irregularities complained of.

Q. 157. "Do you know anything of a kidnapping system which is alleged to exist in Calcutta and the Mofussil, by which Coolies are entrapped?"—A. "I have no doubt many men have been brought down to Calcutta under other expectations than those which they would have entertained had they known the truth. In Calcutta, men are not kidnapped; and I think the details of what is called the kidnapping system outside have been very much exaggerated, but I have heard that a darogah in zillah Burdwan, on the high road, gets a rupee a head on each Coolie."

This deposition affords no proof of the charge in question, since it affords no explanation as to the source of the erroneous expectations alluded to. In regard to kidnapping, it is referable to a distinct allegation in Article 14 of the Report; and the answer under notice tends to prove that it did not exist to the extent alleged.

Q. 158. "Have you reason to think that in the majority of cases the Coolies distinctly understand before they leave their houses that they are to be abroad for more than five years, and to go beyond seas?"—A. "I believe that in the majority of cases they do not understand anything at all about it, but leave home in search of service. At the same time, I believe that if they were told all this they would care little about it, and would still leave home, trusting to their 'nusseeb' (fate or fortune)."

This deposition, far from proving that deceit was practised as alleged, would, on the contrary, show that there was no utility in employing it; nay more, that it could not be employed, for one cannot deceive a man by not telling him that which he would pay no attention to if one did.

Q. 159. "Then are you aware what the considerations are by which the duffadars induce the Coolies to leave their houses, and proceed to Calcutta?"—A. "I believe that the means by which the duffadars induce the Coolies to proceed to Calcutta are by simply telling them that they will get five rupees a month wages, and plenty to eat; and that is so much superior to anything they can possibly earn in their own country, that it acts as a strong inducement."

Neither does this prove the allegation, for they do get five rupees, and plenty to eat; and it is not said where they were to get them. All this is moreover matter of opinion; the next answer will also serve to elucidate the present one.

Q. 160. "Do you know what are the general circumstances of the Coolies when at their own homes?"—A. "I do not know exactly the precise condition of the Coolies in their own district; but I believe they are universally poor, and that their condition is bettered by going to Mauritius. They would go to England just as soon."

It will hardly be pretended that this deposition goes any way towards proving the allegation in No. 9 of the Report.

The next question and answer are skipped over, and for an obvious reason; for the same reason we beg permission to insert them here; they are as pertinent as any of the preceding ones.

Q. 161. "Do you believe that any of them are in a starving condition?"—A. "I believe that many are in a starving condition."

Q. 163. "On what grounds have you formed the opinions which you have expressed, as to the inducements by which the Coolies are led to embark?"—A. "From instances which have at various times been brought to my knowledge; I cannot particularize any. I also speak from my general knowledge of the natives. I think that the lower classes are quite capable of acting under such deception."

This would tend to prove that some deception existed since the term is employed, but how, where, by what agency, to what extent, all of which points it would be necessary to particularize, in order to connect it with the specific allegation, in support of which it is adduced, are left totally unexplained, and the committee do not indeed appear to have been at all anxious to have these points explained. The most probable interpretation would be, to infer, a deception existing in the minds of the ignorant and careless people, described in answer to question 158. Moreover, we again observe, all this is mere matter of opinion, resting on very slight grounds, as explained in an answer to question 167.

Q. 164. "Are there not rumours afloat, that the kidnapping system has prevailed in Calcutta?"—A. "It used to go on in Calcutta, but I do not think it exists now. There have been rumours to that effect, but I do not believe them."

It would puzzle all the pundits in Hindostan to discover what proof can possibly result from this deposition, in support of the allegation contained in No. 9.

Q. 169. "To what period do you particularly allude, when you say that it used to go on?"—A. "Previous to the time of the Act No. 5, of 1837, coming into full operation. I have mentioned to the committee a few instances which have occurred since."

This refers to kidnapping, which we have already observed in a distinct charge, of which an example is given in the following answer, and not to the specific abuse which is the subject of No. 9. This answer, and the preceding one, go again to prove, against the assertion of the authors of the Report, that abuses can be put down by the law.

Q. 166.

Q. 166. "Are you aware whether there were authenticated instances of kidnapping before the passing of the Act, No. 5, of 1837?"—A. "There were instances. I remember one particular instance of a woman, who was made intoxicated and shut up in a box. They were carrying her across the esplanade, when she came to her senses, and she was rescued. I cannot particularize any more. Kidnapping prevailed in a very great degree in the lower provinces of Bengal."

We refer to our preceding observation relative to kidnapping. Here is only one case of kidnapping proved. The substance of the concluding lines was not within the deponent's knowledge, as is explained in the next answer. We crave a reference also to the replies to questions 167 and 164.

Q. 167. "Do you speak from positive information, or from general rumour?"—A. "I do not speak from positive information, but from knowledge I have received from conversation with natives and different individuals, and my general impressions."

We refer to the general observation on evidence we made before entering on the present examination, and leave our readers to determine in what degree these depositions are available in support of our adversaries' cause, after the explanation given in this reply.

Q. 168. "Were many judicial proceedings instituted in any of the cases of kidnapping to which you have referred?"—A. Yes, the case of the woman who was shut up in a box was investigated at the police; but I have a faint impression that the matter was compromised."

We add, for the same motive as the authors of the Report have omitted it, the following question and answer:

Q. 169. "Who was the prosecutor?"—A. The woman herself was the prosecutor, but I sent up the case to the magistrate; it was a part of my duty to do so."

The next evidence referred to, is that of Serjeant McCann. Answer to question 254.

Q. 254. "Have you heard reports of kidnapping taking place in Calcutta?"—A. "There have been a few cases of kidnapping brought before the police."

This, we again observe, has nothing to do with the specific allegation contained in No. 9. The answer pertinent to it, is the following one of the same witness, which the authors of the Report do not refer to, and which be beg to insert:

Q. 255. "Can you speak from personal knowledge, as to the inducements held out to Coolies to get them to leave their homes and proceed to Calcutta?"—A. "I do not know what inducements are usually held out to the Coolies to get them to leave their homes and proceed to Calcutta."

The next evidence referred to is that of Mr. John Hughes, pages, 62, 63, 64, of the Volume. We have read the whole over with attention, the only parts which bear any relation to the allegation in No. 9 are the following. We copy, perhaps unnecessarily, the whole of each reply:

Q. 571. "Are not the Duffadars under your authority?"—A. "The Duffadars are under no authority of mine. I employ them to go into the Mofussil, furnished with a sort of certificate by me. I instruct the Duffadars positively to make known to the Coolies that they have to go to the Mauritius. I am not on the spot, and do not know whether they do or not. There is a greater facility of procuring Coolies now than there used to be, because men go into the Mofussil now more than they used to do."

Q. 582. "What was the nature of your charge against them?"—A. "The nature of the charge was this*: I always call the Coolies before me to explain to them that they have to go to the Mauritius. In the case in question when I did so, the Coolies said, No, they had been brought here to work in Calcutta, and that they would not go to the Mauritius. On this I reprimanded the duffadars in their presence, and told the Coolies to go away, as they were free to do so. Afterwards it appeared that this duffadar again, somehow or another, got hold of these Coolies, and I was told they were brought up at Mr. Birch's office. I went to him, and begged him to hand over the case to the police, which he did, and the Coolies were examined, and so was I; and as my evidence corroborated that of the Coolies, the men were punished. There were two men engaged in this business, and both were fined 50 rupees each."

These depositions do not in any way prove the employment of deceit to entice the men from their homes; they prove, that on the simple assertion of the men (their number is not stated), that they had been engaged to work in Calcutta, they were set at liberty, and that the duffadars, who subsequently endeavoured to use illegal restraint against them, were punished.

The next evidence adduced is that of Boodoo-Kan (Volume, pp. 74 to 77). This man, according to the chief commissary of police's memorandum of the 1st August 1838 (p. 246 of the volume of evidence), was embarked for Calcutta at his own employer's request; that is, really sent out of the colony "for not obeying his employer's orders, and instigating the Coolies under his command to desert; as per document of civil commissary, Rivière du Rempart." On these grounds it might be matter of serious doubt whether this man's evidence ought to have been admitted at all. At least, it should have been received with extreme caution, and should not have been cited without reference to the circumstance we have related above.

After

* Note.—That is, against two duffadars whom he states to have been punished on his evidence, not for enticing the men from their homes, but for having kept them under restraint.

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After all, this man, far from proving that he was induced to come to Calcutta by gross misrepresentation and deceit, practised upon him by the duffadars, declares that he was coming there of his own accord, when he was met at the distance of five days' journey from Calcutta, by a man, who asked him if he wanted service. He does not say that this man was a duffadar, or that he exercised any undue influence over him; on the contrary, he says he told this man he had money, and did not want assistance. It was not till a month after his arrival at Calcutta that he was engaged to go to the Mauritius. He says, that he was to go by land, and to arrive in five days; and this was certainly deceit, but not the species of deceit his deposition is alleged in proof of. He further appears to have thought that it was the Company's service, but he does not say he was told so by any one. He admits he was under no constraint, for his brother offered to pay any debt he might have contracted. He admits, also, that he was told by Captain Birch, that he would have to perform a voyage of a month, or two months, on board ship, and to remain at Mauritius five years; and, that if he did not wish to take the service, he would be immediately released.

This deposition consequently proves the very reverse of the allegation contained in the Conclusion, No. 9; and, moreover, that this man came here of his own free will, being perfectly cognizant of what he was about, and of all the terms and conditions of the contract, which he amply recapitulated before the committee.

Up to this point, we may safely assert that the accusation is breaking down under the weight of the evidence produced in support of it. We now come to a witness who speaks a little more to the point: it is J. H. Patton, esq., magistrate of the Twenty-four Pergunahs (pp. 96, 96, 97 of Volume). We extract from it all that is relative to the question, as follows:—

Question 731. "How many Coolies have been released under your orders?"—*Answer.* "There were 137 Coolies released under my orders, after investigating the complaints brought against the duffadars. There were 63 duffadars apprehended, and 26 punished, and 36 released. The charges were, for kidnapping and imprisoning the Coolies, and ill-treating them; and were all substantiated. The depositions were all taken in Bengalee and Hindustanee. The system appears to be this:—The duffadars go up the country, and meet with people in the country, and entice them down by promise of service; promising to up-countrymen the services of porters (durwars); to others, labour at Calcutta. They are brought down, and kept waiting till they become impatient, and they ask for service. The duffadars then say, 'The service I thought of for you, I am sorry to say, cannot be obtained now.' Then the Coolies wish to go away: the duffadars say, 'No; pay me what you owe, or else go to such service as I can provide for you;' and thus they are compelled to go to the Mauritius. I have full evidence against a Bengalee, one Ramporsund, at Bowhampore, for aiding and abetting in the atrocities I have mentioned; but he has absconded; I have, however, attached his property. The evidence of the European, Sergeant John Floyd, and his son, will show in what state the different Coolies I released were found; and that of Mr. Roger Dias also. I never detected the Coolies in giving false evidence. The duffadars denied that they ill-treated the Coolies, and alleged, that they made known to them that they were to go to the Mauritius. It is, generally speaking, the second tale that the duffadars tell them, when they have got them to Calcutta, that they are to go a river voyage; by this they induce them to go to the police. They are so ignorant, the Dhangars especially, that they did not know their father's name."

Q. 732. "Had any of the Coolies who were before you previously been at the police to hear their engagements explained to them?"—*A.* "I believe that the greater part, if not the whole of them, had previously attended at the police to have their engagements explained to them."

We are certainly disposed to hear this evidence with great attention, as being that of a magistrate; but we confess there are circumstances connected with it to which we cannot avoid adverting. 1st. The declaration (opposed to the admission of the authors of the Report, No. 19, that a habit of exaggeration is prevalent among the natives), that he never detected the Coolies in giving false evidence, from which any one acquainted with the habits of these people will necessarily infer that he must have let them tell their own tale without cross-examining them, so as to elicit the truth; and from whence also it follows, as an inevitable consequence, that the 36 duffadars released were either acquitted against the evidence, or arrested on no evidence at all. 2d. The impossibility of getting clear evidence from men so profoundly ignorant as he represents them, and a great many of whom, he admits in his answer to another point, neither he nor any one else in his court could make to understand one word; whom he considers as totally incapable of comprehending one word of what was said to them at the police, yet perfectly competent witnesses in his own court. 3d. The sort of hostility existing between him and the Calcutta police, some of his peons having, in the case of the Edward, as he says, "protected" the Coolies from the Calcutta police, for whom he admits that they (the Coolies) were already "too strong." 4th. The arbitrary act committed by him in releasing these Coolies, holding absolutely for nothing the act of his brother magistrates, over which he had no legal control, and the regularity of their embarkment, and establishing in principle that at any period the Coolies were entitled to break their engagement, entered into before the competent magistrates of Calcutta, if they for any cause became unwilling to execute it. However, letting all this pass, the largest concession the authors of the Report can reasonably demand is, that the magistrate's deposition proves, that a part of the 137 men who appeared before him with various complaints had been deceived, and enticed from their homes as stated. (Conclusion, No. 9.)

We

We are willing to admit that such was the case, but we must protest against the manner in which they seek to generalize particular instances.

The next deposition cited, is that of Karoo (p. 127). This man's evidence goes to prove that he was deceived and enticed from his home by the promise of work in Calcutta. He admits, however, that his engagement was explained to him at the police; that he perfectly understood it, and embarked willingly. As, however, he further admits, without declaring the motive, that he was sent to the house of correction for two months, and, as he states, that he was attacked at the house of correction with the small-pox, whereas, we cannot discover that either at the period alluded to, or for a long time before and after, any case of this disease occurred in any public establishment, we conceive that this man's evidence should be received with great distrust.

The next deposition is that of Suboo (p. 129). It is to the same effect as that of Karoo, whom he states to be his nephew. We observe, however, a contradiction in his evidence. He says he fell sick from the effect of beating from his master's blacks (his master being a good man, who never beat him), and that he remained in the hospital for four months, and immediately afterwards he says he was sent back to Calcutta on account of his being disabled by the fall of a tree on his waist. We conceive, therefore, that his evidence also should be received with extreme circumspection.

The next evidence referred to is that of Mr. Dowson. Answers to Questions 943 (we suppose 940), 941, 942, 943, 944. We copy the whole, though they are long, and throw very little light on the question at issue; but we beg to add, and commence by the Question and Answer No. 939, which might dispense with the citation of all the others:—

Q. 939. Are you aware of the inducements held out by the duffadars to the Coolies, in order to get them to come down to Calcutta?—A. I am not.

“That's flat,” as Falstaff says, but the authors of the Report do not want proof; mere matter of opinion, more or less probable, will satisfy their consciences. The modern casuists, in Pascal's time, held that an “opinion probable” sufficed to save a man; our adversaries, reversing their doctrine, consider that it is quite sufficient for our condemnation.

Q. 940. Are you aware whether the Coolies are informed that they are to go sea to a distant place, and to be absent from India for five years?—A. I am nearly sure no representation of the kind is ever made to them; and as a proof of this, I beg to state, that on my return from the Mauritius, in November last, I was so desirous to crush the duffadar system, which I consider most vicious, that at a considerable expense I engaged a highly respectable Armenian, a Mr. Campiet, to proceed to Choolah Nagpore, the district where the Dhangurs live. He was the bearer of letters to Dr. Cheek, of Burdwan, and Captain Wilkinson, Governor-general's agent of the district. My orders to Mr. Campiet were, to engage no Coolie without first explaining to him the nature of the employment, and that he was to leave his country for a period of five years. It proved a fruitless mission, for Mr. Campiet did not succeed in procuring a single Coolie, and that, too, at the very time that duffadars sent by Mr. Hughes were engaging Coolies by hundreds in the immediate vicinity. In corroboration of this, I beg to put in letters from Dr. Cheek, Mr. Campiet, and Captain Wilkinson. The latter gentleman being absent on the frontier, wrote to his writer to explain to any Coolies wishing to take service, all the particulars connected with it.

Q. 941. Do you never employ any but native agents for procuring Coolies?—A. On the occasion referred to, I was entirely disappointed by the result of Mr. Campiet's mission, and was left without a single Coolie, having ships waiting to carry away a great number for whom orders were sent from the Mauritius. I was therefore obliged to apply to Mr. Hughes, who supplied me with 200, the number I immediately required.

Q. 942. On what terms did Mr. Hughes supply the Coolies?—A. I gave him one rupee for each man, but in addition to this, he received at least five rupees per head out of the six months' advance.

Q. 943. When you have an order to execute, do you still countenance the duffadar system?—A. I am obliged to do it. I am of opinion, that if the persons engaged in procuring Coolies would only co-operate, measures might be devised for putting down the system.

Q. 944. Do you think there is the least likelihood of Mr. Hughes, and the other agents employed, co-operating with you?—A. Not the least. The houses of agency who are employed in the export would gladly co-operate; but Mr. Hughes and the other subordinate agents would, in my opinion, be opposed to any change in the system, from having such a keen interest in its continuance.

All this is, as we have said, mere matter of opinion, in so far as regards the accusation in question, and might be dismissed with this remark: Mr. Dowson was opposed to the system; as his agent, who was instructed to explain everything, got no men, he concluded that Mr. Hughes's duffadars, who engaged a great many, explained nothing at all. This conclusion is not an inevitable one; the same effect might derive from many other causes; the extreme ignorance of the men, alleged by Mr. Patton, might render them less accessible to the solicitations of an agent of superior rank and education. Another cause has been entirely overlooked. We observe, from the letter of Captain Wilkinson, referred to by Mr. Dowson (Vol. p. 216), that he had instructed his writer to explain to the Coolies willing to take service, that they would be employed “in an island belonging to his Majesty the King of the French, to which neither the authority of the Company nor British Government extend.” The error is strange enough surely, although we see so many like it committed daily by persons who ought to be better informed; but it was sufficient of itself to account for Mr. Campiet's ill success.

No. 2.

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Lord John Russell,
14 August 1841.

Encl. in No. 2.

No. 2.
Sir Lionel Smith to
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The next evidence adduced is that of Mr. T. W. Smith, schoolmaster, (pages 140 and 141 of Vol.) As it merely refers to his fruitless amateur excursions in search of duffadars and deluded Indians, and his chit-chats with a friend of his, an officer of a ship, whose name he declines mentioning, because he is employed in the "Coolie trade," and who told him sad tales about the treatment of the Indian labourers in the Mauritius, we fancy we may dismiss it without further comment.

We are next referred to the evidence of Mr. George Witchlore, formerly of the preventive service. Answers to questions 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, (pages 150 and 151.)

Q. 1012. Do you think, from the result of your conversation (he had stated that he had often conversed with Coolies on board ship), that they understood the nature of their contracts?—A. Many of them, I should say most of them, did certainly not understand the nature of their contracts; they had the idea that they were to proceed no further than the sand-heads, and they were to be placed in most comfortable circumstances.

Q. 1013. Did they mention to you on what pretence they were induced to leave their country?—A. They told me that great hopes had been held out to them of getting this salary and that salary, and far higher than they could ever expect to receive. Some of them expected to be employed in Calcutta.

Q. 1014. Did they appear to be going willingly to their destination?—A. No; not to the Mauritius.

Q. 1015. Have you any particular case of grievance to bring forward?—The answer, which is long, merely states the case of a Brahminy woman from the upper provinces, who, on her way to Juggernaut on a pilgrimage, was kidnapped, dressed in man's clothes, and put on board a vessel, from whence she was released through the interference of witness. This case, as we have before remarked in many others, belongs to Art. 14 of the Report.

The only part of these declarations which regard the specific subject of the inquiry are the words, "some of them expected to be employed in Calcutta;" all the rest is vague and uncertain (for the Sirdars did get this salary, and the Coolies that salary), as must necessarily be the result of a custom-house officer's idle chatting with a parcel of ignorant labourers, who at the first moment of their embarkment could not but feel uncomfortable, as every one does under similar circumstances.

We proceed to the next evidence cited, that of W. Cracroft, esq., Bengal Civil Service. (Answer to question 1027, page 153):

Q. 1027. Has any instance of the abuse in the mode of the deportation of Coolies from Calcutta come to your notice?—A. Last year, a lad about 14 or 15, a near relation of my jumedar, was brought to me on this subject; his account was, that he had been persuaded at Burdwan to accompany some persons who had promised him service at Calcutta; that he had been put on board ship against his consent, but had effected his escape; was again seized and imprisoned in a house at Mutchoa Bazar; at length he got away, leaving his clothes and pots behind him. I sent and endeavoured to procure them, but they were detained by the bectyarah, on the pretence of remuneration being due for food supplied. He has since returned to his family in the Shahabad district, from whence the information can be obtained. I shall be able to produce before the committee persons who can give further information in regard to his and another case. The boy's name is Takoor; he lives at the village of Bampon, Pergunnah Deenar, zillah Shahabad.

This evidence may be considered to prove one, perhaps two cases, of the abuse defined.

The next evidence referred to is that of Rajeomar (pages 154 and 155 of the Volume).

This man's declaration has no relation whatever to the subject of Conclusion, No. 9. It is merely to the effect, that having come to Calcutta two years previously, he was one day employed as a ticca peon to embark some Coolies on board a vessel, when he was detained there himself as being one of them; he, however, was released by the captain or agent apparently the same day. This misadventure may have arisen from error or from design; there are no means of knowing which. The authors of the Report might say this man fell into the pit he was digging for others.

The last evidence is referred to in these terms, "Return of Mr. C. B. Taylor, Appendix, pages 356 to 369."

There are two returns furnished by Mr. C. B. Taylor, of Bancoorah, at the request of the Landholders' Society (a body which we understand to be, from views of self-interest, violently opposed to the emigration of labourers), the one cited and printed at p. 356 to 369 of the volume of evidence, the other not cited, but which we shall also notice, given in pages 370 to 382. The authors of the Report have been judicious in their choice, and we are not unreasonable in wishing to amend. These returns purport to be lists of the men who had gone from the neighbouring districts, with the inducements held out to them to go to the Mauritius. The names and parentages of their legal representatives, whom we understand to be the parties from whom the information given by these lists was obtained, are also given. There is also a column in the first list, headed "Name of the party who induced the men to go," but not a single name is inserted in it; a very convenient mode of bringing an accusation of fraud, without incurring the risk of contradiction by the party accused.

The first list contains the names of 192 men from the zillahs of Bancoorah and Porroola Maundbhoons. We remark, that no less than 77 of these men are designated under the name

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of "Bawory," and 32 men under that of "Rajwar." This circumstance should, we think, require some explanation. Of the first number,

4	only are represented by their wives,	
2	" " " " fathers,	
1	" is " " his mother,	
3	" are " " their sisters, and	
182	are represented by persons generally of the same name, but whose parentage is not stated.	

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This also might merit some explanation.

The inducements for leaving their homes are stated as follows :

"Said you will get pay at five rupees per month; if you wish can come home yearly. Five years you should remain there (where is not stated), afterwards remain or not as you please."

The number induced to go by this statement, is - - - - - 118

"Were told you will get pay at five rupees per month, will have to remain there (where is not stated), three years; besides pay there are perquisites; by remaining a little time there you will return with a competency. Distance, two days' journey from Calcutta; whenever inclined you may return, - - - - - 30

"It was said to him, that monthly five rupees should be sent to his house; whenever you choose you may return; we shall bring the money, - - - - - 9

"Carried away, offering five rupees monthly pay, and to return whenever inclined; not far distant; one day's journey from Calcutta," - - - - - 35

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All their families are represented as being in great distress, most of them begging from door to door. Thirty of them as having taken menial service for their maintenance.

The second list comprehends 109 men from the Zillah of Moundbhoom. There is not such a paucity of names in this list, though we still find 15 "Rajwars." These men are represented as follows :

10	by their wives
27	" " fathers
1	" his mother.
32	" their sons
2	" " daughters.
2	" " uncles.
24	" " brothers.
3	" " sisters.
2	" " nephews.
6	" " persons whose parentage is not stated.

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The inducements for leaving their homes are stated as follows :

"Said, you come to the Mauritius, will get you employment; having said this, took away. Did not agree for any wages, but only stated the preceding words, - - - 18

"Said, come with me to the Mauritius, will get you employment; no wages paid here, but said, will get you five or six rupees wages, - - - - - 6

"Said, come with me to the Mauritius, I will give you pay three rupees per month; has not agreed to pay any wages, (we suppose there), - - - - - 7

"Said, will you go to the Mauritius with me? I will give you pay four or five rupees a month, and get you an employment; no wages paid here, but said, will get you five or six rupees wages, - - - - - 35

"Said, can you go with me to the Mauritius? I will give you wages at five rupees a month; no wages paid here, but said will get you five or six rupees wages, - - - 6

"Said, come to the Mauritius; will get you employment; wages offered, five rupees per month; has not agreed to pay any wages, (we suppose there), - - - - - 7

"Said, come with me to the Mauritius; will get 10 rupees pay per month; no wages paid here, but said will get you five or six rupees wages*, - - - - - 6

"Said, can you go to the Mauritius with me? If so you can get pay at 15 or 16 rupees; has not agreed to pay any wages," (we suppose there), - - - - - 3

"Don't

* Is not this a contradiction? Perhaps it means what is explained in other passages of the evidence, five or six rupees money wages, and the rest in food and clothing.

No. 2. Sir Lionel Smith to Lord John Russell, 14 August 1841. <hr/> Encl. in No. 2.	" Don't recollect what inducement held out. No wages paid here, but said will get you five or six rupees wages (contradiction) - - - - - 2 " Don't recollect what inducement held out, but two chuprasses came and carried them away - - - - - 4 " Went at his (their) own pleasure, nobody took him (them) away - - - 16
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From a column in this list headed "How their families support themselves," we take the following details:—

- 11 by labour (description not mentioned).
- 4 by service.
- 16 by washing, spinning, pottery, basket and twine making.
- 6 by shaving, shopping and shopkeeping.
- 41 by agricultural labour and gardening.
- 31 by begging.

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It will be observed that in 48 cases not the least deception appears; that in 53 others, strictly, there was none, the wages proposed being five or six rupees, and five having been obtained; that in all the cases the true destination, Mauritius, was mentioned.

The authors of the report maintain, No. 12, that the Coolies were incapable of understanding the nature of the contracts; and Mr. Patton declares that, in regard to a great many, neither he nor any one in his office could make them understand a word; that they were so ignorant they did not know even their fathers' names; yet here are 279 out of 301 whose representatives perfectly understood the terms offered to them, and were able to repeat them two or three years afterwards, whilst there is no reason to believe that 16 out of the remaining 22 would not have been equally capable, and the remaining six do not allege their incapacity to comprehend what was promised.

Mendicants in every part of the world are apt to make the most distressing tale they can to represent themselves as the innocent victims of events or of persons; this cannot be better exemplified than by a comparison of the uniform story, the constant deception expressed in the first list, the informants of which are nearly all beggars, with the variety of details, the examples of perfect good faith set forth by the parties to the second, most of whom were gaining an honest livelihood by their industry. Even the little contradictions we have noticed in the latter, though they certainly ought to shake our confidence in the memory of those who fell into them, might be considered as an indice of their having no intention to deceive.

From this comparison we should be led to conclude that the first list is mendacious, and the second true in their details, but unfortunately they both come from the same source; and if we further bear in mind the frequent recurrence of the same name in the former, the omission to state who the fraudulent agents were, it would not, we think, be going too far to consider it as a very awkward fabrication; the second must then fall with it.

We leave our readers to decide what degree of faith they will attach to these documents, unauthenticated, unsupported by the appearance of their author before the committee, or by any explanations as to the manner in which the information was obtained, whether by the author personally or by his "duffadars," or the inducements which may have been held out to the parties who gave that information; for our part, we attach none; and, at all events, these documents show fewer instances of "gross misrepresentation and deceit" than of perfect good faith.

We have thus gone through the whole of this evidence, and, having done so, we feel we can confidently appeal to any impartial person, whether it is of the nature he expected, on reading the marginal note by which it is referred to, and whether it proves, "distinctly and beyond dispute," "that the Coolies were, generally speaking, induced to come to Calcutta by gross misrepresentation and deceit." That such did exist we have no wish to deny. To what extent is the principal question; and that, we maintain, it is impossible to define by this evidence; which, however, shows that it was not, generally speaking, according to the usual sense given to these words, and that it did not for the most part consist in gross misrepresentation, but rather in keeping back information than in advancing that which was substantially untrue. We have not been led into these details by a hope or a wish to define the limits of this abuse, but by a desire to expose the more palpable gross misrepresentation and deceit (the words are furnished to us, and we are sorry we cannot conscientiously use milder names) attempted in this instance to be practised on the Government and the public. By a similar process of inquiry to that adopted by the authors of this Report, any crime might be generally imputed to any people on earth, provided only all its members were not entirely exempt from it; and this system of exaggeration, of generalising particular cases, will be found to pervade their whole work by whosoever will take the pains to perform a series of tasks, embracing all its heads, of as uninviting a nature as that we have just accomplished.

If, instead of being deceived by duffadars to be induced to go to Mauritius, as the authors of the report allege but do not prove, the natives of Bengal had been told the real state of the case, viz., that they were offered to go, free of expense, to a colony where they would

would be well fed, well clothed, well lodged, attended to in sickness, protected by vigilant magistrates, and paid besides much higher wages than they would ever obtain in their own country, it is very probable that they would, in opposition to the opinion of the committee, have emigrated. Such was the case at Pondicherry, Madras, Bombay and Cochin, where we have seen that the truth was fully explained to them, without any mixture of Calcutta frauds and deceptions.

Why dwell with so much complacency upon the statement of abuses which took place at Calcutta only, and the recurrence of which may very easily be prevented by the employment of Government officers of trust and respectability in shipping the emigrants for the future?

This seems to be rather an unfair supposition. The people of Madras and Bombay having fully understood the contracts according to the Report of the authorities of those presidencies, why presume that the people of Bengal could not understand them likewise?

After what has been written, we think we may take it for proved that there is great exaggeration in the statement of abuses contained in these articles, and that there was an important amelioration in latter times, produced principally by the operation of the Act of May 1837. We repeat once for all; make such laws and regulations as will render for ever impossible the recurrence of such abuses in any, the most remote degree. It is idle and ridiculous to say you cannot. Surely much more difficult tasks in legislation have been often achieved, and are performing daily, without their authors taking to themselves great praise. With much less trouble than has been bestowed on the present Report, which we fear will contribute little to the renown of its authors, the work we demand would have been perfected.

The first of these paragraphs contains a very severe charge against the Calcutta police, and the Government of Bengal in general, when it says, "That the laws and regulations of Calcutta restrictive of the illegal export of Coolies can be evaded to any extent the shipper and captain may choose, and this with the utmost ease and impunity." We confine ourselves to observing in regard to this charge, that we have been, able to discover nothing in the evidence produced which could possibly warrant it.

This attack on the public authorities in Bengal is followed by one on the Government of Mauritius, which we feel it our duty to stigmatise as malicious, mean, and unfounded, to the effect that of 366 Coolies who were carried to the Mauritius in October 1836, on board the British vessel, the *Sophia*, Captain Rapson, the two-thirds at least had been embarked contrary to the laws and regulations at Calcutta, of which the Mauritius Government was cognizant, and that instead of being sent back as they ought to have been "they were all received and divided equally amongst the planters."

We say this attack is malicious and unfounded, from the manner in which it is made, first propounding the accusation in distinct terms, then, "willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike," withdrawing it, because, innocent souls, they wish "to obviate misconstructions and prevent the casting of blame unduly upon any one," with the admission that the Act they had previously cited was not passed, and the gentleman appointed to carry it chiefly into execution did not enter upon his office till the month of May of the following year: then reviving it again, with a reference to a document which few persons possess or can easily obtain, and which they have not thought proper to print, and a concluding remark tending to induce the belief that the Coolies were "equally divided" amongst the planters like so many cattle, whereas they knew that the words "equally divided" were incorrectly employed by Captain Rapson in his Answer 23, since he has stated in his Answer 13 that each planter who had a number assigned to him had a list made at the police, and their agreements signed and sealed by the head magistrate of Calcutta; and again, Answer 67, that they were shipped for specific planters, and that therefore those words in Answer 23, which moreover would appear to apply rather to the men who did answer to their names than to those who did not,* could at most mean nothing more than that the difficulty arising from the incorrectness of those names was overcome by an allotment in number to the satisfaction of all parties, since it was made in the presence of a magistrate, and one whom they might have learnt, though his name is incorrectly spelt in the evidence, is second to no one in high sense of honour and integrity.

It is also uncalled for and injudicious, because its authors must have known that it was no part of the mission they had received from the Government of India to make wanton attacks on the Government of Mauritius, which it was, on the contrary, their duty to respect. Indeed it was intimated to them by the letter by which they were appointed (*Vide* page 274), that as a local committee would be appointed here, their attention should be chiefly directed to the abuses alleged to exist in Bengal, and that when satisfied on that point they should report to the Government. Because they might have reflected that, even supposing the case to have occurred as they state, it was at the very commencement of the emigration, when, according to the return given by them at page 366, little more than 3000 emigrants had embarked, and that irregularities can hardly be avoided in the first working of a system; because had it so existed, nothing could be more difficult to prove, since

* The question 23 is, "Do you know how many answered to their names at the Mauritius, according to the Calcutta police list?" The answer—"I do not know how many answered to their names according to the Calcutta police list, only some few did. They were divided equally among the planters by Mr. M'Leay, the Marine police magistrate, and their names taken down as they answered them."

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nothing more appeared than this, that the men did not answer to their names; and if this were admitted as a proof of non-identity, nearly every labourer who has come here might have avoided his contract, because, even if proved, the remedy was not so simple as these gentlemen in their short-sightedness suppose. It is very easy to say in so many words that the men should have been sent back, but, as the authors of this attack lay claim to so much humanity, they might have reflected that this would have been making them perform a second voyage under much less favourable circumstances than the first; besides which, many delicate questions, on which we decline entering, remain as to the strict right the Government would have had to send them back, particularly when nothing appears to show that the men wish to go back.

Again, independently of all these considerations, the anxious solicitude manifested by his Excellency the Governor for the protection of the Indian labourers ever since the commencement of their introduction here; the zeal and activity shown by every officer of the Government, and of which the striking example was known to them, of the head of a most important department occupying his attention even with the regular transmission of the Indian labourers' correspondence to and from their families, as shown in Captain Finniss (volume of evidence, pp. 188, 203, 205, and 207), might have obtained for this Government at least a favourable interpretation of its acts.

But it is unnecessary to push these observations further; the fact is, the case as stated in the Report is totally unfounded. All that appears in the evidence is, that of the 308 persons taken on board the *Sophia*, 140 were embarked whilst the ship was at her mooring, some at Coolie Bazar, some at Budge Budge, and some at Kedgerree; and that in proceeding down the river the rest were embarked. That on mustering them on board ship, not more than 25 to 30 answered to their names as taken down at the police, and that the same irregularity (which, be it observed, is as equally imputable to the 140 whom the authors of the Report consider to have been duly embarked, viz. whilst the ship was at her moorings, as to the rest) was remarked here. There is not one word said as to any of the men refusing to perform the voyage, or declining, when arrived here, to remain and execute their engagements, or complaining of having been in any way deceived; and Captain Rapson, notwithstanding he appears to have expressed, in his answer to the 49th question, a very idle opinion to the contrary effect, to which we have adverted ante, and which it is his business to explain and reconcile if he can, and not ours, declares in answer to query, No. 49, that to the best of his knowledge, the whole of them were examined by the Calcutta police; and such, as we have formerly observed, was doubtless the fact. The men were duly engaged, and willing to perform their engagements, but some error had occurred in embarking them; the system of police permits not existing at that time, nor till much later, as the authors of the Report knew from the evidence of Captain Birch, Answer 98, and others, and from the tenor of the Act No. 5, of May 1837, printed by them at p. 276 of the volume of evidence.

As to the letter of the 29th June 1836, from Mr. Secretary Prinsep to the Colonial Secretary, Mauritius, on which we have seen the accusation in "Désespoir de cause," is finally made to rest, our readers will be surprised to learn that its principal purport was to reply to a question put by Sir William Nicolay, touching the legality of allowing Indian labourers to be introduced into British colonies in French vessels, which the *Sophia* was not, and that it is merely incidentally that it mentions that "the rules and orders in force at this Presidency require that the police should ascertain in every case of such embarkation, that the parties go voluntarily, and with a full understanding of the nature of the engagements they may have entered into; and likewise that they should be informed, in case of their proceeding to a foreign colony, that the British Government will no longer be able to give them protection, or secure the execution of the contracts;" from which we humbly conceive the Government of Mauritius must naturally infer, and had no right to do otherwise, that the police at Calcutta did enforce these rules and orders; that everything was going on regularly there, and that the Government of Mauritius was not called upon to control those proceedings.

This letter further contains an intimation that the Governor General did not feel himself at liberty to throw any impediments in the way of the free emigration of any native or inhabitant of India. The authors of the Report, before suggesting, nay more, insisting on the propriety of such a measure as sending back 200 or 300 of such natives, would have done well to consider whether the Governor of Mauritius might not also, with equal reason, not feel himself at liberty to throw impediments in the way of their landing here.

19.

From the evidence of Bibee Luhoorun Shaik Manik, Boodookhan, Karoo, and Seeboo, the reporting members, "after all due allowance made for a habit of exaggeration prevalent among Bengallees and Hindoostanees," do conclude "that the local police of the interior of the Mauritius was not very accessible to complaints; that the regulations of the plantations are such as closely to resemble imprisonment within the boundaries, and that the magistrates of the interior are not very cordially disposed to enforce those provisions of the contract, inserted for the advantage of the Coolies." Thus the whole of the police and magistrates of the interior are condemned at one fell swoop on the evidence of five native witnesses, labourers or servants, discarded for misconduct, whom the authors of the Report choose to believe in contradiction to the despatches of his Excellency Sir William Nicolay, and to the evidence of the Rev. Mr. Garstin, Dr. Wise, and all the other most unexceptionable witnesses hereafter mentioned.

It will be found at p. 246 of the Appendix to the Evidence, in an official statement transmitted by the chief commissary of police at the Mauritius, to the superintendent of police at Calcutta:—

1. That

1. That the woman Djoram (spelt Zuhoorun in the Report), a servant in the house of Dr. Boileau, a medical gentleman of great respectability, embarked for Calcutta, at her own and employer's request, for not performing her engagement, being frequently in a state of vagrancy, as per documents of the civil commissary of the district of Black River.

2. That Manique (spelt Manick in the Report), a sirdar in the service of Mr. J. B. Rivière, (who is a most respectable and honourable planter, long time "commandant de quartier," under the British Government, and to whose character the Rev. Mr. Garstin in his evidence bears a most flattering testimony), embarked for Calcutta, at his own and employer's request, for instigating the Coolies under his command to desert their employer's work, and insubordinate conduct, &c. towards his employer, as per documents of civil commissary of Plaines Wilhems.

3. That the Indian sirdar named Boudoucan (Boodookhan), in the service of Messrs. Lachiche & Co., embarked at his own and employer's request, for not obeying his employer's orders, and instigating the Coolies under his command to desert, as per documents of civil commissary of Rivière du Rempart.

As for the two remaining witnesses, Kawo and Seeboo, we refer to what we have already said on Article g.

Every word uttered by these five witnesses bears the stamp of falsehood, and yet the committee declare that "they would seem to require little confirmation."

It is worthy of remark that the evidence of natives sent back by authority of the police for misconduct is considered by the reporters as worthy of belief, but that of Ramdeen (p. 131), another native, whom his master, after three years' good conduct on his estate, had sent to Calcutta to engage labourers, is altogether disregarded, because it bears testimony to the good treatment of the Indians at Mauritius, and of Ramdeen's desire to return there.

A great number of Coolies have emigrated from Pondicherry to Mauritius, but without any of the abuses which prevailed in Calcutta. The reporters should have rejoiced at the fact.

The hardships and miseries endured by the "Coolies in the passage to Mauritius" do not appear to have been so great as represented by the reporters, if we may turn to the evidence of the respectable and credible portion of the witnesses. The mortality on board, the Report states to have been most serious. This is too vague: they ought to have put it down in figures. It has been ascertained not to have exceeded one-half per cent. The colonists of Mauritius are as desirous as the reporters may be to prevent the recurrence of any hardships at all, and trust to the Government of India and Mauritius to adopt such regulations as will put an end to them altogether.

As to the propriety of transporting Indian labourers to the West Indies, the people of Mauritius cannot presume to volunteer an opinion, which would be foreign to their present purpose. All that they ask for themselves is, that the Coolies may be allowed to emigrate freely, and under protecting regulations, to a colony, which is distant from India only three or four weeks, with a voyage on the finest seas, and under the mildest climate in the world, to a colony which, from the great number of Indians who have been settled there for half a century, may be considered as a district of India.

From what do the reporters infer that the planters have not been desirous that women should be sent from India? Is it from its being greatly their interest to have them? They would have induced their husbands and relations to remain in Mauritius. Had the committee put questions to the Calcutta agents, they would have ascertained that a great number of planters requested to have as many women as possible sent along with the men. But they were disappointed, because the men who emigrated did not choose, in most cases, to bring their wives along with them, and few single women were found willing to emigrate. Yet some hundred women were prevailed upon to come to Mauritius, and one planter has still as many as 28 on his estate, who were found very useful, and are happy and contented. (*Vide* Parliamentary Papers, dated 2d February 1838).

The planters of Mauritius would be happy to allow a free passage hither and back again to all women and children who would accompany their husbands and fathers.

We now come to the most important question for us, the treatment of the Indian labourers in Mauritius, and their general state and condition there; matters which the authors of the Report comment on in vague and rather contradictory terms. "On the subject of the condition of the Coolies in Mauritius, there is contradictory evidence." Such is the language of the reporters, who unhesitatingly declare that in this conflict they prefer the evidence of Zuhoorun, Manick, Seeboo, Karoo, and Boodookhan, sent back for misconduct, to that of Mr. Onslow, the Rev. Mr. Garstin, Dr. Wise, and Captains Mackenzie and Rayne.

We, however, think it may be useful in the first instance to examine two or three propositions, principally connected with the evidence in general advanced by the authors of the Report, but in which we believe it would be difficult to find three other persons to concur, at least in the sense in which they are propounded.

The first we shall notice is (Conclusion 23), that the Indians who have returned (that is who have been sent back), however ignorant, are really the best judges of the questions to which we have adverted in the last paragraph but one. To this we answer, certainly they are the best judges, and so is the culprit at the bar the best judge whether he committed or not the crime for which he is arraigned, a much better one than the magistrate who sums up the evidence, or the jury who pronounce the verdict, because he knows from certain science what they can only infer from the evidence produced. But the question is not whether he is the best judge, but whether he will be naturally disposed to pronounce the more correct judgment.

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Connected with this, or at least so we must suppose, is the proposition in No. 19, that "the evidence of the native witnesses to thinking men, acquainted with human nature and the ordinary working of human interests and human passions, in such relative situations, would seem to require little confirmation." Now from this we totally dissent. We think that human interests would prompt a master to use a labourer well, in order to induce and enable him to work well; to avoid ill-treating him, in order not to incur the contrary evil, and the reproach of being a bad master; to keep the labourer in his service as long as there is any good to be got out of him, and not to incur, by discharging him, the unprofitable expense of his passage back to India. On the other hand, human interests and human passions will cause men to be dissatisfied with their condition, however comfortable, when they compare it with that of others who are still better off. Thus the labourer who is bound under engagement to work for five rupees per month, becomes dissatisfied when he sees another labourer not bound by contract gaining 10 rupees, and this is unfortunately the fruitful source of almost all the complaints preferred by the former. Again, the same interests and passions will prompt the servant who is discarded with a bad character to endeavour to show that he was a bad master who so discarded him and gave him that character. Again, human interests will lead the poorer classes to represent themselves as victims and oppressed, when they meet with people simple enough to encourage and believe their complaints. But human interests cannot prompt men who are totally disinterested in a question to give false evidence touching that question; and neither human interests nor human passions will ever lead men of honourable minds and station to testify as fact that which they do not know to be true. One of our latter observations leads us naturally to the consideration of another point, viz., the rate of wages the Indian labourer is fairly entitled to receive on his arrival in this colony. The authors of the Report consider as an incontestable principle, that he is wronged if he is not paid the highest rate obtained by any other labourer. In this, we cannot concur, though we are little inclined to enter into a controversy on the subject, neither indeed should we do so, were we not aware how often the adoption of one erroneous principle leads to numerous false conclusions.

The labour of the Coolie is his merchandise or commodity, and he has a right, therefore, to dispose of it at the best market, and at the most advantageous price he can obtain. If, therefore, he brings his labour to this market, at his own expense, perils, and risks, he is entitled to obtain to his profit the highest price it affords; but if he require the aid of another person's capital for the purpose of bringing his labour to this market, he is no more entitled to the whole of this price, than the consignor of any other merchandise is entitled to have the freight, insurance and charges, at the expense of the consignee. If he lets his labour out for hire for a certain term, at a fixed price, which is not subject to diminution in consequence of any fluctuation in the market price of labour at Mauritius, he cannot equitably claim an augmentation of that price, in reference to the higher rate it may be worth in that market. The bargain is profitable or disadvantageous to him, according as the price he receives is greater or less than that he could obtain in the market where it is made. It cannot be considered improvident when he has not the means of taking it to a better market, though it may be profitable to him who has those means, and who employs them at his own risk.

Such we consider to be incontestable principles, though, as we have said, we have no wish to discuss the point. We say, let him, notwithstanding, obtain the highest price he can here, and we therefore propose to the government to pay the charges, or at least a principal part of the charges, of introducing the labourer here, and thus to leave him perfectly at liberty to choose his own master, and to make the most advantageous terms he could for himself. But in so doing we did more than the strict justice of the case required, which incontestably is, that the labourer who profits to the full extent of the market price of labour here, should support the expenses of bringing his labour to this market, and should incur all the risks of fluctuation in that price.

Evidence of the most unexceptionable character proves beyond any doubt that the Coolies are well treated at Mauritius, and much better off in every way than in their own country; as to the insinuation contained in the 23d Article of the Report, that they do not get the food stipulated, it is best repelled by the accompanying official statement, showing that the increase in the importation of ghee and dholl, two articles consumed by them exclusively, has regularly kept pace with the influx of emigrants into the colony.

Vide, in the Parliamentary Papers, the Reports of all the stipendiary magistrates for the special protection of labourers, and the evidence of all the Coolies themselves, given before those magistrates.

Vide Sir William Nicolay's despatches to the Secretary for the Colonies, in the same Parliamentary Papers.

Vide Mr. Woodcock's Report, *ibid*.

Vide, in the evidence published by the Calcutta Committee, a letter addressed by the Colonial Secretary at Mauritius to H. J. Prinsep, esq., Secretary to the Government of India, dated 12th September 1838: "His Excellency Sir William Nicolay desires me to express his entire confidence that the result of such an inquiry into the condition of the Coolies at Mauritius cannot fail to prove highly satisfactory as to the state and condition of the Indian labourers generally; and, moreover, will furnish the Indian Government with such full and detailed information on the subject as will enable them to form a correct judgment as to whether these people are contented with their lot, and satisfied with their general mode of treatment in the colony, which his Excellency believes them really to be." (Appendix, p. 301).

Vide

Vide Captain *Rapson's* evidence before the Calcutta Committee, p. 5:—

Q. Do you, of your own personal knowledge, know any thing of the manner in which Coolies are treated at the Mauritius?—*A.* I think, generally speaking, the Coolies are very well treated indeed at the Mauritius.

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Vide Captain *Edwards' evidence*, p. 59:—

Q. Did the Coolies, who came under your notice while you were at the Mauritius, appear to be in better or worse bodily condition than Coolies in India?—*A.* Those that I saw at the Mauritius appeared to be well; but I did not particularly observe as to their being in better or worse condition than Coolies in India.

Q. Did you observe any Indian labourer at work?—*A.* Yes, I have seen them discharging rice on the wharf; where one gentleman employs, as I think, about 100.

Q. Did they appear to have been overworked?—*A.* Not at all; they appeared in good condition; they were fine-looking men.

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Vide the evidence of the Rev. *Anthony Garstin*:—

Q. Can you speak, from personal knowledge, of the treatment of the Coolies at the Mauritius?—*A.* I can speak on the question so far as this; that I visited some of the sugar estates and saw the Coolies at work. I asked the Coolies themselves various questions, such as, Whether they were happy? whether they liked the country? and whether it was their wish to return to India? I do not remember a single instance in which the Coolies did not say Mauritius was a good place (acha jaigha), and that they liked it; but that they preferred India, assigning as their only reason, that their families were there. Most of those whom I questioned declared, that in case they returned to Bengal at the end of their term of service, they would go back to Mauritius, after having seen their families.

Q. Had you any conversation with well-informed residents on the state of the Coolies generally; and, if so, will you be good enough to favour the Committee with the result?—*A.* I conversed with a great many persons of all descriptions, from the Governor downwards, including several government functionaries, and a great many of the persons who had no personal interest in the question; all seemed to think that the Coolies were well treated; and, as far as they were informed of their previous circumstances, benefited by coming to Mauritius.

Q. From your own knowledge of the state of the labouring classes in the country, do you consider that the Coolies better their condition by emigrating to the Mauritius?—*A.* Very greatly. In the first place, the grounds are very clear, and they receive a higher rate of wages; in the second, their wants are so completely provided for as regards food, clothing, and lodging, that they have no occasion to spend any portion of their wages. Add to this, the nature of their work is not so laborious as in India, and the climate far more favourable (p. 112).

Vide Captain *Rayne's* evidence, p. 116:—

Q. Have you made any inquiries of natives of India respecting their treatment?—*A.* Yes, I have encountered many on the wharf, and in the streets; generally speaking, they said they were satisfied.

Vide the evidence of *Arthur Pooley Onslow, Esq.*, a civil servant on the Madras Establishment, p. 146:—

Q. What was the impression you had of their condition from what you saw of them?—*A.* They appeared to me to be in exceeding good condition, and to be quite contented. I do not mean to say there were no complaints, but you may judge of their nature by this, that their chief complaint was in regard to a deficient supply of salt for their food; but this, I believe, to have been a mere pretext, as salt is so very cheap at the Mauritius.

Vide the evidence of *Mr. J. Shaw*, Civil and Session Judge (Zillah Sipperah), p. 331:—
“I have every reason to believe, that at the large concerns, the Indian emigrants are well treated, and their comforts properly and duly attended to; but it is, as I have stated above, at the small and petty sugar estates that they are not treated as they ought to be,” &c.

Vide the letter of *Thomas A. Wise, Esq., M.D.*, at Hooghly, page 355:—“After frequent opportunities of observing the Hindoo Coolies, I can safely say that they are generally contented and happy in that delightful island. They are well clothed, well lodged, and taken care of when sick; besides receiving good and plentiful food, consisting of rice, ghee and salt, with chillies, tamarinds, onions, vegetables and fish, with often a dram in the evening after work, and they are allowed any ground they may wish for cultivating a garden for their own benefit. Women get three or four rupees a month, while the men have six rupees.”

And at page 336: “Is it not to be supposed that no means are provided for bringing to light cases of ill-treatment among the Indian labourers, or that they are not capable of giving vent to their wrongs. After residing some time in the Mauritius, they get more muscular in their bodies and more energetic in their minds. They are thrown among the apprentices, who, jealous and suspicious of their masters, impart a portion of their dissatisfaction to the free labourers, and they in their turn complain. Nor do their complaints remain unheard, for they are defrauded in their rights by an upright class of district magistrates, usually English, who investigate every complaint, and their masters are severely punished on conviction.

“I have had opportunities of knowing the condition in which the natives are in Beerboom, the quarter from whence a great many come, which I think it proper that I should mention. In that district the necessaries of life are obtained with much difficulty, and

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labour is so cheap that a native will carry a box or parcel to Calcutta and back again for 2½ rupees, a distance of 127 miles, or at the rate of a rupee for each 100 miles. There you procure a strong expert day-labourer for two pice a day (one rupee a month). Indeed such is the difficulty of procuring the necessaries of life in that quarter, that many of the inhabitants leave their homes and families for several months every year in search of work at indigo factories in the plains, which is the cause of the facility with which they take advances for the Mauritius."

And again at page 337: "The mild temper and cautious habits of the Hindoo, with the increased energy which the fine climate produces, renders him a much superior character to the African negro. It is a pity more encouragement is not given to the Hindoo to take his wife and children with him, so as to prevent the misery that too often is the consequence of the absence of the support of the family, and would prevent him getting into disputes with the negroes about females. This, I have no doubt, would often induce the Indian free-labourer to remain in a country where he enjoys so many and great advantages over that of his own country."

After reading such evidence, no man with the least pretension to good faith can doubt that the Indians are well treated, happy and contented at Mauritius, and in a far better situation, in every way, than in their own country.

The Report states the average rates of wages in the European factories of Bengal to be from 3½ to 5 rupees a month. It is asserted by credible persons who reside in India, that it never exceeds three rupees. In Mauritius, besides five rupees of money-wages, the Indians have all their wants supplied as regards food, lodging, clothing, medicine, attendance, &c. &c. In fact, their wages are their pocket-money; they spend them for their pleasure or lay them by, and those who have returned to India have generally taken back from 100 to 500 rupees.

As to the assertion that the Coolies never received any money-wages, see all the Reports of all the stipendiary magistrates in the Parliamentary Papers, in which the labourers state that they receive their pay regularly.

The question is not, whether there is or there is not superabundance of labour in British India. It is, however, incontestable that the general impression is in the affirmative, as admitted by the inhabitants of Calcutta, as stated in their petition, dated Town Hall, 10th July 1838. But the real question before the Committee for report and before the British Government for decision is this: Can the Indian labourer find a much higher price for his labour at Mauritius than in India? and if so, shall he, a free subject, be prevented from emigrating thither? Shall he be forcibly detained in India to work for the indigo planters occasionally at three rupees, when he is anxious to go to Mauritius to receive five rupees per month all the year round, over and above the necessaries of life?

This paragraph refers to some of the Calcutta abuses, and the fleecing of the Coolies there. This is a favourite theme with the reporters, but one which we may be dispensed with entering upon, as we hope and trust that when emigration is again permitted under proper regulations, no such abuses can possibly reappear. The reporters then proceed to make very erroneous calculations as to the pay given to the Coolies at Mauritius; it suffices to say that they are altogether incorrect, and contrary to fact.

After making an incorrect statement of the annual wages paid to the Coolies, the reporters make a still more erroneous one of the wages paid to the negroes. Never, in any case, did a negro agricultural labourer receive one dollar, or four shillings a day for wages at Mauritius. Captains Rapson, Mackenzie, and Rayne, never stated one word to the Committee about the wages of agricultural labourers.

vide the evidence of Captain Rapson, page 6:—

Q. 58. Do the discharged apprentices in the Mauritius readily find a market for their labour?—A. The discharged apprentices could readily find a market for their labour at Mauritius, but they generally stick out for higher wages, higher than can be afforded. The rate of wages in town is about half a dollar a day. I don't know what it is in the country. I think the discharged apprentices could get half a dollar a day, but in general, those who were born in Madagascar prefer returning to Madagascar, or prefer turning sailors. They make very good sailors.

Captain Mackenzie's evidence, page 35:—

Q. 301. Do you know what is the rate of wages for agricultural labour at Mauritius?—A. I can't speak of the wages of free agricultural labourers, but I have been told by commanders who employ labourers at Port Louis to unload cargo and do the same work as Lascars here do on board European ships, that they pay a dollar (two rupees) a day, and find the labourers provisions like the European crew; I believe that is the current rate.

vide the evidence of Captain Rayne, page 114:—

Q. 814. Can you give any information concerning the rate of wages of free labour in the Mauritius?—A. The only criterion I can furnish, is the rate at which we pay labour on board ship. The rate is two rupees or one dollar a day. Sometimes they find their own provisions, sometimes they get provisions found them, but they generally stipulate for a glass of grog in all cases; the same rate is, I believe, paid on the wharf.

We have quoted this evidence at length, in order to show that notwithstanding the reporters' assertions, it has no reference whatever to the wages of agricultural labourers, of which these three witnesses state their complete ignorance. They appear to have paid four shillings a day to porters, men who stand on the wharf waiting for a job, which they get occasionally, not regularly every day, and for which they charge very high, as few negroes are willing to undergo the hard work of moving about cargo in a ship's hold. But as there are not vessels unloading every day all the year round, in so small a place as Mauritius, these men get occasional work only, and must on their day of idleness live upon the

the profit of the busy ones. They have to provide themselves and their families with lodging, food, and clothing; they have no master to give it to them. We can well understand why they are paid more for a day's work than agricultural labourers, just as a London porter gets as much for carrying your trunk from the stage coach to your lodgings as a Kentish peasant gets for a week's labour at the plough.

When the apprenticeship ceased on the 1st April 1839, the few negroes who remained at work accepted the same wages which the Indians received, viz., two and a half dollars a month (five rupees), with clothing, rice, and salt meat. They therefore cost less than the Indians, who received ghee, dholl, fish, woollen caps, blankets, &c. But as the negroes retired by degrees from the estates, the very few who remained raised their demands progressively. Even now that the return of some hundreds of labourers to India after the expiration of their contracts, the prohibition against emigration and the very high price of sugar have all combined to give a stimulus to the rise of wages, the negroes generally receive only five or six dollars, or ten to twelve rupees a month, with the food and clothing; and many Indians, as the contracts daily expire, re-engage on the same terms.

The planters, in order to save their estates from total ruin, and in the hope of thus keeping them up until emigration is again opened, are compelled to pay those wages, which would be ruinous but for the present high prices of sugar. Two or three of them have gone as far as an offer of eight dollars or sixteen rupees a month, in order to secure a portion of the crop, which must otherwise have perished on the ground.

It may safely be asserted that the wages of both African or Asiatic labourers have never risen beyond this at Mauritius, and yet the reporters speak of sixty rupees a month, one-fourth of which no planter can afford to pay, even whilst he sells his sugar at 40 shillings the cwt.

The Indians whose contracts are expired are thus placed exactly on a footing with the negroes, and may offer their services to the highest bidder. Both of them now get ten rupees a month for money wages. But such a state of things cannot be expected to last; the price of sugar will soon fall, and wages must fall likewise.

The Mauritius planters go further than the authors of the Report in this particular, and consent that no contracts at all shall be made in India, and that the emigrants arriving at Mauritius free from any previous engagement, shall be enabled to secure the highest rate of wages obtainable there. This point is already provided for by the Order in Council of the 7th September 1837, which enacts that no engagement made out of the colony is binding or valid in law; by the same order it is also enacted that no engagement shall be made for more than one year.

It is not a little singular that the reporters, out of tenderness to the Mauritius negroes, very few of whom are willing to work on any terms, however high, should seriously propose to prevent the Indians from seeking a better market for their labour. Their illustration of this subject is not very happy, for it is well known that thousands of Irish and Scotch labourers annually go over to England in harvest time, in whose absence it is probable that the English peasantry would obtain higher wages from the farmers. Yet who ever thought of putting an end to that practice?

As to the remark of the reporters about "countries where the wages of labour are so low as to afford the labourer in ordinary times nothing but a bare sufficiency to sustain life of the cheapest food, clothing, and shelter," it surely is very much misapplied to Mauritius, where the labourer receives from his employer—first, all the necessaries of life, food, clothing, lodging, medical treatment, &c., and then high wages as pocket-money to procure luxuries.

The reporters have so poor an opinion of the judicial and police establishments "in the interior and in Calcutta itself," that they are persuaded that "scarcely any human precaution would avail to prevent a repetition of abuses." We, having a higher, and, we are convinced, more correct opinion of the Bengal judges and magistrates, do firmly believe that they will easily attain the object already effected, as we have seen in Madras, Bombay, Pondicherry and Cochin, viz., the emigration of labourers free from any abuses whatever.

It only requires a little vigilance, which we are sure they will evince, and the most sceptical may feel perfectly secure when they reflect that the reporting members of the Committee are there to watch them with jealous eyes, and to denounce them to the world, even if they should not deserve it.

We believe that when poor Indian families hear from the emigrants who are daily returning to their country, how happy and comfortable they might be at Mauritius, they will be glad to go there together; and, in fact, many of the emigrants who go away now, state their intention of soon returning with their families.

There is no need of regulations to enforce the due performance of contracts, as we wish to enter upon a new system, without any contracts at all, when the Indian emigrant shall be brought to the Mauritius at the public expense, and free to engage with whomsoever he may please to serve.

The Mauritius planters, who have, most of all, suffered by the abuses which existed in Calcutta, are very desirous that the emigration of Coolies should be superintended and directed by Government officers, as proposed by the report in this paragraph; but it seems superfluous that Government should organize a "land transport of Coolies;" this would very greatly increase the expense without any utility, as a great many labourers may be procured on the sea-coast, and those of the inland provinces will soon know how to find their way to the port of embarkation, when they know that it will be to their advantage to go there.

Why always call this free emigration of free men a "traffic?" is it only to cast odium upon it? Why not also call the emigration of Englishmen to America and South Australia a "traffic?"

No. 2.
Sir Lionel Smith to
Lord John Russell,
14 August 1841.

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No. 2.
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Lord John Russell,
14 August 1841.

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This is anticipating what never has and never will take place. There have been no harassing political disputes between the Indian government and the French government, when 10,000 labourers, mostly from the British province, emigrated from Pondicherry in five years; and since the prohibition has been established in India, no labourers from Pondicherry have been admitted to the Mauritius.

The reporters here very candidly confess that they have framed a plan for the emigration of Coolies, not without a hope that, if the plan be adopted, "the trade would be abandoned as unprofitable by all parties now engaged in it (the Coolies, of course, included); that is to say, that the plan for emigration is a plan against emigration; in other words, a plan for detaining the Coolies at home to starve and work for low wages, and sometimes for their food alone, with the indigo and sugar planters of India.

36. The reporters propose, that to any number of male emigrants be added two-thirds of females; this is absurd; for however desirable it may be to see every man bring his wife along with him, you cannot compel men to marry if they are not disposed, or their wives to emigrate if they will not; you cannot, to use the reporter's own term, enforce the emigration of the latter in a certain proportion. Let the principle of perfect freedom be adopted. No compulsion must be used, but inducements must be held out to the women to follow the male emigrants; and, in selecting the latter, the preference must always be given to married men who take their wives along with them. Let a free passage be given to the women merely to accompany their husbands. If these means prove insufficient by experience, let hereafter a bounty be given to female emigrants, but no compulsion. It is evident that to enforce the emigration of two-thirds of females, means that the men shall be forced to stay until that proportion of women is found willing to go away with them.

37. There can be no objection to selecting certain ports of India for the emigration (not exportation) of labourers.

38. We have no objection to the appointment of a superintendent of emigration and a reasonable number of assistants; yet the machinery must not be too expensive, which seems to be the object of the reporters, in order that emigration may be "abandoned as unprofitable by all parties" (*vide par. 33*).

39. The chief superintendent of emigration would be able to fulfil the duties of examiner and superintendent-general of embarkation, provided he were assisted by an interpreter, when the language of the Coolie was not understood by him. We are not to suppose that the duties would be immense, and that emigrants would come down in overwhelming numbers upon the superintendent. It is not likely that men, so many as from 300 to 400 every month, would emigrate from each port selected for that purpose.

We have no objection to specified wharfs of embarkation; but of what use are deputy examiners, except to swell the expense?

41. The proposition to make emigration a Government transport service, in the manner suggested by the authors of the report, amounted to a total prohibition, on account of the great expense. It would seem sufficient that the superintendent should see the Coolies embark in reasonable numbers, and according to the provisions of the Passenger Act, on board of any merchant ships leaving Calcutta, or any other selected port, for the Mauritius, and provided with all the requisites for the voyage. The captain would be answerable to the governments of India and Mauritius for their proper treatment on board, and they would be examined on that head by the Mauritius authorities on their arrival, according to the practice invariably followed before the prohibition. In the majority of merchant ships, the Coolies were well treated, as proved by the evidence.

42. All this is calculated to have innumerable "employes" and immense expense, so as to render emigration impossible.

43. We have no objection to an Act of Parliament; but the executive Governments of Great Britain or India could do it just as well.

44. We have no objection to the abolition of contracts made in India by proxy, between a master and servant who know nothing of each other. This prohibition has existed at Mauritius for two years past, no contract of service made out of the colony being binding.

45. Why these double agencies, unless still more to swell the expenses? The reporters here recur to contracts. It would be much better, as proposed by the Mauritius planters, that the labourer should come into the colony unfettered by any previous engagement, free to choose his master, and profit by the highest rate of wages to be obtained.

46. All this correspondence about indentments is meant to retard, impede, and finally prevent emigration.

47. Proclamations informing the poor people of the interior of the advantageous results which they might obtain from emigration, would be beneficial; but there seems to be no necessity for marching down the Coolies under an escort, like gangs of slaves on the African coast. If once desirous of emigrating, they would soon know how to find their way to the port of embarkation with their own means, but then it would not be as expensive as the reporters wish it to be.

48. The estimate of expenses is greatly exaggerated.

49. Mauritius is not *alone* to benefit. All the Coolies who are at this moment returning to Calcutta from this colony, carry away savings amounting to from 100 to 600 rupees, as stated by them to Government officers, appointed to receive their evidence on their arrival at Calcutta. But the reporters seem to think very little of benefiting the Coolies.

50. It would be well to do away with the advance of wages formerly made to Coolies previous to embarkation, as they were dissatisfied at not receiving any pay for several months after their arrival at the Mauritius. As to depositing 30 rupees for every labourer, this will be rendered

rendered useless, as it is proposed by the Mauritius planters, with the sanction of the local government, that the emigration shall take place at the expense of the colonial treasury; and the financial arrangements would therefore be settled between the governments of India and Mauritius.

As the expense will thus be charged upon the colonial treasury, and not upon the individual planters, whom their enemies and competitors in the sugar market wish to fleece and ruin, it will be found expedient to reduce it as much as possible.

The objections to the Government transport system have been stated as above. Thirty rupees appear to be quite enough for the passage of each Coolie, without raising the sum to 40; any merchant vessel would take them at 30 rupees a head.

As to protecting the emancipated negroes of Mauritius against competition, it is now an ascertained and uncontrovertible fact (which the Governor of this colony is, it is presumed, able to attest) that they will not undertake field labour even at the highest wages, and that agriculture must be abandoned in the colony unless labourers are introduced from abroad. As to the Indian labourers, it is also a positive and undeniable fact that they benefit very greatly by coming to Mauritius, where they are better paid, better fed, better clothed, and better off in every respect than in their own country. This fact is attested by all the respectable witnesses from India who have visited Mauritius, and particularly by D. Wise (Evidence, p. 336), who states that, "after residing for some time in the Mauritius, they got more muscular in their bodies, and more energetic in their minds;" and at p. 336, "enjoy many and great advantages over those of their own country."

With respect to the possibility of effectually remedying for the future the abuses complained of, the merit of the measures suggested to that effect by the authors of the Report, we cannot, we trust, be expected to enter into much detail. It would be nearly as presumptuous on our part to vindicate the capacity of the respective Legislatures to frame all such laws as may be necessary, and the power of the respective Governments to enforce the effectual execution of those laws, as it is evidently impertinent on the part of the authors of the Report to pre-suppose their incapacity in those respects. And as to the suggestions contained in the Report under notice, as they are evidently conceived in malice and narrowness of mind, they can only fail to excite our indignation because they inspire us with the most profound contempt. This judgment is severe we know; but let any one consider the insistence (Art. 34), as a preliminary step on the conclusion of conventions with foreign powers, which must inevitably be, if not impossible, at least the work of years of negotiation, and which must be tenfold more necessary, under the absolute prohibition of emigration from the British possessions, than they possibly could be useful when it is freely permitted. The unnecessary reference of the demands for labourers (we will not report the foolish and unmeaning word they employ) to the Secretary of State, who could only decide on their merits according to the report of the Governor of the colony, who might therefore, with equal security, admit or reject those demands at once; suggestions merely intended to create unnecessary but fatal delay: we say, let any impartial person consider these evident proofs of jesuitical malice, and he will not be disposed to censure the opinion we have expressed.

We recollect having read in some old popular work on the diseases of cattle, the following prescription for a serious, and generally fatal one: "The best remedy we can point out is this, kill the beast and bury it 10 feet under ground: if any of our readers, however, should not be disposed to employ this remedy, let him try some of the following," &c. &c. One would be tempted to believe that the authors of the Report have been endeavouring to imitate this example; with this difference, however, that the last remedies of our honest farmer were suggested with a view to cure, whereas those of our authors are recommended, as we have before observed, with an avowed intention to kill.

But thinking men, to borrow an expression which the authors of the Report misemploy, will reflect that it is a much more noble and praiseworthy enterprise to obviate or attenuate evils than to destroy the useful object or institution in which they exist: and that the principle on which is based the system of our adversaries, would in its full though unstrained application, serve, as is sometimes attempted, as a justification even for crimes which we have not the courage more distinctly to indicate.

It is not thus that the Legislature of Great Britain have dealt with difficulties immensely greater. To cite as an example that of smuggling, which exists even now to a greater or less extent in every commercial country on earth. When the coasts of Great Britain, and particularly those of Kent and of Sussex, and even the interior of those counties, were infested with armed and lawless bands, carrying terror with them, and pursuing even to death, sometimes accompanied with atrocious cruelty, the revenue officers, did the Legislature, to remove those evils, put down commercial intercourse? If the learned chairman of the committee had entered only half as deeply into the study of British legislation as he has into that of trading speculations in sugar and indigo, so foreign to his natural occupations, he would have learnt that whilst the evil was attacked and counteracted by numerous and most elaborate laws and regulations, the former of which are now consolidated into an admirable code which is still annually revised and amended, fair trading was maintained, protected, and encouraged. He would further have learnt that no small portion of the almost continual attention of the Parliament and Government is directed to the framing and enacting of remedial laws, which might be rendered totally unnecessary by the shorter destructive process which the authors of the Report strongly recommended in the particular case confided to their judgment.

No. 2.

Sir Lionel Smith to
Lord John Russell,
14 August 1841.

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No. 2.
Sir Lionel Smith to
Lord John Russell,
14 August 1841.

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It will be objected, perhaps, that these cases are connected with matters of too high importance to allow of their being brought into parallel. Shall we then descend to an example, which we fear is much too low, but which in the eyes of our adversaries is not without its importance also, and ask if certain members of the committee, instead of conscientiously performing their duty, were to make a most partial, malicious, and mendacious report, would that be a sufficient motive for enacting that in future no other committee should ever sit; no other Report should ever be made? Or would it not be more consonant to reason and prudence to provide, that in future nominations of such bodies, such a choice of honest and independent members should be made as would insure a righteous judgment.

But it must not be forgotten, that the question under examination is really one of deep importance also. It may be turned as parties please, and placed in every point of view which the most consummate astuteness can suggest, but it will not cease to resolve itself into this, whether a considerable portion of Her Majesty's subjects, natives of India, are to be deprived of their personal liberty, in so far as regards the power of moving to any other part of the British Empire, and of exercising their lawful industry as they may think proper; which personal liberty is an absolute and imprescriptible right of every British subject.

And let not the miserable subterfuge be resorted to, of pretending that the law, of which the maintenance is recommended, does not restrain a native of India from quitting his country. When it prohibits from aiding and abetting him in so doing, it deprives him of the power of enjoying his liberty. There can be no culpable aider and abettor where there is no principal offender; there can be no punishable aiding and abetting, when the act done is merely the exercise of a recognized right. When, therefore, the abettor is punished, the existence of the right is denied.

And when it is pretended that it is necessary so to restrain him, because he is incapable from ignorance of exercising this right judiciously, we answer, "Be consistent; make out your case against him, and interdict him." It is absurd to restrain him, as in India, in the faculty of locomotion, and the exercise of his industry only, and to leave him at liberty to perform every other imprudent act which his fancy may suggest. As in this colony, to leave a man free to contract the most improvident marriage, to compromise his personal liberty, by embarking in the most ruinous trading concerns, whereby imprisonment for debt may be incurred, yet to incapacitate him from engaging himself to labour for a year and a day, however advantageous the terms of the contract may be, and notwithstanding they may have been settled in the presence and with the aid and counsel of a magistrate.

But enough has been said. It appertains to the Legislatures of Great Britain, of India, of this colony, to repel these disrespectful assertions of their incapacity, by showing that they are competent to frame and enact whatever laws the growing exigencies of society may require. To the respective governments, to prove that they possess not only the will, but also the power to enforce the full execution of those laws. Let them do this, and then, whilst the frightful visions of the deluded philanthropist will completely vanish in the broad light of truth and justice, the angry discussions, the agitation of the public mind, excited by the sordid, in furtherance of their views of self interest, or by the vain-glorious as the means of satisfying their ardent aspiring after the fleeting favours of vulgar popularity, will be hushed and disappear in presence of the majesty of British legislation, maintaining and protecting the inestimable rights and liberties of British subjects.

(signed) *Hollier Griffiths.*

E. Dupont.

— *Lorton.*

Eugène Leclézio.

Edward Chapman.

John T. Rowlandson.

H. Hunter.

Port Louis, 4 June 1841.

N.B.—In opposition to the incomprehensible system proposed by the authors of the Report, we beg to submit to the examination of our readers, the plan framed by the Mauritius Free Labour Association, and which has obtained the approbation of the local Government.

PORT OF PORT LOUIS, MAURITIUS.

A STATEMENT of the Quantities of GHEE and DHOLL imported in each year, from 1832 to 1838 inclusively.

Y E A R.	G H E E.	D H O L L.
1832	815 casks. Cwt. grs. lbs.	—
1833	127 0 1	10 6 Cwt. grs. lbs.
1834	713 3 3	210 3 14 and 21 quarters. Cwt. grs. lbs.
1835	236 3 0	409 3 12
1836	469 0 5	3,566 1 0
1837	2,109 0 27	5,500 1 5
1838	2,862 0 16	9,343 0 0

(signed)

George C. Cunninghame, Collector.

PLAN of the *Mauritius* FREE LABOUR ASSOCIATION, instituted under the sanction of Government.

1. The object of the Association is to afford relief to the urgent and imperative demand which now prevails in the colony for agricultural labour, by the encouragement of immigration into Mauritius of the natives of India, Madagascar, Muscat, and other countries, with their families, on a system favourable to the immigrants, and on the conditions enumerated in the following articles.
2. All the proceedings of the Association shall be in strict conformity to the existing laws, and to the principles on which the Emancipation Act of Parliament is founded.
3. Agents shall be appointed by the Association, with the approbation and under the control of Government, to reside at Calcutta, Madras or other Ports of India, at Madagascar, Muscat, and all other places where it may be deemed necessary.
4. The agents shall act in concurrence with the local authorities of the places where they reside, and afford them every information they may require.
5. The agents shall receive the applications of emigrants, and assure themselves that they act of their own free will, without any deception or constraint.
6. They shall cause the emigrants to be visited by a medical officer, to ascertain that they are not infirm or diseased; and, if practicable, cause them to be vaccinated previous to embarkation.
7. They shall in all cases preferably admit the applications of men wishing to emigrate with their wives and children.
8. For emigrants who may require it, the agents shall provide food and lodging, previous to embarkation, during such time as may be necessary.
9. They shall provide a free passage for the emigrants to Mauritius, and give in advance to each individual, on embarkation, a suit of clothing and a blanket.
10. The emigrants shall, in no case, be called upon to enter into any engagement previous to their arrival in the colony.
11. The agents will see that the rules established by the Act 5th & 6th Will. 4, c. 53, commonly called the Passenger Act, be strictly observed, particularly as regards the number of passengers on board, the shipping of sufficient provisions, of a supply of medicines, medical attendance, and the sea-worthiness of ships.
12. The agents shall inform the emigrants of the conditions on which they are to be employed at Mauritius, and guarantee to them, as a minimum, in the name of the Association, the following amount of wages, food, and clothing, with lodging and medical attendance :

WAGES.

For Indians.

Men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 C. Rupees, or 10s. per month.
Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	8s. —
Children of both sexes from 10 to 18 years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 to 3	4s. to 6s. —

For Labourers from Madagascar, Muscat, and other Places :

Men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ½ dollars, or 10s. per month.
Women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	8s. —
Children of both sexes from 10 to 18 years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 to 1 ½	4s. to 6s. —

RATIONS, DAILY ALLOWANCE.

For Indians of both Sexes above 10 Years of Age:				For Labourers from Madagascar, Muscat, and other Places, of both Sexes, above 10 Years of age:			
Rice	-	-	1 lb. 10 oz. avoird. wt.	Rice	-	-	1 lb. 10 oz. avoird. wt.
Dholl, or salt fish	-	-	3 —	Salt meat	-	-	4 —
Ghee	-	-	½ —				
Salt	-	-	½ —				
For those below 10 years half rations.				For those below 10 years half rations.			

CORRESPONDENCE RELATIVE TO

CLOTHING.

All the Immigrants will receive annually the Articles hereafter enumerated, or an equivalent in money if they prefer it.

INDIANS.	LABOURERS FROM MADAGASCAR, MUSCAT, AND OTHER PLACES.
Men and Boys above 10 Years:	Men and Boys above 10 Years:
2 Dhooties of 4 yards each - - - - - } per Ann.	2 Pair of cotton trowsers - - - - - } per Ann.
1 Jacket - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - }	2 Cotton shirts - - - - - - - - - - - }
1 Lascar cap - - - - - - - - - - - - - }	1 Lascar cap - - - - - - - - - - - - - }
1 Blanket or cumlie - - - - - - - - - - }	1 Blanket - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - }
Women:	Women:
10 Yards of blue or white gurrah } "	10 Yards of blue or white gurrah } "
1 Blanket or cumlie - - - - - - - - - - }	1 Blanket - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - }
Girls from 10 to 15 Years:	Girls from 10 to 15 Years:
6 Yards of blue or white gurrah } "	6 Yards of blue or white gurrah } "
1 Blanket or cumlie - - - - - - - - - - }	1 Blanket - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - }

13. On their arrival at Mauritius, the immigrants shall be provided by the Association with lodging, food, and medical treatment, if required, during such reasonable time as the local government may think proper to determine.

14. The immigrants shall be entirely free to choose their employers, at the highest rate of wages, and on the most favourable conditions to be obtained.

15. The immigrants will, like the other labourers of the colony, be under the protection of the magistrates already appointed for that purpose; they will enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and the children will have the benefit of the free schools.

16. They shall be allowed a free passage to their own country after five years' service in the colony; and if they choose to return before the expiration of that period, it shall be at their own expense.

17. In order to meet the expenses attendant on the immigration of labourers, Government has been solicited to impose a special tax, not exceeding 14,000*l.* annually; and will be further requested to advance the sums required for that purpose, and to recover the same by means, 1stly, Of the special tax above-mentioned; 2dly, Of payments to be made annually by the employers of immigrants during a period of four years.

18. The inhabitants of the colony, who may be in want of labourers, will be requested to inform the Association of the precise number required by each of them; and the Association will proportion the assistance to be given to emigrants to the applications made for them, and to the funds at its disposal.

19. The applicants for labourers will be required to bind themselves, under a sufficient guarantee, to receive the immigrants into their service on their arrival, if willing to engage with them; to give them, at least, the rates of wages, food, and clothing specified above in Article 12, as well as lodging and medical attendance, and to make the annual payments mentioned in Article 17.

20. The functions of the members of the Association are essentially gratuitous, and the members shall not, in that capacity, derive any personal advantage from the measures of the Association.

Port Louis, 4 June 1840.

J. Edward Arbuthnot, Merchant.

Ade. Aubin, Planter.

Henry Barlow, Merchant and Planter.

Robert Bullen, Merchant and Planter.

Edward Chapman, Merchant.

E. Dupont, Advocate and Landed Proprietor.

J. Daruty, Planter.

Jph. Dioré, Proprietor.

M. Fontenay, Planter.

Edward Francis, Merchant.

Hollier Griffiths, Merchant and Landholder.

A. H. Hugnin, Proprietor.

Henry Kämig, Avoué.

Eugene Leclizio, Avoué.

Aimé Lesur, Proprietor.

Lortan, Merchant and Landed Proprietor.

E. Lucas, fils, Merchant.

J. Pierre Molliers, Planter.

Jn. T. Rowlandson, Merchant.

William S. Saunders, Planter.

H. Toché, Merchant.

Trebuchet, Notary Public and Landed Proprietor.

Ulcoq, Planter.

W. W. West, Planter.

— No. 3. —

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord *Stanley* to Governor Sir *Lionel Smith*,
Bart., G. C. B.

(No. 39.)

Sir,

Downing-street, 14 December 1841.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 84, of the 14th of August last, transmitting the reply of the Free Labour Association to the report drawn up by three members of the Committee on Indian Emigration, appointed by the Bengal Government on the 1st of August 1838.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stanley*.

No. 3.
Lord Stanley to
Sir Lionel Smith,
14 Dec. 1841.

— No. 4. —

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord *Stanley* to Governor Sir *Lionel Smith*,
Bart., G. C. B.

(No. 47.)

Sir,

Downing-street, 22 Jan. 1842.

HER Majesty's Government have carefully weighed the question of permitting the introduction into Mauritius of labourers from India, and have adverted to the various despatches on that subject from yourself, which are enumerated in the margin. Their conclusion is, that whether regard be had to the interests of the colony, or to the welfare of the labourers themselves, it is desirable to revoke the existing prohibitory law. Some explanation, however, appears necessary to prevent any misconception of the motives which have induced the confidential advisers of the Crown to adopt this conclusion.

The abolition of slavery has rendered the British colonies the scene of an experiment, whether the staple products of tropical countries can be raised as effectually and as advantageously by the labour of freemen, as by that of slaves. To bring that momentous question to a fair trial, it is requisite that no unnecessary discouragement should be given to the introduction of free labourers into our colonies. So far as it may be inevitable to obstruct such immigration by taking effective securities that the immigrants shall be, in the fullest sense of the term, free agents,—that obstruction may be justified, but no further.

Without the aid to be drawn from a foreign supply of labour, much of the fixed capital at present existing in the sugar colonies, and especially in Mauritius, will become comparatively useless. In addition to the very serious loss attendant on such an extinction of property, would be the still greater evil that the colony must retrograde in wealth and civilization beyond the power of recovery within any assignable period.

To these considerations are to be added such as directly affect those for whose protection the existing restraints were imposed. In the vast population of India, poverty and distress but too often appear in the most appalling forms. Among the few resources open to the sufferers for escaping these calamities, one is emigration to Mauritius, where a constant and large demand for their labour exists. The motives for interdicting to them this relief ought to be at once clear and decisive.

Amongst those motives, justice to the newly emancipated class has been alleged. It is maintained that we have no moral right to introduce rivals into the market for their labour, especially when such rivals are brought there at the expense of the public revenue; a fund to which it is said the enfranchised negroes contribute so largely, though they have neither voice nor influence in the expenditure of it. I cannot subscribe to the justice of this reason. When the slaves in our colonies were emancipated, they became subject to all the duties and to all the liabilities of the free members of a free state. Industry in their callings was one of those duties, and the penalties consequent on indolence and self-indulgence were among those liabilities. I, of course, do not mean that any inoffensive member of society, who earns what is necessary for the subsistence of himself and his family, should be exposed to any punishment, in the strict and proper sense of that term, because, contenting himself with the bare

No. 4.
Lord Stanley to
Sir Lionel Smith,
22 January 1842.

No. 52, 29 Dec.
1840.
No. 11, 24 Feb.
1841.
No. 40, 18 May
1841.
No. 84, 14 Aug.
1841.

For Sir Lionel
Smith's Despatches,
No. 52, 29 Dec.
1840, and Nos. 11
& 40 of 24 Feb. &
18 May 1841,
Vide Correspond-
ence relative to
the introduction of
Hill Coolies into
the Mauritius.
Ordered to be
printed by the
House of Commons,
7 Oct. 1841,
No. 66.

No. 4.
 Lord Stanley to
 Sir Lionel Smith,
 22 January 1842.

necessaries of life, he consumes in idleness time which, well employed, would improve his comforts and elevate him in the scale of society. But if a large portion of the people in any colony, contenting themselves to live in this manner, withdraw from those labours by which the community at large would be enriched and improved, they can have no reasonable ground of complaint if measures be taken by the Legislature to introduce other workmen who will undertake the duties which they decline. In fact, by thus stimulating the indolent to a vigorous competition, the most essential benefit will in reality be rendered to them, in proportion as a life of successful exertion is more conducive to the welfare of men, than a state of self-indulgent repose. Now, however different may be the condition of the emancipated class in many of the West India colonies, I have unfortunately your own testimony to the fact, that in Mauritius they are addicted to idle, vagrant, and unprofitable habits. No testimony can be of greater weight, because no one has exhibited a more consistent zeal for the well-being of the negro race, or vindicated their general character with more persevering earnestness.

It is further objected to the proposed immigration of Indian labourers, that they will bring with them the pagan superstitions of their own country, and the vices inseparable from them; that the scheme tends to establish an inferior and degraded caste, with all its attendant evils, social and moral; and that, thus, manual labour, by being associated with ideas of contempt and aversion, will lose the honourable estimation which ought to attach to it. Whatever may be the force of these considerations in reference to colonies inhabited exclusively by men of European origin, or by men possessing the blessings of Christianity, knowledge, and civilization,—they are scarcely applicable to the case of Mauritius. I fear it is not true, in fact, that the character of the labouring population in that island is such as to be impaired by the proposed association with the natives of India; many thousands of those people are already settled there, and living in the immediate vicinity of large bodies of the African race, not more advanced than themselves in religious knowledge and in the arts of civilized life.

Finally, it has been urged as a reason against permitting the removal of Indian labourers to our colonies, that the distance is in general such as to render altogether illusory the promise or the prospect of their ultimate return to their native land. Such is the comparative vicinity of the continent of India, and so constant the commercial intercourse with Mauritius, that an Indian labourer might, in that island, be at a much easier distance from home than he would be in many parts of the continent of India itself; and in point of fact many of those who have already fulfilled their contracts in Mauritius, have returned to India, and having visited their families, and deposited with them the amount of their accumulations, would gladly enter into fresh engagements, were they not debarred by the existing law.

But in discussing this question; we must not forget the impotency of restrictive laws to arrest effectually any trade in which the interests of a whole community are involved, and to which no sense of moral obligation is opposed. Such is precisely the case with regard to the introduction of labourers into Mauritius. It is evident from your reports that the urgency of the demand is triumphing over the mere legal obstacles which interdict the practice, and that an increase of the labouring population is in progress by recruits from the adjacent countries, and even from India itself, through foreign settlements. The choice must therefore be made between some stringent law, closing the ports of the island to all persons seeking employment there, and the admission of such persons upon some system carefully devised for the prevention to the utmost possible extent of such abuses as may reasonably be apprehended. In this alternative Her Majesty's Government prefer the latter course.

With a view, therefore, to regulate the introduction of Indian labourers into Mauritius, Her Majesty in Council has been pleased to make the order of which I enclose a copy. It has not been thought right to leave this subject to the Colonial Legislature, partly because it is one on which Her Majesty's Government have the advantage of a wider observation and a more extensive experience than could be commanded within the colony itself, and partly because the effects of the law will extend beyond the limits of Mauritius, although the direct operation of it will, of course, be confined to that island.

The

The order presupposes (and of course not without sufficient reason) the enactment, by the Legislature of India, of a law repealing the existing prohibitory laws in force there—taking due security for the protection of the emigrants before their departure—granting to the Governor-general the power of sanctioning, upon application from the colony, certain ports of embarkation—and providing for the establishment at every such port of an official protector of the emigrants.

The order further presupposes the grant, by the Mauritius Legislature, of funds to be paid as bounties on the importation of emigrants. I infer from your despatches that there will be no disinclination to make such grants, but the reverse. But it will be necessary also, that provision should be made by the colonial law for remunerating such official protectors as may be appointed by the Indian Government. At each port of embarkation an emigration agent must also be stationed on behalf of the Government of Mauritius, and within the island itself must be established an officer, to be entitled the Protector of Emigrants. For the remuneration of these officers also, provision must be made from the colonial treasury. The annual salary of the protector of emigrants should not be less than 800 *l*.

The duties of the officers to be employed by your Government are, I trust, clearly defined in the Order in Council. They will in general be to prevent any fraud or misrepresentation inducing labourers to emigrate—to ascertain that the emigrants are persons fit for the service, and properly selected—to take security for the sea-worthiness of the ships employed—for their being properly victualled—and against their being over-crowded. For the breach of these regulations, pecuniary penalties are provided; but the more effective penalty will be the entire loss of bounty, in the event of the infringement of them. The order further forbids any contracts for service being made until 48 hours after the emigrant shall have actually landed—limits the duration of such contracts—determines the manner of making, enforcing, and cancelling them—and exempts any emigrant from liability to serve in respect of any debt which he may have contracted before reaching the island.

Such are the main objects of this order. You will promulgate it as soon as it shall reach you; but until you shall have received intelligence from India of the repeal of the restrictive laws in force there, you will not be able to carry it into execution, further than by submitting it to the consideration of the Council, and obtaining a vote of money conditional upon the passing of a law in India, and subject to the regulations which it may impose.

The system of protection would, however, be defective and inadequate to its object, if it should rest merely on the provisions of this Order in Council. Securities will of course be also taken by the Government of India against any deceptions or ill-usage to which the emigrants might be exposed before their departure. The Governor-general in Council will, of course, determine the nature of those securities, according to his own discretion, and with the aid of his local knowledge. To the protector of emigrants the charge and superintendence of the whole system will probably be committed by the law to be made in India, so far at least as concerns the interest of the Indian labourers, while yet remaining within their own country. Among the regulations thus to be established will probably be such as may be requisite for maintaining a due proportion of sexes, and for preventing the improper separation of families, or the desertion of helpless women and children.

It remains that I should notice the provision to be made for securing to emigrants arriving from India the means of return. Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that, in the case of such persons, it is not enough to rely on the forethought and frugality of the emigrant himself to secure the means of return, and to retain the unfettered power of so employing them when the proper period arrives; we think that provision must be made for these objects by other and more certain means. The accompanying Order in Council is silent on the subject, because it could not have been adjusted in that instrument without the direct imposition by the Royal authority of a local tax, or of a charge on the local revenue, which we are of course anxious if possible to avoid. But the same object may be effected by other and less inconvenient methods.

You will not propose to the local legislature the grant of any sum by way of bounty on the introduction of emigrants from India, nor assent to any such grant if proposed by any member of that body, unless the grant be connected

No. 4.
Lord Stanley to
Sir Lionel Smith,
22 January 1842.

No. 4.
Lord Stanley to
Sir Lionel Smith,
22 January 1842.

with the appropriation of such a sum as may be presumably necessary for defraying the expense of the return of the emigrant after the lapse of five years from his arrival. Thus there will be in your hands the means of defraying the charge of the return to India of every Indian emigrant who may have been introduced at the public expense. But even this will not be sufficient. Before you assent to any grant of public money for this service, you must take care that the grant is connected with due legal provision, that at the end of five years from the arrival of each immigrant he should be free to quit the colony, notwithstanding any unfulfilled engagements by which he may then be bound for the discharge of any service; so that all hirings must at the arrival at that period cease, whatever may be their duration, if with a view to his return home it shall be the pleasure of the immigrant then to bring them to a close.

I have entered thus fully into the whole of this subject, because it is one of no light importance, and because the measure now adopted may, perhaps, be quoted as a precedent for similar measures elsewhere, which would be beyond the reach of the principles on which Her Majesty's Government have acted in this case. To prevent, as far as possible, any such misapprehension, I have thought it right to enter into a statement of those principles and of the practical consequences deduced from them.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stanley.*

Enclosure in No. 4.

Enclosure in No. 4.

At the Court at Windsor, the 15th day of January 1842.

Present: The QUEEN'S Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

WHEREAS it is probable that the laws now in force in British India, for preventing the emigration of the inhabitants thereof to Her Majesty's colonial possessions, will be shortly repealed, so far as respects emigration to the island of Mauritius; and that such last-mentioned emigration will be sanctioned by laws to be for that purpose enacted in India, subject to various provisions to be in such laws made for the protection of such emigrants, and for the prevention of abuses; and whereas it is probable that, amongst the provisions so to be made as last aforesaid, will be a provision for enabling the Governor-general of India to appoint, at ports or places in India, officers charged with the care, protection, and superintendence of all persons proposing to emigrate as labourers from India to Mauritius; and whereas it is probable that provision will be made by law, at Mauritius, for defraying, from the public revenue of that island, the expense of introducing immigrants thither from British India; and whereas it is necessary that effectual provision should be made by law, at Mauritius, for regulating any such expenditure, and for the prevention of abuses in the introduction of immigrants from British India into that island:

It is, therefore, hereby ordered by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's Privy Council, that, in the event of any law being made in British India authorizing the immigration to Mauritius of the natives of India, and repealing the restrictions now in force there in regard to such immigration; and in the event of any such law containing provisions enabling the Governor-general of India to appoint, at the several ports of embarkation in India, officers charged with the protection of persons emigrating from such ports to Mauritius, the various rules and regulations comprised and set forth in the schedule to this present Order subjoined shall, within the island of Mauritius, have the force and effect of law, and shall be observed and carried into effect by all Her Majesty's officers, civil and military, in Mauritius, and by all Her Majesty's subjects within the said island, as to them may respectively appertain.

And the Right Honourable Lord Stanley, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, is to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

Wm. L. Bathurst.

The Schedule referred to in the preceding Order, comprising the Rules and Regulations to be observed at Mauritius, in regard to Emigrants from British India resorting to, and arriving at, that Island.

1. The Governor of Mauritius may, from time to time, nominate such persons as he shall see fit, to act as emigration agents at any port or place in India, which the Governor-general of India may designate as a port or place for the embarkation of emigrants to Mauritius, and may also, from time to time, nominate a proper person to act as protector of immigrants at Mauritius.

2. The remuneration to be given to any such agent in India shall not depend upon, or be regulated by, the number of the emigrants sent to Mauritius by him, but shall be in the nature of an annual salary.

3. Every

3. Every such emigration agent shall ascertain, by personal communication with every emigrant, previously to his or her embarkation from the port or place for which such agent shall be appointed, that such emigrant has not been induced to emigrate by any fraud or false or unreasonable representation, and is aware of the distance of Mauritius from the place where he or she is about to emigrate; and such agent shall explain the real advantages likely to be derived by such emigrant from a removal to Mauritius, at the same time cautioning such emigrant against unreasonable and unwarranted expectations; and such agent shall also ascertain that every such emigrant is in good health, and not incapacitated for labour by old age, bodily infirmity, or disease.

4. It shall not be lawful to ship on board of any ship or vessel carrying any emigrants from India to Mauritius, any number of passengers exceeding the proportion of one person for every two tons of the registered burden of such ship or vessel; and no such ship or vessel carrying emigrants, and having more than one deck, shall have less than the height of six feet, at the least, between-decks; and in case such ship or vessel shall have only one deck, a platform shall be laid beneath such deck in such manner as to afford a space of the height of six feet at the least; and that such platform shall not be so laid as that the lower beams shall project above the same; and that no such ship or vessel shall have more than two tiers of berths, and that no such ship or vessel shall carry passengers on any such voyage to Mauritius unless there shall be an interval of six inches, at the least, between the deck or platform and the floor of the lower tier, throughout the whole extent thereof; and, whatever may be the tonnage of the ship or vessel, no greater number of passengers shall be taken on board of such ship or vessel than shall be after the rate of one such person for every 12 superficial feet of the lower deck or platform unoccupied by goods or stores, not being the personal baggage of such persons.

5. In the computation of the number of passengers within the meaning of these regulations, two children, under the age of 10 years, shall be considered as equal to, and shall be reckoned as, one person only.

6. There shall be actually laden and on board of every ship or vessel bringing emigrants into Mauritius, at the time of the departure of such ship or vessel from the port or place at which such labourers shall be embarked, good and wholesome provisions for the use and consumption of the said passengers, over and above the victualling of the crew, to the amount or in the proportion following; that is to say, a supply of water to the amount of five gallons to every week of the computed voyage for every passenger on board such ship or vessel, such water being carried in tanks or sweet casks; and a supply of rice, bread, biscuit, flour, oatmeal, or bread stuffs, to the amount of seven pounds weight to every week of the computed voyage for every such passenger; provided always, that when any such ship or vessel shall be destined to call at a port or place in the course of her voyage, for the purpose of filling up her water casks, a supply of water, at the rate before mentioned, for every week of an average voyage to such port or place of calling, shall be deemed to be a compliance with this regulation; and provided that the preceding regulations regarding food shall be deemed to have been complied with in any case where it shall be made to appear that, by the special authority of the Governor-general of India, any other articles of food were substituted for the articles above enumerated, as being in his judgment equivalent thereto.

7. The number of weeks which shall be deemed necessary for the voyage to Mauritius from any port or ports in India, shall be such as shall, from time to time, be determined by any law or ordinance to be promulgated for that purpose by the Governor-general of India in Council; and according to any such law or ordinance, shall and may be further determined whether, at different periods of the year, different estimations are to be made of the probable length of any such voyage; and, if by any such law or ordinance, the removal of emigrants should, during any particular period of the year, be prohibited altogether, then any such removal, during such prohibited period, shall, in Mauritius, be regarded, dealt with, and punished as an infringement of these present regulations.

8. Before any such ship or vessel shall be cleared out on any such voyage, the agent appointed under this ordinance, for the port or place from which such ship or vessel shall be cleared out, shall survey, or cause to be surveyed by some competent person, the provisions and water hereinbefore required to be on board for the consumption of the passengers, and shall ascertain that the same are in good and sweet condition; and also that, over and above the same, there is on board an ample supply of water and stores for the victualling of the crew of the ship or vessel; and shall also ascertain that such ship or vessel is generally reported sea-worthy, and that the directions hereinbefore contained for ensuring the health and safety of the passengers have been complied with; and shall grant a certificate thereof under his hand to the master of such ship or vessel.

9. The master of every ship or vessel bringing emigrants to Mauritius, shall be bound to provide for, and furnish to, every such emigrant and his wife and children, a sufficient quantity of good and wholesome provisions, for his, her, and their daily maintenance, during such voyage, and during the space of 48 hours next after the arrival of such ship or vessel in Mauritius.

10. Two copies of these regulations, authenticated by the signature of the agent at the port or place from which such emigrants shall come, shall be delivered to the master, by such agent, on demand, at the time of clearance, and shall be kept on board of every ship or vessel carrying such emigrants as aforesaid, and one of such copies shall, upon request made at reasonable times to the master of the ship or vessel, be produced to any passenger for his perusal.

Enclosure in No. 4.

11. The master of every ship or vessel carrying emigrants from India to Mauritius shall, before clearing out such ship or vessel, deliver to such agent, at the port or place from which such ship or vessel shall be cleared out, a list in writing, together with a duplicate of the same, specifying, as accurately as may be, the names, ages, and occupations of all and every the emigrants on board such ship or vessel; and such agent shall thereupon deliver to the said master a counterpart of such list, signed by such agent; and the said master shall, on the arrival of such ship or vessel at Mauritius, and previous to the disembarkation of any such emigrants, give notice of the arrival of such ship or vessel, and deliver the said counterpart of such list to the protector of immigrants hereinbefore mentioned; and such protector of immigrants shall forthwith proceed on board of such ship or vessel, and shall ascertain, as far as possible, by personal inspection of the ship or vessel and passengers, whether the directions hereinbefore contained, with regard to the situation of the berth of such ship or vessel, the proportion of the passengers to the burthens and measurement of such ship or vessel, and the maintenance of the emigrants during such passage, have been complied with; and such protector of immigrants shall personally muster such emigrants, and compare the numbers and names of such emigrants with the said counterpart of such lists, and shall certify in writing under his hand, upon such counterpart, the total number of emigrants then living and being on board of such vessel; and in case any such emigrant shall have died during the passage, or the number of names of the emigrants shall differ from the number or names stated in such counterpart, the protector of immigrants shall note such death or difference upon such counterpart, and thereupon shall grant a licence under his hand for the disembarkation and landing of such emigrants.

12. If the protector of immigrants, on such personal inspection of the ship or vessel and emigrants, shall be satisfied that the preceding regulations have been complied with, he shall grant a certificate, under his hand, of the arrival in Mauritius of such emigrants respectively, and the place from which, and the ship or vessel in which, such emigrants shall have arrived.

13. No money shall be payable by the colonial treasurer of Mauritius, in respect of any such emigrants as aforesaid, except on the warrant of the Governor of that island; which warrant shall not be issued except on such certificate as aforesaid, of the said protector of immigrants.

14. The protector of immigrants shall keep a register of all persons in respect of whom any such certificate as aforesaid shall be granted, and of the ship or vessel in which, the port from which, and the time at which, such person shall have arrived in this colony; a copy of which registry shall be laid before the Council of Government on the 31st day of March, the 30th day of June, the 30th day of September, and the 31st day of December, in each year.

15. If any ship or vessel, bringing emigrants from India to Mauritius, shall carry any number of passengers exceeding the proportion authorized and allowed by these regulations, a penalty of 5*l.* per head shall be payable in respect of each passenger so carried in excess of such proportion; or if such ship or vessel shall not be of the height between decks hereinbefore required; or if such a platform as hereinbefore directed shall not be laid and continued throughout the whole duration of any such voyage, in such manner as is hereinbefore required; or if there shall be more than two tiers of berths; or if there shall not be, throughout the whole duration of any such voyage, such an interval as is hereinbefore prescribed, between the deck and the floor of the lower tier of berths; or if any such ship or vessel shall clear out and put to sea not having on board such water and provisions as aforesaid, for the use and consumption of the passengers, of the kind, and to the amount, and in the proportion hereinbefore directed; or if any such ship or vessel shall be cleared out before such lists of emigrants shall have been delivered in manner and form aforesaid; or if any such list shall be wilfully false; or if the copy of these regulations be not produced as hereinbefore required; or if any emigrant shall not be maintained during such voyage, and for 48 hours after his arrival; the master of any such ship or vessel shall, for and in respect of each and every such offence, be liable, on summary conviction before any stipendiary magistrate, at any time within the space of 12 calendar months next after the arrival of such master within the colony of Mauritius, to the payment of a fine, not less than 5*l.*, nor more than 20*l.*, British sterling; and in default of payment of the fines above mentioned, either immediately or at the time fixed by such stipendiary magistrate at the time of making such conviction, to imprisonment for any time not less than one nor more than three calendar months.

16. Provided nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall take away or abridge any right of suit or action which may accrue to any emigrant in any such ship or vessel, or to any other person, in respect of the breach or non-performance of any contract made or entered into between or on the behalf of any such emigrant or other person and the master, owner, or owners of any such ship or vessel.

17. Provided always, that nothing in these regulations contained shall apply to any ship or vessel in the service of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, or to any of Her Majesty's ships of war.

18. No emigrant arriving from India at Mauritius shall be capable of entering into any contract of service to be performed in that island until he shall have been at least 48 hours on shore there; and every such contract of service made before that time, shall be null and void to all intents and purposes.

19. No emigrant arriving from India at Mauritius, and engaging to labour in that island, shall, within Mauritius, be liable to any action, suit, or demand, for or in respect of

of any debt contracted, or any contract made by such emigrant, before his arrival in the said island. Enclosure in No. 4.

20. No emigrant arriving from India at Mauritius shall, in Mauritius, be capable of entering into any contract for service, except for the period, in the manner, and under the superintendence which, by a law in force there, is required in the case of contracts for service made by other labourers in agriculture or manufactures within the said island.

21. No payment shall be made from the treasury of the said island in respect of any emigrants introduced there from India, unless on proof, to the satisfaction of the Governor of Mauritius, that all rules and regulations which may be established by law in India, for the advantage and protection of such emigrants, have been duly complied with; such rules and regulations not being repugnant to anything in these regulations contained.

22. In every case in which the penalties hereby denounced against offences are imposed by the use of words in the masculine gender, or in the singular person, such words shall be understood as extending to the feminine gender also, and to any number of persons, unless when the opposite construction is required in order to meet the object, and to accomplish the ends, with a view to which these regulations are established and made.

— No. 5. —

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord Stanley to the Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

No. 5.
Lord Stanley to
the Commissioners
for the Affairs of
India.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Downing-street, 27 January 1842.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your information the accompanying copy of an Order of Her Majesty in Council for regulating at Mauritius whatever relates to the introduction into that island of labourers from India. I also enclose the copy of a despatch which I have addressed to the Governor of Mauritius on the same subject. From that despatch you will learn what are the views of Her Majesty's Government respecting the supply of free labour from India to Mauritius. You will also learn that Her Majesty's Order in Council pre-supposes the repeal in India, so far as respects the island of Mauritius, and so far only, of the local law which at present prohibits any such emigration.

15 January 1842,
page 34.

22 January 1842.
No. 47, page 31.

It is of course not without sufficient reason that Her Majesty in Council has assumed that the Governor-general in Council will thus far relax and modify the existing prohibitory law. To the Legislature of India it must of course belong to originate the conditions of any such enactment. They will doubtless be maturely weighed, and regulated by a comprehensive view of the interests and the duties of all the parties concerned. But although the decision of all such questions must necessarily be left to the local authorities, it may not be inconvenient that I should state in general what are the enactments which Her Majesty's Government anticipate as requisite to complete the securities against abuse, which are taken by the Order in Council in reference to such abuses as might be practised or as can be prevented within the colony itself.

The essential addition which it would remain for the Government of India to make would appear to be as follows: 1st. The establishment by law, of officers at each port of embarkation to be appointed by the Governor-general, though paid by the colony of Mauritius, whose duty it should be to act as protectors of the emigrants, and to take care that the various precautions suggested in the Order in Council were strictly enforced and observed. 2d. The establishment of some method by which in each successive case the actual observance of those precautions should be ascertained to the satisfaction of the Government of India on the responsibility of these officers. And, 3dly, The establishment of such sanctions whether penal or otherwise, as might within the continent of India itself most effectually punish and prevent the mal-practices against which the Order in Council provides.

Under these general heads would be comprised all the auxiliary legislation for which it would be necessary to look to the Governor-general in Council. Without such legislation the Order in Council will of course be inoperative, and therefore it is perfectly open to the Indian Government still to prevent the contemplated change, if they should consider it hostile to the real welfare of the people of India. On the opposite supposition, the change will be effected with every security against abuse which the local knowledge of the Government of India may suggest.

38 CORRESPONDENCE :—INDIAN LABOURERS IN MAURITIUS.

No. 5.
Lord Stanley to
the Commissioners
for the Affairs of
India.

I have to request that copies of this letter and of its enclosures may be communicated to the Governor-general of India through the proper channels, with instructions to bring the subject under the notice of the local legislature, and to report the result for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stanley*.

For Correspondence referred to, vide Papers relative to the West Indies, British Guiana, presented to Parliament by Her Majesty's Command, 1841, page 262.

P.S.—In order that the Governor-general may be aware of the steps taken by Her Majesty's Government with a view to sanctioning emigration of a somewhat similar nature to that now under discussion, I enclose a copy of the correspondence between Lord J. Russell and the Governor of Sierra Leone, respecting emigration from the coast of Africa to the West Indies.

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CORRESPONDENCE relative to the Introduction of INDIAN LABOURERS into the Mauritius.—(*In continuation of the Papers presented to The House on the 7th of October 1841, Sess. No. 66.*)

[Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.]

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
15 February 1842.

EMIGRATION OF INDIAN LABOURERS.

RETURN to an ADDRESS of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 3 June 1844;—*for*,

COPIES or EXTRACTS of any further CORRESPONDENCE relative to the
EMIGRATION of INDIAN LABOURERS into the *Mauritius*.

(*In continuation of the Papers presented to Parliament by Her Majesty's Command,
6 March 1844.*)

Colonial Office, Downing-street, }
June 1844.

G. W. HOPE.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
7 June 1844.

SCHEDULE.

No.	DATE.	SUBJECT.	PAGE.
1. Sir W. Gomm to Lord Stanley -	14 Nov. 1843	Ordinance reducing the Bounty on the passage of Indian Labourers into the Mauritius - - -	3
2. Lord Stanley to Sir W. Gomm	10 Mar. 1844	Approving ditto - - - - -	4
3. Sir W. Gomm to Lord Stanley -	19 Dec. 1843	Arrangement between Mr. Anderson and the Indian Government, for the regulation of Emigration of Indian Labourers to the Mauritius; appointment of Mr. Caird, Emigration Agent for the Mauritius, at Calcutta - - - - -	4
4. Sir W. Gomm to Lord Stanley -	8 Jan. 1844	Quarterly Return of the number of Emigrants arrived from 1 October to 31 December 1843 - - -	6
5. Sir W. Gomm to Lord Stanley -	12 Jan. 1844	Reports of Mr. Anderson, of his proceedings in establishing the future system of Emigration from India to the Mauritius. Instructions to Mr. Caird, Emigration Agent at Calcutta, for conducting the Emigration - - - - -	8
6. G. W. Hope, Esq. to J. Emerson Tennent.	2 May 1844	Medical inspection of Emigrants by the Garrison Surgeon at Fort William - - - - -	12
7. J. Emerson Tennent, Esq. to G. W. Hope, Esq.	31 May 1844	In reply to the above - - - - -	13
8. G. W. Hope, Esq. to J. Emerson Tennent.	13 June 1844	Appointment of Dr. Johnston Medical Inspector of Emigrants at Fort William - - - - -	16
9. Lord Stanley to Sir W. Gomm -	8 Mar. 1844	Act passed by the Government of India limiting Emigration from India to the Port of Calcutta, and promoting the Emigration of a greater proportion of Females. Encouragement to be afforded - - -	16

MAURITIUS.

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(No. 178.)

— No. 1. —

COPY of a DESPATCH from Governor Sir *W. Gomm*, K.C.B. to Lord *Stanley*.

Mauritius, 14 November 1843.

IN my despatch No. 163, of the 21st ultimo, I reported to your Lordship that owing to the rapid influx of immigration into the colony, I had laid a proposal before the Council for the prospective reduction of the bounty now granted.

I have now the honour to forward for submission to your Lordship, and the sanction of Her Majesty, Ordinance numbered 15 of the present year, passed by me with the advice and consent of the Council of Government, for reducing the premium upon the introduction of male immigrants leaving the soil of India, after the 31st December next, from 7*l.* to 4*l.*, subject to conditions, that upon the introduction of females continuing at its present rate.

The object of the Council in leaving it open to the Government to continue a higher rate of premium under certain circumstances for male immigrants, will be best explained to your Lordship by the Report of the Immigration Committee, upon which the Ordinance is founded; a copy of which I beg, therefore, to submit.

I am, in the meantime, in confident expectation of such reports from Mr. Anderson as will enable the local government to frame its measures in concert with that of India, upon surer grounds, for the public advantage prospectively.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Wm. Gomm*, Lieut.-general.

No. 1.
Governor Sir *W. Gomm*, K.C.B. to Lord *Stanley*.
14 Nov. 1843.

For Sir *W. Gomm's* despatch, 21 Oct. No. 163, vide Correspondence relative to Emigration into the West Indies and Mauritius, presented to Parliament by Her Majesty's command, 6 March 1844, p. 163.

Enclosure 1, in No. 1.

Encl. 1, in No. 1.

MAURITIUS AND DEPENDENCIES.

ORDINANCE, No. 15 of 1843.—Enacted by the Governor of Mauritius, with the Advice and Consent of the Council of Government thereof.

FOR the purpose of reducing the bounty on the passage of Indian labourers into the colony, except in cases where their introduction shall have been authorized by the governor.

Whereas the immigration of Indian labourers has now reached a stage at which it appears expedient provisionally to modify, in some respects, the amount of the premium granted for the passage of the said labourers from India to this colony, and thereby to prevent the excess of such immigration, and the prejudicial consequences that would ensue therefrom, until, in concurrence with the government of India, measures shall have been adopted for establishing a constant and regular system of immigration, commensurate with the future wants of the colony and the interests of the immigrants;

His Excellency the Governor in Council has ordered, and does hereby order,

Art. 1. The premium of 7*l.* sterling allowed by Ordinance No. 3 of the present year, for the passage of each Indian labourer legally conveyed to this colony is and shall be reduced to 4*l.* sterling for each Indian labourer women excepted, who after the 31st December of the present year, shall have quitted the territory of India for Mauritius, and with the exception moreover of all adult male Indian labourers who, after the above-mentioned date, may come to this colony in virtue of a special authority from the governor thereof.

Passed in Council, at Port-Louis, Island of Mauritius, this 13th day of November 1843.

(signed) *D. W. Rickett*, Secretary to the Council.

Title.

Preamble.

Passage of Indian labourers reduced from 7*l.* to 4*l.* sterling, except as regards women.

Enclosure 2, in No. 1.

Encl. 2, in No. 1.

EXTRACT of the Report of the Immigration Committee, dated 13 October 1843.

Read also the Minute of his Excellency the Governor, of the 26th August 1843.
Resolved that, whilst on one hand it is necessary to avoid any sudden check to, or interruption of, immigration, it has become, on the other, advisable to adopt some provisional measure

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measure for facilitating its future regulation whenever his Excellency the Governor shall have received sufficient information on the subject from India, and which Mr. Anderson has been sent thither to obtain.

For this purpose, and satisfied of the conviction on the part of his Excellency the Governor, that on immigration mainly depends the prosperity of the colony, as well as of his anxious desire to promote it upon a proper and well-regulated plan, the committee would recommend that the bounty on male immigrants should be reduced to 4*l.*, unless in those cases where his Excellency shall have sanctioned the introduction of such labourers, in pursuance of requests made to him by proprietors in the island, declaring that they have employment for the additional number of labourers applied for, and binding themselves to take such labourers into their service upon their arrival here, provided the men be willing to engage with them.

But inasmuch as arrangements are still being made in India for sending down men on the faith of Ordinance No. 3, of this year, the committee are of opinion that the reduction should not have effect until due notice of the intention can be made known there. To allow time for this purpose, it was proposed that all male immigrants who shall leave India within the present year shall be considered as entitled to the existing rate of bounty; and that the reduced rate apply only to those who may embark on or after the 1st of January 1844. The date of departure in the former case to be proved by the certificate of the emigration agent at the port of embarkation.

— No. 2. —

(No. 193.)

No. 2.
Lord Stanley to
Governor Sir W.
Gomm, K.C.B.
10 March 1844.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord Stanley to Governor Sir W. Gomm, K.C.B.

Sir,

Downing-street, 10 March 1844.

I HAVE had under my consideration the Ordinance No. 15 of 1843, passed by yourself and the Legislative Council of Mauritius, and entitled "An Ordinance for the purpose of reducing the Bounty on the passage of Indian labourers into the Colony, except in cases where their introduction shall have been authorized by the Governor."

I have received the Queen's commands to acquaint you that Her Majesty has been pleased to allow and confirm this Ordinance. You will communicate Her Majesty's decision to the inhabitants of Mauritius by a proclamation, to be published in the usual and most authentic manner.

I have, &c.
(signed) Stanley.

— No. 3. —

(No. 199.)

No. 3.
Governor Sir W.
Gomm, K.C.B. to
Lord Stanley.
19 Dec. 1843.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Governor Sir W. Gomm, K.C.B. to Lord Stanley.

My Lord,

Mauritius, 19 December 1843.

MY despatch, No. 128, of the 29th of August, will have apprised your Lordship of the measures I was anxious to see carried into effect with the smallest possible delay, for securing to this colony the full benefit of Indian immigration, free from all liability to abuse in the future working out of the system.

*In No. 139 of the 18th September, I reported to your Lordship the step I had taken, with the concurrence of the Legislative Council, for the more expeditiously carrying these views into effect, by charging the acting-protector of immigration at this port with a mission to the Supreme Government of India, invested with powers to come to some definite arrangement with it in the matter, subject to your Lordship's future approval.

My

For Sir W. Gomm's despatch, 29 Aug. 1843, vide Correspondence relative to Emigration into the West Indies and the Mauritius, presented to Parliament by Her Majesty's command, 6 March 1844, p. 222. Ibid. p. 224.

My despatches No. 163 of the 21st October, and No. 178 of the 14th November, the latter transmitting Ordinance 15, will have further apprised your Lordship of the steps that were taking by this Government, preparatory to a change of system, to be provisionally arranged between Mr. Anderson and the Indian Government; and at the close of that last despatch, I expressed my confident expectation that I should speedily be supplied with such information from Mr. Anderson, as would supersede the necessity of carrying that portion of the Ordinance which I considered objectionable in principle into effect.

A series of communications, freshly received from Mr. Anderson, justifies, in every essential particular, the anticipations thus formed, assuring me, as these communications do, that abuse of every kind has received an immediate and effectual check, as a first consequence of his mission; and that he has received the most cordial and unreserved support of the Indian Government, for carrying into immediate operation every provision of Her Majesty's Order in Council, hitherto but imperfectly subscribed to, through casual misconstruction admitted, on the one hand, by the Indian authorities themselves, and on the other, through pressure of the urgent wants of the colony, which could, at the outset, be only adequately provided for through the channel of individual mercantile speculation.

The main points already decided upon between the Governor-General in Council and Mr. Anderson, acting on the part of this Government, are:

1. That from the 1st of January next, the only authorized port of emigration from British India to Mauritius, without leave specially obtained for the purpose from the Government of India, shall be that of Calcutta.
2. That such emigration shall be carried on from that date, under the complete and undivided control of an agent appointed and paid by the Mauritius government.
3. That a protector shall at the same time be appointed by the Indian authorities, but paid also by the Mauritius government, with whom the agent shall always maintain a free and unreserved communication.
4. That the number of emigrants to be shipped off monthly for Mauritius shall be limited to 500, it being estimated that a supply of 6,000 per annum will suffice to answer the future demands of the colony.
5. That the greatest exertions shall be made to induce families to form a large proportion of each remittance, and selection to be attended to throughout.

I lay these statements at an early hour before your Lordship, in the form in which they have reached me, and without, as yet, an official sanction to the greater portion of them, but with a full confidence that I shall shortly be enabled to submit them to your Lordship so consummated.

Mr. Anderson does not hold out an expectation, that the expense to the colonial government of introducing emigrants, will be materially diminished through the operation of the altered system, considering, that from 6*l.* to 6*l.* 10*s.* will form the ordinary charge; the price per head paid hitherto being, as your Lordship is aware, 7*l.*: but to the cultivator, the saving will be important. The whole duffadar and crimping machinery, inseparable from the system of private agencies, will be rooted up, and the consequent additional demand hitherto made upon the planter, ranging from 10 to 12, and even 15 dollars for every labourer so obtained, will entirely cease.

I have now to report to your Lordship, through what superintendence, and at what charge to the public of Mauritius, it is proposed that these important objects should be pursued.

Upon obtaining the full concurrence of the Governor-general, and of the authorities at Calcutta, without exception, to his proposal for at once bringing the Order in Council stringently into execution, Mr. Anderson justly considered it of the first importance to the interests of this colony, that the resident agent, of its appointment, at Calcutta, should, from the outset, possess the confidence, and ensure to himself the support of the Government of India. Impressed with this conviction, Mr. Anderson deferred at once to the recommendation of the Governor-general himself; and it is with such approval, and with the concurrence of the Heads of the Bengal Government, as distinguished from the Supreme, that Mr.

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For Sir W. Gomm's despatch, 21 Oct. No. 163, vide Correspondence relative to Emigration into the West Indies and Mauritius, presented to Parliament by Her Majesty's command, 6 March 1844, p. 227.

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Anderson has recommended me to submit, for your Lordship's confirmation of him in the office of emigration agent on the part of the colony at Calcutta, the name of Mr. Caird, the deputy-collector of revenues at Allahabad for some time past.

Mr. Caird is represented to me as possessing the highest qualifications for efficiently discharging the duties of the important station to which he is thus provisionally appointed, from the 1st of January approaching.

The amount of salary attached to the appointment is also provisionally fixed at 1,200*l.* per annum, at the express recommendation of the Governor-general and authorities co-operating with his Lordship, as necessary to secure to the office the consideration indispensable to its efficiency.

At the same suggestion, the salary allotted to the protector, to be appointed by the Indian government, is fixed at 800 *l.* per annum.

It is my intention immediately to notify to the Council, that I have recommended Mr. Caird to your Lordship for confirmation in his office; and at the same time to request its concurrence in my further recommendation, that the salaries above noted should be granted.

Further proceedings in this whole matter, shall be submitted to your Lordship without delay; and also a copy of the instructions with which it is Mr. Anderson's intention to supply Mr. Caird for his guidance, upon entering on his functions.

These, as well as every portion of Mr. Anderson's proceedings throughout the important negotiation with which he has been charged, will, I feel confident, be found to merit your Lordship's fullest approval.

In the meantime, I have pleasure in communicating to your Lordship the satisfactory assurance given me by Mr. Anderson, that though abuses were rapidly gaining ground, as I have expressed my apprehensions in former communications to your Lordship that they inevitably would, so long as the then-existing mode of obtaining candidates for emigration was persisted in, drawing the serious attention of the Bengal Government at the moment of Mr. Anderson's arrival at Calcutta, it has, nevertheless, excited his surprise that in the absence of checks and correctives about to be imposed, the instances of irregularity should not already have been more numerous and more considerable than can in fairness be shown to have already taken place in connexion with emigration to Mauritius.

I trust your Lordship will find, from the proceedings here reported, and those detailed in earlier communications of the same tenor, that the injunctions conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch, No. 108, of the 19th August, have been anticipated by this government; and I beg to assure your Lordship that they will continue to be acted upon with promptitude as the occasion may arise.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Wm. Gomm*, Lieutenant-General.

— No. 4. —

For Lord Stanley's despatch, 19 Aug. ride Correspondence relative to Emigration into the West Indies and Mauritius, presented to Parliament by Her Majesty's command, 6 Mar. 1844, p. 196.

No. 4.
Governor Sir W. Gomm, K.C.B. to Lord Stanley.
8 Jan. 1844.

(No. 3.)

COPY of a DESPATCH from Governor Sir *W. Gomm*, K.C.B. to Lord *Stanley*.

My Lord,

Mauritius, 8 January 1844.

With my despatch No. 163, of the 21st October, I had the honour of forwarding your Lordship the quarterly return of immigrants introduced into this colony from India and other quarters up to the 30th September.

I have now the honour of forwarding a continuation of the same report up to the 31st ultimo, accompanied by a notice of immigrants arrived, but not yet distributed, since that date; and a statement of the number and quality of labourers who have re-embarked for their own country during the quarter ending the 31st December.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Wm. Gomm*, Lieutenant-General.

Ibid. p. 227.

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ADDITIONAL STATEMENT, showing the NUMBER of IMMIGRANTS in the Harbour, up to 6 Jan. 1844.

Ship's No.	Ship's Name.	Where from.	Males.	Females.	Children.	Remarks.
158	Fuzel Carim - -	Calcutta - -	180	24	11	Examined. } 430 Inspected.
159	Edmonstone - -	Ditto - -	178	23	14	
160	Futtle Rozack - -	Ditto - -	185	27	3	
161	Winifred - - -	Ditto - - -		251		
162	Nankin - - -	Ditto - - -		222		
163	Augusta - - -	Bombay - - -		202		
164	Adelaide - - -	Calcutta - - -		274		
165	John Brightman - -	Ditto - - -		115		
166	James Hall - - -	Madras - - -		122		
167	Vulcan - - -	Calcutta - - -		109		
168	Amity - - -	Bombay - - -		206		
169	Louisa Baillie - -	Calcutta - - -		171		
170	Mariam - - -	Ditto - - -		168		
171	Defiance - - -	Madras - - -		256		
172	Martin Luther - -	Calcutta - - -		214		
173	Hugh Matthie - -	Ditto - - -		217		
						2,527
						2,957

RECAPITULATION.

	Males.	Females.	Children.	
Total Number Registered, per Quarterly Statement	27,099	3,335	993	
Examined, from 1st January - - - -	180	24	11	
Add in Harbour, but not passed	-	-	-	30,642
				2,957
GRAND TOTAL - - - -				33,599

(signed) *A. Wilson*, Acting Protector.

No. 5.
Governor Sir W.
Gomm, K.C.B. to
Lord Stanley.
12 Jan. 1844.

(No. 7.)

— No. 5. —

Copy of a DESPATCH from Governor Sir *W. Gomm*, K.C.B. to Lord Stanley.
Mauritius, 12 January 1844.

IN my despatch, No. 199, of the 19th ultimo, I reported to your Lordship the steps taken at Calcutta by Mr. Anderson on the part of this government in concert with that of Bengal, and under the immediate sanction of the Governor-general in Council, for regulating the future process of immigration into this colony from the continent of India, in full accordance with the provisions of Her Majesty's Order in Council on this subject.

I have now the satisfaction to report to your Lordship, that Mr. Anderson returned from his mission on the 3d instant, having accomplished the main objects of it, as already stated to your Lordship, previous to his departure from Calcutta. His final report, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose, will explain to your Lordship the footing upon which it is proposed that the whole matter should from henceforward rest. A copy of the instructions left by Mr. Anderson with Mr. Caird (also enclosed) will acquaint your Lordship with the principles upon which it is expected by this government that its agent at Calcutta will regulate his proceedings; and I trust that the whole of these measures will prove as satisfactory to your Lordship and to Her Majesty's Government generally, as they are acknowledged to be by that of India.

The Council in committee on immigration have in the meantime voted in general terms the expense proposed to be annually incurred for the agent's establishment at Calcutta; and I will submit this matter in a detailed form to your Lordship by the earliest opportunity.

The appointment of a protector at Calcutta at the charge of this government, as already notified to your Lordship in my former despatch, is objected to by the committee; but as Mr. Anderson encourages the expectation that such an office will be dispensed with by the Indian authorities at no distant day, I trust that alteration with that government on the subject will be avoided.

I cannot close my preparatory report upon the whole of this subject, of such vital interest to the colony, without again expressing to your Lordship the sense entertained by this government of the able and energetic manner in which Mr. Anderson has discharged the functions of the mission with which he has been entrusted by it.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. Gomm*, Lieutenant-General.

Enclosures in No. 5.

IMMIGRATION.—REPORTS of Mr. Anderson, and INSTRUCTIONS to Emigration Agent at Calcutta.

Encls. in No. 5.

TO the Honourable the Colonial Secretary, Mauritius.

Sir,

Calcutta, 11 November 1843.

1. My last communication to you was dated the 6th instant; and I have now the honour to acquaint you, for his Excellency's information, that Mr. Caird had reached Mizapoor on the 4th instant, on his way to Calcutta from Allahabad by steam, and will arrive here on the 16th; I, therefore, still expect to be enabled to leave Calcutta for the Mauritius on or before the 1st of December, after which time there will be but few opportunities before the middle or the end of January.

2. I have also to communicate to you that a Protector will be appointed at Calcutta by the government of India, on a salary of 800 *l.*, to be paid by the government of Mauritius; and I have the satisfaction to add, that the honourable the Deputy-governor of Bengal has agreed to withdraw the fee hitherto exacted for licences. From what passed between Mr. Bird and myself in the discussion of these two points, I have great reason to hope that, if the new system produces the advantages which I fully expect from it in every way, the government of India will be induced to remove their Protector, as being unnecessary to the proper working of the machinery, and a useless expense to the Mauritius government.

3. I enclose a list of the ships now engaged to carry emigrants to the Mauritius, by which it will be seen that you will still receive 2,000 and upwards from Calcutta on the present system, and it is probable that they will reach the colony by the 31st of December; many more remain here applying for passages, and others arrive daily from the provinces, all of whom being now deserted by the duffadars, I am taking such measures as appear best calculated to keep them together until Mr. Caird can profit by so favourable an opportunity to obtain emigrants without advances in a pecuniary form; that principle being one which I am most desirous to see established, and which I hope to find accomplished by an active and zealous emigration agent.

4. I enclose the copy of a memorandum, which I shall leave with Mr. Caird for his guidance until he hears from you, when such alterations can be made as his Excellency may deem necessary.

5. I hope to transmit by this opportunity, but under another envelope, the Gazette of this evening, containing the new Act in its detailed form.

I have, &c.
(signed) C. Anderson.

To be acted upon only until General Instructions shall be received from the Governor of the Mauritius.

1. For the purpose of keeping up a regular supply from the provinces, it will perhaps be desirable that only a certain number monthly should be shipped throughout the year.

2. The emigration agent will keep all his registers by numbers, each emigrant having a ship number, as well as the consecutive register. These to be distinguished in the certificates, and to be inserted in the counterpart list.

3. Tin boxes to be provided for the certificates, and the ship's number of the emigrant to be stamped on each box. This would much facilitate the final inspection by the agent after embarkation, and the verification of the emigrants with the lists and certificates by the Protector at the Mauritius. The captains of ships must make their lists to correspond with the certificates, not only in the names and the descriptions, but the ships' numbers must follow in succession as marked in the certificates, from No. 1 upwards.

4. The entire number of emigrants destined for any one ship ought invariably to embark altogether; but their embarkation ought never to be permitted until the agent has, by personal inspection, assured himself that the vessel is in a fit state to receive them; and the captains ought to be bound by a heavy penalty to proceed on their voyage within 24 hours after receiving the emigrants on board. This would allow full time for the preparation of the lists, and the final visit of the agent and the Protector appointed by the Bengal government. A clause in the charter-party should bind the captains to proceed as already stated; and the penalty for the infraction of that clause to be deducted from the passage-money at Mauritius.

5. It will be found very useful to have forms of charter-parties printed, with the necessary blanks left; forms should also be prepared with columns and lines ruled, and the heading printed for the lists, which must be delivered to the agent by the captains. This will establish one regular and invariable form, and will also accelerate the despatch of vessels.

6. All ships to be taken up by "tender," according to the public notice given by the agent.

7. The present proportion of women, required by the government of Bengal, to entitle a ship to a licence, is 15 per cent., but the emigration agent will augment this number as much as he may find possible, confining himself, however, to the despatch of not more than 500 emigrants of both sexes monthly. Proper separations on board for the women, and a general display of attention to their comfort and protection, may be found of service in adding to their numbers.

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8. All immigrants returning from Mauritius will invariably be addressed to the emigration agent at Calcutta, who will render them his assistance by putting them in the way of obtaining money at the Calcutta Treasury for such bills as they may bring with them. It would perhaps be found of much advantage if some of the most intelligent of the immigrants who return were attached as "peons," in the office of the emigration agent, and employed in pointing out to the other natives the advantages which emigration to the Mauritius holds out to both sexes of the population of India; others, who on coming back to India from the Mauritius, may proceed to their former homes in the provinces, might be given to understand that if at any future period they should indure their connexions or acquaintances to emigrate to that colony, the agent of Calcutta would always be ready to pay the reasonable expenses of their support on the road from the interior to Calcutta, of such as might prove fit for emigrants, always holding out an additional inducement, in the shape of a small bounty, to families and females. If this plan should be adopted, the emigration agent must watch with unremitting vigilance to prevent false representations being made to the proposed emigrants, and at the outset give the people attached to his office due warning that any such deception on their part will produce their certain dismissal. In fact, every person of every description connected with the emigration agent's office, must be made to understand in the most unequivocal manner that the exaction, or the receipt, either directly or indirectly, of any sum of money, or of any gift or recompense of any other kind, for any object connected with emigration, will be deemed a sufficient cause for the immediate removal of the person guilty of such misconduct from the place which he may occupy at the time, and will render him incapable of ever being again employed in the service of the government of the Mauritius, and a notice to that effect ought to be stuck up in a conspicuous place in the office.

9. The agent himself may unhesitatingly assure all hale young persons offering themselves as emigrants, for the purpose of working as agricultural labourers, that they will find ready and permanent employment at five rupees per month for the men, and three rupees for the women; all being fed, clothed, and lodged by their employers.

10. The emigration agent will always bear in mind that the present immigration laws in the Mauritius allow a bounty to be paid on "agricultural labourers" only; so that the emigrants must be distinctly informed that none are eligible who are not ready and able to work in that capacity. It is therefore of much importance in every respect that only able-bodied young men should be selected; and no woman above 30 years of age ought ever to be passed, unless she forms one of a numerous family of both sexes, and her juniors in years, the object being to obtain persons of an age who, by forming domestic ties in the colony, may be induced to remain there. As a general principle, women of good constitutions, and not exceeding 20 years of age, ought to be preferred.

11. Great care must be taken to ascertain that all emigrants have either had the small-pox or have been vaccinated; and it will be one of the principal duties of the medical officer to prevent the embarkation of any person suffering from the venereal disease in any stage.

12. The emigration agent cannot receive any orders or instructions from any source but the government of the Mauritius, he being solely and entirely the officer of that colony, and responsible to the governor thereof for all his official acts; but he will consider it an essential part of his duty, and a part to which the government of Mauritius attach much importance, to conform to the rules and regulations of the government of India with reference to emigration, and to supply to them every information which that government may require from him in his official capacity, whenever he is applied to through the usual official channel, or in other words, through the secretaries of the government.

13. Although the emigration agent will studiously conduct himself on all occasions which may bring him in contact with the officers of the Indian government, with that courtesy of manner which it is the characteristic of gentlemen to maintain, he will distinctly understand that no officer of that government can be supported or justified in any interference with the proper performance of the duties of the emigration agent, as pointed out by Her Majesty's Order in Council, and the Act No. 15 of 1842, of the Supreme Government of India, with both of which he is particularly requested to make himself thoroughly acquainted.

14. Although it is hoped and believed that no such event will ever occur, yet, if at any period during the operation of this memorandum the emigration agent should unfortunately find improper interference with his duties persisted in by any officer of the Indian government, he will be pleased in the first instance to remonstrate with the officer whose conduct he may consider to be objectionable; and if his remonstrances should fail in producing the desired effect, he will then bring the matter officially before the government of Bengal, and report the result to the government of Mauritius.

15. It is probable that the government of Bengal will appoint a "protector of emigrants," to see that the Act No. 15 of 1842 is properly executed; that its provisions, as well as those of Her Majesty's Order in Council, are duly carried into effect in all cases of emigration, and that the ships selected by the agent are of a description to warrant the required licence. With respect to the inspection of the ships by the protector, a simple communication to that officer from the agent will, it is presumed, procure his attendance when required; and it will, perhaps, be found that all the other functions of the protector can be most easily, fully, and satisfactorily performed, if he will accompany the agent in his final visit to the ships, immediately previous to their departure, when the protector can ascertain in the presence of the agent if the emigrants have embarked voluntarily; if every thing has been properly explained to them; if a sufficient quantity of the required food and water has been provided, and such other information as he may require to obtain.

16. It will perhaps be found advantageous that the agent should keep his accounts by "ships," as the adoption of that system will enable him to balance each account when the emigrants embark, and will put it in his power to transmit by each ship a statement of the exact sum expended in procuring the emigrants which the vessel may carry, and which will be passed to the debit of the Mauritius Government in a single line in their general account.

17. The agent will use every exertion consistent with the object of obtaining a certain number of emigrants annually, to limit the advances to the smallest amount possible. Indeed it is hoped that he may be able to commence his career without paying anything in the shape of advance, as the number of natives now said to be in Calcutta with a desire to emigrate may be expected to create a competition amongst themselves for speedy embarkation. The duffadars never gave more than four rupees to the emigrants when the greatest rivalry existed amongst the shippers, and it is, therefore, natural to expect that the agent, who will possess the sole power to regulate the terms of emigration, will be enabled to carry it on at a much cheaper rate than those who were employed by the merchants did; a decided and fatal blow must be dealt to the duffadar system, and the agent will use every means which discretion and experience may point out to exclude that class from all hope of ever seeing their late occupation renewed. By adopting the means already pointed out in the employment of returned immigrants, and by taking measures to convey to the provinces, through the bazars, that those desiring to emigrate, and choosing to come to Calcutta for that purpose, will have their expenses on the road paid here, it is confidently believed that more than the number required can be readily obtained. Should these means fail however, or be for a time interrupted at the instigation of the disappointed duffadars, the zeal and activity of the agent, added to his local knowledge of the natives and the country, will, it is hoped, devise the means of counteracting such obstacles, and rendering emigration permanent on a sound and just principle.

(A true copy).

Calcutta, 11 November 1843.

(signed) C. Anderson,

To the Honourable the Colonial Secretary.

Sir,

Port Louis, 6 January 1844.

1. My last communication was dated from Calcutta the 11th November, and intimated Mr. Caird's arrival at Mirzapore on his route to Calcutta.

2. I have now the honour to state to you, for his Excellency's information, that Mr. Caird reached Calcutta on the 17th of November, and that I remained with him there until the 29th November, when I embarked for Mauritius.

3. My time subsequent to Mr. Caird's arrival was entirely occupied in the endeavour to assist that gentleman in becoming acquainted with the nature of the duties of the emigration agent, and with his Excellency's views and desires on the subject of emigration generally. In furtherance of these objects I placed in Mr. Caird's hands a memorandum, of which a copy was forwarded to you on the 11th of November; I also left with him the general instructions which I received when about to depart for India, with the copies of a despatch from the Right honourable the Secretary of State, and of a communication from his Lordship to the Board of Control, with which I was provided on the same occasion; I added to these the forms which I had prepared for the various documents required from the emigration agent's office, and in preparing which I had endeavoured to correct the irregularities hitherto experienced at the protector's office here in all official papers emanating from the emigration agent at Calcutta.

4. It is highly satisfactory to me to be enabled to communicate to his Excellency, that in the 10 or 12 days' unceasing intercourse which I had with Mr. Caird, I found in that gentleman a readiness of comprehension, and a vigour in action, from which I anticipate the most favourable result. I had also frequent opportunities of seeing exemplified his intimate knowledge of the habits, the customs, and the prejudices of the lower classes of the natives of India.

5. I felt some anxiety to see the office of the emigration agent fixed in an eligible position before I left Calcutta, and with Mr. Caird's assistance, this, not very easy matter, was very satisfactorily accomplished by obtaining a house on the quay, at a rent of 300*l.* per annum. The lower part of the building will be employed as an office, at 180*l.* annual rent; and Mr. Caird will occupy, as his private dwelling, the upper part, at 120*l.* per annum, to be paid by him. Before I conclude the subject of office rent, I think it necessary to state that the nature of Mr. Caird's duties demands considerable space in his office, and that no proprietor would let a portion of his house to be occupied as an emigration office, because no tenant unconnected with that office could have been found for the remaining part under such circumstances.

6. I have omitted to mention that the agent's office is hired for a year, from the 1st instant; but as Mr. Caird would have to employ himself in getting his books ready, in procuring clerks, and in keeping together the natives desirous of emigrating during the month of December, I authorized him to hire a room, as a temporary office, at 10*l.* for that month.

7. The arrangements being thus far completed, it only remained for me to get Mr. Caird installed in his office, and to provide him with the means of carrying on his duties. For the accomplishment of the first object, I presented him to the Governor-general, and delivered to his Lordship at the same time the enclosure marked No. 1; and on the same day

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I waited on the deputy-governor, for the purpose of providing Mr. Caird with the necessary funds.

8. Having now given the detail of my proceedings up to the period of my departure from Calcutta, I cannot close the correspondence connected with my mission without placing before his Excellency the result of some of the observations which have attended my visit to India, and two passages in ships carrying emigrants; and although, from the change of measures which took place on the 1st of January, I am unwilling to impute neglect to officers whose services will no longer be required, I consider it an imperious duty on my part to make his Excellency acquainted with the causes which appear to me to have rendered immigration in many instances a most unprofitable burden to the colony.

9. As one of the most striking features in the late system, I shall first allude to the total disregard of selection in the shipment of emigrants at Calcutta. It was not to be supposed that the persons hitherto employed in procuring emigrants, and whose profits increased with the number procured, would be very scrupulous about the condition of the natives presented by them to the late emigration agent; but it is a fact, which I have verified with my own eyes, that hundreds of natives have been passed, and received medical certificates of their fitness for emigration, whose infirm, decrepid, and diseased appearance could not have escaped the most inattentive observer. Can it then be a matter of surprize that numerous deaths have occurred on the passage, or that so many should have reached the colony in a state of infirmity or disease, which rendered them utterly unfit for the employment of immigrants, and, in many instances, for any kind of employment?

10. With the utmost care and kindness which it is possible for the commander of a ship to bestow, the treatment of sick emigrants during the passage will always prove to be of a very unsatisfactory description. The European surgeons on board are in general utterly ignorant of the language of the natives, and cannot inform themselves of the nature of their complaints, while such native practitioners as could be induced to embark are hardly fit to treat the most simple disorders. In addition to this, the utter recklessness of the emigrants with regard to their own fate and to that of each other, leaving the sick in a state of helplessness which it is most distressing to witness, renders it one of the first duties of the emigration agent to be most vigilant with regard to the bodily health of all who may be authorized by him to embark. I considered it necessary at one time that all intended immigrants should undergo the inspection of a European medical officer at Calcutta, and I had offered this duty to the garrison surgeon at Fort William (Dr. Johnson), at 150*l.* per annum. The government of Bengal, however, refused to permit him to act, on the plea that Dr. Thomson, the medical officer of the Marine Board, was compelled to perform this duty gratuitously. Now it appears to me that the emigration agent ought to have no one connected with his department who is not under his own control, and from past experience, I would rather have no medical man than have recourse to Dr. Thomson. As a native practitioner must be attached to the agent's office, at a salary of, perhaps, 30 rupees per month, for the purpose of vaccinating and of providing a supply of virus, I would recommend that a trial should be made with the native surgeon only, as I feel much confidence that Mr. Caird's vigilant attention will prevent improper persons from being passed; and if healthy persons only are sent on board, I apprehend that a marked diminution of deaths on the passage will be the result, and that proper care in this respect on the part of the agent will produce greater benefit than ever could be acquired from the most able medical treatment in the ships.

11. Trusting that the measures which I have thought it necessary to adopt and the general result of the mission may be deemed worthy of his Excellency's approbation,

I have, &c.
(signed) C. Anderson.

— No. 6. —

COPY of a LETTER from G. W. Hope, Esq. to J. Emerson Tennent, Esq.

No. 6.
G. W. Hope, Esq.
to J. E. Tennent,
Esq.
2 May 1844.

Sir,

Downing-street, 2 May 1844.

WITH reference to the correspondence which has passed on the subject of the emigration of Coolies from India to Mauritius, I am directed by Lord Stanley to transmit to you herewith, for the consideration of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, an extract of a report from Mr. Anderson to the Governor of Mauritius, representing that the government of India had refused to allow the inspection of intending emigrants to be performed by the garrison surgeon at Fort William, to whom the duty had been offered by Mr. Anderson. I am to request you to move the Commissioners to acquaint Lord Stanley whether they have received any information on this subject, or whether they are able to furnish any further explanation than is contained in this extract of the motives of the refusal of the Indian government.

I have, &c.
(signed) G. W. Hope.

In No. 7. 12 Jan.
Page 12.

— No. 7. —

COPY of a LETTER from *J. Emerson Tennent, Esq.* to *G. W. Hope, Esq.*

No. 7.
J. E. Tennent, Esq.
to G. W. Hope,
Esq.
31 May 1844.

Sir,
India Board, 31 May 1844.
WITH reference to your letter of the 2d instant, I am directed by the Commissioners for the Affairs of India to transmit to you, for the information of Lord Stanley, a copy of a letter, dated the 22d instant, with its enclosure, regarding the refusal of the government of India to allow the garrison surgeon of Fort William to inspect emigrants embarking to Mauritius.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. Emerson Tennent.*

Enclosure in No. 7.

COPY of a LETTER from *J. C. Melvill, Esq.* to *J. Emerson Tennent, Esq.* M. P.

Encl. in No. 7.

Sir,
East India House, 22 May 1844.
I HAVE laid before the Court of Directors your letter of the 17th instant, with its enclosure, applying for information with regard to the grounds on which the Bengal government, as reported to the Governor of Mauritius, have objected to allow the duty of inspecting Indian labourers emigrating to that island to be performed by the garrison surgeon at Fort William.

The Court have not received any information relating to that point; but I am desired to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from the Bengal Medical Board, with copies of its enclosures, showing that the duty of inspecting persons about to emigrate to Mauritius is of a very onerous nature, which may have made it incompatible with the proper duties of the garrison surgeon.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. C. Melvill.*

(No. 23, of 1842-43.)

From the Medical Board to the Honourable the President in Council, General Department; dated *Fort William*, 30th March 1843.

Honourable Sirs,
WE beg to lay before your Honor in Council the accompanying letter to our address, under date the 25th instant, with annexed copies of correspondence from Mr. Thomson, soliciting remuneration for the very laborious and irksome duties assigned to him as marine surgeon, in connexion with native emigration to the Mauritius.

The situation of marine surgeon, even before the recent orders, did not appear to us by any means overpaid, and it cannot be denied that they have imposed upon him a great extent of additional duty of the most disagreeable kind.

We would accordingly strongly recommend Mr. Thomson's application to the favourable consideration of your Honor in Council, should there be any available funds connected with native emigration from which he could be paid, and, indeed, under any circumstances.

We have, &c.
(signed) *C. Campbell, Physician-General.*
Geo. Playfair, Inspector-General.

From Dr. *R. M. M. Thomson*, Marine Surgeon, to *James Hutchinson*, Secretary Medical Board; dated *Calcutta*, 25th March 1843.

Sir,
I HAVE the honour to enclose copy of a letter dated the 4th ultimo, addressed by me to Captain Rogers, emigrant agent, for the purpose of being laid before government, and with the view of obtaining remuneration for my trouble in examining the emigrants, together with copy of the reply to that application from H. V. Bayley, esq., deputy-secretary to government.

In paragraph 3 of that letter, I am informed that "Government cannot sanction any charge, directly or indirectly, for my remuneration" (for the examining and passing the emigrants), "at the expense of the parties interested in procuring the embarkation of the labourers, or any fee except that paid by the emigrant himself for his licence."

It is also, in the concluding paragraph of the same letter, communicated to me, that the duty which I now discharge in respect to the emigrants is a service to the government, and that I am remunerated by the salary of my appointment for that duty, and for any other professional duty which may be required of me in the department to which I am attached. I cannot

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readily acknowledge my error in entertaining a hope that government would sanction any remuneration, at the expense of the parties interested in procuring the embarkation of the Coolies; but as government has established a fund for the remuneration of individuals connected with the Emigration Office, by causing each emigrant to pay a rupee for his licence, and as that certificate is not valid without the signature of the marine surgeon, who has been directed to destroy the document if he does not approve of the person presenting it, I hope that government will be pleased to grant me a remuneration from that fund, for the troublesome and onerous duties I have been performing for upwards of two months,—duties which are the most disagreeable I have been called upon to perform during the whole course of my service, independent of the fatigue which I am compelled for several hours to undergo after I return home, weary and exhausted, from visiting my patients.

In the military branch of the service, when in charge of an European regiment, the medical officer has always an increase of allowance, if any number of men are added to his corps; and if a medical officer in charge of a native regiment is ordered to render medical aid to a part or the whole of another corps, he is paid accordingly. It seems, therefore, very hard that, when the medical officer is transferred to the civil or marine branch, he should be treated with less consideration.

Formerly the marine surgeon had a higher salary than I at present receive, when he had merely to attend the members of the pilot establishment; but of late years he has been called upon to perform the medical duties of the steam department, without any increase to his allowances, although that department is daily becoming more extensive, and the duties more arduous, from the individuals connected with it living chiefly at Kidderpore and at Cooley Bazaar. Government is now pleased to decree, that the marine surgeon shall discharge his additional duties in connexion with emigrants, on the salary of his appointment; viz., 600 rupees per mensem, and any other professional duty which may be required of him in the department to which he is attached. Now I most respectfully beg leave to state, that the duty which I am performing with respect to the emigrants is in no way connected with the department to which I am attached, the Marine Board, under whose immediate orders I am placed, having no voice or authority in the matter.

I am informed that the reason why government fixed the salaries of their medical servants in Calcutta at a lower rate than those with the army, is because they have the advantage of private practice; but I beg to be allowed to point out that I am in a great measure deprived of this advantage by having so much of my time occupied in examining the emigrants.

My salary as marine surgeon is only Company's rupees 600 per mensem, after nearly 23 years' service in India, without furlough or leave of absence but for one month, and that on sick certificate. I therefore solicit the favour of the Board, submitting the matter for the consideration of government, as I feel assured of receiving a more favourable decision when the justice of my claims is clearly represented.

Having now brought the whole subject before the Board, and stated all the circumstances of the case as clearly as I am capable of doing, I earnestly entreat that the Board will be pleased, on perceiving the justice of my claims, to forward this letter, together with copy of my letter, to the emigration agent to government, with their favourable recommendation, for such remuneration as they may consider me justly entitled to, with reference to the disagreeable, onerous, and troublesome duty required of me, and the annoyance myself and family are subjected to by my house and premises being crowded by the emigrants for several hours daily, Sunday excepted.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. M. M. Thomson*, Marine Surgeon.

From *Dr. R. M. M. Thomson*, Marine Surgeon, to *Captain Rogers*, Superintendent of Emigrants to Mauritius; dated Calcutta, 4 February 1843.

Sir,

HAVING been appointed to examine and grant certificates to the emigrants proceeding to the Mauritius, I request you will favour me by submitting the following circumstances to the consideration of government.

I have every reason to believe that many frauds can be and have been committed by the duffadars employed to collect Coolies wishing to emigrate, by substituting others who are unfit from disease, or have been rejected by us, and who are afforded opportunities of going by means of the certificates I have given to healthy men. This is effected by inducing the latter to undergo an examination in order to obtain certificates, and they, not seriously intending to emigrate, part with them to the duffadar, for a remuneration of a rupee or two. He receives 10 or 12 rupees for every man shipped, of which 2 rupees are assigned him as commission, and the emigrant receives what remains after the duffadar has deducted charges for boarding, tobacco, &c., supplied during the time the man is under his care; and so anxious are many of them to be passed, and so many the artifices employed to elude my vigilance after their rejection, that finding no other means of accomplishing their object, they gladly pay four or five rupees for the certificates, and, assuming the names contained in them, are received on board.

The only remedy I can suggest for this very serious fraud, is to re-examine the men after they

they are all on board; but this would be attended with great inconvenience, trouble, and loss of time.

I am occupied four or five hours every day (Sundays excepted) in examining and granting certificates to the emigrants; and to strip them in the open air being out of the question, I am obliged to set apart two of the rooms in my house for that purpose, where the noise and the effluvium from the persons combine to render it a most disagreeable office. In addition to these offices I have also to examine the supply of medicines, and to grant a certificate to each vessel before it sails.

Finding it very difficult to prevent men from passing who have been already rejected, as they will present themselves several times in the hope of eluding my attention, and knowing the serious consequences attendant on those who are diseased, infirm, or have not been vaccinated, finding their way to the colony; I wish to have the whole responsibility rather than share it with another, inasmuch as I may be otherwise censured for any neglect on his part; although I have hitherto taken on myself the charge of examining each man separately after vaccination, in order to ensure the strictest scrutiny, and also to avoid the chance of any who were rejected by one medical officer, being passed by another. It may be urged, that I have not the trouble of vaccinating the Coolies; but this is of little moment, as the operation is always performed by a native doctor, and I have to see them afterwards. Moreover, the agents finding that much delay is incurred (for many have to be vaccinated three times before the virus takes effect), select and have given orders to their duffadars to bring only such men as have been inoculated or have had the small-pox naturally; and, from inquiries, I find them to be by far the most numerous, forming a proportion of at least 80 per cent. I have not yet applied to government for any remuneration for the onerous and responsible duty I have performed for the last six weeks; but I trust that no objection will be raised to a compensation, which the Mauritius merchants are willing to give, as it is entirely for their own profit and advantage, and not a service rendered to government. They formerly paid two rupees, and latterly one, for each Coolie passed by the medical man in Calcutta. There are charges sanctioned in other departments connected with Coolie emigration; and it would be rather hard that the medical officer, who has by far the most responsible and disagreeable part of the duty to perform, should be debarred from receiving any compensation for his arduous task.

Trusting that government will be induced to take this subject into favourable consideration,

I have, &c.

(signed) *R. M. M. Thomson*, Marine Surgeon.

From *H. V. Bayley*, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to Captain *T. E. Rogers*, Emigration Agent at the Port of Calcutta; dated Fort William, 22 February 1843.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter (No. 9), dated the 8th instant, submitting an original letter from Dr. R. M. M. Thomson, the marine surgeon, representing that he has reason to believe that men who are passed as fit subjects for emigration to the Mauritius afterwards dispose of their certificates to others, whose state of health is such that they could not obtain the same in their own persons; and enclosing a form of certificate which you propose to furnish each man desirous of emigrating, for presentation to Dr. Thomson previous to undergoing an examination, with the view to prevent any imposition of the kind in future.

2. In reply I am desired to state that the honourable the deputy-governor authorizes the course described in the second paragraph of your letter; as an additional precaution I am directed to suggest that the certificate in the column of remarks describe the applicant by any marks that he may have on his person of a permanent character, or by any other particulars which may help to identify him as the owner of the certificate, and prevent the practice of this imposition.

With reference to Mr. Surgeon Thomson's request that he may be remunerated for the duty of examining candidates for emigration, and his statement that the Mauritius merchants are willing to pay him a compensation for the service which he performs in the emigration agency department, the government cannot sanction any charge directly or indirectly for his remuneration at the expense of a party interested in procuring the embarkation of the labourer, or any fee except that paid by the emigrant himself for his licence. The duty which Mr. Surgeon Thomson discharges in respect to emigrants is a service to the government, and he is remunerated by the salary of his appointment for that duty, and any other professional duty which may be required of him in the department to which he is attached.

I have, &c.

(signed) *H. V. Bayley*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

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— No. 8. —

No. 8.
G. W. Hope, Esq.,
to J. E. Tennent,
Esq.
13 June 1844.

COPY of a LETTER from G. W. Hope, Esq. to J. Emerson Tennent, Esq.

Sir,

Downing-street, 13 June 1844.

I AM directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31st ultimo, enclosing a correspondence on the subject of the inspection of Coolie emigrants by a medical officer, previously to their acceptance by the emigration agent at Calcutta, and the refusal to allow to Mr. Thomson, the marine surgeon at Calcutta, any remuneration for the performance of that duty.

The grounds of this refusal appear to be, that Mr. Thomson, by the terms of his appointment, is bound to discharge any duties which the Government of India may assign to him, without other remuneration than his fixed salary. Upon the question, therefore, as regards Mr. Thomson, Lord Stanley has of course no observation to make; but the Commissioners for the Affairs of India will observe, that Mr. Anderson objected very decidedly, and on what Lord Stanley considers sufficient grounds, to the employment of Mr. Thomson at all in this matter. As, therefore, for the reason stated by Mr. Anderson, Lord Stanley would not wish to assign to Mr. Thomson the duty of examining Coolie emigrants; and as, adverting to the irksomeness and responsibility of the duty, his Lordship would consider it no less politic than just to grant a fair remuneration to any other medical man who might be selected for the service, he desires me to request you to move the Commissioners for the Affairs of India to inform him whether they think it necessary to object to the arrangement proposed by Mr. Anderson in the first instance, of confiding the duty to Mr. Johnston, with a salary of 150 *l.* per annum.

I have, &c.
(signed) G. W. Hope.

— No. 9. —

(183.)

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord Stanley to Governor Sir W. Gomm, K. C. B.

Sir,

Downing-street, 8 March 1844.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your information and guidance, the copies of a letter addressed to this department by the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, and of the answer which I have directed to be returned to it, on the subject of an Act passed by the Government of India, for the purpose of limiting the future emigration from India to the port of Calcutta, and promoting the emigration of a greater proportion of females. You will no doubt have received a communication of this Act from the Governor General, and from Mr. Anderson.

You will observe that I have expressed my approval of this Act, and of the paragraphs respecting it which the Directors of the East India Company proposed to address to the Governor General, and more especially of the suggestion that the Mauritius emigration agent should be directed to endeavour, in the first instance, to induce the wives and families of the Indian labourers who have emigrated to join them. I have, therefore, to request that you will issue the necessary instructions on this subject to the agent. Whether it will hereafter be possible, as you would appear from Captain Dick's letter to Mr. Anderson to contemplate, to confine the emigration to married people or females, I am not prepared to say; but I concur entirely with you in the stress which you lay on the emigration of women; and I feel, therefore, perfect confidence in leaving to your discretion the directions on this point which you may from time to time think it right to issue to the emigration agent by whom the emigrants are to be selected.

I have, &c.
(signed) Stanley.

No. 9.
Lord Stanley to
Governor Sir W.
Gomm, K. C. B.
8 March 1844.

19 January.
17 February.
For Letters 19 Jan.
and 17 Feb. vide
Papers relative to
the Emigration of
Labourers to the
West Indies and the
Mauritius, present-
ed to Parliament
by Her Majesty's
command, 1844,
pp. 232-241.

EMIGRATION OF INDIAN LABOURERS.

**COPIES or EXTRACTS of any further COR-
RESPONDENCE relative to the EMIGRATION
of INDIAN LABOURERS into the *Mauritius*.**

*(In continuation of the Papers presented to Parliament by
Her Majesty's Command, 6 March 1844.)*

**Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
7 June 1844.**

356.

Under 3 oz.