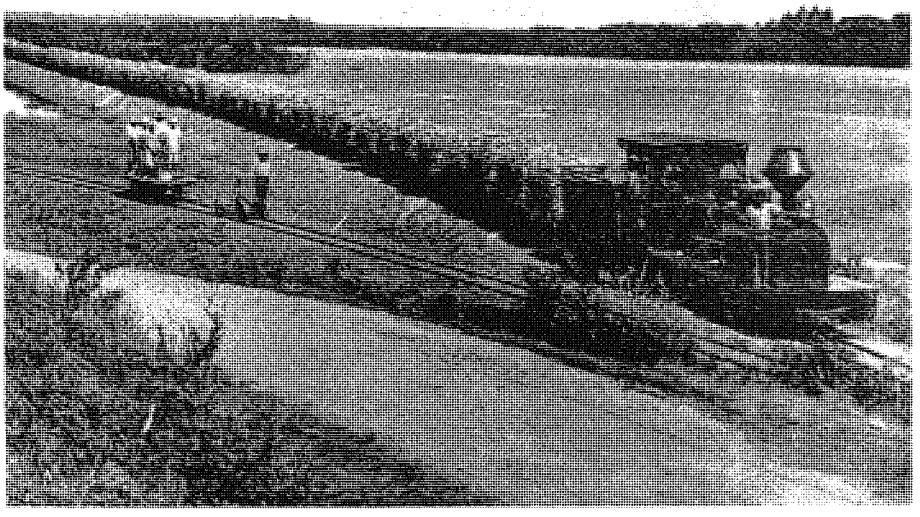
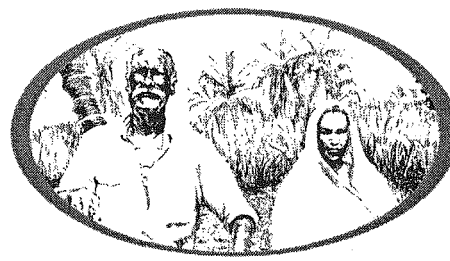


A familiar sight during the cane harvesting season—a train carrying laden trucks to the Rarawai mill at Ba. Lorries joined trains in transporting cane after the war.

chapter 6



A Time to Move

It is probably safe to say that the Indian populations historically have been as mobile, as, for example, the population of Western Europe at equivalent stages of economic development.

Morris David Morris

Was migration an alien phenomenon in nineteenth century Indian society? Evidence provided in this chapter suggests that it was not, at least not to the degree usually believed; that, in fact, constant circulation[1] was an integral part of rural Indian life, especially in those areas where the migrants originated. I argue that a large proportion of the indentured labourers came from an already uprooted and mobile peasantry, for whom, migration to the colonies was an extension of internal circulation. They knew they were going to some place far away and unheard of, but would return to their homes one day. Many, of course, did not. Thus an intended sojourn was transformed into permanent displacement. Conventional wisdom regards Indians as a 'home-loving' people and India as an

immobile country. Some observers attribute this state of affairs to the predominance of agriculture, the caste system, early marriages and the Joint family system, diversity of language and culture, and illiteracy.[2] Perhaps the best exposition of this view is presented by William Crooke, a British civil servant and ethnographer, who wrote in 1896:

> The fact is that the Hindu has little migratory instinct, and all his prejudices tend to keep him at home. As a resident member of a tribe, caste or village, he occupies a definite social position, of which emigration is likely to deprive him. When he leaves his home, he loses the sympathy and support of his clansmen and neighbours; he misses the village council, which regulates his domestic affairs; the services of the family priest, which he considers essential to his salvation. Every village has its own local shrine, where the deities, in the main destructive, have been propitiated and controlled by the constant service of their votaries. Once the wanderer leaves the hamlet where he was born, he enters the domain of new and unknown deities, who, being strangers, are of necessity hostile to him, and may resent his intrusion by sending famine, disease or death upon the luckless stranger. The emigrant, again, to a distant land finds extreme difficulty in selecting suitable husbands for his daughters. He must choose his sons-in-law within a narrow circle, and if he allows his daughter to reach womanhood unwed, he commits a grievous sin. Should he die in exile, he may fail to win the heaven of gods, because no successor will make the due funeral oblations, and no trusted family priest be there to arrange the last journey of his spirit. So he may wander through the ages a starving, suffering, malignant ghost, because his obsequies have not been duly performed.[3]

There is considerable exaggeration in Crooke's views, for the typical Indian village was never a totally autonomous, self-contained and static social unit as he seems to suggest. Faced with adverse economic circumstances, as many were in the nineteenth century, Indians of all castes readily forsook their traditional occupations, and turned to those that offered better prospects. For many it was agriculture and general field labour.[4] For some, unable to eke out an existence in the village, migration offered an attractive alternative. The difficulty in migrating to 'distant lands' has similarly been exaggerated. However, Crooke is not alone in holding this view as other writers refer to the Indians' dread of crossing the *kala pani* (the dark waters) which resulted in the loss of caste and brought contact with *mlecchas* (polluting barbarians). Both these consequences were thought to invite divine retribution and thus further discourage foreign travel. Several points should be noted here. In the first place, the interdict on crossing the *kala pani* did not apply, to any meaningful degree, in

Western and Southern India where there has always been a strong seafaring tradition. Secondly, it was intended to apply only to the twice-born (*dvija*) castes, especially Brahmans; and most of the indentured migrants were, generally speaking, from non-*dvija* castes. But as A.L. Basham notes, even the Brahmans 'frequently travelled by sea during the Hindu period. The texts which forbade or discouraged ocean voyages cannot have been followed by more than a small section of the population'.[5] Those who were forced by economic necessity to disobey the strictures, compensated 'for any vestigal bad karma by leading ostentatiously devout lives on shore'.[6]

Little is known about the extent and nature of internal migration in pre-modern India. Yet a critical reading of scattered sources does call into question the static, immobile view of Indian society. Migration seems to have been used as a strategy to cope with the repressive authority of the state, feudal oppression and calamities of nature. Romila Thapar suggests that the absence of peasant rebellion in ancient India could have been due to the fact that distressed peasants had the option of migration: 'Given the availability of cultivable land, peasant migration appears to have been the more common form of alleviating the pressures of heavy taxation.'[7] Jaimal Rai and Abhay Kant Chaudhary corroborate this picture[8] while P.C. Jain and B.N.S. Yadav find evidence of spatial mobility among Indian peasants in such ancient texts as *Subhasitaratnakosa* and *Brhannaratiya Purana*.[9]

Much the same pattern persisted in later times. Irfan Habib, in his authoritative study *The Agrarian System of Moghul India*, writes of the ease with which the peasant could migrate, given his low level of subsistence, limited immoveable possessions and availability of vast stretches of virgin land. 'This capacity of mobility on the part of the peasants', he writes, 'should be regarded as one of the most striking features of the social and economic life of the times. It was the peasants' first answer to famine or man's oppression.'[10] Making a more general point, Morris David Morris has suggested that too much perhaps has been made of the stabilising effects of Indian rural social structures in acting as a barrier to population mobility. 'It is probably safe to say', he has written, 'that the Indian populations historically have been as mobile as, for example, the population of Western Europe at equivalent stages of economic development.'[11]

Whatever may have been the situation in earlier times, migration assumed much importance in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Several scholars have written authoritatively on the patterns and characteristics of internal migration on an all-India basis.[12] In this chapter,

I shall focus on migration from the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh) as it was from there that well over two-thirds[13] of the indentured migrants to the tropical sugar colonies came. My main concern will be to indicate the pattern and important role of migration in UP, and to suggest its increasing popularity as a strategy to cope with the recurring vicissitudes of life.

Migration from UP increased in the second half of the nineteenth century chiefly due to three factors. The first was the deteriorating economic conditions caused by the British impact on Indian society, and accentuated by the effects of the Indian mutiny of 1857. Excessive revenue demands by the British, deepening indebtedness of the peasantry, fragmentation of landed property into uneconomic holdings, the enhanced power of landlords and their ejection of impoverished tenants at unprecedented rates,[14] and the destruction of the indigenous handicraft industry, intensified the already poor plight of the lower strata of Indian society and forced them to look for other avenues to make their living. The second factor was the establishment of labour intensive colonial enterprises in India such as the tea plantations in Assam, jute mills in Calcutta, and collieries in Bihar.[15] Since these could not be developed with locally available labour, they depended on immigrant labour from places like the United Provinces. And thirdly, migration was stimulated by the availability of relatively cheap and readily accessible transportation, especially railways. G.P. Dain, an agent of Calcutta Tramways, told the *Royal Commission on Labour* in 1931: 'It is the construction of railways which has made this large migration to the cities possible, and I do know of areas where the advent of means of transportation has had the effect of depopulating the areas instead of increasing their population'[16] By the turn of the century migration, or more appropriately circulation, was an established fact of life in most parts of eastern United Provinces. Knowledgeable observers, such as the 1911 UP Census Commissioner E.A.H. Blunt, remarked that there was probably hardly a family in the Benares Division which did not have at least one member in other provinces in search of employment.[17] The bulk of the movement from the United Provinces was eastwards, to the provinces of Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa.

The province of Bengal was the largest magnet for UP migrants. A fairly large proportion of the migration from UP was to the contiguous districts of Bengal (now Bihar). In 1891, for example, 92,163 or 25.3 percent of the UP migrants in Bengal were enumerated in these districts, and in 1901, 96,869 or 14.5 percent. There was considerable circulation between Gorakhpur, Ballia, Ghazipur, Benares (in UP) and Shahabad and Champaran (in

Bihar).[18] Much of this movement, it would be safe to assume, would have been due to seasonal agricultural work, temporary social visits, marriages and trading.

Nonetheless, a large proportion of the UP migrants were bound for more distant industrial centres of Bengal, such as Calcutta, Hoogly, Howrah and the 24 Paraganas. These areas accounted for 38 percent of Bengal's UP migrants in 1901; 59 percent in 1911 and 64 percent in 1921.[19] Many of these migrants were probably peasants or labourers seeking employment; for in Hindu society marriages, a big cause of migration, are usually contracted within narrow cultural, regional and caste circles. The UP migrants came to constitute an important part of the labour force in Bengal. As early as 1882, it was found that many factory operatives 'especially in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, came from the North-West Provinces'.[20] The prominence of 'up-country' labour was also marked in the jute mills of Calcutta. In July 1895, a detailed enquiry of 14 jute mills employing 49,729 persons—covering over 60 percent of the total jute labour force - found that 46 percent of the labourers had originated in UP and Bihar.[21] By the turn of the century, B. Foley reported, the up-country people had all but replaced Bengalis as jute mill hands.[22] Large numbers of the migrants people also found employment in the textile mills.[23]

Besides Bengal, the Assam tea gardens were also important importers and employers of UP labour. Tea cultivation had been introduced into India in 1834, and large scale importation of immigrant labourers began in 1853.[24] The districts of Chota Nagpur and Santal Parganas of tribal Bihar provided 44 percent of the tea labourers, while UP was second with 20 percent.[25] However, the UP labourers fared poorly on the tea plantations; they deserted the tea gardens more frequently than did labourers from other areas, and they succumbed to diseases more than others.[26] Yet, successful or not, they still constituted a significant proportion of the tea labour population.

The UP supplied a smaller number of migrant labourers to other areas also. In the Bihar coal fields, they comprised 10 percent of the total labour force,[27] and by some accounts they were the best available. Large numbers also went south into the Central Provinces and Berar, as semi-permanent immigrants, labourers on road, railway and irrigation works, and as domestic servants.[28] Others for 'purely economic' reasons, and in smaller numbers, headed towards Bombay and to the textile mills of Ahmedabad.[29]

The bulk of the UP migrants to places within India, as indeed also to the colonies, came from the eastern districts of the province: Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Ballia, Basti, Gorakhpur, Fyzabad and Gorakhpur.[30] Some

districts were more prominent suppliers of labour then others, but this depended largely on such factors as the access to transportation networks, established patterns of chain migration, and their popularity among recruiters. Why eastern UP and not Western UP? Among the most important reasons would be the relatively greater poverty of the eastern districts, their very high population densities,[31] absence of major labour-intensive industrial enterprises such as the cotton mills in Kanpur, and the destruction of the riverine trade of the eastern region by the extension of the railway which fostered the development of Western UP.[32]The easterners had to seek their livelihood outside the province, whereas the westerners could, if they needed to, look for employment nearer home. It was this established pattern of migration in the eastern region which encouraged the colonial recruiters to concentrate there.

Much of the movement from the UP was understandably male dominated. But a surprisingly large number of women also migrated long distances. In 1881, 29 percent of the UP migrants in Bengal were females;[33] in 1891, 33 percent;[34] and in 1901, 56 percent.[35] In Calcutta in 1921, 371 out of 1,000 UP migrants were females.[36] In the Assam tea gardens in 1901, females constituted 40 percent of the total UP population there.[37] Some might have gone as wives of migrants already on the plantations, but it is also likely that some may have migrated on their own. Little is known about the female migrants, and usually the worst is assumed about their social and moral character. But as I have shown in another context, they could have easily been women of initiative and enterprise who moved out to start their lives afresh after escaping from a variety of domestic problems.[38]

Both the male and female migrants from the UP came from a wide social background, representing various castes, though scattered evidence for Calcutta suggests the predominance of lower agricultural and labouring castes.[39] This is not surprising for, bereft of power and status, lower orders were among the first to feel the effects of adverse economic conditions. Many migrants were recruited by middlemen—*sardars* or *jobbers*—sent out by employers to enlist people from districts and villages where they, the middlemen, were well known, though in the case of the Assam tea gardens a significant proportion of the migrants had left on their own volition.[40] The process and nature of voluntary migration is vividly described in the following quotation:

> The average incoming worker is unskilled: he comes to seek *kam* [work], and has no definite idea as to what *kam* may be. He prefers to work in close

> proximity to his fellow villagers or relations, but if work is not available in their areas, he goes elsewhere. If he settles down in a manufacturing area, where he is absorbed in a regular calling in which in due course he becomes skilled, he has no difficulty in getting employment, if he loses his job, provided he is well behaved and reasonably good worker, for skilled workmen find a ready market for their services in this presidency. If he remains unskilled, he may move from place to place, as his inclinations dictate and opportunities offer. If, at the worst, he can get nothing to do, he returns to his home, and perhaps sends out a more competent younger or older brother to seek work while he himself works on the family plot of land. Actually the immigrant may prefer casual or seasonal employment. He may not desire to settle down as a factory hand for the reason that he may not wish to be separated from his family for the greater part of the year. His home circumstances may be such that he does not require regular wages.[41]

This quotation from the *Royal Commission on Labour* suggests that the Indian worker was not totally committed to industrial occupation; half his mind was still in the village from where he had come. The *Commission* cited high turnover of labour and absenteeism in support of its contention. This view has been questioned by scholars who have provided evidence of an increasingly large number of workers in permanent industrial occupation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[42] Absenteeism has been explained as a form of protest against the repetitive drudgery of industrial work.

The industrial worker may have, over a period of time, shed some of his rustic longing for village life, but at the time of departure, both historical and contemporary evidence suggests, he probably intended to maintain the rural link. In any case, he constantly remitted money to his family at home for their upkeep and for other social and economic reasons, thus keeping in close touch with the affairs of his home in the village. In Sultanpur, where migration was used as a strategy for 'restoring fallen fortunes or of easing of a redundant population which have long been familiar to the inhabitants of this district', the migrants remitted Rs. 1,627,000 between October 1894 and September 1897.[43] In Azamgarh in the 1890s, yearly remittances amounted to Rs. 13 lakhs, rising to Rs. 14.5 lakhs in famine years. After the turn of the century, the amount rose to Re. 16 to Rs. 17 lakhs and in years of extreme hardship to over Rs. 22 lakh.[44] In Ghazipur, 'even the cultivating classes no longer rely solely on the produce of their fields, for the savings of the emigrants are almost equal to the entire rental demands, the same thing occurring in Ballia and Jaunpur.'[45] Speaking generally about the eastern districts of the United Provinces, the 1891

Census Report remarked that temporary migration was extensive and 'in many families subsistence is only possible with the assistance derived from the immigrant members.'[46] The extent of relief this brought in the more congested districts is 'difficult to calculate', it noted.[47] Evidence of the important role that migration played in the economy of UP can be provided for later periods also.[48]

It is clear that migration, at least in the United Provinces, was not an 'unnatural' or 'unpopular' phenomenon. On the contrary, it appears that a great deal of circulation for purposes of employment was under way in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In comparison to industrialized western societies, the extent of circulation in the Indian sub-continent may not appear to be significant. Yet in terms of its impact on the life of the districts from where the migrants came, it played an important role.

The indentured migrants who were enlisted for the colonies came from the uprooted mass of Indian peasants already in circulation. Many of the migrants had already left their homes before they met the recruiters. The very great extent to which the migrants had moved to other districts where they were registered for emigration is surprising. Table 1 gives a detailed breakdown of this for all the major British Indian labour importing colonies.

Table 1[49]
The Registration of Indentured Migrants to British Colonies

Selected District of Origin	Total No	No Reg In	%	No Reg Outside	%
Azamgarh	18,061	4,309	23.86	13,752	76.14
Ghazipur	9,739	4,338	44.54	5,401	55.46
Jaunpur	8,373	2,531	30.23	5,842	69.77
Basti	23,300	10,705	45.94	12,595	54.06
Allahabad	6,589	4,376	66.41	2,213	33.59
Benares	4,580	2,501	54.61	2,079	45.39
Fyzabad	9,286	5,696	61.34	3,590	38.66
Agra	1,665	1,004	60.30	661	39.70
Gorakhpur	7,987	3,997	50.04	3,990	49.96
Gonda	13,448	5,338	39.69	8,110	60.31
Lucknow	2,285	1,017	44.51	1,268	55.49
Kanpur	2,420	1,595	65.91	825	34.09

There is obvious variation in the extent of out-registration among the different districts, though on the whole it is more marked in the case of rural, impoverished districts such as Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Basti and Gonda.

It should be noted that each recruitment district had its own sub-depots and facilities for registering migrants, under the overall supervision of the district magistrate. Recruiters were licensed to operate in a particular district only; unauthorised excursions into other areas could result in fines or cancellation of their licence. A recruit could, however, be registered in other districts if there was clear evidence that he or she had left home voluntarily and was not coerced to go to another district.[50] There was always the potential for unscrupulous recruiters to mislead recruits and to coach them to give correct answers before the authorities; and this is the view many writers have accepted. While acknowledging the possibility of fraudulence, I suggest, in view of the preceding discussion, that many of those who were recruited outside their districts or origin, were people in circulation who had left their homes voluntarily, most probably in search of temporary or seasonal employment.

Most of the already uprooted indentured migrants were registered in neighbouring districts. Thus, the districts providing over 5 percent of the registrations for Fiji were: Fyzabad (15.3 percent), Kanpur (8.3 percent), Basti (7.7 percent), Gorakhpur (6.1 percent), Benares (5.4 percent) and Lucknow (5 percent). In the case of Azamgarh, Ghazipur provided over 21 percent of the registrations, while, for Basti, Gonda and Sultanpur, Fyzabad registered 25 percent, 37 percent ant 32 percent of the migrants.[51] This pattern of registration suggests that the Indian labourers moved in stages. Initially, they turned to small rural towns and provincial urban centres, and if unsuccessful there, ventured further afield to Calcutta, Assam or Bihar.[52] It was a familiar and understandable pattern of moving from the known to the unknown.

The indentured migrants came from a wide social background in India, as already seen. However, irrespective of their caste background, rural Indians depended on the land for their livelihood. As such, they were all affected by forces bringing about significant changes in the rural Indian economy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In varying degrees, representatives of all the castes were uprooted from their traditional background and were migrating. The extent to which this was taking place is indicated in Table 2, which shows percentages of different castes migrating to Fiji which registered in other ('non-native') districts. Several trends are clear from the figures. There is more mobility in some districts than in others, and some castes register in other areas to a greater extent

than do others. However, the higher castes and Muslims show a greater tendency towards out-registration than the lower castes. Perhaps this was a result of the fact that they were better off than the lower castes, enjoying some proprietary right in land or a more secure status as occupancy tenants. They could thus grasp the opportunity to travel more readily and freely than others.

Table 2[53]
Percentage of Castes Registering Outside their Districts of Origins

Districts of Origin Castes	Brahmans	Muslims	Khattri	Ahir	Kurmi	Chamar	Pasi
Allahabad	82.35	86.27	69.56	49.00	75.75	50.45	41.46
Basti	75.81	55.53	64.34	61.55	66.17	45.76	61.03
Benares	60.0	66.23 -	84.00	53.3	75.00	47.36	50.00
Fyzabad	38.70	50.00	70.00	33.03	31.68	27.09	30.55
Gonda	79.71	66.81	69.13	70.91	65.25	75.13	59.15
Gorakhpur	47.36	56.95	49.09	31.86	32.66	26.66	16.66
Jaunpur	85.36	63.09	96.15	80.66	90.9	63.17	66.66
Lucknow	83.33	80.58	100.00	56.25	41.66	58.92	40.74
Ghazipur	86.66	66.23	44.23	-50.00	100.00	35.97	100.00

Not only males but females also migrated as indentured labourers. In fact, after the 1870s, the Government of India insisted that for all the Indian labour importing colonies except Mauritius, 40 females should be despatched for every 100 males. Why and how it arrived at this figures is not known, though the intention probably was to create a more stable immigrant population in the colonies. The ratio was invariably observed by the Colonial Emigration Agents.[54] Fiji was no exception, and in a number of years, there were over 40 females to 100 males in the emigrating population.[55] They came from all castes and many were part of the uprooted population in circulation. Table 3 shows the extent of out-registration among Fiji's male and female migrants. However, many were registered in neighbouring districts, and for many Fyzabad was the main centre of registration. The great extent to which Indian women were mobile, as shown in out-registration figures, is most surprising, especially in view of the widespread and widely shared view that Indian women are caste/tradition bound, and stay at home. The above figures show that at least those Indian women who migrated to the colonies were not immobile.

They were probably individuals of enterprise and initiative who were not averse to seizing other opportunities to improve their position when the situation at home become intolerable. Their history in the colonies certainly confirms this view.

For the most part, as already noted, the Government of India did not hinder indentured migration, silently hoping for a permanent or semi-permanent settlement of the Indian immigrants in the colonies. Nevertheless it ensured that those who went to the colonies could, if they wanted to, maintain contact with their kinsmen in the villages in India. To this end, it required the emigration officials to keep detailed record on the migrants: their caste, sex, age, martial status, district, town and village of origin. The information can be found on Emigration Passes, copies of which were kept in several places. Using this, the colonial governments enabled the migrants to remit money back to India or to send letters, which they did.[56]

Table 3[57]
Males, Females and Out-Registration in Selected Districts

Districts of Origin	% of Males Reg. Outside D/O	% of Females Reg. Outside D/O
Allahabad	54.4	54.4
Basti	59.5	59.0
Benares	60.3	53.3
Fyzabad	39.8	32.7
Gonda	70.6	66.5
Gorakhpur	45.2	41.8
Jaunpur	78.4	71.2
Lucknow	61.1	63.9
Ghazipur	64.2	48.4
Average	**59.28**	**54.63**

Most writers are agreed, and oral evidence also suggests, that the indentured migrants left their homes expecting that they would return one day. They viewed their absence from India as a sojourn to acquire easy wealth promised by the recruiters. Most migrants did not discriminate between the different colonies,[58] nor probably did they care too much about their eventual destination so certain were they of eventually returning to their homeland. Many did return. Up to 1870, 112,178 or 21 percent of the migrants from all the colonies had returned to India,[59] and in the case of

Fiji, from the 1880s to 15 May 1927, some 24,000 of the migrants had returned.[60]

But the majority stayed on, attracted by new opportunities, a greater sense of personal freedom, inertia, or a dread of going back to the eternal patterns of a rigidly organised village life in India. They carved a new landscape in their new homeland and contributed immeasurably to the development of the colonies. The indentured labourers themselves, though, lived in a crisis. They had left one home and in their own life time had not found acceptance in another which they had helped to create. An intended temporary journey often became a permanent exile. Unable to return, the migrants re-lived the India of their childhood in their minds. This is poignantly captured by V.S. Naipaul in his *House for Mr Biswas*:

> In the arcade of Hanuman House grey and substantial in the dark, there was already an assembly of old men, squatting on sacks on the ground and on tables now empty of Tulsi Store goods, pulling at clay *cheelums* that glowed red and smelt of ganja and burnt sacking. Though it wasn't cold, many had scarves over their heads and around their necks; this detail made them look foreign and, to Mr Biswas, romantic. It was the time of the day for which they lived. They could not speak English and were not interested in the land where they lived; it was a place where they had come for a short time and stayed longer than expected. They continually talked of going back to India, but when the opportunity came, many refused, afraid of the unknown, afraid to leave the familiar temporariness. And every evening they came to the arcade of the solid, friendly house, smoked, told stories, and continued to talk of India.[61]

Endnotes

1. My understanding of the concept of circulation is based on the work of Murray Chapman and R.M. Prothero, *Circulation in the Third World* (London 1985), ch. 1.
2. Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan* (Princeton 1951), 108; *Census of India*, Vol 1, Part 1 (1921), 83.
3. William Crooke, *The North-Western Provinces of India: Their history, ethnology and administration* (London 1896), 326.
4. *Census of India*, Vol 15, Part 2 (1911). Table XVI gives a detailed breakdown of the extent of occupational mobility among different castes in UP.
5. A.L. Basham, 'Notes on Seafaring in Ancient India', in his *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Calcutta 1964), 163
6. Michael Pearson, 'Across the Black Water: Indian seafarers in the sixteenth century', unpublished MS (1979), 24.
7. Romila Thapar, *The Past and Prejudice* (New Delhi 1975), 58.
8. Jaimal Rai, *The Rural-urban Economy and Social Changes in Ancient India, 300BC-600AD* (New Delhi 1974), 128; Abhay Kant Chaudhary, *The Early Mediaeval Village in North-Eastern India* (Calcutta 1971), 49, 105, 264.
9. P.C. Jain, *Socio-Economic Explorations of Mediaeval India* (New Delhi 1976), 110-11; B.N.S. Yadav, 'Immobility and Subjection of Indian Peasantry in Early Mediaeval Complex', *Indian Historical Review*, 1:1 (1974), 25; see also S.C. Misra, 'Social Mobility in Pre-Moghul India', *IHR*, 1:1 (1974), 36.
10. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Moghul India* (Bombay 1963), 117.
11. Morris David Morris, *The Emergence of an Industrial Labour Force in India: the case of the Bombay cotton mills, 1854-1947* (Berkeley 1965), 42.
12. See K.C. Zachariah, *An Historical Study of Internal Migration in the Indian Sub-Continent, 1901-1931* (London 1964), and Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*. For a summary of research on Indian migration, see P.B. Desai, *A Survey of Research in Demography* (Bombay 1975).
13. This figure is derived from an analysis of *The Protector of Emigrants' Annual Report on Emigration from the Port of Calcutta to British and Foreign Colonies*, 1881/82—1914.
14. See for instance, T.R. Metcalfe, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870* (Princeton 1964), 134ff. Other relevant studies include Elizabeth Whitcombe, *Agrarian Conditions in Northern India: The United Provinces under British rule, 1860-1900*, vol 1 (Berkeley 1972); Jagdish Raj, *Economic Conflict in North India: a study of landlord-tenant relations in Audh, 1870-1890* (Bombay 1958); Dietmar Rothermund, *Government, Landlord and Peasant: agrarian relations under British rule, 1865-1935* (Wiesbaden 1975).
15. See Ranajit Das Gupta, 'Factory Labour in Eastern India —sources of supply, 1855-1946: some preliminary findings', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* (hereafter *IESHR*), 13:3 (1973), 277-329; A.K. Bagchi, *Private Investment in India, 1900-1939* (Bombay 1975).

16. *Royal Commission on Labour in India*, Vol 5, Part 1 (1931), 215. For similar comments about the areas, see Sir William Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal* (London 1897), 235; F. Bradley-Birt, *Chota Nagpur: a little known province of the Empire* (London 1903), 5.

17. *Census of India*, Vol 16, Part 1 (1911), 49. See also H.R. Nevill, *Gazetteer of Ghazipur* (Nainital 1908), 79.

18. *Census of India*, Vol 5, Part 1 (1911), 198.

19. *Census of India*, Vol 5, Part 1 (1921), 43.

20. Gupta, 'Factory Labour in Eastern India', 238.

21. Ibid.

22. B. Foley, *Report on Labour in Bengal* (Calcutta 1906).

23. *Census of India*, Vol 11, Part 1 (1921), 111. For other industries see Gutpa, 'Factory Labour'; Bagchi, *Private Investment*.

24. For detailed studies on the subject, see Sir Percival Griffiths, *The History of the Indian Tea Industry* (London 1967); S.M. Akhtar, *Labour Emigration to the Assam Tea Gardens* (Lahore 1939); *Report of the Assam Labour Tea Enquire Committee* (Calcutta 1907).

25. *Report of the Assam Labour Tea Enquiry*, 14. The percentages are calculated on the basis of figures for the years 1885-1902/03.

26. Based on *Resolutions on Immigrant Labour in the Assam Districts of West Bengal*.

27. *Royal Commission on Labour in India*, Vol 4, Part 1 (1931), 5. See also C.P. Simmons, 'Recruiting and Organising of Industrial Labour Force in Colonial India: the case of the coal mining industry, c.1880-1939', *IESHR*, 13:4 (1976), 456; *Census of India*, Vol 7, Part 1 (1921), 106.

28. *Census of India*, Vol 10 (1911), 50, 86.

29. *Census of India*, Vol 15, Part 1 (1911), 93. See also Great Britain *Parliamentary Papers*, Vol 59 (1890-91), 69; *Royal Commission on Labour*, Vol 1, Part 1 (1931), 5; Baniprasanna Misra, 'Factory Labour During the Early Years of Industrialization: an appraisal in the light of the Indian Factory Commission, 1890', *IESHR*, 21:3 (1975), 203-07.

30. *Census of India*, Vol 11, Part 1 (1921), 111; *Royal Commission on Labour*, Vol 5, Part 1 (1931), 11; *Resolutions on Immigrant Labour* (1901), 69.

31. See *Census of India*, Vol 16, Part 1 (1921), 26; Birendranath Ganguly, *Trends of Agriculture and Population in the Ganges Valley* (London 1938), 43.

32. This point has been argued by Frances Robinson, 'Municipal Government and Muslim Separatism in the United Provinces, 1883-1916', *Modern Asian Studies*, 7:3 (1973), 389-441; see also *Report on the Present Economic Situation in the United Provinces* (Nainital 1933).

33. *Census of India*, Vol 1 (1883), 151.

34. *Census of India*, Vol 1, Part 1 (1901), 143.

35. Ibid.

36. *Census of India*, Vol 6, Part 1 (1921), 22.

37. *Resolutions on Immigrant Labour* (1901). 69.

38. See Brij V. Lal, *Girmitiyas: The origins of the Fiji Indians* (Canberra 1983), 97-114.

39. *Census of India*, Vol 1, Part 1 (1901), 143.

40. I base myself on figures in the *Resolutions on Immigrant Labour*, 1893-1902/03.

41. *Royal Commission on Labour*, [India] Vol 5, Part 1 (1931), 3.

42. The seminal work here is Morris, *The Emergence of an Industrial Labour Force in India*. See also Ranajit Das Gupta, 'Factory Labour in Eastern India'; P.S. Gupta, 'Notes on the Origin and Structuring of the Industrial Labour Force in India —1880-1920', in R.S. Sharma (ed.), *Indian Society: historical probings* (New Delhi 1974), 426ff; Misra, 'Factory Labour During the Early Years of Industrialization'.

43. F.W. Brownrigg, *Sultanpur Settlement Report* (Allahabad 1898), 6.

44. C.E. Crawford, *Azamgarh Settlement Report* (Allahabad 1898), 7.

45. H.R. Neville, *Ghazipur District Gazetteer* (Nainital 1908), 79.

46. *Census of India*, Vol 16 (1891), 332.

47. Ibid., 283.

48. See Birendranath Ganguly, *Trends of Agriculture and Population in the Ganges Valley*, 40-41; Bholanath Misra, *Overpopulation in Jaunpur* (Allahabad 1932), 44; Jai Krishna Mathur, *The Pressure of Population and its Effects on Rural Economy in Gorakhpur District* (Allahabad 1931), 21.

49. Figures derived from Protector of Emigrants' *Annual Reports* for the years 1881/82, 1888-1897, 1900-1902, 1914.

50. For fuller discussion see Brij V. Lal, 'Leaves of the Banyan Tree: origins and background of Fiji's North Indian Indentured Migrants, 1878-1916', PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1980, ch. 5 ('Patterns of Migration from the UP').

51. Ibid., 182; see also my 'Approaches to the Study of Indian Indentured Emigration...' (in this volume).

52. For a similar view, see Gupta, 'Origins and Structuring of the Industrial Labour Force', 422.

53. For a detailed statistical breakdown, see Lal, 'Leaves of the Banyan Tree', Vol 2, 243-389 (Appendix 14: Cross-tabulation of caste by sex by districts of origin by districts of registration).

54. Based on figures in the Protector's *Annual Reports*.

55. Lal, 'Leaves of the Banyan Tree', Vol 1, 283-84.

56. For the amounts remitted, see James McNeill and Chimman Lal, *Report of the Government of India on the Conditions of Indian Immigrants in Four British Colonies and Surinam*, Cd. 7744-5 (Simla 1914), Appendices.

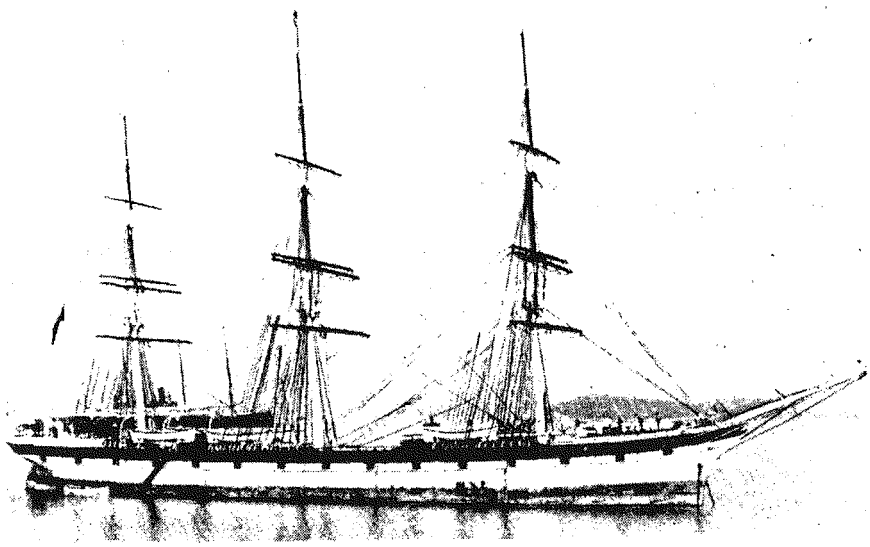
57. Derived from Ibid., Vol 2, 217-242 (Appendix 13: Cross-tabulation of sex by districts of origin by districts of registration).

58. *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates,* Cmd. 5192/4 (1910), 18.

59. J. Geoghegan, *Coolie Emigration from India* (Calcutta 1874), 67.

60. K.L. Gillion, *Fiji's Indian Migrants: a history to the end of indenture in 1920* (Melbourne 1962), 190.

61. V.S. Naipaul, *A House for Mr Biswas* (Penguin edition 1969), 193-94.



The *Elbe* which brought the first batch of South Indians to Fiji in 1903. The vessel was especially fitted to carry human cargo over long distances.