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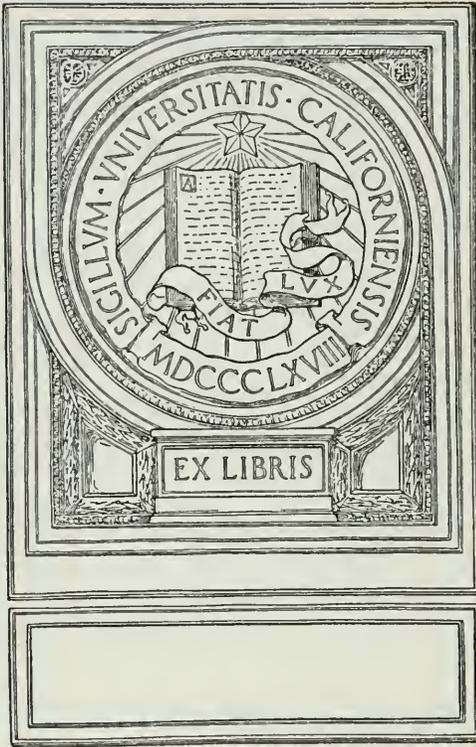
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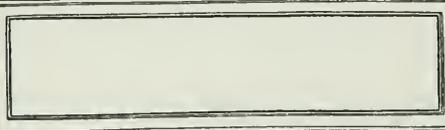


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L. G. G. G. G. J. F.

RECRUITMENT  
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LABOUR FOR TEA GARDENS  
IN  
ASSAM.

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## RECRUITMENT OF LABOUR FOR TEA GARDENS IN ASSAM.

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In paragraph 287 of their report the Assam Labour Enquiry Committee made the following recommendation :—

With the object of removing misconception regarding conditions in Assam and generally supervising the introduction of the measures they have recommended, the Committee would like to see an officer deputed by the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, for at least one season, to visit the principal recruiting districts.

In consequence of this recommendation, I was placed on special duty at the end of August 1908, and was directed "to visit the recruiting districts with a view to the removal of the prejudices against emigration to this Province." I have now visited all the principal recruiting districts in Bengal, Madras, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and the Central Provinces, and have made two tours through the labour districts of the Assam and Surma Valleys. As important modifications have been made recently in the law and rules governing recruiting, and as the various systems and formalities are not always understood in the recruiting or in the labour districts, it has been thought advisable that I should write a simple account of the various systems of obtaining labour and of the way in which they work in different parts of the country. After describing these I give my own views on the policy which, I think, should be followed by employers of labour. It will be understood that these views represent my own personal opinions.

### MODIFICATIONS IN THE LAW AND RULES.

The most important changes which have been made recently are :—

- (1) The withdrawal from the districts of Kamrup, Goalpara, Cachar and Sylhet of the provisions of Chapter VII of Act VI of 1901, other than sections 122, 123, 159, 161 and 162, and the provisions of sections 187 to 212, both inclusive, of Chapter IX.
- (2) The withdrawal of sections 118 to 121, 195 and 196 of the Act from the Assam Valley.
- (3) The prohibition of the free contractors' system of recruiting which was carried on in Bengal under section 92 of the Act.
- (4) The grant of concessions to certain recruiting associations under section 91 of Act VI as amended by Act XI of 1908.

(5) The grant of permission to garden sardars from the Surma Valley, Kamrup and Goalpara to recruit free of control in the United Provinces.

(1) *The withdrawal of the Act from the Surma Valley, Kamrup and Goalpara.*—The only sections of the Act which remain in force in the Surma Valley are sections 122 (reports and returns), 123 (inspections) 185 and 186, (penalties for breaches of sections 122 and 123) and 159, 161 and 162 (repatriation of persons physically unfit or wrongfully recruited). All labour is free and coolies cannot be placed under contract.\* The provisions of the Act, which apply to the recruiting districts, are still in force except in so far as they have been modified in favour of sardari recruiting, but no person recruited for the Surma Valley can be placed under contract.

(2) *The withdrawal of sections 118 to 121, 195 and 196 of the Act from the Assam Valley.*—The abolition of the local contract sections and the right of arrest, without a warrant, is a step in the direction of free labour. Since coolies cannot be placed under contract in Assam, it follows that coolies who have executed labour contracts in the recruiting districts become free as soon as they have completed the terms of their contracts.

(3) *The prohibition of the free contractors' system.*—The free contractors' system was condemned by the Assam Labour Committee and has been put a stop to by Notifications under section 3. Recruiting under section 92 of Act VI is no longer allowed in any of the Provinces from which there is emigration to Assam.

(4) *Concessions made to recruiting associations.*—The Governments of Madras, Bengal and the United Provinces and the Administration of the Central Provinces have relaxed most of the provisions of Chapter IV of the Act in favour of the Tea Districts Labour Supply Association, the Assam Labour Association, and the Langai Valley Employers Recruiting Association. These concessions, which are most valuable to the tea industry, are described in a subsequent paragraph.

(5) *Freedom from control of garden sardars from the Surma Valley, Kamrup and Goalpara recruiting in the United Provinces.*—The districts of the United Provinces have been closed to recruiting under Chapter III of the Act so that the only method of recruiting allowed is through garden sardars. In the case of garden sardars belonging to the Surma Valley, Kamrup and Goalpara, the only sections of Chapter IV which apply to them are 56(1) and 57 which require that each garden sardar should have a certificate from his employer.

\* *i.e.*, cannot be placed under contract under Act VI of 1901. Act XIII of 1859 and section 492 of the Indian Penal Code are still in force, but the latter provision is not made use of on tea gardens.

## SYSTEMS OF RECRUITMENT.

*The licensed contractors' system.*

The licensed contractors' system, *i.e.*, recruiting under the provisions of Chapter III of the Act, is permitted in the Central Provinces, in the Presidency, Burdwan, Orissa, and Chota Nagpur divisions of Bengal (except in the Kolhan in Singhbhum and the Silli thana and Khunti subdivision in Ranchi), and in the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam in Madras. It is not allowed in the United Provinces, in the Patna and Bhagalpur divisions, the Kolhan, the Silli thana and the Khunti subdivision of the Ranchi district in Bengal nor in the districts of Godavari, Kistna, Guntur and Nellore in Madras, which have been newly opened to recruiting.

The procedure adopted in this method of recruiting is briefly as follows. The contractor employs a number of unlicensed recruiters (and usually also an even larger number of unlicensed men) who go round the villages and endeavour to get people to consent to emigrate. As soon as a recruiter has induced a coolie to emigrate, the intending emigrant is taken to a registering officer, who, after questioning him to ascertain whether he is willing to go and understands what he is doing, registers his name. He is then taken to the contractor's depôt where he must remain at least three days before he can be placed under contract. This period was prescribed to allow the emigrant "to see his friends and to have a chance of changing his mind," but the usefulness of this provision of the law has been largely neutralized by the fact that in Bengal there is only one Superintendent of Emigration for the province outside the Chota Nagpur districts and the Santhal Parganas. It is probable that the Government of Bengal will shortly appoint more Superintendents of Emigration. After spending three days in the depôt, if the contractor succeeds in getting a good price for him, the coolie is taken before a Government officer to execute a contract and is then sent to Assam. He has no say as to what garden he will go to, and it is very seldom that he obtains any part of the large price paid for him; usually the contractor and his recruiters take it all and, as the profits of the business are large, there is great temptation to unscrupulous persons not to be too particular how they get hold of coolies. A coolie is worth from Rs. 80 to Rs. 150 in hard cash and the recruiter is there to make money, honestly if he can, no doubt, but anyhow to make it. The abolition of the free system, which was carried on in Bengal under section 92 of the Act, has put a stop to the worst abuses, but abuses still

continue and will continue so long as the *arkatti*, as the professional recruiter is called, exists. The arguments put forward in support of the system of buying coolies from contractors are that it is not safe to rely entirely on recruitment by garden sardars, that contractors are useful as they open up new sources of supply and send up labourers, who can be employed in their turn as garden sardars, and that they are indispensable in the case of new gardens where the nucleus of a recruiting force is wanting. I shall endeavour to show in a subsequent paragraph that in my opinion it is not only possible for the tea industry to do without contractors, but that it would be to its advantage to get rid of them.

*The garden sardars' system.*

The essential difference between recruiting by contractors and by garden sardars is that contractors, with the aid of professional recruiters, collect together a batch of emigrants and then sell them for the highest price which they can get to any employer who will buy them, while garden sardars, who are ordinary garden coolies, recruit labour for the gardens on which they work. Once he has obtained his price a contractor has no further concern with the coolies whom he sends to the tea gardens, and it matters nothing to him if they abscond or turn out to be unsuitable for the work which they are expected to do. A garden sardar, as a rule, recruits his relations and friends; he returns with his coolies to the garden and they have some idea where they are going and what sort of work they will have to do. They go up to Assam with some one whom they know and to whom they can appeal if they are in difficulties: often they go to gardens where they know they will find friends or relatives who have preceded them in former years.

The systems of recruitment by garden sardars have been much modified of late and may be divided into four classes:—(1) Recruitment by garden sardars working under a local agent and complying with all the provisions of Chapter IV of the Act; (2) Recruitment by garden sardars working under a local agent employed by one of the Associations to which concessions have been granted; (3) Recruitment by garden sardars of the Surma Valley, Kamrup and Goalpara in the United Provinces; and (4) Recruitment under section 90 of the Act.

(1) *Garden sardars working under a local agent and complying with all the provisions of Chapter IV of the Act.*—In this case a garden sardar comes to the local agent in the recruiting district, furnished with a certificate under section 56 of the Act; the certificate must be countersigned by an Inspector\* or Magistrate, having jurisdiction over the place where the

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\* An Inspector of Labourers appointed under Act VI of 1901.

employer granting the certificate resides and the garden sardar cannot set to work until it has been further countersigned by the District Magistrate of the recruiting district.

Should an employer wish to grant a fresh certificate to a garden sardar, he must get it countersigned in the labour district, from which it is forwarded to the District Magistrate in the recruiting district, before whom the garden sardar has to appear and accept and sign it. After the formalities in connection with the certificate have been complied with, the garden sardar starts for his village to recruit. He receives an advance for his expenses from the local agent and often gets a second or third advance. If he succeeds in recruiting some coolies he takes them to the local agent, who produces them with their dependants (if any) before the registering officer, who questions them as to their willingness to proceed and explains the contract to them. If these enquiries are satisfactory, the coolies are registered. They have to appear again before the registering officer and execute contracts, and until they have done so they cannot be sent to a labour district or taken out of the local area. When contracts have been executed, the local agent arranges to send the coolies with their dependants and the garden sardar to the garden on which they are to work; this is usually done through one of the firms of forwarding agents.

This was the procedure contemplated when Act VI of 1901 was passed and it still has to be followed by garden sardars working under the control of a local agent who does not belong to one of the privileged recruiting associations. Since Act VI was withdrawn from the Surma Valley, Kamrup and Goalpara, coolies for gardens there are not placed under contract, but all the other provisions of Chapter IV as to certificates, registration, etc., have to be complied with. These restrictions hampered recruiting; garden sardars were delayed by having to get their certificates countersigned before they could start work and, if a fresh certificate was wanted, the sardar had to wait about doing nothing until it could be obtained from Assam. The necessity of registering the coolies and putting them under contract caused further delay, and the Assam Labour Committee, which reported strongly in favour of sardari recruiting, recommended that concessions should be granted in the case of approved Associations.

(2) *Garden sardars working under local agent employed by one of the Associations to which concessions have been granted.*—Concessions have now been granted to the Tea Districts Labour Supply Association, the Langai Valley Employers Recruiting Association and the Assam Labour Association, by the

Governments of Madras and Bengal and the Administration of the Central Provinces and by the Government of the United Provinces to the two first-named Associations.

The concessions are practically the same in all four Provinces. The local agent is held responsible for supervising the work of garden sardars, who are under his control, and for seeing that abuses do not occur and that recruiting is done in a straightforward and honest manner. The garden sardars must be furnished with certificates under section 56 of the Act, countersigned by an Inspector or Magistrate in the labour district, but countersignature in the recruiting district is dispensed with, so that the sardars can start work without delay. If a fresh certificate is wanted, the local agent can apply for it in the recruiting district and it can be granted without reference to Assam. When a garden sardar brings in coolies, he takes them to the local agent, who interviews them and, if they are willing to emigrate, enters their names in his register. Each local agent keeps two registers, in the first of which are entered the names and particulars of the garden sardars working under his control and in the second similar details of all persons recruited by the sardars. At the end of each month a copy of the second register is sent to the District Magistrate, but the coolies are not produced before a magistrate or registering officer and can be sent up to the gardens without delay. The District Magistrate, or any other magistrate specially empowered by the District Magistrate, may, however, by an order in writing, order the detention of a woman who is not accompanied by her husband or lawful guardian. [The period of detention, which can be ordered, is three days in Bengal and the Central Provinces, seven in Madras and ten days in the United Provinces.] In return for these concessions no coolies recruited by garden sardars, working under the control of local agents of the privileged Associations, can be required to enter into a labour contract under the Act, and it has been ruled by the Government of Bengal that it is not open to these Associations to choose whether they will comply with all the provisions of Chapter IV and place their coolies under contract or will claim the benefit of the concessions and send the coolies up as free labourers, but that they must in all cases work in accordance with the terms of the concessions granted to them and must send all their coolies to the gardens as free labourers. The same view has been taken by the Administration of the Central Provinces, and it is probable that the Governments of Madras and the United Provinces will come to the same decision if the matter be referred to them. It has also been held

that it is against the spirit of concessions which have been granted to these Associations for them to place coolies recruited by them under contracts under Act XIII of 1859 or section 492 of the Indian Penal Code.

(3) *Recruitment by garden sardars of the Surma Valley, Kamrup and Goalpara in the United Provinces.*—By Notification under section 9t of Act VI of 1901, as amended by Act XI of 1908, the Government of the United Provinces has permitted garden sardars from the Surma Valley, Kamrup and Goalpara to recruit free from all the restrictions imposed by Chapter IV of the Act. The only sections which apply to them are sections 56(1) and 57 which provide that every garden sardar shall have a certificate from his employer.

The result of this is that recruitment by garden sardars from the Surma Valley is absolutely free in the United Provinces. The sardars must have certificates under section 56 in order to ensure that *arkattis* do not start recruiting under the guise of garden sardars, but these certificates do not require countersignature by an Inspector or a Magistrate. The sardars are not obliged to register their coolies or to produce them before a magistrate and are not even required to submit a list of the persons whom they recruit. This freedom from control is possible because the United Provinces are closed to recruiting under Chapter III, *i.e.*, recruiting by contractors, and because the Surma Valley having consented to the withdrawal of Act VI, emigrants for the Sylhet and Cachar gardens can no longer be placed under contracts under the Act.

(4) *Recruitment under section 90 of the Act.*—Recruitment under section 90 is permitted in the districts of Manbhum, Singhbhum and the Santhal Parganas in Bengal, in the Jubbulpur and Chhatisgarh divisions of the Central Provinces, and in the Allahabad, Benares, Gorakhpur and Fyzabad divisions of the United Provinces. This form of recruiting is intended for garden sardars of a superior type who are capable of working without the assistance and control of a local agent. The garden sardar must have a certificate under section 90, which requires countersignature by an Inspector or magistrate in the labour district to which he belongs. He has to notify his arrival in the recruiting district, but is not obliged to produce his emigrants before a magistrate for registration. All that is required is that he should submit a list of all the persons recruited by him to the magistrate of the recruiting district at least three days before his intended departure and should accompany them to the labour district or send them in charge of another sardar

holding a certificate under section 90 from the same employer authorizing him to recruit in the same recruiting district. Not much use has been made of this section, as there are difficulties in working under it. The detention of emigrants for three days before they can proceed to the labour district is found troublesome and entails some additional expense. A certificate under section 90 can only be granted to a person who has resided at least six months on the estate of his employer. This condition has been imposed in order to prevent the employment of *arkattis* as garden sardars, but it has the effect of preventing the employment as recruiters of persons who have recently come up to the garden and who wish to go back to bring up their relations. Another difficulty is that the garden sardar must himself accompany his emigrants to the garden or send them in charge of another sardar of the same employer. It is very seldom that another sardar is available and if a sardar after recruiting two or three people wishes to return for more, the people first recruited have to wait about until he has returned from his second trip.

*Notes on sardari recruiting.*

It is hoped that this short account of the different systems of recruitment may be of use to employers, as there seems to be some confusion as to the kind of certificate which should be given and as to the districts in which the different systems are permitted. In order to make this clear, I append a table showing the areas from which recruiting is permitted or prohibited under the provisions of Act VI of 1901.

It should be noted that Notifications under section 3 have now been issued in respect of all the areas in which recruiting is carried on, so that the old method of sending garden sardars with "leave chits" to the recruiting districts is not permissible. Sardars must have certificates under section 56 or section 90. It will be seen that section 90 is in force only in a few districts, and care should be taken not to give garden sardars certificates under section 90 for any but these districts. I have come across cases where garden sardars were sent to a local agent with section 90 certificates in a district in which this form of recruiting is not permitted. The only course open to the local agent in such cases is to detain the sardars, while he obtains certificates in the proper form from Assam (if the magistrate there can be induced to grant them in the absence of the sardars) or to send the sardars back to their gardens. I would point out that in the case of garden sardars, who are intended to work under the control

of local agents belonging to the Tea Districts Labour Supply Association, the Assam Labour Association, or the Langai Valley Employers Recruiting Association, certificates under section 56 give sardars more freedom than certificates under section 90. In neither case are the coolies placed under contract nor do they have to be produced before a Government officer for registration, but, under the provisions of section 90, the sardar must detain his recruits for three days before they can proceed to Assam and must accompany them himself or send them in charge of another sardar of the same employer. Neither of these restrictions are imposed on garden sardars working with certificates under section 56 under a local agent of one of the privileged Associations. I strongly recommend, therefore, that employers, who recruit through one or other of the Associations to which concessions have been granted, should give their sardars certificates under section 56 in all cases.

Surma Valley garden sardars recruiting in the United Provinces must have certificates under section 56. It is obvious that the old form prescribed after Act VI of 1901 was passed will no longer serve the purpose now that the provisions of Chapter IV have been relaxed and no form has yet been prescribed in its place. Employers should however give their sardars certificates authorising them to recruit and not mere "leave chits." I would suggest that the certificates might be headed "Certificate under section 56 of Act VI of 1901" and should contain the name, father's name, caste and address of the sardar, the time within which he is to return to his garden and the district in which he is to recruit, together with any other particulars which his employer may wish to enter.

Garden sardars should be carefully selected if recruitment by them is to have the best chances of success. It is useless to send down a man who has been so long on a garden that he has lost touch with his country. Coolies who have been on a garden only for a few months are often the most successful recruiters; they have not been away long enough to be forgotten in their villages and the fact that they return so soon is a guarantee to would-be emigrants that Assam is not a place from which no one ever returns. It is, of course, possible that such sardars are more liable to abscond than if only men who have been for some time on a garden and have ties on it, are sent to recruit, but I do not think that the loss will be heavy, at any rate on gardens where the coolies are prosperous and contented. Another mistake, which is sometimes made, is to send down the same sardar year after year. A garden sardar has only a limited connection in his own country and, after he has exhausted it, it is not likely that he will do any good. I have

heard also of employers sending down Santhali garden sardars with instructions to recruit Mundas. I do not say that it is impossible that a Santhal should occasionally pick up a Munda, who wishes to emigrate, but he will certainly not recruit successfully except among his own people. If Mundas are wanted on a garden, Munda sardars should be sent to recruit them; similar remarks apply in the case of other aboriginal races. Careful selection of garden sardars will improve recruiting and will save much expense. It is a matter the importance of which seems hardly to have been realised sufficiently by employers of labour.

*The present state of the labour force and suggestions as to the best method of recruiting.*

*The labour districts.*—This may be called a period of transition. The Act, with the exception of a few sections, is no longer in force in the Surma Valley, Kamrup and Goalpara and the local contract sections (118 to 121) have been withdrawn from the Assam Valley. It follows that no coolies in the Surma Valley, Kamrup and Goalpara, nor persons recruited for gardens there, can be placed under contract under the Act, and also in the four upper districts of the Assam Valley all coolies now under contract will become free on the expiry of the term for which they have engaged and cannot enter into new Act contracts. In addition all labour recruited by garden sardars working under the control of local agents belonging to the Associations, which have obtained concessions, and all coolies recruited by garden sardars under section 90 of the Act, go up free to the Assam Valley. Only contractors' coolies and coolies recruited by garden sardars working under local agents, who do not belong to one of the privileged Associations, are now placed under contract. In short, the whole of the labour force in the Surma Valley is free (*i.e.*, not under contract under the Act), and in a few years' time all but a small percentage of the coolies in the Assam Valley will be in the same position. It is perhaps unnecessary to point out that in both Valleys Act XIII of 1859 is in force and that contracts under that Act may be executed without restriction.

*Advantages of free labour from the point of view of recruiting.*

I have been strongly impressed during my tours in the recruiting districts with the advantages of free labour, *i.e.*, of not placing coolies under contract under the Act. When I was at Berhampur (Ganjam), I saw two Telugu sardars who went to Assam as coolies last year. Both men had gone up single

handed and after staying on the garden for about six months had returned to fetch their families. They would not take their families with them when they went up first, as they wanted to see for themselves what work on a tea garden was like, and they certainly would not have bound themselves to work for four years. If contracts had been demanded, these men and their families would have been lost to the tea industry. Mr. Turton, the local agent of the Tea Districts Labour Supply Association, told me of similar cases at Bilaspur. He had himself tried to induce some coolies whom he sent up last year to take their families with them, but they had refused; after a few months on the tea gardens they returned as garden sardars to fetch their families. The enormous number of coolies, who were recruited for Assam during the year 1907-08, was partly due to scarcity, but I do not think that it can be entirely attributed to this cause. The fact that more than half of them went up free certainly induced many persons to emigrate who would not have done so otherwise. This year there is not much scarcity in the recruiting districts, but it is a good year for recruiting and will be far better than the years immediately preceding 1907-08. I attribute this to the fact that most of the emigrants are going up as free labourers, and that there is far less prejudice against Assam in the recruiting districts than there used to be. The increased demand for labour for railways, mines, docks, etc., must also be taken into consideration. Coolies are not likely to agree to execute contracts to work on a tea garden for four years when they can obtain remunerative employment near their homes as free labourers.

*The best system of recruitment.*—Among employers in the Assam Valley there is a difference of opinion whether the industry can do without Act VI, but the number of those who would agree to its abolition is increasing and already represents an important section of employers. In my view, prejudices in the recruiting districts against recruitment will not finally disappear until the Act is done away with. When coolies cease to be bound by contracts under the Act, a larger labour force will be wanted, and it is essential that the cost of recruitment should be lessened. If Act VI be withdrawn from the Assam Valley, it will still remain in force in the recruiting districts, for no Local Government would dare, after the experience of the past, to allow uncontrolled recruiting so long as contractors and *arkattis* remain. The position will then be that of free labour in Assam without free emigration from the recruiting districts. Now if Assam is to obtain an adequate supply of labour, it seems to me to be necessary that

emigration should be free, for the stricter the control the greater is the interference with emigrants and the smaller the supply of labour. At present control over recruiting is necessary because of the contractor, and it is argued that the contractor is necessary because sufficient labour cannot be obtained without him. It seems to me that employers should seriously consider whether the enormous advantages attending free recruitment by sardars would not be cheaply purchased by the abolition of the contractor.

The system of recruitment through contractors is most expensive, each coolie costing the garden from Rs. 80 to Rs. 150 ; it has led to great abuses in the past and it can only be defended on the ground that the tea industry cannot obtain sufficient labour in any other way. I am unable to believe that the contractor is a necessity ; it seems to me that a well organised system of recruitment through garden sardars will produce all the labour needed, if the garden sardars are given a free hand. New gardens are opened out in the Duars without the aid of the contractor and it is not obvious why Assam cannot do the same. If a new garden is opened out by an existing company, it is certainly possible to arrange for sufficient coolies from an old garden to make a start. Even in the case of a new company or private person, it should be possible to arrange for sufficient coolies to form a nucleus for recruiting ; and I doubt whether any garden has been opened out in recent years entirely with the aid of coolies bought from a contractor. Nor can I think that the contractor is necessary in order to open up new sources of supply and I believe that it is quite possible to open up new districts without his aid. To take an instance, the four districts of Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, and Nellore have been opened recently to sardari recruiting by the Madras Government, but are closed to contractors. It is clear that gardens cannot have coolies belonging to those districts, whom they can send down as sardars, but a local agent can surely pick out some intelligent Telugu speaking garden sardars belonging to the Ganjam or Vizagapatam districts and start recruiting in the newly opened districts with them. If necessary, he might go with them and superintend their recruiting till a connection has been established. A manager of a garden might do this for himself, if he chose.

The contractor seems to be thought necessary because no attempt has been made to do without him, but it seems to be essential that the system should be abolished in order that the existing restrictions on sardari recruiting may be removed. The simplest method of abolishing recruitment by contractors is by

a series of Notifications under section 3 of the Act; these might be extended over several years, so that the process would be gradual and no sudden change would be made, and the final one might coincide with the withdrawal of Act VI from the Assam Valley. To take an instance, the Patna and Bhagalpur Divisions of Bengal and the United Provinces are closed to recruitment by contractors. Another division, say the Presidency Division, where there is little or no genuine recruiting, might be similarly closed; then in another year Chota Nagpur, Orissa or some other recruiting area might follow and the process could be continued until all the recruiting areas were closed to recruitment by contractors. I might mention that it is useless to close small areas or single districts; the *arkattis* can and do picket them and succeed in recruiting in them in spite of the prohibition. If any part of the country is closed to recruitment by contractors, it should be a large area, such as a Commissioner's division.

Having got rid of contractors and *arkattis* it seems to me that it will be possible to remove all restrictions on sardari recruiting, maintaining only sufficient legislation to prevent the system of buying and selling coolies from starting again under another name. For example, it might be laid down that recruiting must be carried on through garden sardars holding certificates, the certificates being retained in order to prevent *arkattis* from recruiting in the guise of garden sardars. Provision would also have to be made for licensed local agents; it is probable that garden sardars belonging to the United Provinces may be able to work independently, but the aboriginal coolies of Chota Nagpur or the people from the East Coast districts are not sufficiently intelligent to do so and require the help and control of a local agent.

To sum up, I believe that the interests of the tea industry will be best served by free labour and free emigration, and I have endeavoured to outline a scheme by which this can be effected.

*Dated Shillong,*

*The 16th April 1909.*

J. F. GRUNING,

*On Special Duty.*



Province.	Area covered by notifications under section 3.	Area in which recruiting is permitted.		
		Under Chapter III.	Under Chapter IV.	Under section 90.
1	2	3	4	5
Bengal ...	Whole Province	Presidency Division. Burdwan Division Orissa Division. Manbhum. Hazaribagh. Palamau. Singhbhum, except the Kolhan. Ranchi, except the thana of Silli and the Khunti subdivision.	Whole Province	Hazaribagh.  Manbhum. The Santhal Parganas.
Central Provinces	Whole Province	Whole Province ...	Whole Province.	Jubbulpur Division. Chhatisgarh Division. Allahabad Division.
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	Allahabad Division.  Gorakhpur Division. Benares Division Fyzabad Division	.....	Allahabad Division.  Gorakhpur Division. Benares Division. Fyzabad Division	Allahabad Division.  Gorakhpur Division. Benares Division. Fyzabad Division.
Madras ...	Ganjam. Vizagapatam. Godavari. Kistna. Guntur. Nellore.	Ganjam, exclusive of the agency tracts.* Vizagapatam, exclusive of the agency tracts.†	Ganjam, exclusive of the agency tracts.* Vizagapatam, exclusive of the agency tracts.† Godavari, exclusive of the agency tracts.‡ Kistna. Guntur. Nellore.	

- \* Ganjam Agency Tracts—
- (1) The Goomsur Maliahs, including Chokapad.
  - (2) The Surada Maliahs.
  - (3) The Chinnakimedi Maliahs.
  - (4) The Peidakimedi Maliahs.
  - (5) The Bodogodo Maliahs.
  - (6) The Surangi Maliahs.
  - (7) The Parlakimedi Maliahs.
  - (8) The Muttas of Korada and Ronoba.
  - (9) The Jarada Maliahs.
  - (10) The Mandasa Maliahs.
  - (11) The Jаланtra Maliahs.
  - (12) The Badarasingi Maliahs.
  - (13) The Kuttingia Maliahs.

- † Vizagapatam Agency Tracts—
- (1) The Jeypore Zamindari.
  - (2) Golconda hills west of the river Boderu.
  - (3) The Madugole Maliahs.
  - (4) The Kasipur Zamindari.
  - (5) The Pachinpunta Maliahs.
  - (6) The Mondemkolla in the Merangi Zamindari.
  - (7) The Konda Mutta of Merangi.
  - (8) The Gumma and Konda Muttas of Kurpam.
  - (9) The Kottam, Ram and Konda Muttas of Palkonda.

- ‡ Godavari Agency Tracts—
- (1) The Badrachalam taluk.
  - (2) The Polavaram division.
  - (3) The Chodavaram division.
  - (4) The Yellavaram division.





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