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REPORT



ON

EMIGRATION FROM BENGAL TO BURMA,

AND

HOW TO PROMOTE IT.

By PHILIP NOLAN, C.S.

1888.

Calcutta:
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FROM P. NOLAN, Esq.,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal, on Special Duty,

TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
REVENUE AND AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

Dated Calcutta, the 24th October 1888.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to submit the following report as to the measures which may be adopted with advantage for the purpose of facilitating emigration from the over-populated districts of Bengal to Burma, a subject on which I was deputed to confer with officers of the Burma Commission under the orders contained in your telegram dated the 21st July. These orders reached me at Darjeeling, where I was at the time on leave of absence, and according to an arrangement made with the Administration of Burma, I proceeded to Rangoon by the steamer leaving Calcutta on the 7th August, having previously consulted the references available in your office and in that of the Bengal Government. A memorandum of discussions in Rangoon, at which Mr. Fryer, Financial Commissioner, Mr. Hodgkinson, Commissioner of Pegu, and Mr. Hall, Director of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, assisted, is appended to this report. After the subject had been examined in this manner, I went to Mandalay at the desire of the Chief Commissioner, and there had the advantage of receiving an expression of his opinion on our proceedings. The recommendations which I have now the honour of laying before the Government of India are those unanimously adopted at the Rangoon meetings, and afterwards accepted by Sir Charles Crosthwaite. I am also authorized to say that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal entirely approves of the scheme put forward.

2. In order to explain the proposals, it is necessary, in the first place, to make it clear that there is in this case no question of opening out a new field for emigration, as the movement of the labouring classes from Bengal to

Existing emigration from Bengal to Burma.

Burma has been established for a considerable time, it is conducted on a great and increasing scale, and works in a most satisfactory manner. What is wanted is that, without any great change in its character, it should be accelerated and guided so as to produce the greatest possible amount of good. This is a fact which should be fully realized, as the framers of previous schemes for emigration to Burma seem to have under-estimated the extent, and to have imperfectly appreciated the advantages of the spontaneous movement of the population, with the result that they acted as if they were introducing a new system, instead of aiding in the development of a beneficial force already at work.

3. In 1881 there were in Lower Burma, according to the census returns, 174,000 persons belonging to Upper India by recent descent, as indicated by the mother tongue, of whom 108,000 had actually been born in the land of their origin. Of the Hindustanis

Its extent.

by race, 51,000 were females, of those by birth 25,000. The presence of so many females, and of so many persons born in Burma of Indian parents, indicates that a considerable part of this immigrant population had become domiciled. In 1882-83, the year following that in which the census was taken, the number of emigrants to Burma from India generally (separate figures for Bengal are not available) was about 72,000, and it is estimated that half of these remained permanently; in 1883-84 it was 83,000, of whom 43,000 settled in the country. The following statement, presented by Mr. Hall to the meeting at Rangoon, shows the immigrants arriving in Rangoon during 1885, 1886, and 1887, but does not include those who were landed at other ports, or who came by land:—

YEAR.	SEX.	IMMIGRANTS.					EMIGRANTS.				
		Bengal.	Bombay.	Madras.	Straits.	Total.	Bengal.	Bombay.	Madras.	Straits.	Total.
1885	Males	15,729	3	25,915	3,967	45,614	19,407	6	21,365	3,541	44,319
	Females	803	1	2,083	308	3,195	885	1	1,224	446	2,556
	Children	406	2	2,404	190	3,062	469	.....	675	297	1,441
	Total	16,938	6	30,402	4,465	51,871	20,761	7	23,264	4,284	48,316
1886	Males	29,576	10	34,556	3,903	68,045	17,076	22	26,679	3,172	46,949
	Females	979	.....	2,318	243	3,540	819	9	1,258	267	2,353
	Children	429	.....	2,133	133	2,695	365	1	1,042	215	1,623
	Total	30,984	10	39,007	4,279	74,280	18,260	32	28,979	3,654	50,925
1887	Males	29,912	9	45,386	4,735	80,042	18,967	.....	23,697	3,226	45,890
	Females	1,075	1	2,673	385	4,134	717	.....	1,557	322	2,596
	Children	569	1	2,451	230	3,251	303	.....	806	241	1,353
	Total	31,556	11	50,510	5,350	87,427	19,987	.....	26,060	3,789	49,839

The table indicates an addition of twenty thousand to the Bengalee population of Burma in three years, but this gives a very inadequate idea of the facts, as the figures do not include the large emigration from Chittagong to Arracan. They are, however, sufficient to show that the number of persons from Upper India resident in Burma has considerably increased since the date of the census, and cannot now be estimated at less than a quarter of a million, of whom about 150,000 are probably settled in the province.

4. I find the general opinion in Burma to be that the province requires, and can conveniently find employment for, a much larger number of immigrants; and this belief is abundantly justified by past experience, inasmuch as Lower Burma, since its annexation, has shown a wonderful capacity for supporting, in increasing comfort, a population multiplying at a rate without precedent in the old world. The following table, taken from the Census Report of 1881, gives the available information on this head:—

YEAR.	Population of Arracan.	Year.	Population of Pegu.	Year.	Population of Martaban.	Year.	Population of Tenasserim.	Year.	Population of Province.	REMARKS.
1826	100,000	1825	150,000	1826	70,000	1826	170,000	Martaban was not acquired until 1852; Tenasserim, until that date, included only the parts east of the Salween and Beloochoon. Until 1862 Toungoo was included in Pegu, and Martaban was a separate division. Martaban is here included in Tenasserim; Toungoo is still included in Pegu in the figures for 1862. In 1872 both Toungoo and Martaban were, as at present, included in Tenasserim.
1829	121,288	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1833	195,107	.....	.....	.....	.....	1835	84,917	1835	280,024
1842	246,766	.....	.....	.....	.....	1845	127,455	1845	374,221
1852	352,348	.....	.....	.....	.....	1852	191,476	1852	543,824
.....	1858	890,974	1855	87,742	
1862	381,985	1862	1,244,385	1862	.....	1862	394,264	1862	2,020,634
1872	484,363	1872	1,662,058	1872	205,913	1872	600,727	1872	2,747,148	
1881	587,518	1881	2,323,512	1881	262,678	1881	825,741	1881	3,736,771	

It will be seen that not only was annexation in the case of the different districts of Lower Burma followed by a rapid increase in the number of the population, but also that this progress still continues, and that the growth was at the rate of 32 per cent. during the period of eight years and-a-half which elapsed between the census of 1872 and that of 1881. In the face of this

rapid addition to the supply of labourers, wages have not fallen, but, on the contrary, have rather tended to increase. Comparing the returns of the half-year ending the 31st December 1873, the earliest period to which the compilation before me relates, with those for the corresponding portion of 1887, it appears that wages have risen in four of the eight districts therein specified, and fallen only in one.

5. It seems fair to anticipate that the introduction of a settled government will eventually produce in Upper Burma effects similar to those which have resulted from the same cause in the provinces ceded in 1826, and will thus give scope for further emigration from Bengal. The immediate result has been to check the flow of population from Upper to Lower Burma, which in 1886-87 was merely nominal, including only 374 persons. At the date of the last census Lower Burma contained as many as 316,000 immigrants from Upper Burma, so that, even if the effect of the change of Government goes no further than to enable the latter province to provide for its own population, the supply of labour from that quarter will be closed, and this will create a further opening for emigration from Bengal.

6. The area of Lower Burma, as shown by the Survey Department, is 55,820,902 acres, of which less than one-twelfth (4,561,672 acres) is cultivated, and the remaining 51,259,230 acres lie waste. There is a concurrence of opinion that much of this waste is fertile land, which has only to be cleared and tilled to yield good crops, but the authorities differ greatly in the views which they entertain as to the extent of the area which should be so classified. The annual report for 1886-87 gives 23,407,250 acres available for cultivation, while Mr. Hall, basing his opinion on recent returns made by district officers, and on settlement reports, would greatly curtail this estimate, and considers that in ten districts, with regard to which he possesses information, the lands available amount to 3,641,483 acres only, of which 2,308,483 acres require merely to be cleared, 1,333,000 acres require bunding and draining. Mr. Hall's estimate excludes large tracts of good soil merely because they are situated in the hills, and probably differs from that previously accepted in treating as reclaimable only land which can immediately be brought into cultivation at a profit. The discrepancy, wide as it is, has no present importance, inasmuch as all agree in considering that there are several millions of acres of waste land, which is a supply more than sufficient for the probable requirements of the next fifteen years. Mr. Hall's estimate, when completed for all the Province, will probably amount to six millions of acres capable of supporting in comfort four millions of persons, and the present rate of reclamation appears to be about 100,000 acres a year; so that, were it quadrupled, the period indicated must elapse before the best lands are all taken up. The most promising tract is that about to be opened by the railway from Rangoon to Mandalay, where Mr. Mylne has selected his ground, and particularly the waste lands in the Toungoo district. In this district Mr. Hall finds no less than 1,203,814 acres available for immediate reclamation.

7. The area available for reclamation in Upper Burma has not been estimated in figures, but in many districts it is considerable. It is said, for instance, that in Kyaukse large areas of land cultivated in recent times and advantageously situated on the banks of irrigation canals are now lying waste, and that the south-east of Alôn, in Lower Chindwin, is a wonderfully fertile tract which, if properly treated, could support five times its present population. There is also a great deal of reclaimable waste in the Shwebo, Yew, Upper Chindwin, Myengyon, Toungdwengyi and Muktila districts, Yew being specially commended on account of the suitability of its climate to natives of India.

8. The main attraction of Burma as a field for immigration is doubtless the comparatively high wages which can be obtained there. The following statement, compiled from the returns published by the Government of India, shows the average monthly wage of an able-bodied agricultural labourer in Chittagong, the district of Bengal from which emigrants depart in the greatest

Advantages of emigration.
(1) Higher wages.

number, in the Behar districts, and in Burma, excluding Kyouk Phyoo, to which no immigrants go—

BENGAL.				BURMA.			
DISTRICT.	Wages.			DISTRICT.	Wages.		
	Half-year ending 30th June.	Half-year ending 31st December.	Average for the whole year, 1887.		Half-year ending 30th June.	Half-year ending 31st December.	Average of whole year, 1887.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Chittagong ... {	9 0 0 to 11 0 0	10 8 0 {	9 12 0 to 10 12 0	Akyab ... {	15 0 0 to 20 0 0	15 0 0 to 20 0 0	15 0 0 to 20 0 0
Patna ... {	4 0 0 to 5 0 0	4 8 0 to 5 0 0	4 4 0 to 5 0 0	Rangoon ... {	20 0 0 to 30 0 0	20 0 0 to 15 0 0	22 8 0
Mozufferpore ... {	3 0 0 to 5 0 0	3 0 0 to 5 0 0	3 0 0 to 5 0 0	Prome ... {	15 0 0	17 8 0	16 4 0
Monghyr ... {	4 0 0 to 5 0 0	5 10 0 {	4 13 0 to 5 5 0	Bassein ... {	15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0
Hazaribagh ... {	3 12 0	3 12 0	3 12 0	Moulmein and Amherst. ... {	25 0 0	25 0 0	25 0 0
				Tongu ... {	15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0
				Mandalay ... {	.....	15 0 0	15 0 0

As the cost of subsistence should always be taken into account in comparing wages in different provinces, I add a statement showing the average price of food in the same districts during the ten years from 1878 to 1887, inclusive—

BENGAL.				BURMA.			
District.	Number of seers per rupee.			District.	Number of seers per rupee.		
	Rice.	Maize.	Salt.		Rice.	Maize.	Salt.
Chittagong ...	17'97	.....	9'50	Akyab ...	14'31	.....	32'14
Patna ...	18'33	30'03	10'13	Rangoon ...	13'06	.....	24'35
Mozufferpore ...	18'09	30'09	10'52	Prome ...	14'51	34'42	19'05
Monghyr ...	16'23	30'61	10'81	Bassein ...	14'67	.....	23'63
Hazaribagh ...	18'33	26'99	9'16	Moulmein and Amherst ...	13	.....	25'84
				Tongu ...	15'34	.....	17'89
Average ...	17'75	29'43	10'02		14'15	34'42	23'81

These tables give a bird's-eye view of the difference between Behar and Burma in regard to the remuneration of labour, and the case in favour of emigration is strengthened if we descend to particulars, as is done in regard to Burma in Mr. Hall's note, appended to the proceedings of the 17th August, and as to Bengal in my letter to the Government of India, No. 81T—R, dated 30th June 1888. In Behar the demand for labour on any terms seldom extends beyond eight months of the year, while in Burma, though there is a busy season and a slack, yet, as temporary immigrants come over for the former, the permanent resident can always secure work. In Behar the cost of maintaining a labourer, when fed by his employer, is estimated at only 9 pies a day, or less than a rupee and-a-half a month: in Burma at four to five rupees a month. This difference is not due in any appreciable degree to the prevalence in Burma of higher prices, but to the more generous scale of living in that province and the superior condition in which labourers expect to be maintained. Moreover, it appears that in Behar the actual wages paid in kind are of lower value than those entered in the returns. Thus, while the statement shows that the labourer receives in Patna from four rupees to five a month, the Collector of that districts writes:—

“The condition of those who support themselves entirely by labour is rather worse than that of the better class of petty cultivators. They are almost always paid in kind, the usual allowance of a grown man being 2 to 2½ seers of the coarsest and cheapest grain, value about 1¼ annas. Women receive about half this rate, but their employment is less regular. Ordinarily, male labourers do not find employment for more than eight months of the year. A wage of 1¼ annas per day would be about Rs. 2-6 per mensem; but taking an average of Rs. 2 per mensem throughout the year, the annual earnings of an adult would be

about Rs. 24; his wife's earnings might be Rs. 6—total Rs. 30, which is not enough to give two adults and two children a full supply of the coarsest food with sufficient clothing and a hut to shelter them. The Sub-divisional Officer of Behar estimates the earnings of a labourer at 2 annas per diem, or Rs. 4 per mensem; but even this rate, which I think an over-estimate, would only yield Rs. 32 for the eight months during which labour is generally to be had.

“The conclusion to be drawn is that of the agricultural population a large proportion, say 40 per cent., are insufficiently fed, to say nothing of clothing and housing. They have enough food to support life and to enable them to work, but have to undergo long fasts, having for a considerable part of the year to satisfy themselves with one full meal in the day.”

9. To the Chittagong emigrants the difference between the wages current

This point is of special importance as regards Behar, where industrious families often want the means of subsistence.

in their own district, which in this respect is the best in Bengal, and the Burma rates means an appreciable increase in comfort. To the Behari it is often a matter of life and death, the remuneration he receives, when in employment, not being sufficient to support life in a

healthy state, if he has to provide for a family, much less to permit of his making provision for the period when he can get no work. At the rate allowed to prisoners in the Behar Jail, the maximum wage in kind mentioned by the Collector of Patna,—two seers and-a-half a day,—is just enough to find grain for the food for two adults, leaving no margin for salt, clothing, or other minor expenses. But it must frequently happen that the bread-winner has more than one adult dependent on him, at least temporarily; and then there are the seasons when employment is irregular, or cannot be had. The general opinion of the District Officers and of the Superintendents of Jails, who have special means of observation, is that the working classes in those parts are inadequately fed, and this view has been adopted with natural reluctance by the Government of Bengal. To the labourer working under such conditions, emigration to Burma comes as a rescue from one of the greatest of human evils—the hopeless struggle to rear a family on wages which will not purchase sufficient food even of the coarsest kind.

10. I have frequently been surprised to observe the large price which

(2) Prospect of acquiring land.

Behar artisans who have made money, as, for instance, carpenters returning to their own country from a successful visit to Darjeeling, are willing to pay for the tenant's interest in land situated in their native villages, though that interest is generally only the right to hold on an insecure tenure at a high rate of rent. In Burma any labourer can in a few years earn sufficient to establish himself as a cultivator, paying only the public revenue, assessed on all alike at a moderate rate, and absolutely free from all danger of disturbance. This is a consideration which has great weight with the inhabitants of Chittagong, who contribute a large proportion, perhaps a majority, of the Bengal emigrants, and though the advantage may seldom be present to the minds of the less prosperous settlers from Behar, it nevertheless extends equally to them, and must be appreciated in the end. In his own country the agricultural labourer cannot hope to rise a step in the social scale, the only prospect before him is to live a life of penury, bequeathing a similar fate as an inheritance to his posterity. In Burma, if he be industrious and frugal, he gradually acquires property, and his children are started with the fair prospect of a prosperous career.

11. The assistance of the immigrants who arrive in great numbers not

(3) Development of the resources of Burma.

only from Bengal, but also from Madras and from Upper Burma, forming one-seventh of the whole population, is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the present economical condition of Lower Burma, for without them the rice crop could not be harvested, carried to the ports, or husked in the factories for exportation. And further aid will be required if an advance is to be made, if the waste land which forms 82 per cent. of the area of the province is to be reclaimed, if the more valuable crops are to be introduced, if manufactures are to be established, mines and springs of mineral oil to be worked. Though the natural multiplication of the population is rapid, it has not in the past, and cannot in the immediate future, keep pace with the growing requirements of industry. This is a fact realized by all business men in Burma: it is everywhere felt that remunerative investments for capital remain unused for want of labour,

and the desire is universal to foster immigration in order to promote the prosperity of the province. ✓

12. It seems obvious that the exchequer must benefit in many ways by the conversion of a labourer who, in Behar, can but imperfectly supply himself with the primary necessities of life into a prosperous cultivator, or highly-paid workman in Burma.

(4) Increase of public revenue. The precise extent of this benefit hardly admits of calculation: but I may remark that the incidence of taxation, imperial and provincial, which is only a rupee a head in Bengal,* amounts to seven rupees a head in Burma. The whole of the excess of six rupees a year is probably gained by Government on each permanent settler, as such men really contribute nothing in their native province, except by a trifling consumption of salt, while in Burma they aid in the reclamation of revenue-paying land, and generally take their share in the industry and in the burdens of the country. In particular, they pay after five years' residence, the capitation tax which is levied at the rate of Rs. 2-8 on bachelors, Rs. 5 on married men, and, after numerous deductions for transfers of this source of income in certain places to municipalities, yields to Government about a rupee a head on the whole population, including women and children. This tax is not in force elsewhere, and is a tangible source of profit to the exchequer in the case of migration to Burma.

13. In my letter No. 87T.R., dated 30th June, the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was expressed that

(5) Relief afforded to over-populated districts in Bengal.

the insufficiency of the wages paid in certain districts was due to the superabundant supply of labour,—a view borne out by the fact that the evil is not felt where population has been kept down by endemic disease, as in Burdwan, or where scope for its increase is given by the existence of reclaimable waste as in Chittagong. If Behar has suffered more than other parts of Bengal in this respect, it is because its inhabitants are more healthy and its agricultural resources have been developed at an earlier period, so that the population increases without finding an outlet. The soil in these districts is fertile, there is no want of capital for any enterprise of real promise, the people are industrious and frugal; all the conditions of agricultural prosperity exist except the most essential, that is, the maintenance of a due proportion between the population and the natural resources of the country. Under such circumstances, it is felt that every man who leaves Behar makes room for another, who might otherwise fail to find employment, and it has for many years been the settled policy of Government to encourage emigration by every possible means, in particular by the construction of roads and railways in the direction in which the population seeks an outlet. It is sometimes said that the relief thus given is inappreciable, and I own that there seems no immediate prospect of emigration on a scale sufficient to effect a material increase in the wages current in Upper India. The population of the districts specified by the Government of Bengal as those in which the pressure is most felt exceeds fifteen millions, and behind these there are the inhabitants of the Oudh and of a part of the North-Western Provinces, who seem to be, so far as the landless labourers are concerned, in much the same position as those who reside in the worst part of Behar. The case requires the transfer of millions, while the most sanguine can only hope to move hundreds of thousands. And the causes of over-population may continue to act for an indefinite period, whereas the field for emigration, if it be adequately worked, must be exhausted, at the furthest, in half a century. But these considerations are useful only as tending to prevent the adoption by Government of the sanguine expectations sometimes raised by those who do not compare with sufficient attention the numerical proportion between the population which it is desired to relieve and the emigrants for whom practical provision can be made. Emigration, whether to Burma, Assam, or the Colonies, on any scale which can be reasonably contemplated, is not, it must be confessed, a panacea for the evils of the working classes; but it is at least a palliative, and as such it should not be despised. A complete remedy can, perhaps, be sought

* It is nearly two rupees a head if we include opium, but the receipts of this branch of the revenue, derived as they are from the Chinese consumers, can hardly be connected in any special way with Bengal and certainly should not be taken into account for the present purpose.

only in the alteration of customs adapted to economic conditions the reverse of those which at present exist; and Government may, in my opinion, promote such a change most efficiently by extending popular education, which is in a most backward state in Behar, where its influence can hardly be said to have even touched the labouring classes. It is only with their own intelligent co-operation that the masses can be rescued from the evils under which they suffer, and such co-operation will never be secured while they remain in their present state of primeval ignorance.

14. In the correspondence which has taken place on the subject of the promotion of emigration to Burma, it has been stated by some that we want cultivators to reclaim the waste lands, not mere labourers for hire; by others that we require permanent settlers, not sojourners; by others, again, that emigration should be encouraged from certain districts only, that is from those which are considered congested. A consideration of the advantages enumerated above will show that all voluntary emigration from Bengal to Burma is beneficial, being for the good of the emigrant himself, of the country he leaves, of that in which he settles, and of the revenue. It is quite true that the permanent transfer of labourers from Behar for the reclamation of the waste lands in Burma is of special use, but we must not for that reason overlook the appreciable, if inferior, advantages of the visits paid harvesters from Chittagong, without whose assistance the Arracan rice crop could not be gathered, or prepared for export. The migration of labour in Upper India seems to be from west to east, from the North-West to the Lower Provinces, from Behar to Bengal Proper, from Bengal to Burma or Assam; and any assistance given to this movement at one end must be felt in its effects along the whole line. As to the special objection taken to temporary emigration on the ground that it does not really relieve the over-populated districts, I may remark that it is the usual precursor of permanent emigration. Those who go for a time often end by settling for life, and even if they return, they bring back with them not only sums of money very acceptable to their families, but also knowledge, which may be useful to their neighbours, in particular the knowledge of the road to Burma.

15. In considering how Government can best assist this migration, it is desirable to remember that State interference may easily be hurtful, by depriving the movement of the spontaneity which is the best assurance of its success. Under a free system those only emigrate who feel within them a spirit of enterprise prompting them to undergo present inconvenience for the sake of future advantages; and of the emigrants those only attempt the cultivation of new land who have a vocation for that very difficult and arduous occupation. But when, as under the Bengal scheme of 1874, the Madras scheme of 1876, and the Behar scheme of 1882, Government intervenes, to tempt men to emigrate by the voices of paid recruiters, to pay their passages out, feed them in depôts while awaiting work, and to advance to them the capital requisite to establish them as cultivators, this guarantee is lost, and many leave their country merely because from weakness of character they are unable to resist persuasion, promises, and the prospect of receiving money. The complaint made by the Burma officers in all the cases cited above was that the men sent out, though tolerable labourers, were quite unfit to reclaim waste on their own account. What is required is, not that Government action should now supersede the voluntary system which has established a quarter of a million Hindustanis in Burma, but that the freest scope should be given to individual efforts by such means as the reduction of the cost of the journey, and the offer of land or employment on reasonable terms.

16. It fortunately happens that Government is in a position to give very substantial aid to existing emigration without in the least interfering with its spontaneous character. The contract between the British India Steam Navigation Company, Limited, and the Secretary of State for India, executed on the 1st of June 1885, contains the following clause:—

The Company shall also in like manner if and when required so to do by the Government of India at any time during the continuance of this contract convey deck passengers by the

vessels of the said Company employ under this contract on lines Nos. 1 and 4 at the following maximum rates, viz:—

Maximum rates.	From Calcutta to Rangoon.	From ports north of Madras to Rangoon.	From Madras and ports south of Madras to Rangoon.
	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
For each adult ...	5 0	8 0	10 0
„ each child from 3 to 12 years ...	2 8	4 0	5 0
„ each child under 3 years in charge of an adult ...	Free.	Free.	Free.

and shall in respect of such service if and when required to perform the same but not otherwise receive the additional subsidies following, viz:—

In respect of line 1 a special annual subsidy of Rs. 16,000.

In respect of line 4 a special annual subsidy of Rs. 25,000.

This provision was obviously inserted in the agreement with the intention of assisting emigration, and it is now proposed that the original design should be carried out. The Company almost monopolises passenger traffic, it has the best ships, and no rates higher than those charged by it can, it is believed, be maintained by any competing agency. The present fare of a deck passenger is ten rupees, so that the measures proposed will reduce the passage money by one-half. In estimating the results which may be anticipated from such action we are not left entirely to conjecture, as in 1882-83 the Local Administration of Burma procured a reduction in the rates to the extent now suggested, and, according to a letter addressed to the Government of India, No. 1197—160R, dated 7th July 1885, “the consequence of this reduction in rates was that the number of emigrants in 1882-83 was about 72,000 (nearly double that of 1881-82), and it was estimated that half of this number settled in the province.” The difference between the scheme adopted in 1882, which was abandoned in 1884 for financial reasons, and that now proposed is, that whereas under the one system Government had to pay Re. 1-8 a head for every emigrant from Calcutta, and disbursed two lakhs and three quarters in all, the charge will now be only Rs. 16,000 a year, or about eight annas a head on the 31,554 emigrants of 1887. Should the eventual result of the reduction of fares be to double the number of passengers, the charge will be at the rate of four annas a head only, by which payment Government would secure a benefit of five rupees to each passenger. This must be regarded as an economical method of encouraging emigration, inasmuch as the direct pecuniary gain to the individual is from ten to twenty fold the expenditure incurred by Government. And from a financial point of view, I cannot but look upon the scheme as presenting a fair prospect of yielding a profit—a prospect better than that which Government considers sufficient in the case of other reproductive works. I will not, for this purpose, assume the correctness of the statement made by the Burma Administration in 1885, that the increase of a hundred per cent. in the emigration returns of 1881-82 was due to the reduction of the rates, to the exclusion of every other cause; nor will I anticipate any such striking, not to say extraordinary, effect from the precisely similar reduction which it is now proposed to effect. But it is obvious that when the passage money is diminished by half, some effect must be produced in the direction of increasing the number of emigrants. Notwithstanding all that has been said as to the reluctance of the Indian to quit his native home, it appears that in practise the great obstacle to emigration is material rather than sentimental. Beharis go in thousands to Assam, to work of a more distasteful kind than that to be found in Burma, under contracts of labour enforced by imprisonment in the criminal jail, and for a wage of only five rupees a month, merely because their expenses by the way are paid by the employer. They undertake the arduous voyage round the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn to the Fiji Islands for the same reason, with prospects inferior to those which await them in Burma. A considerable proportion of those who emigrate to the colonies are Brahmins and Rajputs, so that it would appear that it is not the ties of caste, but the tighter bonds of poverty which chain Indian cultivators to their

homes. Such being the conditions, we may safely say that if some thirty-two thousand emigrants leave Calcutta yearly for Rangoon when the passage costs ten rupees, a larger number will go when the expenses are reduced to five rupees; and I can scarcely err otherwise than on the safe side in assuming that the increase will be at least twenty per cent., or more than six thousand persons, one-half of whom will settle in Burma. According to the estimate made in the twelfth paragraph of this report, the permanent transfer of three thousand persons from Bengal to Burma implies an increase of eighteen thousand rupees in the annual revenue, so that the outlay will yield a return of about a hundred per cent. The capitation tax paid by the settlers in Burma would alone yield an interest of twenty per cent. I am aware that the return is not absolutely certain, but this is an objection which applies to all expenditure classed as reproductive.

17. The objection that this measure will encourage emigration from

Objection considered that the measure will encourage all emigration from Bengal, not that from Behar only.

Upper India generally, and not exclusively that from the more congested districts, was fully considered at the meeting of public officers which discussed the matter in Rangoon, and also by the Chief Commissioner. It seems impossible to limit this particular form of assistance more strictly to defined limits, and therefore the special encouragement which we desire to give to emigration from Behar must be bestowed in other ways. It is mainly to meet this objection that the advantages of emigration have been analysed in the present report, and the fact that they are not confined to emigration from Behar has been pointed out. The proposed subsidy would not benefit the Chittagong men, who proceed directly from their own port, or by land, to Burma, and thus it does not touch that part of emigration which is least advantageous. Passengers from Calcutta will generally come from districts more or less congested, and even when they do not their departure for a province where labourers are so much required, and yield so much to the State in revenue, must be well worth the moderate outlay proposed.

18. As an experimental measure, a grant of 15,000 acres of waste land

(2) Grants of lands to capitalists on condition that the cultivation is conducted by immigrants.

has been made to Mr. Mylne, the well-known inventor of the Beheea sugar-mill, to be held rent-free for twelve years, then at a progressive rent of Rs. 1,000 rising to Rs. 2,500, and Rs. 4,000 after periods of seven years; and finally, after the expiration of thirty-three years to be assessed at one-half of the current rates—Mr. Mylne undertaking to cultivate mainly through Indian settlers, the Burmese employed never exceeding ten per cent. of the whole number. It is now proposed that grants should be offered on similar terms to other capitalists willing to undertake the introduction of Indian ryots. The conditions would be to the following effect:—

- (1). No one grant should exceed 10,000 acres.
- (2). The land to be cultivated only by natives of Behar and Chutia Nagpore; Behar to include the districts of Bhagulpore and Monghyr, as well as the Patna Division; provided that ten per cent. of those settled or employed on the estates may be taken from any other places.
- (3). The land to be revenue-free for twelve years, after which an increasing rent will be charged on the whole area, as follows:—

For seven years, 1 anna an acre.

“ 2½ annas “

“ 4 “ “

After the expiry of thirty-three years, two-thirds of the rates assessed on similar land in the neighbourhood.

- (4). Ten per cent. of the area to be brought under cultivation during the first five years, an additional ten per cent. during each succeeding period of seven years, up to the end of thirty years, when the grant will become absolute.
- (5). Subject to compliance with the conditions specified during the first thirty-three years, the grantee to have a perpetual and transferable title.

- (6). Not more than 100,000 acres will be assigned under these rules until further orders.

These terms, with any modifications considered desirable, should be embodied in a set of detailed rules, similar to those for the grant of land in Burma and Assam for tea cultivation.

19. Although these terms are more liberal than those on which waste lands are ordinarily granted, they do not involve any loss

Proposal explained.

of revenue, inasmuch as whatever tax may ultimately be obtained from lands cultivated on the system proposed will be a clear addition to that levied under the ordinary rules. In the districts where these large tracts are available for reclamation there is enough for all, and the Burmese will not cease to take up as much new land as the capital and labour at their disposal permit, merely because Indian settlers may, at the same time, be bringing the assigned grants under cultivation. The allowance on the ryotwari rate to be made to the grantees after thirty-three years does not exceed that given in other provinces where the settlement is made with zemindars. The total amount which it is proposed to assign at first, a hundred thousand acres, forms an insignificant fraction of the available waste in Burma, and if the experiment does not prove in every respect satisfactory, it need not be repeated. On the other hand, it is hoped that the grants may induce capitalists to settle Beharis in considerable numbers on lands in Burma, and if this is done, the benefit will certainly not be limited to the areas directly effected. Although Bengalis now settle on waste land in Burma, it is understood that Beharis and the men of Chutia Nagpur (where wages are lower than those current in Behar) do not, and what is desired is that an example should be set of success in this direction. Once we have established a movement, and can point to its good results, it will continue of itself.

20. It is further proposed that Government should start one or more

(3) Opening of Government clearances for Beharis.

clearances on land favourably situated, for the settlement of Behar emigrants, to whom assistance may be given in the form of advances. This recommendation is made on the principle that the State, as the chief landholder in Burma, may properly set an example of reclamation on the system which it commends to other proprietors. Some facilities are presented for the purposes by the existence of "fuel reserves" established to supply the new railway, but no longer needed, as the engines burn only coal, and also by the recent appointment of an experienced officer as Director of Agriculture for the province. The sites of these reserves, which are fertile and convenient for the purpose, might be made available for cultivation by merely clearing the thicker jungle, and sinking wells, leaving the settlers themselves to deal with the lighter jungle. It is true that an attempt to settle Beharis on waste land failed utterly in 1882, and that some previous efforts made to accomplish the same objects came to nothing; but in these instances no means whatever were adopted to select suitable ryots, or to insist on the observances of any rules which would give scope for a system of natural selection. It was assumed that every Behari labourer was fit to act as a small capitalist in Burma, to be trusted with advances equal to ten times his annual income in his native land, to eradicate jungle, and cultivate the land reclaimed on his own account. The settlers were therefore recruited by an agent in Behar, paid so much a head, with the result that they were found absolutely unfit for the work before them. This is what might easily have been anticipated from the first. It is not every one who can farm at a profit, even on land which he receives in a state of thorough cultivation and in his own country. To do so on waste land in a foreign province, differing much in climate and soil from that with which he is acquainted, is a difficult task, requiring special gifts for its successful performance. While any stout Behari can get good wages in Burma by ploughing and reaping for others, or at any rate by carrying rice-bags at the wharf, it is not one in ten who is fit for the difficult work of independent cultivation. The most careful selection is therefore necessary in the choice of ryots; or rather it is desirable to establish a system under which they may select themselves. Emigrants on their first arrival should, as a general rule, work for others, and when they have become acclimatised, and learned something of the ways and language of the country, those who feel equal to the

enterprise may set up as cultivators, investing their savings on their holdings. To such men, when they settle on Government clearances, advances may be freely given, as they risk something of their own in the venture, thereby giving a guarantee. It has been objected that we would not by assisting men of this class really promote emigration, as they are already in Burma; but if the scheme be considered in its ultimate consequences, it will be found to include the promotion of emigration in the very best and most effectual way. Every man withdrawn from the ordinary labour market leaves a vacancy which another emigrant may probably supply, while nothing would encourage Beharis more to seek work in Burma than the existence of settled colonies of their caste-fellows in the province, who would not only afford them society and countenance, but in many cases would even assist them to find their passage-money, and give them employment. With regard to the cost of the undertaking, it would be sufficient to proceed on a small scale at first, for the purpose of experiment; and I should say that an expenditure on Rs. 8,000 would be enough to establish a village or hamlet. It is estimated that Rs. 250 is required to clear a holding, build a habitation, and find the tenant in stock; so that, if Government advances half this sum, the ryot finding the other half, the proposed outlay would be sufficient to set up fifty families, leaving a margin for the construction of wells, and for cutting noxious jungle where this should be done by the landlord:—

	Rs.
Advances to 50 tenants, at Rs. 125 each ...	6,250
Digging wells ...	1,000
Clearing jungle where this should be done by the landlord ...	750
Total ...	8,000

The charges would be of an ordinary nature, classified as on account of *tuccavi* advances, and the improvement of Government estates. They would fall on the Burma Administration.

21. The above are the only proposals which I have to lay before the

Suggestion that the cost of sending emigrants from Behar should be advanced paid by the State.

Government of India; but certain suggestions have also been made which, while I do not recommend their immediate adoption, I report for consideration.

I was at one time disposed to think that Government might with advantage issue in Bankipore, at the discretion of local officers, free passes for the voyage from Calcutta to Rangoon, leaving the emigrant to pay his own railway fare from Behar to Calcutta, and recovering from him, after he had found employment in Burma, the value of the passage, which will be only five rupees. The payment of the railway fare would be some evidence that the intending emigrant was not a mere pauper, and it would also prevent the fraudulent use of free passes from Bankipore to Calcutta. Passengers by steamers have to appear before starting in the Company's office; and, considering this liability, and the fact that the advances are recoverable, I do not think there would be any danger of the sale of the passes. With regard to the possibility of recovering the advances in Burma, the facts we have to go on are that 7,397 immigrants were landed by Government at Rangoon under the Bengal emigration scheme of 1874, at an estimated cost of Rs. 21-4 a head, afterwards raised to Rs. 23-4; before March 1876, that is to say, within a year or two years of their arrival, this charge, which was treated as an advance, had been recovered in full from 29 per cent. of the emigrants, 21 per cent. had at that date paid more than half the debt, and only 12 per cent. had paid nothing. If such progress was made in recovering a really considerable debt—one which would absorb the whole savings of a labourer for a year—I should have thought that the realization of an advance which would easily be discharged in two months would have been comparatively easy, and that an allowance of 10 per cent. for bad debts would have been ample. The Burma officers consulted were, however, much opposed to undertaking the responsibility of recovering the advances, and were inclined to recommend, as an alternative scheme, that free passes for the whole journey from Bankipore to Rangoon should be issued as a gift to suitable emigrants. This appears to me to involve the adoption of the system of 1874 in regard to the maintenance of depôts in Bengal for emigrants on their way out, and in Burma for the

new arrivals, until employment could be found for them—a system to which officers in Burma are much opposed. I fail to see how we could pay in full the railway fares and steamer passages without adopting such precautions, as it would be a scandal to leave State emigrants to starve in the streets of Calcutta and Rangoon. The only safe policy is, in my opinion, to favour and assist those who travel at least partly at their own expense, while avoiding the institution of a system of pauper emigration, conducted at the charge and responsibility of the State. The original proposal as to the issue of free passes to Beharis from Calcutta to Rangoon by way of advance is not pressed at present, but may be renewed should any special opportunity present itself, such as a scarcity in Bengal, or an exceptional demand for labour in Burma.

22. I understand that a considerable number of immigrants are at present employed on public works in Burma, and it appears to me that suitable labourers might be engaged in Behar for the purpose under the British Burma Labour Law, or otherwise, and their outward expenses advanced, subject to subsequent recovery by deduction from their wages. The most suitable of the labourers thus imported might, after proving their industry and learning the ways of the country, be settled on Government clearances, the execution of public works being thus made a means of ultimately securing the reclamation of waste-lands. To this proposal the Burma officers consulted were opposed, on the ground that it would interfere with the system of executing such works by contract, and would add to their cost. Mr. Hodgkinson also considered it desirable to encourage the Burmese themselves to seek employment of this kind. I gathered from the Chief Commissioner that the objection on the score of cost impressed him most, and he entirely agreed with his officers in rejecting the suggestion, unless the Bengal Government would undertake to pay any loss which its adoption might involve. In my opinion the importation of labourers from Behar for labour on public works in Burma, if the system were permanently adopted, would involve trouble rather than cost; properly conducted, it might even be made profitable, as in the case of the importation of labourers from the same districts to Assam, where local wages are not so high as in Burma. At first there would, no doubt, be some expense, in the probable event of the arrangements being defective; but ultimately it can hardly injure an employer to engage his labourers in a very cheap instead of in a very dear market. I do not, however, find that the present moment is opportune for putting forward the proposal. Should any great public works be undertaken requiring a supply of labour larger than can be met from local sources, the Burma Administration may be disposed to entertain the suggestion with greater favour; while in the event of scarcity occurring in Behar, the Bengal Government may be prepared to assist to the extent of advancing the requisite funds.

23. The Financial Commissioner advocates the construction of a line to connect the Burmese railway system with that of Bengal. This would undoubtedly do more to promote emigration than all the other measures taken together, dread of crossing the sea being deeply implanted in the breasts of up-countrymen. I only mention the project, as I have not had the opportunity of considering it in any detail.

24. The British Burma Emigration Law of 1876 can be said to have come into operation only in so far as Government in the following year imported some Madrassis with the intention of assigning them to employers according to the procedure described in section 48; but no one would accept their services on the troublesome conditions prescribed by the Act, so they had to be allowed to work on the ordinary terms. No private person has ever put the law in force, and few are aware of its existence. The practice of importing labourers at the employer's expense does not obtain in Burma, and therefore the Act framed to facilitate such importation finds no scope for operation. It has been suggested that as Madrassis are generally brought over at the cost of petty native contractors, legislation is desirable for the more easy recovery of advances; but Burma officers are not unanimous on this point, and in the absence of any demand on the part of the contractors themselves, interference would, I think, be premature.

Employment of Beharis on public works in Burma.

Construction of a railway from Burma *via* Assam to Bengal.

Amendment of the British Burma Labour Law.

25. The general result of the discussions which took place during my

Summary.

visit to Burma is to show that emigration to that province from Bengal is most beneficial to individuals, and also to the State; that it is proceeding on a large scale which may be greatly increased; and that the voluntary system on which it is conducted works extremely well. The inference is that the movement should be encouraged in every practicable way, without depriving it of the spontaneity which is its most valuable characteristic. The measures immediately recommended with this object are three—the reduction of the cost of the passage from Calcutta to Rangoon by one-half, the offer of equitable terms to capitalists willing to reclaim waste land by the agency of Indian labourers or ryots, and the settlement of Bengalis on selected Government estates. For carrying out the first of these proposals there is a special opportunity, the terms of the contract between the principal carrying Company and Government providing for its accomplishment at a trifling cost, while the approaching completion of the railway from Rangoon to Mandalay, and the existence of fuel reserves no longer required, offer similar facilities for the immediate adoption of the remaining suggestions. These measures were unanimously approved by those consulted in Burma and are supported by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; they are as desirable on financial as on general grounds, and I hope that they may be carried into effect as expeditiously as possible. Further facilities may, in my opinion, be afforded for emigration by the advance to Beharis, under certain conditions, of the amount of their passage-money from Calcutta to Rangoon, and by importing labourers for employment on large public works; but on these points there is some difference of opinion, and it may be desirable to await a more opportune moment for their discussion.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

P. NOLAN,

On Special Duty.

*Memorandum of Proceedings of a Meeting held at Rangoon, on the 13th August 1888,
to discuss the question of facilitating Emigration from Upper Bengal to Burma.*

PRESENT :

Mr. Fryer

Mr. Hall.

Mr. Nolan.

MR. NOLAN stated that the object of the Bengal Government in promoting emigration was to find an outlet for the surplus population of Behar. It was unfortunately a fact that the supply of labour in that province was in excess of the demand, and that wages were consequently kept down to a rate inconsistent with the sufficient maintenance of families; while employment even on these unsatisfactory terms was not always to be found. This observation applied to the districts of Patna, Gya, Mozufferpore, Durbhanga, Sarun, Bhagulpore, and Monghyr, with 15,313,359 inhabitants according to the Census of 1881, where wages for agricultural work were under two annas a day, in some cases only five or six pice, and the labouring classes, estimated at 10 per cent. of the whole population, were insufficiently nourished. In Burma, on the other hand, the complaint in every branch of industry was that labour could not be got even at very high wages; and it would undoubtedly be of advantage to both provinces if the existing tendency to emigration from the crowded districts of the one to the sparsely-populated tracts of the other could be encouraged.

Mr. Fryer observed that there was no doubt as to the wages obtainable in Burma being excellent, and the demand for labour exceeded the supply during a considerable portion of the year. In the slack season, after the rice had been gathered, and stored or exported, a portion of the immigrant labourers returned to their homes in Bengal or Madras. In Upper Burma wages were not so good, but they were rising fast, and the Public Works Department gave eight annas a day.

Mr. Hall referred to the volume "Prices and Wages in India" according to which in 1887 the wages of an able-bodied agricultural labourer were Rs. 30 a month during the first half of the year in Rangoon, Rs. 25 a month all the year round in Moulmein and Amherst, and as low as Rs. 10 a month in one district only. He also put in the following return of wages supplied by Settlement Officers:—

Hanthawaddy, Pegu.—Labourers get 50 to 100 baskets of paddy (Rs. 30 to Rs. 75) with their food, which costs Rs. 5 a month for the ploughing season. There are different customs regarding payment for reaping, &c. For planting wages are 10 annas to Re. 1-4 a day.

Wages of agricultural labourers—
See pages 32, 33 of Report for 1879-80.

Tharrawaddy.—Ploughman gets 60 baskets of paddy (Rs. 36) and his food at Rs. 4 a month for the season.

See pages 21, 22 of Report for 1880-81, and page 16 of Report for 1883-84.

For transplanting 1 to 1½ baskets a day (8 to 14 annas) with food.

Prome.—Daily wages are 8 to 10 annas in south and 4 annas in north of district per day, food being added.

Bassein.—Ploughman 100 baskets (Rs. 60 to Rs. 75); assistant 50 to 60 baskets (Rs. 35 to Rs. 45); day-labourers 1 basket a day (8 to 12 annas). In all cases food is given by employer.

Bassein 1880-81, Report, page 29.

Henzada.—Ploughman Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 for the season with his food; for daily labour 1 basket of paddy (8 to 12 annas) with one meal.

Henzada, 1885-86, page 35.

With regard to the area of land immediately available for reclamation, Mr. Hall observed that precise figures were not at present available, but he hoped to be able to furnish a return in a few days. He put in a statement, marked A, giving such particulars as could be immediately supplied.

Referring to this return, Mr. Nolan observed that it showed much land as reclaimable by constructing bunds and executing irrigation works. He would like to know whether undertakings of this sort were common, and whether they were profitable as a rule.

Mr. Hall, in reply, stated that such works had been executed at a profit by private individuals and also by Government in many instances. He quoted a recent case in which some ryots in Amherst had reclaimed 800 acres of land from a tidal khall at a cost of Rs. 450.

Mr. Nolan then submitted for discussion the following proposals:—

- (i) that grants of land should be offered to other Behar zemindars on terms similar to those recently conceded to Mr. Mylne, except that a definite agreement should be taken for the cultivation of a specified proportion of the waste within a fixed time, and for the employment of natives of the congested districts, and that the revenue assessed should be somewhat greater;
- (ii) that suitable lands should be selected as Government estates to be settled with inhabitants of the districts referred to above. On these estates Government should perform the duties of a reclaiming landowner, such as sinking necessary wells, making advances to ryots for oxen, and for house-building, looking for a return to the rents and to the capitation-tax. The ryots to be settled should be in every respect fit to act as pioneers of cultivation, and preference should be given to men acclimatized by a year's residence in the country;
- (iii) that Government, on undertaking any large public work, should import for its execution labourers from the congested districts, recovering the cost of their passage from their wages. The labourers so imported, with the 72,990 Hindustanis and the 99,686 Bengalis resident in Burma, according to the census returns of 1881, would be available for settlement on the reclaimed wastes. In the ordinary course of supply and demand their places as labourers would be taken by new immigrants.

Mr. Fryer expressed his assent to the first proposal, except that he would not ask for more revenue from other settlers than that assessed on the land to be granted to Mr. Mylne. It would be impolitic to ask too much from men who were conducting an experiment. He was inclined to think that Hindustanis would be willing to settle in the country, particularly men of the military police. The subject had been discussed in official correspondence, and though different views had been expressed, the tendency of opinion appeared to be in favour of such settlements. As to importing labourers for public work, there was this difficulty, that Government could seldom promise employment for more than one year, but even within a year the cost of the passage, Rs. 25, might be recovered.

Mr. Hall doubted whether men who had once received the high wages of Rangoon would settle down as cultivators, and also whether there were really 72,990 Hindustanis in the country. He would prefer to import them for the purpose directly. They might at first be employed as labourers on the estate itself in clearing jungle and building houses. He would fix a limit to the amount of land to be granted on the easy terms offered to Mr. Mylne, say 100,000 acres.

Mr. Nolan, in reply, said he attached great importance to selecting ryots from those who had been tried and acclimatized in the country by preliminary service as labourers. Mr. Hall's proposal to find employment on the estate itself seemed excellent, but when it would not be carried out those who had worked elsewhere would be preferable to raw recruits fresh from India. The terms granted to Mr. Mylne were very favourable to the settlers from a financial point of view, but it might be necessary to maintain them for a limited area as suggested.

Mr. Fryer drew attention to the great results produced in 1882 by subsidizing the steamer companies to reduce freights, and suggested the advisability of considering whether this course should be adopted again.

Mr. Nolan observed that this would have the effect of subsidizing immigration from districts where population was not excessive.

LOWER BURMA.

Rainfall, Population, Crops, &c.

MEAN RAINFALL IN INCHES.										REMARKS.								
DISTRICT.				Ratio between cultivated area and population. Cultivated area for each family of five.														
				January to May.		June to September.		October to December.		Total.		Density of population per square mile.	Ratio between cultivated area and population. Cultivated area for each family of five.	Area under rice cultivation.	Area under other crops.	Annual surplus of rice in tons. Cargo-rice.	Average incidence of land revenue.	Indian population at census, 1881.
Hanthawaddy (with Pegu).	7	97	10	114	101	105	1,130,000	50,000	400,000	Rs. 2.12	12,000	There is waste land which by clearing can be made fit for cultivation of rice and other crops, specially in the north of Hanthawaddy. There is also low land which can be reclaimed by bunding and draining.						
Tharrawaddy	7	78	11	96	138	4.3	300,000	20,000	90,000	1.75	3,000	There is a large area now flooded which can be reclaimed by an embankment east of the Irrawaddy. There is also waste land available near the hills.						
Prome	5	30	8	43	111	4.0	250,000	37,000	37,000	1.12	2,700	In the north of the district there is land fit for paddy cultivation available. It is of inferior quality. Near the river there is waste land available for cultivation of dry-weather crops.						
Thayetmyo	3	27	9	39	71	3.1	70,000	35,000	Nil	1.06	4,400	There is available land, somewhat high for rice, along the Dega and in Shwegyin circle. This land is suitable for gardens, oilseed, and maize crops.						
Henzada	9	70	8	87	163	4.6	300,000	45,000	92,000	1.75	1,700	Similar land is available in Bassein. Much land fit for paddy can be reclaimed by embanking.						
Bassein	7	88	17	112	55	5.3	510,000	30,000	107,000	1.75	10,000	Plenty of waste fit for paddy available. Some requires clearing only, some bunding and draining.						
Thongwa	12	70	11	93	52	4	350,000	30,000	110,000	2.18	2,300	A large amount of land now waste available for paddy and other crops, especially along the railway.						
Amherst	13	158	8	179	19	4.6	330,000	27,000	57,000	2.00	14,000	A considerable area of land available for paddy and other crops.						
Shwegyin	10	113	9	132	30	3	110,000	20,000	15,000	1.50	1,800	A considerable area of land available for garden and other produce.						
Toungoo	8	63	7	78	20	1.6	50,000	5,000	Nil	1.12	4,000	Rice cultivation can also be extended.						
Salween	13	112	9	134	6	2.3	11,000	1,500	Nil	.75	150	* There were at the time of the census 180,000 Hindus and Mahomedans in Arakan, and 8,000 in Mergui. But there is a large indigenous Mahomedan population in these districts. By throwing up embankments to keep out the salt water considerable areas can be reclaimed.						
Mergui	15	134	22	171	7	4.3	40,000	16,000	1,000	1.70	*	Land available for cultivating garden and other produce. Communications are bad.						
Tavoy	13	162	10	185	12	4.2	60,000	20,000	2,000	1.75	1,000							
Akyab	11	147	19	177	65	5	400,000	100,000	135,000	2.00	*							
Kyaukpau	6	171	18	195	34	3.5	100,000	100,000	17,000	1.50	*							
Sandoway	10	202	9	221	17	3.6	40,000	40,000	Nil	1.50	*							
Arakan Hills	...	...	...	...	14	2	3,000	3,000	Nil	.50	*			

UPPER BURMA.

Note on the rainfall, crops, and available waste lands of Upper Burma.

Bhamo.

		Inches.
Rainfall	* { January to May ...	15
	{ June to September ...	50
	{ October to December ...	10
Total ...		75

Rice is grown, but hardly in sufficient quantity for the requirements of the district. Small quantities of peas and Indian-corn are grown. There is some land about Indaingyi in the Mogaung sub-division available for cultivation.

Myadaung.

		Inches.
Rainfall	... { January to May ...	9
	{ June to September ...	24
	{ October to December ...	4
Total ...		37

Rice is grown both in the dry weather and in the rains, but the outturn is not as a rule sufficient for local demand. Tobacco, millets, and Indian-corn are grown to a small extent. There is waste land available for cultivation in South Myadaung.

Ruby Mines.

A little rice is grown, but it is not enough to supply the local demand.

Shwebo.

		Inches.
Rainfall	... { January to May ...	4
	{ June to September ...	26
	{ October to December ...	7
Total ...		37

The paddy grown is ordinarily sufficient for the local demand. Grain, tilseed, peas, beans, millets, Indian-corn, cotton, tobacco are also grown. In Shwebo there is plenty of waste land available for paddy and other products. There are several irrigation tanks and channels in Shwebo, and with a small expenditure of capital most of these would be restored. Some are now in partial order.

* In this note the rainfall of 1887 is given. The rainfall is believed to have been below average in that year.

Mandalay.

		Inches.
Rainfall ...	{ January to May ...	8
	{ June to September ...	18
	{ October to December ...	2
	Total ...	28

Paddy is grown both in the dry weather ther and in the rains. Rice is largely imported for Mandalay Town. Cotton, wheat, maize, tilseed, and tobacco are grown. There is not much waste land available for cultivation except on the plateau. There wheat, millets, and maize would perhaps grow.

Ye-u.

		Inches.
Rainfall ...	{ January to May ...	11
	{ June to September ...	22
	{ October to December ...	5
	Total ...	38

A considerable amount of rice is grown, and in good years there is a surplus; millets, pulses, and tilseed are also grown. There is plenty of fertile land now waste and available for cultivation. In addition to the crops already grown, it is reported that sugarcane and wheat would thrive well. Several minor irrigation schemes have been started and have answered well. The climate is good and suitable to natives of India.

Upper Chindwin.

Rainfall up to end of July 1888, 23 inches. Rice is grown and ordinarily there is a surplus; some of the paddy land is very fertile. There is waste land available. Tea will grow and is grown in the Legayain sub-division. The climate of the Upper Chindwin is mild and the area of cultivable waste is immense.

Lower Chindwin.

Rainfall up to end of July 1888, 15 inches. Besides rice, millets, Indian-corn, and tilseed are grown. The south-east of Alôn is "certainly a wonderfully fertile tract, and has a great future before it. It could, if properly cultivated, support five times the present population." Wheat can be grown. The Pagyi township is also fertile, and there are several streams which could be used for irrigation.

Sagaing.

		Inches.
Rainfall ...	{ January to May ...	12
	{ June to September ...	14
	{ October to December ...	5
	Total ...	31

A little rice is grown, but it is not enough for the requirements of the district. Cotton is extensively grown and is exported. Wheat, tilseed, millets, Indian-corn, and tobacco are also grown. There is some land available for wheat and cotton cultivation. The area of really fertile land available in Saigaing is limited.

Kyaukse.

		Inches.
Rainfall	{ January to May ...	... 9
	{ June to September ...	... 11
	{ October to December ...	... 2
Total		... 22

Rice is largely grown. It is mostly irrigated. Some wheat is grown and there is land suitable for cotton. There is a considerable amount of waste land available for cultivation, and there are numerous irrigation canals, on many of which there are large areas of land which have been cultivated within recent times. Gram grows well in the district, especially in the Paukmyaung township.

Myingyan.

		Inches.
Rainfall	{ January to May ...	... 8
	{ June to September ...	... 13
	{ October to December ...	... 3
Total		... 24

There is a considerable area under rice, but it is necessary to import. Cotton is exported to Lower Burma and to Bhamo. Behind Myingyan there is an excellent cotton country. Tilseed, gram, wheat, millets, and tobacco are grown. There is a large area of waste available for cultivation.

Pagan.

		Inches.
Rainfall	{ January to May ...	... 10
	{ June to September ...	... 18
	{ October to December ...	... 2
Total		... 30

The western township ordinarily grow enough rice for local consumption, but those east of the river import largely. Millets and wheat are also grown.

Minbu.

		Inches.
Rainfall	{ January to May ...	... 5
	{ June to September ...	... 16
	{ October to December ...	... 1
Total		... 22

The rainfall at Minbu itself is smaller than at other places in the district. Excellent rice is grown in Salin and Sagu and is exported. Elsewhere the rice grown is not sufficient for local consumption. Wheat, Indian-corn, millets, cotton, tobacco are grown.

Taungdwingyi.

		Inches.
Rainfall	{ January to May ...	11
	{ June to September ...	29
	{ October to December ...	4
Total		44

The Taungdwingyi valley produces, in ordinary years, rice in excess of its consumption. In north of the district but little rice is grown. Maize, millets, gram, Indian-corn are grown. There is plenty of waste land fit for rice cultivation if irrigation works were carried out. There is some land available fit for maize, cotton, millets, and gram.

Meiktila.

		Inches.
Rainfall	{ January to May ...	7
	{ June to September ...	16
	{ October to December ...	5
Total		28

There is ordinarily a surplus of rice in the Pindale township, but in the others what is grown is not enough for local consumption. Cotton, tilseed, millets, Indian-corn are grown. There is a considerable amount of waste land available for the cultivation of these products.

Yamtehin.

		Inches.
Rainfall	{ January to May ...	9
	{ June to September ...	18
	{ October to December ...	4
Total		31

The rice produced is almost sufficient for local consumption. Indian-corn and pulses are also grown.

Pyinmana.

		Inches.
Rainfall	{ January to May ...	10
	{ June to September ...	43
	{ October to December ...	3
Total		56

In good years there is a small surplus of rice. The soil is suitable for rice cultivation. Indian-corn, millets, and pulses are grown to a small extent.

Memorandum of the proceedings of a Meeting held at Rangoon on the 17th

August 1888.

PRESENT :

Mr. Fryer.
Mr. Hodgkinson.

Mr. Hall.
Mr. Nolan.

THE memorandum of the proceedings of the 13th August was read and approved.

Mr. Nolan stated that in enquiring as to the practicability of giving effect to a suggestion made by Mr. Fryer at the last meeting in favour of inducing the steamer companies to reduce freights on receiving subsidies, he had ascertained that the indenture of contract between Government and the British India Steam Navigation Company, Limited, contained the following provisions:—

“The Company shall also in like manner, if and when required so to do by the Government of India at any time during the continuance of this contract, convey deck-passengers by the vessels of the said Company employed under this contract on lines Nos. 1 and 4 at the following maximum rates, namely:—

MAXIMUM RATES.	From Calcutta to Rangoon.	From ports north of Madras to Rangoon.	From Madras and ports south of Madras to Rangoon.
	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
For each adult	5 0	8 0	10 0
For each child from 3 to 12 years	2 8	4 0	5 0
For each child under 3 years in charge of an adult ...	Free.	Free.	Free.

and shall in respect of such service, if and when required to perform the same, but not otherwise receive the additional subsidies following, namely:—

In respect of Line No. 1, a special annual subsidy of Rs. 16,000.

In respect of Line No. 4, a special annual subsidy of Rs. 25,000.”

It was most desirable to enforce this clause as regards emigration from Bengal, as by so doing Government could, at the moderate cost of Rs. 16,000 a year, give very substantial assistance to the cause of emigration, diminishing its expense by one-half. A sum which spent in direct importation of ryots to a Government estate would cause the movement of a 100 might, if applied in the manner indicated, be the means of introducing 1,000 into the province.

Mr. Fryer agreed. It was stated in Mr. Bridges's report of the 7th July 1885 that the consequence of a similar reduction of rates in 1882 was that the number of immigrants nearly doubled.

Mr. Hodgkinson observed that such a concession as that proposed would apply to Bengalis generally and not in any special sense to Behar. Still he would support the measure on the understanding that the whole cost should not be imposed on Burma.

Mr. Nolan observed that the outlay would be recouped after five years by the proceeds of the capitation-tax; and as these would not be received during the period of the present provincial contract, there seemed to be good cause for making the charge imperial.

The recommendation was unanimously adopted.

Free passes from Behar.

Mr. Fryer suggested that it might be advantageous to pay the cost of despatching coolies from Behar to Burma.

Mr. Nolan said he had made some enquiries to ascertain whether this would be practicable. Intending emigrants might receive at Bankipore free passes from Calcutta to Rangoon, being left to pay their own fare to Calcutta by rail. Passengers are not allowed to go on board without first appearing at the Company's office, and the emigrants would be met at Rangoon by an

agent of Government, probably a clerk of the office of the Director of Agriculture, who would endeavour to arrange for the recovery of the advance. The passes would hardly be sold under these circumstances, and probably would be used only by emigrants from Behar.

Mr. Hodgkinson would give free passes from Behar without attempting to recover the money in Burma, a matter entailing much difficulty. He would take precautions to prevent the grant of passes to persons going to settle on lands granted to zemindars for reclamation. Mr. Fryer and Mr. Hall agreed; the former was in favour of paying the fare by train to Calcutta as well as the passage-money. Mr. Nolan was opposed to giving the railway fare, as such a course might lead to fraud, and moreover it was desirable rather to assist in paying the cost of emigration than to pay it all. Recoveries had been made from emigrants in 1874 and might be made again.

Grants of land for settlement of Beharis.

Mr. Hall read the following rules drafted by him to give effect to the suggestion of the last meeting :—

Draft Rules for granting Waste Lands to Zemindars.

1. Grants in Upper or Lower Burma to be made not exceeding 10,000 acres each for the purpose of encouraging immigration of Indians.
2. The grantee to bring down natives of districts in Behar (to be specified hereafter) to settle them on the land, provide them with houses, cattle, seed, and food until they can support themselves.
3. Not more than 10 per cent. of the tenants, labourers, and other persons living on the grant shall be natives of Burma or persons who arrived in Burma more than one year before they went to live on the grant.
4. Land to be revenue-free for 12 years from 13th to 18th year inclusive. Rs. 1,000 revenue to be paid if the area of the grant is 10,000 acres, and if it is less, Re. 1 for every 10 acres. From the 19th to the 25th year inclusive, Rs. 2,000 revenue to be paid if the area of the grant is 10,000 acres, and if it is less, Rs. 2 for every 10 acres. After the 25th year the land to be assessed similarly to land in the neighbourhood held by Burmans direct from Government, except that in a grant of 1,000 acres the revenue shall never be below Rs. 2,000, and if the area is less, the minimum revenue demand will be reduced in proportion.
5. If the grant is 10,000 acres, there shall be brought under cultivation in the 5th year, and there shall be under cultivation in each succeeding year up to the 12th year, an area of not less than 1,000 acres; failing which there will be payable a sum of Rs. 1,000 revenue for each year in which the area cultivated falls below 1,000 acres. If the area of the grant is below 10,000, there shall be a corresponding decrease in the area of land which the grantee is required to cultivate, and in the amount payable for omission to cultivate.
6. The grantee shall bring down for the abovenamed districts of Behar 10 families of Beharis in each of the first 12 years, and he shall further bring new immigrants in place of any that die or leave the estate, so that the numbers of families on the grant shall in each year up to the 12th year be at least equal to the number of years since the grant was made multiplied by 10. Failing this the grantee to pay each year Rs. 5 per each family below the required number. A "family" shall consist of at least a man and wife. If the area of the estate is less than 10,000 acres, the requirements will be reduced accordingly.
7. If there be at any time living or holding land or labouring on the grant (a) natives of Burma or (b) persons who arrived in Burma more than one year before they went to live on the grant or to hold land or reside there in excess of the proportion permitted, the grantee shall pay Rs. 5 a year for each family in excess of the proper number, and the land cultivated by such persons shall also be assessed at the full revenue rates in force in adjoining circles.
8. Grantors shall at the time the grant is made give security for the payment of all revenue and penalties which may become due under the rules. If the grant is 10,000 acres in area, security for Rs. 4,000 shall be given. If area is less, a reduction shall be made in proportion.
9. If the grantee surrender his grant at any time before the 13th year, he shall pay a fine not exceeding Rs. 1,000.
10. Liberty to transfer up to the 12th year after the purchaser has been approved of by Government and fresh security has been given is to be allowed. After the 12th year liberty to transfer the land is to be allowed unconditionally.

Mr. Fryer considered that the second rule should be simply to the effect that the ryots specified should be settled on the land; provision as to their receiving houses, &c., seemed unnecessary. In such matters the parties might be left free. Mr. Hodgkinson and Mr. Nolan concurred.

Mr. Nolan strongly objected to the part of the third clause which prohibited the settlement of Beharis on the grant if they had been more than a year in the country. We should on the contrary prefer men who by a residence in Burma had become acclimatized, who had gained experience of the province, and who had acquired some capital. It might be that such men would not care to settle on the grants, but that was no reason for prohibiting them from so doing by rule. Every effort should be made to get such men. To settle a foreign labourer as a ryot was really an assistance to emigration, for the place of the labourer would be promptly filled up by another emigrant.

Mr. Hodgkinson agreed. It would be absurd to prohibit a deserving Behari from settling on Mr. Mylne's estate because he had done good service for a year in the police. Mr. Fryer concurred with Mr. Hodgkinson.

Mr. Hall supported the rule as drafted. The land was to be granted on favourable terms in consideration of the grantee bringing ryots from India, and it was not sufficient that the grantee should pick up loafers at Rangoon. Special terms might be granted to the police on separate blocks.

Mr. Hodgkinson noticed that Rule 4 did not provide, as did the grant to Mr. Mylne, for giving the land at the expiry of the period of 33 years at two-thirds the ordinary rates. Full rates were to be levied from the grantee, who would have to seek his profit in taking still higher rents from the tenants. There was no provision to protect the tenants from rack-renting. This seemed contrary to the standing orders on the subject. He considered that any rules to be issued should be previously published and criticism invited. Messrs. Fryer and Nolan agreed.

Mr. Nolan considered that it would be best to make the original grant in the form of a preliminary lease for five or more years, stipulating for the cultivation of specified percentage of the land within a definite term; the permanent lease to be granted only after it had been ascertained that all conditions had been fulfilled. This principle was adopted in the rules for the grant of waste lands for tea cultivation in Julpigoree and Darjeeling, which provide for the cultivation of 15 per cent. of the grant after five years. The rules now drafted might be taken as a basis for future discussion without being definitely modified or approved. This was agreed to.

Emigration for public works.

Mr. Nolan enquired whether the suggestion that Beharis should be imported by Government for public works was approved.

Mr. Fryer said this would interfere with the system of executing such works by contract, and would add to the cost.

Mr. Hodgkinson considered it an object to encourage the Burmese to take to such works. Mr. Hall was also opposed to importing labour for this purpose.

Mr. Fryer advocated the construction of a line to Assam, connecting the Burmese and Bengal railway systems. Mr. Nolan observed that reluctance to cross the sea was un-

Railway to Bengal.

doubtedly the great bar to emigration at present.

Mr. Fryer enquired whether the meeting approved of direct colonization by Government in the form of settling Behar ryots on public lands at the public expense.

Government clearances.

Mr. Hall said the work would be expensive, but it was practicable and should, he thought, be undertaken if the grants to zemindars failed. In settling 100 families it would be necessary to dig wells at a total cost of about Rs. 1,000 and to appoint an officer to look after the immigrants, the expense of supervision for two years being about Rs. 15,000. The cost of building houses and making advances at the rates generally assumed would be Rs. 250 a family, or Rs. 25,000 in all; but this Mr. Hall would be inclined to cut down. The fuel reserves were the most suitable lands available.

Mr. Nolan considered it desirable that Government, as landlord, should set an example in this respect, but all previous attempts had failed and great caution was requisite. He would not establish a hundred families at once, or take the chance of untried emigrants brought at the public cost from Behar. The

first thing desirable was to ascertain whether any of the Beharis now in the country, who had accumulated savings and become acclimatized, would settle on good land receiving such aid as a good landlord gives a tenant, but not being supported at the State expense or supplied in the first instance with houses, tools, and cattle.

Mr. Fryer observed that some law seemed desirable to enable importers of labourers to recover advances. He understood that the passages of Madras emigrants were paid by contractors.

Contract law.

Mr. Hodgkinson said that such advances could easily be secured by bonds recoverable under the ordinary civil law.

Mr. Hall doubted the efficiency of the Civil Procedure Code when the defendant was a man of straw.

Mr. Nolan put in a note which touched the questions. The British Burma Labour Law was a dead-letter, but there seemed to be at present no demand on the part of employers for a substitute.

Mr. Hall put in statements as to emigration and as to wages, also a note on waste lands in Lower Burma.

P. NOLAN.

NOTE ON IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION AT RANGOON.

Immigration and Emigration at Rangoon from and to India.

Years.	Sex.	IMMIGRANTS.					EMIGRANTS.				
		Bengal.	Bombay.	Madras.	Straits.	Total.	Bengal.	Bombay.	Madras.	Straits.	Total.
1885	Males	...	...	15,729	3	25,915	3,967	45,614	19,407	6	...
	Females	...	...	803	1	2,083	308	3,195	885	1	...
	Children	...	...	466	2	2,404	190	3,062	469	...	...
	Total	...	...	16,998	6	30,402	4,465	51,871	20,761	7	...
1886	Males	...	...	29,576	10	34,556	3,903	68,045	17,076	22	...
	Females	...	...	979	...	2,318	243	3,540	819	9	...
	Children	...	...	429	...	2,133	133	2,695	365	1	...
	Total	...	...	30,984	10	39,007	4,279	74,280	18,260	32	...
1887	Males	...	...	29,912	9	45,386	4,735	80,042	18,967	...	...
	Females	...	...	1,075	1	2,673	385	4,134	717	...	...
	Children	...	...	569	1	2,451	230	3,251	303	...	...
	Total	...	...	31,556	11	50,510	5,350	87,427	19,987	...	...

The fares have been as follows :—

		B. I. S. N. Co.	Asiatic Co.
		Rs.	Rs.
Rangoon to Calcutta	...	10*	...
Calcutta to Rangoon	...	10*	...

Under the present contract the British India Steam Navigation Company, when required by the Government of India, is bound to convey deck-passengers by the mail steamers at the following rates :—

Calcutta to Rangoon—

			Rs.	A.	P.
For each adult	5	0
For each child	2	8

For the Calcutta-Rangoon line a subsidy of Rs. 16,000 a year is to be paid if the Company be required to carry passengers at these rates.

A great increase in the number of immigrants followed a reduction in steamer fares, which was made when the Asiatic Company put steamers on the Burma line. The fares and number of passengers were stated by the Agent of the British India Steam Navigation Company to be as follows :—

		Deck fare from Calcutta.	Number of deck-passengers from Calcutta.
1877-78	...	Rs. 18	5,000
1880	...	Rs. 5 to Rs. 7-8	15,405

In the latter year the Asiatic Company also brought down passengers from Calcutta and from the Madras coast. In 1887 this Company's steamers did not come to Burma. In 1882-83 the Companies were induced by the offer of a subsidy to reduce their fares to Rs. 5. The payment of the subsidy was discontinued in 1884. There was a large increase in the number of immigrants arriving in Burma in 1882-83, but the numbers again fell off when the subsidy was discontinued.

* From 1884 to present time.

I FIND it frequently asked what has been the cause of the failure of all attempts made by Government to promote emigration to Burma? Put in this form, the question is somewhat embarrassing to one who believes that the efforts made in this direction have been attended with a certain degree of success, inasmuch as it assumes the failure as an ascertained fact. Nor can I accept, as altogether satisfactory and conclusive, the answer given in letter No. 1197, dated the 7th July 1885, from the Burma Administration to the Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India, which attributes the supposed failure to the following causes:—

- (i) The intense dislike of natives of India to abandon their homes and settle down in a foreign country. The result of this feeling is that it is only the lower classes of the population that are induced to move, and they are useless as agricultural settlers.
- (ii) The agency which Government is compelled to employ is very varied, and the agents often induce the people to abandon their homes by fallacious promises, the non-fulfilment of which produces discontent amongst the immigrants.
- (iii) Government is unable to watch over the immigrants and protect them against the petty annoyances which they meet with in a new country amongst people differing from them in language and customs. These petty annoyances prevent the immigrant from settling down quietly, and induce many of them to give up the undertaking, take to other occupations, or return to their homes.

The most remarkable fact as to the emigrants who leave Behar for the colonies is that they are to a very large extent Brahmin and Rajput cultivators, men placed sufficiently high in the social scale to feel the pressure of poverty, while it is certainly within the power of the State to secure that those who deal with it shall understand the conditions of the agreement. As to the petty annoyances supposed to induce immigrants to abandon a country where the people differ from them in manners and customs, the reply is that the bulk of the immigrants do not quit Burma, but quietly settle down in the province.

The main object of the three schemes of State-assisted emigration which have been worked in Burma was to induce Indians to settle here permanently, not quitting the country at the end of the working season, as is the practice with a large number of those who come on their own account. And in this it would appear that success has been in every instance attained. Under the Bengal Emigration Scheme of 1875 the number brought to Burma was 7,396, of whom 843 were lost sight of afterwards, some of them returning to India, others remaining in this province, but avoiding contact with the officer charged with the duty of recovering from them the cost of bringing them over. It may be assumed that by this scheme 7,000 persons were added to the permanent population of Burma. Under the Madras scheme of 1876 the number imported was 758, none of whom are known to have returned. As to the Behar Scheme of 1882, I can find no account of the number landed, which was certainly small; but it appears that those who came remained in the country. On the whole some 8,000 Indians are now probably in Burma, who, but for these attempts, would never have crossed the Bay; and it may fairly be said that these 8,000 settlers share the comparative prosperity enjoyed by the labouring classes of Burma generally. They found employment readily enough during the first working season, and with the assistance of the Government *dépôt* tided over the period of slack employment which sets in with the monsoon. After the first year they merged in the Indian population settled here, and at a later period were found to deny that they ever came over at the expense of the State, apparently for the reason which would induce an English workman to object to publishing the fact that he had at one time received parish relief. Attempts which have resulted in the prosperity of 8,000 individuals are not to be considered as altogether futile, though we may wish that the number had been far greater.

The history of the first emigration scheme shows that many immigrants can be made to pay the cost of their expatriation within a very short period. A charge of Rs. 21-4, afterwards raised to Rs. 23-4, was made against each immigrant on this account; the amount, though it did not cover all expenses, being considerable, as the actual cost of passage is Rs. 10 only. Of the 7,397 emigrants, this charge was paid in full by 29·28 per cent. before March 1876, that is, within one or two years, 20·64 per cent. had at that date paid more than half, 37·41 per cent. less than half, and only 11·95 per cent. had made no contribution. The cost of the passage can, by a measure which I will propose to-morrow for the consideration of the officers of the Burma Commission with whom I am acting, be reduced to Rs. 5; and the experience of 1876 gives ground for hope that a sum so small as this could be recovered within the year in the great majority of cases.

The financial results of the emigration have been assumed to be unsatisfactory because an account has been taken only of the expenditure incurred, no reference being made in the correspondence to receipts which should be considered as a set-off. There is a gain to the revenue under many heads in the transfer of a tax-payer from a district where he can only make two annas a day to one in which he makes eight, but in so far as this gain is indeterminate, I will not refer to it. In the increase of the population of Burma, however, the exchequer has a very special and definite interest, inasmuch as every man here pays a capitation-tax of Rs. 2-8 for a bachelor and Rs. 5 for a married man, which, since the equalization of the salt duties, is a clear addition to the taxes which he would pay in India. This tax is not imposed on immigrants for the first five years of their residence: after that period they became liable to it like others. Thus in the case of permanent settlers there appear to be a gain to the State, which may average about Rs. 4 per man; and I believe that against this there is no real set-off in the shape of increased cost of administration, this being provided for by the other taxes which the immigrant pays. I do not find any very clear statement of the cost of immigration, but taking that given in Mr. Bridges's letter No. 1197, dated the 7th July 1885, the account is as follows:—

			Rs.
Bengal Immigration Scheme of 1874	...	...	1,25,000
Madras Scheme of 1876	...	...	37,448
Behar Scheme of 1882	...	...	33,000
			<hr/>
	Total	...	1,95,448

If we suppose that the 8,000 persons permanently added to the population of Burma by these schemes to be now represented by 3,000 adult males paying Rs. 12,000 a year in capitation-tax, it would follow that Government receives over 6 per cent. on the money invested.

A greater financial success may fairly be claimed for the subsidies to steamer companies paid from 1882-83 to January 1884, by which rates were reduced to Rs. 5 from Calcutta, Rs. 8 from Madras, as against Rs. 10 and Rs. 19 at present charged. This was followed by a great increase in the number of immigrants, many of whom settled permanently in the country. The precise figures are matter of estimate, but it is probable that the amount expended on the subsidies, two and three quarter lakhs, has already been more than repaid. As stated in Mr. Bridges's letter already quoted, the number of immigrants in the first year of the reduced fares was 72,000, nearly double that of the year immediately preceding. The experience of this scheme must encourage us to take the steps within our power to reduce the fares again.

While the history of former undertakings is on the whole encouraging, it certainly contains some passages which should serve as warnings, showing us the difficulties to be expected and the dangers which we should avoid. The Secretary of State for India, in his despatch No. 108, dated the 12th October 1876, remarked that the Bengal scheme of 1874 had failed in its immediate object, only about 1,500 of the labourers imported having come from the districts afflicted with famine in 1873-74. As a matter of fact no attempt was made in 1874 to select emigrants from one part of Bengal rather than another, and all suitable persons recruited were accepted; but any attempt which we may now make

will have special reference to the over-populated districts, and such limitations are doubtless embarrassing. Even where the area of recruitment has been extended to the whole of Madras or of Bengal, the work has always proceeded slowly, and the numbers obtained were insufficient to meet requirements or to afford full occupation to the staff. In 1882 very few recruits could be found in Behar, and those were of inferior quality. The proposals now under consideration avoid, as far as possible, the difficulties thus disclosed. It is suggested that grants of land made to zemindars should be conditional on cultivation by inhabitants of the districts over-populated, and these should also be selected for settlement on Government clearances. The zemindars would select suitable men in their own interests, probably being able to do so on their own estates, while Government would choose fit persons in this country.

It is also a fact that the attempts made to settle Indians as cultivators on waste land have almost always failed, the immigrants, though classed as agriculturists, preferring to work as labourers. This was certainly not due to any stint on the part of Government in offering to advance money, the principle accepted being that the settler should be found in a house, found in food till his crops grew, in bullocks, agricultural instruments, and in fact in everything he might require. It was said that the emigrants feared to contract the debt which would have resulted from accepting these advances, and that they were not fit to act as pioneers of cultivation. However that may have been, they avoided the Government settlements, and if they reclaimed land at all, did so on their own account. I quite accept this as a warning against sanguine projects. The work of reclamation is never easy, and it becomes far more difficult when it has to be done by strangers in a foreign climate. But it is probable that capitalists working for their own profit may succeed where officials have failed. And even on Government estates, now that an experienced officer has been appointed Director of the Agricultural Department, more time and attention can be given to what is no doubt a most troublesome task.

In speaking of failures, it is well to confess that the British Burma Labour Law of 1876, with its elaborate rules, has failed completely. As a law enabling private capitalists to import labourers under contract, it has never, I believe, been enforced even in a single instance. I find large employers of labour in Rangoon ignorant of its existence. Indeed it would seem, from the proceedings of the Chief Commissioner in the Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce, No. 324, dated the 8th June 1878, that the Provincial Administration did not at that time realize that the law permitted such contracts, at least that is the only interpretation I can place on the following passage:—"The radical change which was made in the original Bill when passing through Council, whereby the system of contract between the labourer and Government was substituted for the system of direct contract between the labourer and private employers without any dictation on the part of Government as to the disposal of his labour was, in the Chief Commissioner's opinion, unfortunate." Such a change was indeed made in the Bill by the Select Committee reporting on the 12th July 1875, but the Act was ultimately framed so as to permit of private employers importing labourers on their own account, as is done by the Assam tea planters—a fact of which few people here seem to be aware. The Act is double-barrelled, admitting of importation of labourers either by Government or by private parties; and it may be said that while one barrel has missed fire, the other has never been even loaded. Government did indeed import the Madras coolies under the Act in 1876, but could get no one to take them over in accordance with section 48, and had to permit the workmen to make their own terms irrespective of the law. The elaborate rules for hiring out to private employers labourers engaged by Government under the Act have never come into force, and indeed they contemplate an amount of sanitary and other supervision which is not, I am informed, in the least adapted to the free conditions of life in Burma. It may be that in this province a simple law is needed to enable those who import labourers to recover the cost of so doing from the wages of the immigrants, but on this subject I do not at present offer any opinion.

P. NOLAN.

NOTE ON THE RATES OF WAGES IN LOWER BURMA.

OUTSIDE the towns the usual pay for coolies engaged for short periods and Wages given by Public Works Department not paid by results is annas 8 a day. In the busy season some men are paid Re. 1 a day in Rangoon, but they have to work very hard for it at the rice-mills. An industrious cooly can earn annas 12 a day either in town or in the district when paid by results. The Burmans earn as much as the Indians. The Public Works Department and Municipalities pay Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 a month to coolies who work eight hours daily. These coolies only work six days in the week.

Most of the Indian coolies leave Burma in May. Those that remain find work on roads. As repairs only are carried on at that season, but a limited number can be employed. The coolies come across to Burma about November, and it is believed that every one of them finds work in the dry weather, *i.e.*, from November to May.

In the districts adjoining Rangoon, agricultural labourers are paid as follows:—Ploughmen get for the season of three months the equivalent in grain of Rs. 40 to Rs. 60, and also their food, which costs about Rs. 5 a month. The ploughmen are usually Burmans from the neighbouring villages, or immigrants from Upper Burma. Natives of India are sometimes engaged for ploughing and get paid in money, a sum considerably less than the value of the grain which is given to Burmans. Very little rice is transplanted in these districts. When coolies are hired for this purpose, the wages are annas 10 to Re. 1-4 a day. Burmese labourers are hired for reaping and winnowing, and receive each for the three months' work grain equivalent to Rs. 30 to Rs. 60. In some cases the sheaves are counted at the end of the day and the reapers get one-fourth to one-third of the total number of sheaves. Bands of Madrasis under maistress take up reaping contracts. The maistree makes an agreement with the Burman cultivator to reap his fields for a certain sum together with rations. These men reap very fast, but not so carefully as the Burmans. They merely reap the paddy and do not remain for the winnowing, for which Burmans have to be engaged at rates varying from Rs. 16 to Rs. 24 each. The Indians while reaping earn annas 12 to Re. 1 a day, it is estimated.

In the *Bassein district* labourers are often engaged from ploughing time (June) until the threshing is finished (February). They receive, in addition to their food, the equivalent in grain of Rs. 60 to Rs. 110 for the season (food costs about Rs. 4 a month). Labourers hired for ploughing and planting only (June to October) receive in addition to their food the equivalent in grain of Rs. 30 to Rs. 75. The rate of wages varies with the skill of the labourer. A good ploughman gets the best wages. In planting and reaping time day labourers get a basket of paddy and the morning meal (annas 9 to annas 12). Madrasee labourers are not so numerous here as in the neighbourhood of Rangoon. They do take up reaping contracts, however, and earn annas 12 to Re. 1 a day while at work. Burmans are engaged for the reaping season, and receive in grain the equivalent of Rs. 30 and their food (Rs. 6).

In the *Tharrawaddy district* a ploughman receives the equivalent in grain of Rs. 30 to Rs. 40, and his food for 4 months (Rs. 16). In the south of Tharrawaddy, for transplanting and reaping, daily labourers receive in grain the equivalent of annas 9 to Re. 1. In North Tharrawaddy, for transplanting, wages are annas 8 to annas 10 a day, and for reaping annas 8 or annas 9 a day.

In the south of *Prome district* labourers receive annas 8 or annas 9 a day. In the north they get only 4 annas and their food (2 annas). Indeed, in the north of Mahathamam five labourers for Re. 1 with food (annas 2 each) is a common estimate.

In the Tharrawaddy and Prome districts but few natives of India are employed as agricultural labourers.

In the *Henzada district* a ploughman receives in grain the equivalent of Rs. 25 to Rs. 40, and his food for four months (Rs. 16). Sometimes they are paid in money at the end of the ploughing season, and then they get Rs. 20 to Rs. 25, or, including the value of food received, Rs. 36 to Rs. 41. For planting and reaping one basket a day and the morning meal are usually given (annas 8 to annas 10). Women do the planting in this and other districts. Both men and women take part in reaping.

Occupations engaged in by cultivators whose holdings are so small as that the produce of the land is insufficient for the support of the family.

In the north of Henzada and Tharrawaddy and throughout Prome the holdings are very small indeed. In the northern tracts of Henzada and Tharrawaddy the average area of paddy land held by one cultivator is about 6 acres; in Prome it is from 3 to 5 acres. In these districts there are numbers of cultivators whose lands do not yield sufficient produce for the support of the family. In such cases the cultivator often works for daily wages in the fields of a neighbour who has a larger holding. Many of these cultivators have carts, and cart for hire, or else travel about the country in the carts during the dry weather selling provisions. The Settlement Officer estimated that in this way a cultivator in North Tharrawaddy or Prome could by occasional carting during the dry season add without difficulty Rs. 50 to Rs. 80 to his income. The owners of very small holdings of paddy land often have betel or other gardens as well. Some also engage in dry weather cultivation on the islands in the Irrawaddy. Some (especially in the Henzada district) find employment in the fisheries and others in the forests.

Where the land is cultivable throughout and of average fertility, it can support in comfort an agricultural population of 400 to the square mile. In the north of Henzada the density of population slightly exceeds this number in several circles in which the people (with very few exceptions) are engaged in agriculture, and there are no other employments except carting of grain. Cultivators do not generally in this locality engage in trade as in Tharrawaddy, and the villages and towns in which the bazars are situated are not within the circles now referred to. The people in these circles are comfortably off. It appears then that where the land is cultivable throughout, even though there are but few traders, a population of 400 to the square mile is not excessive.

W. T. HALL.

NOTE ON WASTE LANDS IN LOWER BURMA AVAILABLE FOR CULTIVATION.

Pegu.—It is estimated that 178,483 acres of culturable waste are available for cultivation. Of this about 30,000 would require bunding or draining, and 148,483 acres would require clearing only.

Hanthawaddy.—No information has been received. There is plenty of land in the north of the district available for cultivation and only requiring clearing. Much can also be reclaimed by bunding and draining.

Tharrawaddy.—The Settlement Officer estimated the area of culturable waste at 337,000 acres, some of which has, however, been taken up after settlement. In addition to this, there is the unsurveyed tract west of the Myitmaka, of which, if protected, it is probable that some 100,000 acres would be culturable. Again, in the unsurveyed tract adjoining the hills, it is estimated that there are 60,000 acres of waste available. The total available area therefore is probably 450,000 to 500,000 acres. Of this there is an area of about 120,000 acres on the rising ground adjoining the hills which only requires clearing. In the low land west of the settled tract, there is an area of some 60,000 which could be cultivated if the jungle were cleared, but it would be flooded in years when the Irrawaddy rose above the average height. The rest of the available land some 300,000 (acres) will only become cultivable if the eastern bank of the Irrawaddy is embanked.

Prome.—In Prome there are about 300,000 acres available for cultivation, of which half lies in the settled tract. Of this only 3,000 acres require embankment or draining. The land is generally rather high and not of good quality.

Bassein.—The area of culturable waste available probably does not exceed 700,000 acres. Of this 550,000 acres are within the settled tract. At least half of this land will require bunding or draining before it can be cultivated. The tracts in which cultivation can be most readily extended are as follows: In Kanbé and the neighbouring circles a very large amount of land will come under cultivation as the Ngawun embankment is carried south. In the Kyaunggôn circle 14,000 acres of very fertile land can be made available for cultivation by bunding. In the Moby circle 7,000 acres of land covered with tree-jungle and grass will be cultivable if drained, and there is a large area of dense forest which only requires clearing to make it cultivable. In the Lezu and Kyungyaung circles there are some 5,000 acres of waste land which only require clearing, while a further area of 9,000 acres can be reclaimed by bunding and draining. In the Thaungi Thabyehla, and Myenu circles there is a large amount of land available which merely requires clearing. Much of it is somewhat high for paddy cultivation and is suitable for gardens. In Lemyethna a large amount of fertile land can be reclaimed by a bund along the west bank of the river at Kyaukywa. In the south of the district there are large tracts of waste land which only require clearing as a rule to make them cultivable. The want of sweet-water, however, is against their being occupied.

Henzada.—In the settled tract there are 230,000 acres of waste land available for cultivation. Of this 110,000 acres will require bunding, and the rest clearing merely. In the unsettled part of the district there are some 50,000 acres of waste which, when cleared, will be culturable.

Thongwa.—No information has been received from this district. By bunding the north, east, and west sides of the different islands a large area of land can be reclaimed, and there is also much waste land which only requires clearing.

Thayetmyo.—No information has been received. There is no doubt much cultivable land available, but it cannot be of first-rate quality.

Toungoo.—The Deputy Commissioner estimates the area available for paddy and garden cultivation at 1,203,814 acres, as follows:—

	Acres.
(i) strip between the Yoma hills and the railway	... 537,832
(ii) strip between the railway and the Sittang river	... 399,914
(iii) strip east of the Sittang and between it and the hills	... 266,068

strip (1) does not require much draining, but is tree jungle for the most part;

strip (ii) is smaller tree and elephant grass jungle. It requires some bunds and draining, but clearing is the main work ;

strip (iii) is chiefly swampy land covered with elephant grass. Bunding and draining are required here. "A bund made partially by the people themselves this year is holding out very well as yet. Much land will be reclaimed by it." Some 400,000 acres then will require bunding and draining, the rest of the area available (800,000 acres approximately) has only to be cleared. This is the area of low land suitable for gardens and paddy. On the hills the Karens have clearings, and it has been shown that tea, coffee, cinchona, and potatoes can be grown by planters in selected localities, but no estimate can be given of the area there available.

Shwegyin.—There are some 500,000 acres of waste land available for cultivation west of the Sittang. Further bunding or draining will be required for the reclamation of about half of this. Elsewhere clearing only is required, but some of the land is rather high for paddy cultivation. There is no information available about the rest of the district, but it is believed that there is not a very large amount of cultivable waste on the east of the Sittang.

Amherst.—The area available for hill clearings is very large. No estimate can be made of it. Of land that can be brought under cultivation in the plains by clearing, without bunding or draining, there are only some 15,000 acres. After bunding and draining it will be possible to cultivate about 40,000 acres more. This waste land lies in patches of 1,000 to 2,000 acres in different parts of the district. It is estimated that an expenditure of from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 on each patch would be required to make the land arable. One block of land was lately reclaimed at a cost of Rs. 450. Eight hundred acres have already been taken up in consequence, and it is expected that later the area reclaimed in this block will amount to 2,000 acres. No information is available for the other districts of this division (Salween, Tavoy, Mergui). These are hilly districts. There is waste land suitable for coffee and tea no doubt, and also low lands scattered about here and there in which paddy and other products will grow.

Akyab.—It is estimated that in the settled tract there is an area of 296,000 acres of waste land fit for cultivation which requires clearing and usually bunding. However, as it is only necessary to make small bunds, that work can be carried out by the cultivators themselves. The Settlement Officer writes: "The great want in this tract (Kulladan) is population. The land, if banded, is very productive, and if Bengalis (Chittagonians) could be induced to squat on it, I have no doubt that in a short time it would assume the same appearance as the Naaf now does. I think that District Officers might well devote attention to getting Bengali settlers here. There are large tracts of land that have passed out of cultivation, and large tracts that have never been cultivated that only require bunding to make them productive."

Kyaukpnyu.—It is estimated that the area of cultivable waste available is about 65,000 acres. Bunding or draining would be required to reclaim about 50,000 acres, and on the rest clearing only is necessary. No information has been received from the other districts of this division.

Waste lands in Lower Burma.

1	2	3	4	5	6
DISTRICT.	ESTIMATE OF WASTE LANDS AVAILABLE.			Area as given in Statement A, No. I, of Administration Report.	REMARKS.
	Requiring clearing only.	Requiring bunding and draining.	Total.		
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	
Akyab	300,000	50,000	350,000	2,113,665	
Kyaukpyu	15,000	50,000	65,000	240,642	
Sandoway	33,000	.....	33,000	33,032	
Pegu	148,483	30,000	178,483	485,167	
Tharrawaddy	180,000	300,000	480,000	73,904	
Prome	297,000	3,000	300,000	308,079	
Bassein	350,000	350,000	700,000	3,290,740	
Henzada	170,000	110,000	280,000	796,606	
Amherst	15,000	40,000	55,000	2,987,979	With Moulmein.
Toungoo	800,000	400,000	1,200,000	2,110,406	
Total	2,308,483	1,333,000	3,641,483	12,440,220	

This statement gives an estimate of the area of waste land available for cultivation in ten of the districts of Lower Burma. Column 5 is taken from statement IA. (number I) of the Administration Report. There can be no doubt about these figures being wrong. The area there shown as available is excessive. In the other columns there is given an estimate framed from information lately received from District Officers and from the figures given in the Settlement reports. The figures now given are based on estimates that are at the best approximate, but there can be no doubt but that they convey a more correct idea of the land available for cultivation than do those shown in the appendix to the Administration Report. It appears then that in the districts for which information has been received the area available does not exceed 3,641,483 acres instead of being 12,440,220 acres as given in the Administration Report, and furthermore than a third of the land, which it is estimated is available, must be banded or drained before it can be cultivated.

W. T. HALL.