

Reducing the Indian Population to a 'Manageable Compass': A Study of the South African Assisted Emigration Scheme of 1927

In 1925 D.F. Malan, the Minister of the Interior, stated in parliament: '... the Indian, as a race in this country, is an alien element in the population. ...' Furthermore '... no solution of this question will be acceptable to this country until it results in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population in this country.'¹ This statement indicates the Nationalist party policy but it also found acceptance by the South African Party, the major opposition party, whose own policy towards Asiatics was defined as 'no Asiatic immigration, and repatriation as fast as possible ... with no chance of return.'² The traditional policy towards Indians of South African governments in pre-Union and post-Union days assumed a three-pronged approach: to close the door to further immigration, to subject Indians resident in South Africa to discriminatory legislation restricting their rights to purchase property, to trade or to participate in the political structures of the country, and finally to encourage Indians to return to India. This article will focus on the third stratagem, more specifically on the scheme evolved in 1927.

If one considers the racial composition of the South African population between 1904 and 1936 the presence of an Asiatic population appears insignificant. Between these years Asiatics (98% being Indian) never constituted more than 2,5% of the total South African population; the proportion of whites for the same period varied from 21% to 22%, Coloureds from 8% to 9% and Africans from 67% to 69%.³ The presence of the Indian assumes significance if one considers Natal's population composition only. In 1921 87,6% of the Union's total Indian population resided in Natal⁴ and they exceeded the white population there by 4 811.⁵ Natal's Indian population was confined within its borders as inter-provincial restrictions prevented their free movement across the borders. Repatriation of Indians then had special significance for Natal whites.

Various factors may be listed to account for the fact that Indians were regarded as anathema by South Africa's white population: the economic

competition of the Indian trader, the sanitary standards of Indians, the fear (particularly in Natal) of being swamped by Indians thus threatening white dominance, cultural and social differences or the belief of whites in their own racial superiority. The difficulty is to identify any one factor as being predominant. If future research can identify white interest groups which raised the cry for repatriation as a solution, valuable clues may be yielded. Policy towards Indians may have also been determined by the fact that whites were a very small minority amidst a large black population. Jan Smuts explained in 1917:

We are not a homogeneous population. We are a white population on a black continent; and the settlers in South Africa have for many years been actuated by the fear that to open the door to another non-white race would make the position of the few whites in South Africa very dangerous indeed.⁶

J.B.M. Hertzog, South Africa's Prime Minister for almost sixteen years, also commented that because whites were living amongst a numerically superior African population the presence of the Indian contributed to their fear that the white man's civilization and existence in South Africa was at stake.⁷

When the legal machinery to introduce indentured Indian labour to Natal had been set up in 1859 the consequences were not foreseen by Natal whites. Indentured labour arrived between 1860 and 1911 when the system was eventually terminated.⁸ The contracts of the labourers did not provide for their compulsory return to India on completion of their contracts, unlike the position of the indentured Chinese who came to work on the goldfields in 1904, and who were compelled to return to China on expiry of their contracts.⁹ If, however, the Indian indentured worker wished to return to his country, the Natal government was obliged to provide him with a free passage to India. Colonies in the West Indies were tardy in fulfilling this obligation to indentured workers brought from India¹⁰ but the Natal government was keen on sending Indians on fulfilment of their contracts back to India, not wishing to encourage the growth of a free Indian population. Natal, as Bradlow correctly points out, wanted a bonded labourer.¹¹ In 1891 in an effort to discourage the settlement of a free population the land grant promised to Indians who decided to stay in Natal on expiry of their contracts was revoked.¹² In the early 1890s the Natal government also tried to persuade the Indian government to agree to the condition that all contracts should expire only on the labourers' return to India.¹³ This India perceived as compulsory repatriation which she would not accept. As Kondapi comments: 'Compulsory repatriation amounts to throwing out Indians as sucked oranges and burdening India with her nationals in a humiliating position.'¹⁴

To realize its goal of encouraging labourers to return to India the Natal government passed a law in 1895 which imposed a £3 tax on those who chose to remain in Natal as free Indians. This tax was later extended to include boys of sixteen years and over and girls of thirteen years and over.¹⁵ It came into effect in 1902 and led to a high rate of reindenture;¹⁶ likewise from 1902 to 1913 32 506 Indians returned to India.¹⁷ Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, an Indian who played a significant role in the cultural and political life of Indians in Natal and who interested himself in the dilemma posed by



Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi.

(Photograph: U.D.W. Documentation Centre)

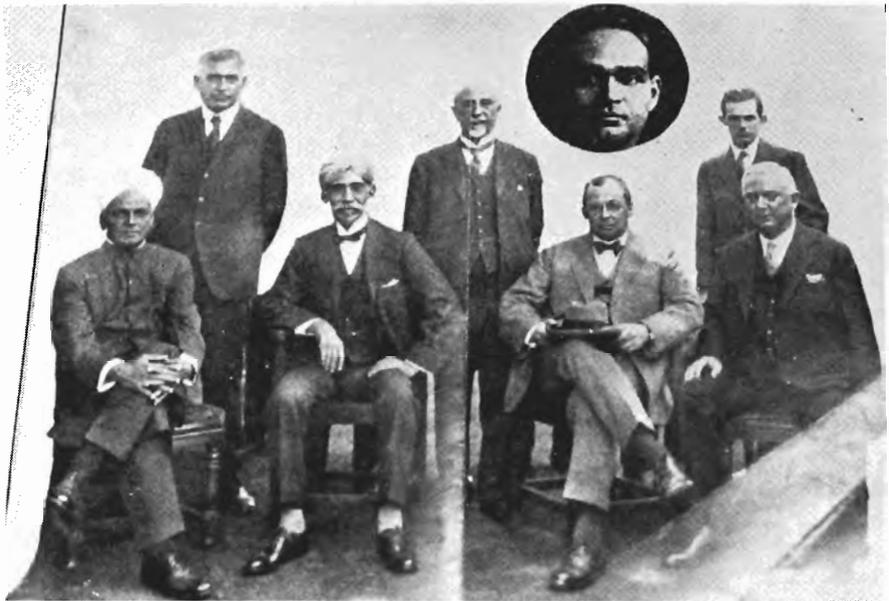
repatriation, commented: 'Repatriation on account of the imposition of [the] £3 tax must be called compulsory repatriation, for it was a tax on residence and its clear object was to compel the Indians to leave South Africa.'¹⁸ In 1914 as a result of Gandhi's *satyagraha* campaign, which incorporated the £3 tax as a grievance, the tax was abolished, thus bringing to an end the first phase of repatriation.

A second phase in repatriation was initiated by the Indian Relief Act of 1914. Thus far only indentured Indians were given a free passage to India as it was part of their contract. The Union government had closed the doors of South Africa to further immigration of any Indians in 1913¹⁹ and only the wives and children of Indians already domiciled in the Union would be permitted entry. Indentured immigration having ceased in 1911 it was clear that South Africa's Indian population would grow only by natural increase. The Union government, however, wanted more than this: it wished to reduce the Indian population by encouraged repatriation. Thus the Indian Relief Act of 1914 provided a free passage to India to any Indian whether of indentured origin or not, provided that such Indian surrendered his rights of domicile in South Africa.²⁰

In the aftermath of the First World War anti-Asiatic feeling in South Africa became virulent and organised under the banner of the South Africans' League which had branches in Natal and the Transvaal. The League in Natal organised meetings 'to safeguard the white standards of civilisation in South Africa from the economic, social and political menace of Asiatics.'²¹ To preserve Natal for whites it advocated segregation of the races, restrictions on Indians' right to purchase property or trade anywhere,

replacement by whites of Asiatics in various spheres of employment and the compulsory repatriation of all Asiatics not born in South Africa.²² In 1921 63.4% of the total Indian population was South African born²³ and the League's proposals would have meant the expulsion of 36.6% of the Union's Indian population. Furthermore at least 86% of Natal's Indian population was of indentured origin²⁴ and owed their presence in Natal to white demands for labour.

The Lange Commission which undertook a thorough investigation of the position of Asiatics in Natal and the Transvaal did not recommend compulsory repatriation as demanded by a few extremists but recommended voluntary repatriation with inducements.²⁵ Compulsory repatriation was never a practical feasibility because it required money and the Indian government's co-operation. On the Commission's recommendations the government in 1921 introduced a cash bonus of £5 per adult with a maximum of £25 per family to make repatriation under the Relief Act of 1914 more attractive. In 1924 the bonus was doubled to £10 per adult with a maximum of £50 per family.²⁶ An officer was also appointed to advertise the scheme amongst Indians and pamphlets were distributed. Free railway passes were provided to Durban as well as accommodation at a depot until a ship arrived.²⁷ Between 1914 and the end of July 1927 23 029 Indians were repatriated under the provisions of the Relief Act, all surrendering their



Delegation from India to the First Round Table Conference at Cape Town, 1926
Standing (l to r): Sir G.F. Paddison, K.C.I.E., Hon. Sir Phiroze C. Sethna, Kt., O.B.E., J.P., G.C. Bajpar (Inset), Secretary to Delegation and Mr Ricketts (Assist. Secy. to Delegation).

Seated (l to r): Rt. Hon. V. Srinivasa Sastri (P.C.), Hon. Sir Mahommed Habibullah, K.C.I.E. (Leader of Delegation), G.L. Corbett, C.S.I. (Deputy Leader of Delegation), and Sir D'Arcy Lindsay, Kt., C.B.E.

(Photograph: U.D.W. Documentation Centre)

rights of domicile.²⁸ The Indian government accepted the principle of voluntary repatriation on the grounds that if white fears of being overwhelmed by Indian numbers were removed then the position of those Indians who remained in South Africa would eventually improve.²⁹

In August 1927 a new scheme known as the assisted emigration scheme replaced the 1914 arrangement. This scheme was part of the Cape Town Agreement which was the outcome of a round table conference between the South African and Indian governments held in December 1926 and January 1927. There were two significant parts to this Agreement.³⁰ The Indian government would take responsibility for the emigrants who came from South Africa. The South African government acknowledged its responsibility to uplift all sections of the permanent population. The Indians who remained in South Africa would 'not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people.' There would be preliminary enquiries into Indian education and housing in Natal. Those Indians who remained in South Africa would be enabled to conform to a western standard of living. For those who could not conform to this standard there was the assisted emigration scheme to India or other countries where the western standard was not required.

The Indian government had been pressing the Union government for a round-table conference to discuss the Indian question from April 1925.³¹ The need for discussion between the two countries was made more urgent with the introduction in July in parliament of the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill which had as its principal tenets the economic and residential segregation of Indians. Malan explained the objective behind his bill:

The Bill is generally intended to stop effectively the further encroachment of Indians, and he hoped it would go further than that; that is, as a result of the exercise of pressure on the Indian, he will take advantage of the inducements which are held out to him to leave the country, so that the Bill is meant not only to stop further encroachment but actually to reduce the Indian population of the country.³²

After protracted negotiations, and after deputations had crossed the Indian Ocean to and from the Indian subcontinent, a round-table conference was convened; the passage of the Asiatic bill was halted pending the results of the conference.³³

The Indian delegation came to South Africa to secure a removal of the Union government's segregation proposals. It also came with the prior knowledge that repatriation would be one of the main items on the agenda. The Prime Minister, General Hertzog, in opening the conference indicated what his government's objectives were. If they could be assured that the Indian population could be reduced considerably with India's assistance they would not proceed with their legislation.³⁴ Malan, who chaired the proceedings, indicated that they wanted repatriation to be discussed first as agreement on this would determine the fate of their bill.³⁵ The Union delegates indicated that there were two main obstacles affecting repatriation: Indian sentiment was against it because they felt they were regarded as undesirables and this was an affront to their dignity; potential repatriates also did not know what prospects awaited them in India. India's assistance was required to assist in settling these repatriates.³⁶

The Indian delegation offered concrete proposals to improve the repatriation scheme, as well as their assistance to ease the adjustment difficulties of repatriates on arrival in India. The scheme devised with their co-operation was to be termed 'assisted emigration' because the term repatriation had 'unhappy implications' and emigration was the more appropriate term to describe the return of South African born Indians.³⁷ The scheme³⁸ was to be open to all Indians unable to accept a western standard of living, but what western standards were, was not defined. As Sastri, one of the Indian delegates, later explained: '... those who visit Durban and notice the difference between the quarters which are predominantly Indian will not ask for precise definition of standards. . . .'³⁹

The scheme provided a bonus of £20 to any Indian over sixteen years of age and £10 for each child leaving. Thus the limitation of a maximum bonus per family was withdrawn. The bonus would be paid in India. A disabled Indian could receive a pension and/or a bonus. Free transport would be provided to the port of departure in South Africa, a free passage by ship to India, and a free fare from the port of arrival in India to the emigrant's destination there. Improvements would be made in the shipping facilities and care would be taken about food, sanitation, medical treatment and general conditions on the voyage to India.

The Union government would provide the Indian government with details about the numbers of emigrants leaving, their occupations, their savings and possessions. On their arrival in India the Indian government undertook to advise them, protect their savings and assist them to settle down in occupations they were suited to. They could also choose to go on emigration schemes organised by the Indian government to other countries.

One of the most important provisions of the scheme was that provision was made for a return to South Africa should an emigrant wish to do so. Under the old scheme a decision to leave was final and it caused considerable resentment amongst Indians. The case of Simadri received some publicity.⁴⁰ She was 14 years old and in June 1926 married P. Gengiah. She and her husband quarrelled within hours of being registered. The following day Gengiah without the knowledge of his wife left for India together with his brothers and father on the repatriation scheme, leaving her behind. Later Gengiah wished to return but as he had surrendered his domicile there was no such possibility.

The Indian delegation to the conference was insistent that provision for a right to re-entry should be made. It would remove Indian hostility to the scheme and might encourage the emigration of many who would not be willing otherwise to take an irretrievable step. The Union delegation with much reluctance acceded to this argument.⁴¹ The scheme provided that if an emigrant wished to return to South Africa he would have to do so within three years, after which he would lose his rights of domicile. To prevent emigrants from abusing the system they would not be allowed to return within the first year. Furthermore to re-enter South Africa they would have to refund, in India, the cost of their transport by ship and rail and the bonus received. The Indian delegation reassured the Union delegation that this provision would make it almost impossible for an emigrant to return but the provision for re-entry would make Indians in South Africa more amenable to the scheme.⁴²

The Indian delegation, in return for its co-operation, wanted more than the withdrawal of the South African government's intended segregation scheme. It insisted at the conference that its co-operation was dependant on whether the Union government was prepared to commit itself to uplifting those Indians who chose to remain in South Africa.⁴³ Sastri explained that they were not demanding full political rights for Indians but they wanted a reversal of the traditional policy in South Africa which treated Indians as aliens. A provision for upliftment of the permanent Indian community would secure the acceptance by South African Indian leaders of the assisted emigration scheme.⁴⁴ The Union delegation unhappily agreed to this demand realizing that if there was no provision for uplift there would also be no assisted emigration scheme. But in acquiescing they made it clear that the government could not move in advance of public opinion⁴⁵ and could only accept at this stage preliminary enquiries into housing, sanitation and education. Thus the Agreement, a result of bargaining, led to the withdrawal of the Asiatic bill, provision for an assisted emigration scheme and a statement of intent from the South African government about improving the position of its resident Indian population. Malan, however, had made it very clear at the conference: 'The treatment in future of Indians who remain and will remain permanently in South Africa will depend very much upon the success of repatriation.'⁴⁶

The Agreement also provided for the appointment of a representative of the Indian government in South Africa. His duties would be to see to the implementation of the Agreement and to be a channel of communication between the two governments. He would not be an agent for repatriation but would monitor the assisted emigration scheme and see that its voluntary



V.S. Srinivasa Sastri
First Indian Agent in South Africa, 1927 to 1929.

(Photograph: U.D.W. Documentation Centre)

character was not being infringed.⁴⁷ The first Agent appointed was V.S. Srinivasa Sastri who arrived in June 1927. Between 1927 and 1946 there were seven men who held this post.⁴⁸ The Agency reported to the Government of India as to how the scheme was working, how many were leaving, what their occupations were and why they were leaving.⁴⁹ Sastri, as the first Agent had the task of explaining the Agreement to Indians to get their acceptance. He urged his white and Indian audiences to accept all the clauses of the Agreement and not only those that suited them.⁵⁰ He did not go around recruiting emigrants and the Union government did not expect him to do this either.⁵¹ He explained that all whites desired was a 'Reduction of the inassimilable Indian community to a manageable compass . . .'.⁵² To white audiences he stressed their important commitment to uplift the Indians.⁵³

The first batch of emigrants to leave under the new scheme did so in August 1927.⁵⁴ The Indian government provided the South African government with India's regulations about shipping facilities e.g. conditions with regard to space, toilets, water and baths.⁵⁵ They were also particular that the South African government should, in accordance with the Agreement, provide information about the number of emigrants, their destinations, the amount of savings being carried and the occupations of the men.⁵⁶ The South African government entered into a contract with King and Sons; this shipping company undertook to transport emigrants to India charging the government £5 per adult.⁵⁷

Between August 1927 and 1940 when the scheme was temporarily suspended because of the war, over 16 000 Indians took advantage of its provisions.⁵⁸ Most of them came from Natal, few from the Transvaal and yet fewer from the Cape.⁵⁹ This article will examine why Indians left South Africa, what happened to them in India, and it will evaluate the scheme in terms of the objectives of the South African government.

The Indian government took its obligations seriously and the Governors of Madras, Bombay and Bengal were contacted to enlist their co-operation to provide assistance for the emigrants. In Madras where it was likely most of the emigrants would go, a 'Special Officer for assisted emigrants from South Africa' was appointed in August. Various officials in Bombay, Calcutta, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa were deputed to assist the emigrants arriving there.⁶⁰ The government required a report from Madras, Bengal and Bombay for every batch of emigrants arriving there and quarterly reports to indicate what had been done to assist the emigrants.⁶¹

The Special Officer at Madras, Kunhiraman Nair, reported on the arrangements made at Madras for the emigrants. He and the Medical Officer first boarded the ship, surveyed the conditions on the ship and asked the emigrants if they had any complaints. The passengers then disembarked and were taken to a shed in the harbour where they were provided with food, their bonus, railway tickets and a further travel allowance. A bus would then transport them to the station and they were assisted to board the trains. The old or disabled emigrants were provided with an escort. The emigrants were warned to beware of people who might take advantage of them. They were advised to leave most of their savings with the Special Officer who would arrange banking facilities for them. If they wished to invest in land he would assist them. The address of the Special Officer was given to each emigrant should he need assistance to find employment.⁶²

Those emigrants bound for Calcutta arrived on the same ship as the Madras-bound emigrants. They took the train to Calcutta and were met on arrival at the Howrah Railway Station by assistants from the Calcutta Emigration Office. If it was not possible to send them on the next leg of their journey they were accommodated at a rest house and given eight annas a day for food. After being provided with their bonus and further travel allowances they were entrained to go to their respective villages. As in Madras escorts were provided for those incapable of journeying alone. Emigrants could leave their money for safe-keeping in Calcutta, and collect it via their magistrate once they reached their village. From Calcutta the emigrants dispersed throughout North India, few remaining in Bengal itself.⁶³

The arrangements at Bombay were not so elaborate, fewer emigrants being expected there. The Commissioner of Police paid their bonus and allowances. The emigrants required little assistance and made their way to their villages in Surat or Kathiawar.⁶⁴

An examination of the emigrants arriving in India reveals a considerable number of very old people with several infirmities. Several had no relatives to take care of them. The Special Officer at Madras commented that 355 decrepit Indians had arrived between August 1927 and December 1928. At least twenty of these emigrants were very old, disabled and had no relatives in India. Each ship arriving carried on average twenty decrepit passengers.⁶⁵

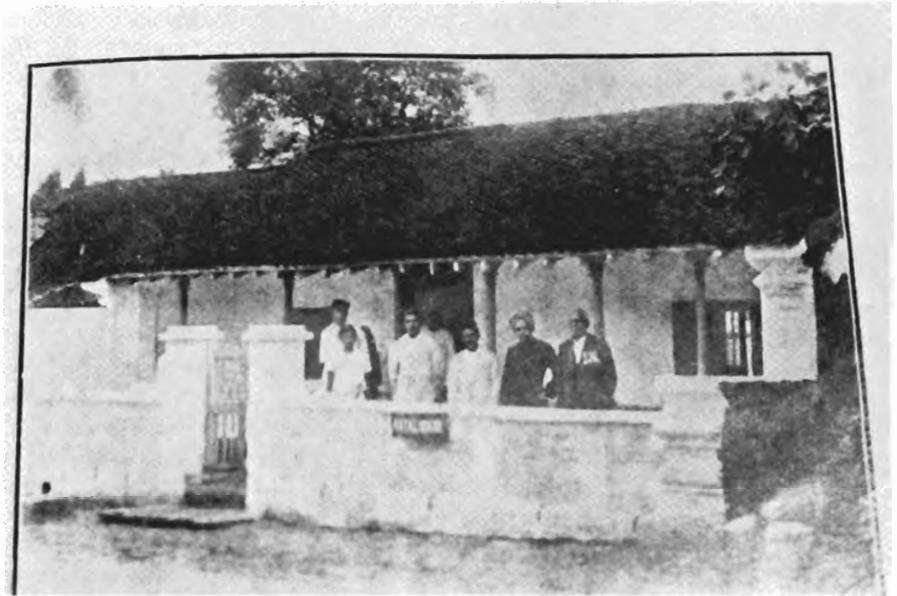
Nair reported several tragic cases. Sixty-one year old Poliah was blind and had no relatives. Eighty-six year old Thana Pillay had been taken care of by his fellow passengers on board ship but died in Madras. Then there was Munuswamy who was partly blind, completely deaf and mentally defective. He and his wife Kamalam, who was also unable to look after herself, went to Bangalore to find their relatives. They returned to Madras disappointed in their mission. Munuswamy was subsequently admitted to the Madras Mental Hospital where he died. Eighty-year old Kandaswamy was escorted to his village but returned to Madras having failed to trace any relative. Seventy-year old Subbaraju who was sickly, partly blind, paralytic and mentally defective, was admitted to the Mental Hospital.⁶⁶

These people must have been lured by the offer of a bonus. Unable to work in South Africa owing to old age or disability, the attraction to their country of origin must have been strong. The Agreement also promised that all emigrants would be assisted to settle in India. Whatever false aspirations might have brought them to India they presented a problem to Nair, for apart from being so helpless they were also apt to fall prey to adventurers wanting to appropriate their bonus or savings. Runga Gowndan was almost defrauded of his money. The Special Officer received letters in Gowndan's name requesting all his money. On investigation in the village it was found that Gowndan had no relatives and that somebody was, in fact, wrongfully trying to acquire his money. Seventy-year old Raman who was partly blind and mentally and physically weak went to Vellore where he thought he had found a relative. On investigation it was found that this man was only posing as a relative. Some emigrants found that their so-called relatives abandoned them after they had obtained money from them.⁶⁷ Nair protested that the repatriation of 'old emigrants who have no relations in India, when they are about to die, amounts to cruelty.'⁶⁸ The retort of G.S. Bajpai, the very influential Indian official in the Department of Education, Health and Lands

concerned with matters pertaining to Indians overseas, was that the scheme was a purely voluntary one. Thus:—

. . . if people in an advanced stage of illness wish to take advantage of it in order to return to the homeland it would be equally inhuman on the part of the Union Government authorities to prevent them from doing so.⁶⁹

In order to provide some protection for the decrepits the Union government agreed that if an emigrant was certified as decrepit by the Medical Officer at the time of his departure from South Africa he would be paid a £5 bonus and on arrival in India 10 shillings a month. The government would however take no responsibility for those who became decrepit while in India. The disabled who were already in India before this pension scheme was arranged and had received their full bonus would receive their pension of 10 shillings a month thirty months after they had been in India provided they had been certified as disabled prior to their departure from South Africa.⁷⁰



Natal House at Madras.

(Photograph: U.D.W. Documentation Centre)

The Special Officer at Madras felt that a home should be opened to take care of the old and disabled. On his recommendation the Indian government sanctioned 40 rupees a month for the maintenance of the home.⁷¹ An official commented:

The Government of the Union of South Africa attach considerable importance to the successful working of the Assisted Emigration Scheme and if we are able to show that we are doing all we can, there is always a chance of [the] Indian question being dealt with sympathetically by that Government. Apart from being a political asset, the Home . . . [will also serve] a useful purpose.⁷²

The home was opened on 8 December 1929 at 89 Brodies Road, Mylapore, Madras. Ramaswamy, a repatriate himself, helped to run the home providing meals for those unable to do so themselves.⁷³ The home, which also provided temporary accommodation for emigrants until they managed to establish themselves, was only closed in 1940 when its usefulness had ended.⁷⁴

There is no doubt that the offer of a substantially increased bonus and a free passage acted as an inducement to leave. Emigrants might have had personal reasons for leaving but the bonus could only have acted to clinch the decision. For instance, thirty-six year old Subbama and her eleven children, the eldest being nineteen, took advantage of the scheme after her husband had died.⁷⁵ She had come to India hoping to find her father and her decision must have been influenced by the very large bonus her family received. There was one case where a baby was born on board the ship and the parents claimed that the baby should be entitled to a bonus as well. The Special Officer, a very sympathetic man, initiated discussion with the Indian government as to whether a foetus was entitled to a bonus or not.⁷⁶ G. Ramuswami (twenty-five years old) came to Madras with his wife and three children. They were all colonial-born with little knowledge about India. The Special Officer commented: 'They seem to have emigrated to India as a pleasure trip.'⁷⁷ They would not have considered such a trip had there been no free passage and no bonus. The number of emigrants increased in 1928 partly because it was believed that once the first Agent returned to India the bonus would be withdrawn.⁷⁸

Palmer, however, suggests that it was not so much the offer of an increased bonus that facilitated repatriation but the inability to find employment in South Africa.⁷⁹ The 'civilized labour policy' of the Nationalist-Labour pact government resulted in a reduction of Indians employed by the South African Railways and Harbours Department, the Post and Telegraphs Department and municipalities.⁸⁰ Private industry was also pressurized by government to employ more whites. The Pact Government was concerned with providing all whites with a 'civilized standard' of living. In 1929 the number of poor whites was estimated at 300 000; employment for whites was to be found at the expense of blacks.⁸¹

The economic depression of the early 1930s accentuated the difficulties faced by Indian labour. In 1932 it was estimated that 4 000 Indians were unemployed; the number of emigrants leaving South Africa that year was unusually high.⁸² While unemployment was a serious issue for all South Africans, Indians were faced with the unsympathetic attitude of the government and particularly of local authorities who displayed tardiness in providing relief works or relief funds.⁸³ The Agent, Sir Kurma Reddi, wrote a distressing tale of Indian unemployment to the Viceroy of India. He hoped to approach ministers of the Union government to persuade them to provide some relief but was not optimistic:

... the trouble is to induce them to interest themselves in the cause of the unemployed Indians. Their decided policy being to send as many Indians as possible out of this country, the unemployment of some Indians comes in handy, for they will go away to India without any persuasion from the Department of Asiatic Affairs. Unemployment of Indians is therefore to be encouraged in pursuance of this policy rather than discouraged.⁸⁴



Government of India Delegation to the Second Round Table Conference at Cape Town, 1932.

(Photograph: U.D.W. Documentation Centre)

At the round-table conference it had been agreed that the scheme was to be entirely voluntary and that there should be no active propaganda to entice Indians to leave.⁸⁵ It however emerged that the government had appointed touts to publicise the scheme amongst Indians.⁸⁶ Sir Kurma Reddi found evidence that indicated the voluntary nature of the scheme was not being maintained. After a visit to Dannhauser he reported the activities of Mr Peter, a retired Indian interpreter, employed by the Department of Asiatic Affairs, who informed Indians that once the second round-table conference was held between India and South Africa there would be no bonus; furthermore the mines were not going to employ Indians.⁸⁷ The Special Officer at Madras also reported what he described as a typical complaint made by emigrants: K. Rajoo lamented that he had only come to India because Mr Peter had often come to his area talking about better conditions in India where emigrants would be given two acres of land or some employment.⁸⁸ Propaganda was at its peak towards the end of 1931 and contributed to increased emigration.⁸⁹ Venn, the Commissioner of Asiatic Affairs, defended the activities of his department. All the agents did, he argued, was to distribute leaflets and explain the provisions of the scheme to those unable to read.⁹⁰ After the second round-table conference in 1932 no agents were employed. It was also reported that Peter himself had gone to India.⁹¹

If however there was propaganda for the scheme there was even more propaganda against the scheme, organised by Indians dissatisfied with the Cape Town Agreement. The South African Indian Congress, a political

body recognised by both the Indian and Union governments as the voice of the Indian community, accepted the Agreement⁹² and therefore the assisted emigration scheme as well. Indians were, however, not unanimous in their acceptance of the Agreement. The Natal Indian Association (NIA) which had been politically active in 1924 was revived in the second half of 1927 under the leadership of Moulvi Abdul Karim of South Coast Junction.⁹³ The NIA, the Natal Indian Vigilance Association (NIVA) under the leadership of John L. Roberts and a group of anti-Congress Transvaal Indians formed the South African Indian Federation (SAIF) in December 1927.⁹⁴ They denounced the principle behind the assisted emigration in no uncertain terms.

The Congress' attitude was that the scheme was voluntary; the principle of voluntary repatriation had been accepted in 1914.⁹⁵ The arguments of the opponents of the scheme may be briefly summarised here.⁹⁶ They could not see how repatriation was to be a solution to the Indian question in South Africa. Economic competition was responsible for tension between white and Indian, they argued. However it was not the Indian trader who would leave on the emigration scheme but the poorer classes. The assisted emigration scheme could never be considered a voluntary one because restrictive legislation against Indians, economic restrictions and the fixing of minimum wages would all act as indirect pressure on Indians to leave South Africa. Congress was accused of representing the rich who would be unaffected by the scheme. The Agreement meant that the poorer Indians would leave so that the rich could attain better circumstances under the uplift clause. M. Kalingarayan, describing himself as a poor farmer from Bellair, expressed what the Congress' acceptance of the Agreement signified:

This Association of Mahomedans and Banians [sic] who came mostly to this country in a roundabout way, made all the money, and now they have a motor car and fine mansions, and want to clear us out of our beloved homes for these leaders, to become like white men.⁹⁷

The scheme denounced as 'unsound, iniquitous and immoral'⁹⁸ could never be accepted.

These organisations did more than register their formal protest against the Agreement and pass resolutions at meetings. John L. Roberts (NIVA) was reported to be visiting all the main tea and sugar estates to deter possible emigrants. He addressed 2 000 mill hands of the Natal Estates Ltd at Mount Edgcombe in both English and Tamil.⁹⁹ P.S. Aiyar a prominent member of NIA and SAIF was also editor of *African Chronicle*. His newspaper gave full publicity to the plight of the repatriates in India. In one edition three letters written from India painted an unhappy picture with repatriates complaining about heat, expenses, starvation and unemployment. One repatriate wrote as follows:

Dear Brother in low and Sister

I have the greatest pleasure to inform you that we are now put up Madras believe me we are suffring a lot everythings are Dearer ten times worse than Natal . . . this country very hot every one thought I will be dead owing to my sickness I am a bit better now but the others are sick we are all now very sorry of leaving Natal mother daily crying upon you all I beg you brother in low that you will try to get us back

into Natal never you be afraid of money go over to every collieries and explain our sufferness try and collect some money from them remember if you all failed mother father and brothers are in the intention of drowning them selves into the sea please have a heart and send the money over we will arrange to come back impound every pin you got and get us over I will sell myself to anyone and pay you the money reply as possable . . .¹⁰⁰

The Publicity and Propaganda Committee of the SAIF as well as the Natal Branch of the SAIF issued notices and manifestos urging Indians not to sacrifice their birthrights 'for a mess of pottage.' 'REMAIN HERE. WORK HERE. DIE HERE' they urged. 'Repatriation means Starvation . . . Repatriation spells Ruination and Condemnation . . . you have come here having been tempted by Government Agents. You now know the consequences. Do not be tempted to go back. Secret agents are a curse to Humanity. Do not listen to them.'¹⁰¹ Thousands of pamphlets were distributed in Tamil.¹⁰²

The Commissioner of Asiatic Affairs claimed that part of the propaganda against repatriation included the spreading of stories like the following: the boats carrying the emigrants had false bottoms which once out at sea would open and cause the repatriates to be dropped into the ocean; or that the boats did not actually go to India but to British Guiana or elsewhere; or that once they reached India they would be shipped elsewhere. Venn also claimed that letters supposed to have been written from India describing the plight of repatriates were actually written by an Indian in Durban.¹⁰³ This propaganda was considered to have partly affected the emigration figures.¹⁰⁴ The Indian Agent tried, without much success, to halt this propaganda.¹⁰⁵

The propaganda against the scheme was assisted by discouraging reports about the plight of repatriates in India. The leader of the Indian delegation at the round-table conference had stressed that 'The best advertisement for emigration is news from successful settlers that are doing well.'¹⁰⁶ Settling the emigrants in suitable occupations in India was the key to a satisfactory scheme and it was on this that the whole scheme foundered. NIVA, NIA and SAIF stressed that repatriates would face starvation and unemployment as the Indian government had only managed to assist a few.¹⁰⁷ The Madras and Calcutta offices reported that the emigrants' first priority on arrival in India was to return to their villages and find their families. The Calcutta and Bombay reports reveal that few emigrants asked for assistance.¹⁰⁸ The Madras officer remarked that 'the prospect of getting some money as bonus makes some of them behave like upstarts and such persons bluntly say that they do not want any jobs.'¹⁰⁹ Only after their money had been squandered and they were desperate did they seek help. Between August 1927 and the end of March 1930 out of the 2 329 men who came to Madras only 1 898 were capable of work and only 203 of these contacted the officer for assistance.¹¹⁰

However if one examines the Special Officer's list of applicants and his attempts to settle them one does not find evidence of success. Those emigrants who settled down to agriculture did so easily. Emigrants were assisted to purchase land. Menial positions were easy to obtain. Employment in the railways, mines and factories was difficult because of competition for posts. Additional new machinery led to railway companies

in South India retrenching their labour.¹¹¹ Nair attributed the distressed condition of some emigrants to the fact that they had false aspirations, wishing for occupations they were not qualified for. Furthermore they could not accustom themselves to the low wages in India. Some of the emigrants were too old to work and some had no testimonials or credentials.¹¹²

M.F. Naidu wished to be employed as a medical officer and as a motor mechanic, claiming to be proficient in both occupations but with no evidence to support his claims. He stayed with his wife and children at an expensive hotel in Madras for a week. Within three weeks he had run out of money and decided to emigrate to the Federated Malay States.¹¹³ Between August 1927 and the end of March 1930 90 South African repatriates in India emigrated to the Federated Malay States.¹¹⁴ Kochit Raman squandered all his money. He tried to go to the Malay States but was rejected. A job was found for him with a building contractor for eight annas a day but he was not happy. He wanted a better job with better wages. Gurriah was given work as a coolie but after two days deserted, taking with him his two rupees advance money. Ayyaswamy wanted work as a motor mechanic but had to be content with employment as a messenger with 15 rupees a month.¹¹⁵ The Special Officer was not negligent or uncaring in his duties. His problem was to get the repatriates to lower their expectations and accept menial jobs with low wages.

Delegates to the ninth session of the South African Indian Congress in January 1929 expressed consternation about the reports received concerning the repatriates. Congress approached the Indian government for information but received no reply.¹¹⁶ They then appealed to the All India Congress Committee, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, with Gandhi and Sastri to make enquiries.¹¹⁷ The Indian government then publicly denied that it was neglecting its obligations to the repatriates and gave details of all arrangements it had made.¹¹⁸ The Committee of Enquiry which it had been pressured to appoint in April 1930 made its report a month later. It merely examined the arrangements made by the Special Officer at Madras and commended him for his work. On the more important issue of settling the emigrants the report drew attention to the emigrants' own laxity in the matter.¹¹⁹

Given the limited scope of the enquiry, it satisfied nobody. The report came in for further criticism when the more thorough investigation by Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Benarsidas Chaturvedi was published in May 1931.¹²⁰ Dayal, a NIC member, had come to India at the end of 1929 and spent three months visiting Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Calcutta and its suburbs and Madras. He interviewed many repatriates. His report sealed the fate of the emigration scheme. Dayal was particularly scathing about the absence of assistance to the repatriates in north India.

His report indicated that most repatriates would return if they could but few could comply with the conditions for return. He explained why repatriation was a failure. South African Indians could not adjust to the standard of living of India. Social problems were created by the orthodox caste system. Furthermore the repatriates were bound by the brahmins in their villages to perform a purifying religious ceremony which they could ill afford.¹²¹ The poverty in India, low wages, difference in climate and the lack of employment for skilled workers were listed in the report as arguments

against repatriation. Dayal and Chaturvedi regarded the repatriation of colonial-born Indians as indefensible. Between 1929 and 1932 the average percentage of colonial-born Indians leaving was fifty-one, the majority of whom were children.¹²² Apart from the practical reasons advanced for discontinuing repatriation Dayal advanced a moral one:

To encourage unsuspecting and ignorant Indians from the colonies to return to India to lead a miserable life in the hope that others, more fortunate who are left behind, will be *uplifted* is at once selfish and immoral . . .¹²³

Apart from this report Dayal organised a series of public meetings mounting a campaign for the discontinuance of the repatriation scheme.¹²⁴ He stressed the fact that South African Indians 'on their return to India . . . found themselves like a square peg in a round hole.'¹²⁵ Gandhi, C.F. Andrews and the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association all now urged an end to the scheme.¹²⁶ Indian opinion in India and South Africa mounted in intensity against repatriation. Sorabjee Rustomjee, the Natal Indian Congress president, at a mass meeting in Durban in November 1931, denounced the repatriation of the labouring class and colonial-born:

I desire to state that our community has had enough of this repatriation scheme. The Congress is not going to allow the bartering away of the rights of a section of the community for the benefit of those who remain here. Rich or poor, we are in this country as Indians. As Indians we will sink or swim together.¹²⁷

Congress had finally come round to the sentiments voiced by NIVA, NIA and SAIF in the early stages of the assisted emigration scheme. An analysis of the occupations of those who left under the scheme reveals the predominance of agricultural labourers followed by sugar mill workers, labourers on the mines and railways.¹²⁸ This justified the stand of NIA, NIVA and SAIF who had stated that it was not the trader who would leave but the poor labouring classes.

What of the Union government which regarded the scheme as the crucial part of the Agreement? Between 1927 and 1931 it was repatriating Indians at an average cost varying between £23 17s 4d and £29 15s 5d per individual.¹²⁹ For the year 1927-8 £83 825 12s 8d was spent from the Department of Interior vote on repatriation.¹³⁰ For the year 1930-1 while £55 000 had been budgeted only £27 122 1s 3d was spent due to reduced emigration figures.¹³¹ Dr Malan informed the Indian delegation to the second round-table conference which was convened to review the Agreement in January 1932 that the scheme had not come up to their expectations. Although 9 418 Indians had left South Africa under the scheme by the end of 1931,¹³² Malan indicated that 200 had since returned. In addition 3 224 wives and children of Indians domiciled in the Union had entered the country. Between 1926 and 1930 the Indian population increased by 11.8% while the white population between 1926 and 1931 increased by 10%. Malan concluded:

. . . it will be readily understood why even on the ground merely of numerical increase the presence of the Indian continues to be regarded as a menace.

Malan was in favour of terminating the Agreement unless the scheme could be revised to satisfy the objective of reducing the Indian population of South Africa.¹³³

This round-table conference concluded with both governments accepting that the emigration scheme to India had exhausted its possibilities because of India's economic and climatic conditions and because 80% of the Indians in South Africa were South African born. The two governments agreed to cooperate in an investigation into the possibilities of settling Indians in countries other than India.¹³⁴ It is beyond the scope of this essay to consider the Union government's attempts to reduce the Indian population by a colonisation scheme to places like British North Borneo, British New Guinea and British Guiana but this has been considered elsewhere.¹³⁵

South Africa did not succeed in reducing its Indian population to its satisfaction. Johnson comments that the failure of the assisted emigration scheme led the government into a phase of 'increasing domestic regulation'. He concludes that 'Unable to remove the Indians, whites worked to perfect their control of the "aliens" amongst them.'¹³⁶ In Natal, the presence of a large Indian population confined to its boundaries caused considerable tension between the races with anti-Indian feeling reaching a peak in the 'feverish forties'.¹³⁷ The failure of repatriation led to renewed cries for segregation of the races.

The provisions for assisted emigration remained on South Africa's statute books until 1975.¹³⁸ The Nationalist government with Dr Malan at the helm had hoped in 1949 to assist emigration by increasing the bonus for adults to £40 per adult and £20 per child.¹³⁹ Between 1948 and 1952 584 Indians took advantage of the scheme. Between 1965 and 1970 24 people left South Africa under the scheme.¹⁴⁰ The death of the scheme in 1975 was due to the lack of response from Indians to it. It took South Africa a good many years finally to accept that Indians had made South Africa their permanent home and that they could not be coerced into leaving.

NOTES

- AICC : All India Congress Papers
 DCC : Durban Corporation Correspondence
 EHL (O) : Education, Health and Lands (Overseas)
 NA : Natal Archives
 NAI : National Archives of India
 SAP : South African Papers
 TM : Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Library, at Teen Murti, New Delhi
 UG : Union Government

¹ *Union of South Africa, Debates of the House of Assembly*, 1925, Vol. 5, col. 6502.

² J. van der Poel (ed.), *Selections from the Smuts Papers* Vol. V (Cambridge, 1973), Document 256, p. 404.

³ UG 21 — 1938, *Sixth Census of the Union of South Africa 1936*, Vol. 1, p. VIII.

⁴ *Special Report No. 39. The Indian Population of the Union, 1926*. Office of Census and Statistics (Pretoria, 1926), p. 2.

⁵ *Official Year Book of the Union and of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland*, No. 10, 1927-1928 (Pretoria, 1929), p. 875.

⁶ M. Palmer, *The History of the Indians in Natal*, Natal Regional Survey, Vol. 10 (Cape Town, 1957), p. 89.

⁷ NAI (New Delhi), SAP, F. No. 26 — A/HC/SA/1926: Proceedings of the first Round Table Conference between the representatives of the Government of India and representatives of the Government of the Union of South Africa (1926-27), pp. 2-3.

- ⁸ A total of 152 184 Indians came to Natal under contract in this period. See Y.S. Meer *et al* (eds): *Documents of Indentured Labour in Natal 1851-1917* (Durban, 1980), p. 16.
- ⁹ N. Levy, *The Foundations of the South African cheap labour system* (London, 1982), pp. 198-199, 224.
- ¹⁰ See C. Kondapi, *Indians Overseas 1838-1949* (Bombay, 1951), pp. 240-241. I am also grateful to V. Shepherd for permitting me to read a draft of her work on repatriation of Indians from Jamaica.
- ¹¹ E. Bradlow, 'Indentured Indians in Natal and the £3 tax', *South African Historical Journal*, No. 2, November 1970, p. 40.
- ¹² B. Pachai, *The International Aspects of the South African Indian Question 1860-1971* (Cape Town, 1971), p. 8.
- ¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 8-9.
- ¹⁴ Kondapi, *Indians Overseas*, p. 231.
- ¹⁵ Pachai, *The South African Indian Question*, p. 9.
- ¹⁶ J. Beall and M.D. North-Coombes, 'The 1913 Disturbances in Natal: The Social and Economic Background to "Passive Resistance"', *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, Vol. VI, 1983, pp. 66-67, 79, 80.
- ¹⁷ Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Benarsidas Chaturvedi, *A report of the Emigrants Repatriated to India under the Assisted Emigration Scheme from South Africa and on the Problem of Returned Emigrants from all Colonies* (Pravasi-Bhawan, Bihar, 1931), p. 42.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 40.
- ¹⁹ P.S. Joshi, *The Tyranny of Colour: A Study of the Indian Problem in South Africa* (Durban, 1942), p. 76.
- ²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 79.
- ²¹ NA, DCC, 327: Requisition of J.E. Murray, E.C. Male, E. Hayward and others to Mayor to call a meeting on 9 August 1923.
- ²² *Ibid*: South Africans' League Pamphlet on 'Straight Talk on the Indian Question' and correspondence from the Secretary, South Africans' League, Durban and Coast Branch to Mayor, Councillors, and Town Clerk, 12 November 1920, 20 January 1921, 21 February 1922, 7 March 1922.
- ²³ *The Indian Population of the Union, 1926*, p. 6.
- ²⁴ This calculation is based on estimates of the population in 1926 given in the *Report of the Protector of Indian Immigrants for 1926* and *The Indian Population of the Union, 1926*, p. 2.
- ²⁵ UG 4-1921, *Report of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission*, pp. 32-33.
- ²⁶ NAI, EHL(O), 1931 - Overseas - December - 100 - B: Brief of Instructions to the delegates of the Government of India to the Round Table Conference, Notes on assisted emigration.
- ²⁷ SAP, F. No. 26 — A/HC/SA/1926: Proceedings of first Round Table Conference, pp. 24-25.
- ²⁸ EHL(O), 1931 - Overseas - December - 100 - B: Brief of Instructions, notes on assisted emigration, Annexure 11.
- ²⁹ G.H. Calpin, *Indians in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg, 1949) p. 54.
- ³⁰ The Agreement is reproduced in full in Pachai, *The South African Indian Question*, pp. 290-294.
- ³¹ Refer to *Important Correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of the Union of South Africa on (I) Class Areas Bill 1924 and Areas Reservation Bill 1925 (II). Negotiations leading up to the Paddison Deputation and the Cape Town Conference (1926-27)* (Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1946).
- ³² Joshi, *Tyranny of Colour*, p. 111.
- ³³ *Ibid*, pp. 114-130.
- ³⁴ SAP, F. No. 26-A/HC/SA/1926: Proceedings of first Round Table Conference, pp. 3-4.
- ³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 13-14.
- ³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 29-32, 36.
- ³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 40.
- ³⁸ For details of the scheme see summary of conclusions reached by Round Table Conference in Pachai, *The South African Indian Question*, pp. 291-292.
- ³⁹ *Indian Opinion*, 13 May 1927.
- ⁴⁰ *Indian Views*, 16 November 1928.
- ⁴¹ SAP, F. No. 26-A/HC/SA/1926: Proceedings of first Round Table Conference, pp. 44-48, 59-61, 74-92.
- ⁴² *Ibid*, pp. 46-48, 84-87.

- ⁴³ *Ibid*, pp. 45-46.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 149, 156.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 166.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 36.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 62.
- ⁴⁸ They were Srinivasa Sastri (1927-1929), Sir Kurma Reddi (1929-1932), Sir Kunwar Maharaj Singh (1932-1935), Sir Raza Ali (1935-1938), Sir Benegal Rama Rau (1938-1941), Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan (1941-1944), R.M. Deshmukh (1945-1946). During Ali's term of office the Agent became known as Agent-General and in 1941 the status was changed to that of High Commissioner.
- ⁴⁹ See for example Annual Report of the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa for the Years Ending 31st December 1927 and 1928 in S.R. Naidoo and D. Bramdaw, *Sastri Speaks* (Pietermaritzburg, 1931) pp. 246-250, 264-266.
- ⁵⁰ *Natal Witness*, 8 July 1927.
- ⁵¹ Debates of the House of Assembly, 1929, Vol. 13, col. 654, 659.
- ⁵² *Indian Opinion*, 8 April 1927.
- ⁵³ *Indian Opinion*, 12 August 1927.
- ⁵⁴ Annual Report of the Agent for 1927 in Naidoo and Bramdaw, *Sastri Speaks*, p. 246.
- ⁵⁵ EHL(O), 1927 - Overseas - July - 102 - B: G.S. Bajpai to Agent, 5 July 1927.
- ⁵⁶ EHL(O), 1927 - Overseas - August - 11 - 14 - B: Telegram to Agent, 3 August 1927.
- ⁵⁷ *Report of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1927-8*, p. 357. In October 1929 the fare went up to £7 per adult (See *Report of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1929-30*, p. 272).
- ⁵⁸ Based on the *Annual Reports of the Agent from 1927 to 1940* the total figure is 16 124. This differs slightly from the figures given in Palmer, *The History of Indians in Natal*, p. 105 and J.F. Corbett, 'A study of the Cape Town Agreement' (M.A., U.C.T., 1947) p. 88 which total to 16 201. Based on figures in the *Report of the Protector for Indian Immigrants for 1927 to 1940* the total would be 16 343. The figure given in UG 39 — 1941, *Report of the Indian Penetration Commission*, p. 5 is 17 542.
- ⁵⁹ UG 39 — 1941, *Report of the Indian Penetration Commission*, p. 5.
- ⁶⁰ EHL(O), 1929 - Overseas - August - 90 - 95 - B: M. Habibullah to J.B. Petit, 9 May 1929.
- ⁶¹ EHL(O), 1928 - Overseas - June - 99 - 117 - B: Bajpai to Governments of Madras, Bengal and Bombay, 5 January 1928, 31 May 1928.
- ⁶² SAP, F. No. 24-A/HC/SA: Report by Special Officer K. Nair, 23 April 1929.
- ⁶³ H. Chattopadhyaya, *Indians in Africa: A Socio-Economic Study* (Calcutta, 1970), pp. 222-225.
- ⁶⁴ See EHL(O), 1929 - Overseas - May - 113 - B and 1929 - Overseas - November - 36 - B: Quarterly Reports of the Commissioner of Police, Bombay for 1929.
- ⁶⁵ EHL(O), 1930 - Overseas - January - 36 - 40 - B: Letter from Special Officer, Madras, 8 February 1929.
- ⁶⁶ For these cases see EHL(O), 1928 - Overseas - April - 134 - 137 - B and 1930 - Overseas - January - 36 - 40 - B: Report of Special Officer, Madras, 13 February 1928 and 8 February 1929, 24 April 1929.
- ⁶⁷ EHL(O), 1930 - Overseas - January - 36 - 40 - B: Letter from Special Officer, Madras, 8 February 1929.
- ⁶⁸ EHL(O), 1928 - Overseas - April - 134 - 137 - B: Special Officer, Madras to Commissioner of Labour, Madras, 13 February 1928.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid*: Note by Bajpai, 15 March 1928.
- ⁷⁰ EHL(O), 1930 - Overseas - February - 80 - 81 - B: Agent's Secretary to Secretary, Government of India, 1 November 1929.
- ⁷¹ EHL(O), 1930 - Overseas - January - 36 - 40 - B: Secretary, Government of Madras to Secretary, Government of India, 17 June 1929; Joint Secretary, Government of India to Secretary, Government of Madras, 23 November 1929.
- ⁷² EHL(O), 1930 - Overseas - December - 113 - 115 - B: office note, 14 November 1930.
- ⁷³ *Ibid*, Special Officer, Madras, Report on Decrepit Home, 6 October 1930; Dayal and Chaturvedi, *A Report on the Emigrants Repatriated to India*, p. 22, Appendix V on Natal House in Madras.
- ⁷⁴ EHL(O), 1940 F. No. 16-5/40 O.S.: Secretary, Government of Madras to Secretary, Government of India, 18 March 1940.
- ⁷⁵ EHL(O), 1936 F. No. 29/36 L+O: Special Officer, Madras to Commissioner of Labour, 20 November 1936.

- ⁷⁶ EHL(O), 1934 F. No. 16/34 L+O: Secretary, Government of Madras to Secretary Government of India, 4 January 1934 and F. No. 69/34 L+O: Special Officer, Madras to Commissioner of Labour, 27 January 1934.
- ⁷⁷ EHL(O), 1933 F. No. 211-8/33 L+O: Special Officer, Madras to Commissioner of Labour, 20 October 1932.
- ⁷⁸ Annual Report of the Agent for 1928 in Naidoo and Bramdaw, *Sastri Speaks*, p. 265.
- ⁷⁹ Palmer, *History of Indians in Natal*, pp. 105-106.
- ⁸⁰ Annual Report of the Agent for 1928 in Naidoo and Bramdaw, *Sastri Speaks*, p. 266.
- ⁸¹ D. Yudelman, *The Emergence of Modern South Africa: State, Capital, and the Incorporation of Organized Labor on the South African Gold Fields, 1902-1936* (Cape Town, 1983), pp. 236-238.
- ⁸² *Annual Report of the Agent for 1932* (New Delhi, 1933), pp. 15, 20.
- ⁸³ *Ibid*, pp. 15-17.
- ⁸⁴ EHL(O), 1932 - Overseas - January - 50-57-B: Reddi to Viceroy, 2 November 1931.
- ⁸⁵ SAP, F. No. 26-A/HC/SA/1926: Proceedings of first Round Table Conference, p. 41.
- ⁸⁶ *Natal Mercury*, 28 January 1929; *Indian Opinion*, 27 November 1931.
- ⁸⁷ EHL(O), 1932 - Overseas - January - 50-57-B: Reddi to Viceroy, 2 November 1931 and SAP, F. No. 26-A/HC/SA/1926: Proceedings of second Round Table Conference, pp. 152-153.
- ⁸⁸ EHL(O), 1933 — F. No. 211-8/33 L+O: Special Officer, Madras to Commissioner of Labour, 20 October 1932 and Petition of K. Rajoo, 27 August 1932.
- ⁸⁹ *Indian Opinion*, 27 November 1931.
- ⁹⁰ SAP, F. No. 26-A/HC/SA/1926: Proceedings of second Round Table Conference, p. 140.
- ⁹¹ EHL(O), 1933 F. No. 211-8/33 L+O: Kunwar Maharaj Singh to F. Husain, 10 January 1933; Singh to Bajpai, 16 February 1933 and 1933 F. No. 44-1/33 L+O: Singh to Husain, 10 January 1933.
- ⁹² Minutes of the Seventh Session of the South African Indian Congress, March 1927, p. 10 (in *Agenda Book, South African Indian Conference, Eighth Session, held on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th January 1928 at the City Hall, Kimberley.*)
- ⁹³ *Indian Views*, 29 July 1927.
- ⁹⁴ *Indian Views*, 6 January 1928; 13 January 1928.
- ⁹⁵ *Natal Mercury*, 29 March 1927 (letter from J.W. Godfrey) and 5 April 1927 (letter from J.W. Godfrey).
- ⁹⁶ See for instance *Natal Mercury*, 16 March 1927 (Letter from P.S. Aiyar); 17 March 1927 (Letter from B.P. Nicholas); 18 March 1927 (Letters from P.S. Aiyar and Moonsamy Naidoo); 21 March 1927 (Letters from A.D. Pillay, Leo R. Gopaul and S.A. Latiff); 30 March 1927 (Letter from J.P. Nicholas); 31 March 1927 (Letter from P.S. Aiyar); 24 March 1927; S. Bhana and B. Pachai (eds), *A documentary history of Indian South Africans* (Cape Town, 1984), pp. 159-165. The differences between the Federation and Congress over the Agreement are considered in my paper 'The Cape Town Agreement and its effect on Natal Indian Politics, 1927 to 1934', presented at the Conference on the History of Natal and Zululand, 2-4 July 1985, at the University of Natal, Durban.
- ⁹⁷ *Natal Mercury*, 21 March 1927 (Letter from M. Kalingarayan).
- ⁹⁸ *African Chronicle*, 17 May 1929.
- ⁹⁹ *Indian Views*, 18 November 1927.
- ¹⁰⁰ *African Chronicle*, 5 April 1929.
- ¹⁰¹ *African Chronicle*, 19 April 1929; *Indian Views*, 24 January 1930.
- ¹⁰² EHL(O), 1929 - Overseas - June - 21-B: Monthly Report of the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa for April 1929.
- ¹⁰³ SAP, F. No. 26-A/HC/SA/1926: Proceedings of second Round Table Conference, p. 16.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*: EHL(O) 1929 - Overseas - June - 21 - B: Monthly Report of the Agent, April 1929; *Annual Report of the Agent for 1929* (New Delhi, 1930), p. 13.
- ¹⁰⁵ EHL(O), 1929 - Overseas - June - 21 - B: Monthly Report of the Agent, April 1929.
- ¹⁰⁶ SAP, F. No. 26-A/HC/SA/1926: Proceedings of first Round Table Conference, p. 41.
- ¹⁰⁷ *African Chronicle*, 17 May 1929.
- ¹⁰⁸ See for instance EHL(O), 1929 - Overseas - June - 57 - 59 - B: Report of Special Officer, Madras 16 April 1929; 1929 - Overseas - August - 90 - 95 - B: Report of Protector, Calcutta, 26 June 1929; 1930 - O - July - 6 - B: Report of Commissioner of Police, Bombay, 26 April 1930.
- ¹⁰⁹ SAP, F. No. 24-A/HC/SA: Report of Special Officer, Madras, 23 April 1929.

- ¹¹⁰ EHL(O), 1931 - Overseas - April - 20 - 21 - B: Report of G.A. Natesan and J. Gray on the working of the special organization in Mádras for dealing with emigrants returning from South Africa under the scheme of assisted emigration, 3 May 1930, para. 10.
- ¹¹¹ SAP, F. No. 24-A/HC/SA: Report of Special Officer, Madras, 23 April 1929.
- ¹¹² *Ibid*: EHL(O), 1929 - Overseas - August - 90 - 95 - B: Report of Special Officer, Madras, 12 June 1929.
- ¹¹³ EHL(O), 1929 - Overseas - August - 90 - 95 - B: Report of Special Officer, Madras, 12 June 1929, Case No. 35.
- ¹¹⁴ EHL(O), 1931 - Overseas - April - 20 - 21 - B: Natesan and Gray Report, para. 10.
- ¹¹⁵ For these and other cases see 'EHL(O), 1930 - Overseas - July - 25 - 27 - B: Report of Special Officer, Madras, 5 April 1930; 1929 - Overseas - August - 90 - 95 - B: Report of Special Officer, Madras, 12 June 1929.
- ¹¹⁶ *Natal Mercury*, 28 January 1929; Annual Report of Joint Secretaries for 1928 in *Agenda Book, Annual Conference of the South African Indian Congress (9th Session) held on 24, 25, 26 January 1929 in Durban*.
- ¹¹⁷ V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Papers (TM), Correspondence Files: Joint Secretary (South African Indian Congress) to Sastri, 11 February 1929; AICC Papers (TM), FD 9-1929: General Secretaries (South African Indian Congress) to Secretaries, Indian National Congress, Overseas Department, 15 March 1929; EHL(O), 1929 - Overseas - August - 90 - 95 - B: Secretaries (South African Indian Congress) to Secretary, Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, 15 March 1929; *Indian Opinion*, 31 May 1929.
- ¹¹⁸ *Natal Mercury*, 10 August 1929.
- ¹¹⁹ EHL(O), 1931 - Overseas - April - 20 - 21 - B: Natesan and Gray report.
- ¹²⁰ Dayal and Chaturvedi, *A Report on the Emigrants Repatriated to India*, pp. 22, 53-69.
- ¹²¹ *Indian Opinion*, 2 October 1931.
- ¹²² This was calculated from figures given in the *Annual Report of the Agent*, 1929 to 1932.
- ¹²³ Dayal and Chaturvedi, *A Report on the Emigrants Repatriated to India*, p. 68.
- ¹²⁴ See Bhai Devi Dayal (compiler), *Public Opinion on the Assisted Emigration Scheme under Indo-South African Agreement* (Pravasi-Bhawan, Bihar, 1931), pp. 77-91.
- ¹²⁵ *Indian Opinion*, 2 October 1931.
- ¹²⁶ *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi), Vol. XLVI, 1931, p. 305; *Indian Opinion*, 22 May 1931; 18 December 1931.
- ¹²⁷ *Indian Opinion*, 27 November 1931.
- ¹²⁸ See *Annual Report of the Agent*, 1927 to 1929 and 1932 for an analysis of the occupations of the emigrants.
- ¹²⁹ *Reports of the Controller and Auditor-General*, 1927-8, p. 178; 1928-9, p. 174; 1929-30, p. 139; 1930-1, p. 110.
- ¹³⁰ *Report of the Controller and Auditor-General*, 1927-8, p. 175.
- ¹³¹ *Ibid*, 1930-1, pp. 108-109.
- ¹³² UG 23-1934, *Report of Indian Colonization Enquiry Committee for 1933-1934*, p. 49, Appendix No. 5.
- ¹³³ SAP, F. No. 26-A/HC/SA/1926: Proceedings of second Round Table Conference, pp. 12-14.
- ¹³⁴ Joint Communiqué, 1932 reproduced in Pachai, *The South African Indian Question*, pp. 294-295.
- ¹³⁵ See UG 23-1934, *Report of Indian Colonization Enquiry Committee for 1933 - 1934*; R. Pillay, 'The Indian Colonization Enquiry Committee, 1933-1934' (B.A. Hons. essay, UDW, 1983) and my paper 'The Cape Town Agreement and its effect on Natal Indian Politics, 1927 to 1934.'
- ¹³⁶ R.E. Johnson, 'Indians and Apartheid in South Africa: The Failure of Resistance' (D.Phil., University of Massachusetts, 1973) pp. 24-25.
- ¹³⁷ V. Wetherell, *The Indian Question in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1946), pp. 28-71.
- ¹³⁸ M. Horrell, *Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1978), p. 167.
- ¹³⁹ *Report of the Protector of Indian Immigrants for 1949 and 1950*.
- ¹⁴⁰ Horrell, *Laws Affecting Race Relations*, pp. 166-167.