INDUSTRIAL WORKERS ON THE PACIFIC COAST

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HINDUSTANI WORKERS ON THE PACIFIC COAST

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By

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To the Memory of

GOBINDA CHANDRA DAS

Late Vakil, Judge's Court,

Dacca India.

PREFACE.

A good deal has been said and written by the Americans and Canadians about the "Hindus" or Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast. As most of the speeches and writings were the outcome of the agitation against Hindustani immigration, they were generally prejudiced and erroneous. To find out the truth about the social and economic conditions of these Hindustanees had for several years been the intention of the writer. But the proper facilities for the study were not available until the Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, became interested in the subject.

The purpose of this study is not, however, the advocacy of Hindustani immigration. There exists in America a good deal of superstition and prejudice against Asian and Eastern European races and nationalities, some of which have migrated into America. The origin of such superstition and prejudice lies in ignorance. Although the Hindustanees in America are insignificant in number, they represent a great nation. The interpretation of their life to the American people is one of the objects of this study.

There is still another important object which has prompted the writer to this undertaking. Long before his arrival in America, he had been interested in social movements in India. With her immense resources and vast population as well as the spiritual and intellectual wealth of Hindu and Mohammedan civilisations, to which has been added Western culture, India stands today on the threshold of a new epoch and has all the possibilities of building up a new and great civilisation. The greatest part of the material for the upbuilding of this civilisation will come from the wants, requirements, ideals and aspirations of the masses, which have remained up to this time inert and passive. The Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast offered a splendid opportunity for the study of their latent faculties as compared with those of the other people and for the ascertainment of their ability to respond to the new social, political and economic conditions.

The writer does not claim anything new in the subject-matter or methodology. In fact, much more thorough studies have been made on similar subjects. But in most of the studies, the workers have been regarded as a bundle of material wants rather than a group of moral and intellectual beings. If the new democracy for which idealists are looking forward is ever achieved, it will be done not only by equalising opportunities in political and industrial fields, but also by establishing the fact that the life of the working classes is pervaded by the same spiritual and intellectual ideals which are found among the so-called upper classes. The writer did not fully accomplish what he aimed at. The unit of the study was too small and the time at his disposal was too short. Moreover, the investigation was carried on under the auspices of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the scope of which is restricted to the collection of industrial statistics rather than the interpretation of social facts. The writer has nevertheless attempted to make a comprehensive survey of a group life including both social and economic conditions as well as spiritual and intellectual ideals.

In presenting this treatise to the public, the writer wishes to express his deep gratitude to Mr. Ethelbert Stewart, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, whose kind interest made this study possible. He is thankful to Mrs. Margaret Gadsby of the same Bureau and Mr. S. N. Kar, M. A., of New York for kindly reading the manuscript and offering valuable criticisms. He also takes this occasion to thank the men and women in the United States and Canada, who, through reports, statements, interviews and many other ways, helped him complete the investigation.

New York, May 15, 1922.

Rajani Kanta Das.

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FOREWORD.

The study in the social and economic conditions of the Hindustanees[1] on the Pacific Coast was undertaken by the writer as special agent of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, United States Government, in 1921-22. The present treatise has been based on the report made to the Bureau.

The writer spent several months in the field, beginning the investigation in Southern California, and extending it to British Columbia. During the study, El Centro, Fresno, Stockton, Sacramento and San Francisco in California, Portland in Oregon, Seattle in Washington, and Victoria and Vancouver in British Columbia were made headquarters, and the investigation was carried on within a 100 mile radius of these centers. The writer interviewed over 200 Hindustanees and about as many Americans and Canadians, many of whom gave written statements. Besides he met over 400 Hindustanees in different group activities. Several questionnaires were prepared for specific information.

The subject-matter of the study was divided into the following groups: — First, representative Hindustani workers and their leaders on the Pacific Coast. Second, the group life of the Hindustanees in fields, factories and residences. Third, the attitude of the Americans and Canadians, both official and non-official, who came in contact with them either directly or indirectly. Fourth, the second-hand material related to them, such as reports, pamphlets, and articles. Except in the chapter on immigration and in a few places here and there, all the material used in the treatise was gathered by personal investigation.

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[1] The people of India are generally known as "Hindus" in America and Canada. But the word means in India only those who believe in Hindu religion. The word "Hindustanees" has been used in this treatise to include all classes of people in India irrespective of their religion. Hindustani means related to Hindustan or India.

CHAPTER I.

IMMIGRATION.

1. Conditions at Home.

By far the majority of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast came from the districts of Hoshiarpur, Jellundar, Amritsar, Lahore, Ludhiana and Feerozepore of the Punjab. Dispersed among them here and there are to be found a few men from such other parts of India as Gujrat, Oudh and Bengal.

Practically all of these Hindustanees were born in the rural districts of India and are agriculturalists by occupation. Some of them were recruited by the British Indian Government for work either in the army or in the police force and were sent abroad for service. But the majority of them had remained in the country and were occupied with farming before their coming to America. Only a few of them were wage-earners.

The size of the farms which most of them owned, together with other members of their family, varied from 30 to 80 acres. The land was fertile but the methods of farming were rather primitive. The implements used were simple and for the most part antequated. Among the crops they raised, the following were most important: wheat, corn, sugar-cane, barley, gram, peas, alfalfa, cotton, cantaloup and water-melon.

2. Arrival in Canada.

The Hindustanees who first came to Canada were soldiers or policemen in the service of the British Government at Shanghai, Hong Kong and other parts of the Far

East. During the Boxer War they came into contact with men of other nations and realized the importance of their service in the international struggle. Travelling abroad and crossing the ocean fostered in them a spirit of wanderlust and either at the time of their retirement from the service or while on leave of absence, some of them crossed the Pacific to Canada.

Besides these first arrivals, a number of the Sikhs, who, after the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee in Great Britain in 1897, travelled through Canada, realized the great opportunities offered by that country for industrial success. Some of them remained in the country, while others carried with them the message to their countrymen in India.

The number of both of these groups of the Hindustanees who arrived in Canada was very small. When their relatives and neighbors came to learn of their success, however small it might have been in the beginning, they began to come to Canada on a large scale. It was in 1905 that a considerable number of them arrived in Canada as immigrants and they were followed by still larger and larger groups in the following three years as shown below:

Table I

Hindustani Immigration into Canada.[1]

Fiscal Year	Number
1905	45
1906	387
1907	2124
1908	2623
Total	5179

After 1908 a new policy was adopted by the Canadian Government by which the immigration of the Hindustanees was practically stopped as shown below:

[1] Canada, Report of the Royal Commission, 1908, p. 75.

Table II

Hindustani Immigration into Canada.[2]

Fiscal Year	Number
1909	6
1910	10
1911	5
1912	3
1913	5
1914	88
1915	0
1916	1
1917	0
1918	0
1919	0
1920	0
Total	118

It is thus seen from the above tables (I and II) that while 5179 Hindustanees reached the shores of Canada in the first four years, the number of such arrivals amounted only to 118 during the following twelve years from 1909 to 1920.

During practically the same period, a large number of them were also rejected at the Canadian ports as shown below:[3]

Table III

East Indian Immigrants Debarred from Entering Canada.

Year	Number
1906	18
1907	120
1908	218
1909	4

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[2] The Canada Year Book, 1920, The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, p. 125.

[3] Canada, Rept. of the Sup. of Immigration for 1913-14, p. 76.

Year	Number
1910	6
1911	0
1912	2
1913	8
1914	14
Total	390

It is thus seen from Table III that about 390 Hindustanees were rejected at the Canadian ports from the year 1906 to 1914.

During the same period several of them were also deported after admission into Canada. In the six years from 1908-09 to 1913-14, the number of those deported from Canada amounted to 29 as shown below.[4]

Table IV

East Indians Deported from Canada.

Year	Number
1908-09	24
1909-10	1
1910-11	1
1911-12	2
1912-13	1
1913-14	0
Total	29

Causes.

The fundamental cause of the immigration of the Hindustanees into Canada was economic. Canada, especially British Columbia, with its rich natural resources and sparse population offered a great opportunity to the people of India where the population is dense, the resources comparatively rare, and the wages very low. Thus while a Hindustanee can earn only ten or fifteen cents a day in India, in Canada he can earn from two to five dollars a day. As to how the Hindustanees came to know of these economic opportuinites in a distant country, there has been a good deal of controversy.

[4] 9 months only.

According to the report of the Royal Commission of Canada appointed in 1907 to inquire into the methods by which Oriental laborers have been induced to come to Canada, the principal causes for the immigration of the Hindustani laborers into Canada are the following:[5]

(1) The activities of certain steamship companies and their agents selling tickets in the interest of the Company.
(2) The propaganda of certain business interests in Canada who in order to get cheap labor, distributed literature concerning industrial opportunities in Canada.
(3) The activities of certain Hindustanees who wanted to bring their countrymen into Canada for exploitative purposes.

It might be remarked that as the investigation was undertaken with a view to restrict Oriental labor, and that protective measures were being contemplated beforehand, the results of the investigation were more or less liable to be colored by politics.

The most important cause which induced the Hindustani immigrants to leave for Canada was the letters of their relatives or neighbors in Canada who had already met with success and who informed them of the industrial opportunities of the new land. The spirit of wanderlust combined with the economic opportunities offered, induced them to immigrate into Canada for industrial enterprise.

The economic prospects were so bright that some of them even sold their property and mortgaged their homesteads in order to raise the money necessary for the passage. The usual rate of interest is very high in India, especially on small loans, and some of them paid as high as 15 or even 20 per cent interest for their money. But they expected to make money in a short time in Canada and pay off their debts.

Scarcely any Hindustanee came to Canada for the purpose of permanently making his home there. He came

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[5] Canada, Sessional Papers, 1907-08, Vol. 17, No. 36 a, 1908, p. 8.

with the object of making money and going back to India after a few years. This is commonly found to be true also of the working people of Italy, Austria and some other European countries. After their arrival in Canada, some of them undoubtedly changed their minds and wanted to stay permanently in that country.

Restriction.

The arrival of the Hindustanees in considerable numbers, especially in the years 1907 and 1908, renewed the hostile feeling of the Canadian people which had already been created against the Chinese and Japanese, and led to the investigation by a Royal Commission in 1907. This Commission recommended the exclusion or restriction of Oriental labor including the Hindustanees. But before the adoption of any measures, Mr. W. L. Mackenzie-King, Deputy Minister of Labor, was sent over to Great Britain in 1908. The conferences and negotiations between the Canadian Government and the British Government, proceedings of which are among the confidential papers,[6] resulted in the practical prohibition of Hindustani immigraton into Canada. The aims of the restrictive measures, according to the Canadian Government, were:

(1) To prevent hardship to the Hindustanees themselves due to the severity of the climate.

(2) To avoid race friction with all its complications.

(3) To protect Canadian workmen whose standard of life, family duties and civic obligations were of a higher order.

The specific measures adopted were as follows:

First, both the Canadian Government and the Indian Government deprecated the activities of the steamship companies who were in any way responsible for recruiting immigrants in India.

Second, Indian Government took special measures in prohibiting the distribution of literature giving glowing accounts of industrial opportunities in Canada.

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[6] Canada, Sessional Papers, 1907-8, Vol. 17, No. 36 a, p. 7.

Third, the Indian Immigration Act of 1883 provided that the emigration of the Hindustani laborers under agreement to labor for hire in other parts of the Empire, except in Ceylon and the Straits Settlements, or in foreign lands, was not lawful except under certain conditions. Although this act was framed primarily for the prohibition of emigration of indentured laborers, yet the provisions of the act were invoked to prohibit Hindustani laborers from arriving in Canada.

Fourth, the amount of money which each immigrant was required to possess at the time of his arrival in Canada was raised by an act in Council from $ 25.00 to $ 200.00.

Fifth, and the most effective, was the application to the Immigration Act of a provision which required that any immigrant who came to Canada in any way other than by continuous journey from the country of which he was a native or citizen, and by ticket purchased in that country, might be excluded. There were no means by which the Hindustanees could conform to this provision of the Act. The application of this provision of the Act to their case practically prohibited their immigration.

That these measures effectively served the purpose of the Canadian Government may be seen by comparing the figures of Hindustani immigration for the year 1908, when 2623 Hindustanees arrived in Canada, with the figure for 1909 when the number of immigrants dropped to 6.

3. Arrival in the United States.

The census of 1900 reported the presence of 2050 East Indians in the United States. These were almost all students, business men and persons of other races born in India.[7] Even the first immigrant who arrived in 1899 was in the beginning a salesman and became a laborer

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[7] The immigration is reported both by country and by race. The writer has collected the statistics by race as a large number of persons of other races is liable to be included in the list reported by country.

afterwards.[8] For several years the number of persons arriving in the United States was rather insignificant and it was not until 1904 that Hindustani immigrants began to arrive in large numbers as shown in the table below:

Table V

East Indian Immigration into the United States from 1899—1907.[9]

Year	Number
1899	15
1900	9
1901	20
1902	84
1903	83
1904	258
1905	145
1906	271
1907	1072
Total	1957

Table V shows that in the first nine years from 1899 to 1907, only 1957 East Indians or Hindustanees arrived in the United States. During the same period a large number of them also departed, but no statistics are available of the number of such departures. It was in 1908 that both the arrival and departure of alien immigration began to be recorded as shown below:

Table VI

East Indian Immigration into the United States from 1908—1920.

Year	Admitted	Departed
1908	1710	124
1909	337	48

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[8] Mr. Bakshis Singh, now a resident of Astoria, Oregon. He has been back and forth several times and finally returned to this country in 1910 with his family.

[9] U. S. Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1919—1920, pp. 180—181.

[10] Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1919-20, pp. 181—182.

[11] Ibid., pp. 186—87.

Year	Admitted	Departed
1910	1782	80
1911	517	75
1912	165	164
1913	188	213
1914	172	143
1915	82	162
1916	80	91
1917	69	136
1918	61	154
1918	68	106
1920	160	162
Totals	5391	1658

It is seen from Table VI that during the period from 1908 to 1920, 5391 East Indians or Hindustanees arrived in the United States. The total number of the Hindustanees who were admitted into the United States during the period from 1899 to 1920, is, therefore, 7348, adding the figures from the last two Tables (V and VI). During the period as shown in the last table, 1658 Hindustanees also departed from this country. The table also shows that in the last few years more Hindustanees left the United States than arrived. In 1912, 165 of them arrived in the United States while 164 left the country. In 1913 the number of arrivals amounted to 188, while that of departures amounted to 213. Although the number of the admitted exceeded the number of departures in 1914, being respectively 172 and 143, beginning with 1915, the number of departures again became larger than that of the admitted. In the years from 1915 to 1920 the total number of those who left the country amounted to 811 as against 520 who arrived. The number of those who are prepared to return to India at present is still larger.

It must be mentioned that among the number of the above arrivals up to the years 1907, there was also a number of persons who were non-immigrants. It was not until 1908 that the "immigrants" and "non-immigrants" were classified. Since then the number of non-immigrant

Hindustanees is also increasing. They are mostly students, businessmen and tourists. The arrivals and departures of such persons are shown in the following table:

Table VII

Arrival and Departure of Non-Immigrant East Indians.[12]

Year	Admitted[13]	Departed[14]
1908	20	187
1909	113	55
1910	86	98
1911	58	177
1912	56	148
1913	45	122
1914	51	188
1915	53	256
1916	48	100
1917	50	52
1918	454	42
1919	471	30
1920	121	42
Totals	1626	1497

Table VII shows that during the period from 1908 to 1920, 1626 non-immigrant East Indians or Hindustanees arrived in the United States and 1497 departed. The difference between the number of arrivals and the number of departures of non-immigrant Hindustanees is only 129

Rejection

While 5391 Hindustanees were admitted into the United States during the period from 1908 to 1920 as we have seen in Table VII above, a large number were also rejected at the ports. The number of the debarred is shown in the table given below: —

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[12] Adopted from Table IV of the Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration for the years indicated.

[13] By Country. The Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1908, p. 51.

[14] By Country. Ibid., p. 88.

Table VIII
East Indians debarred from entering the United States[15]

Year	Likely to become public charge.	Surgeon's Certificate of mental or physical defect which may affect alien's ability to earn a living.	Dangerous diseases		Contract Labor.	Polygamist	Geographically Excluded	Other Causes	Total
			Trachoma	Others					
1907[16]	286	—	102	—	29	—	—	—	417
1908	286	107	192	1	20	—	—	—	606
1909	146	54	94	2	17	16	—	—	329
1910	200	16	161	7	7	18	—	—	409
1911	536	34	105	151	8	27	—	—	861
1912	58	5	7	22	4	3	—	—	99
1913	159	8	18	23	23	3	—	—	234
1914	115	6	19	4	11	2	—	—	157
1915	211	14	42	28	3	2	—	—	300
1916	36	3	2	1	1	1	—	—	44
1917	17	1	—	5	—	1	—	—	24
1918	4	—	—	—	—	—	13	—	17
1919	—	—	—	—	—	—	18	—	18
1920	2	—	—	—	—	—	22	4	28
	2056	248	662	244	123	73	53	4	3 543
			906						

[15] Adapted from Table XVIII of Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.
[16] Table III, Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1907-08, pp. 16-17.

From Table VIII it is seen that 3543 Hindustanees were rejected at the ports of entry of the United States during the period from 1908 to 1920. In other words, while 5391 Hindustanees were admitted at the ports, as shown in Table VI, 3543 were rejected. Of those rejected, 2056 or 58 per cent were barred on the ground that they were likely to become public charges, 906 or 16.7 per cent on the ground of having dangerous diseases, mostly trachoma, 248 because they were found defective by surgeons and might not be able to earn a living, 123 because they came under the contract labor system, 73 because their religious faith advocated polygamy, and 53 were barred because they came from an area which was outside the zone from which the immigrants were allowed to come by the Immigration Act of 1917.

Deportation.

Besides the persons who were barred from entering the United States, there were quite a few Hindustanees who were admitted at first but were deported afterwards. In the following table is given their number.

Table IX

East Indians Deported from the United States.[17]

Year	Likely to be public charge	Entered without inspection	Entered from geographically excluded area	Other causes	Total
1907–08[18]	—	8	—	1	9
1908–09	—	1	—	—	1
1909–10	—	4	—	—	4
1910–11	2	34	—	—	36
1911–12	1	4	—	6	11
1912–13	21	9	—	2	32
1913–14	25	6	—	11	42
1914–15	18	15	—	2	35
1915–16	14	23	—	1	38
1916–17	3	2	—	1	6
1917–18	1	1	—	—	2
1918–19	1	1	8	1	11
1919–20	2	—	19	1	22
	88	108	27	26	249

[17] Adapted from Table XVIII, Annual Reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration.

[18] Table III A. Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1907-08, p. 18.

From Table IX it is seen that 249 East Indians or Hindustanees were deported from the United States after their admission. Of these 88 or 31.3 per cent were deported on the ground that they might become public charges, 108 or 43.3 per cent because they entered the country without proper inspection. They came as sailors to this country and after landing did not leave the country. They were practically all in the eastern ports. 27 or 10.8 per cent of the deported immigrants came from that region which is excluded by the Immigration Act of the United States as mentioned before. 25 or 10.4 per cent were deported on various grounds, such as crime, disease and contract labor.

Causes.

The fundamental reason why the Hindustanees came to the United States is the same as that in the case of Canada. It was the prospects of industrial success which induced them to leave their native land.

A large number of the Hindustanees also migrated from British Columbia into the United States. They crossed the border and arrived in Washington, Oregon and California. The warm and congenial climate of California helped this southward movement. But there was a more important reason. They had been used to farming from their childhood. The farming opportunities in California offered an irresistible temptation to them. Moreover, practically all of them have been owners of farmland and homestead in India. The spirit of freedom gained from the ownership of land is a dominant feature in their life. When California offered the opportunity to them to lease land or even to buy it, they moved southward. Gradually most of them got located in the rice fields of Northern California and in the cotton belt of Southern California.

Restriction.

The rapid growth of the Hindustani immigrants from 84 in 1902 to 1710 in 1910 created a feeling against them. The Chinese and Japanese immigration had already given rise to anti-Asian agitation. The arrival of the Hindus-

tanees gave a fresh impetus for the continuation of that agitation. An association called the Asiatic-Exclusion League became very active. Due to their agitation the immigration officers became rather strict in their examination of the Hindustanees and sent back many of those who applied for admission.[19] A a result of this policy, the number of the Hindustanees who arrived in the United States fell from 1710 in 1908 to 337 in 1909. But the following year the policy of the Immigration Officers was somewhat modified and the number of immigrants rose to 1782 again. This rise in number led to fresh agitation by the press, the Asiatic Exclusion League and other organizations which protested against the Hindustani immigration to the Commissioner of Immigration at Washington, D. C. in 1910.[20]

The agitation had its desired effect. A much stricter policy was adopted and the number of the immigrants from India fell to 517 in 1911 and to 165 in 1912. After a slight increase in 1913 and 1914 when 188 and 172 Hindustanees reached the United States, the number fell to 82 in 1915 and continued to go down for the next four years, during which period only 278 entered the country. In 1920, there was a slight increase in immigration and 160 Hindustanees arrived in the United States.

In the meantime, after the proposal of various laws to bar future immigration from India, an Immigration Act was passed on February 15, 1917. A provision in section 3 of the Act was made to exclude all people from the so-called "barred zone", which consisted of India, Siam, Indo-China, parts of Siberia, Afghanistan and Arabia and most of the islands of the Malay Archipelago with an estimated population of five hundred million people.[21] The provision exempted such classes as travellers, students and officials. The act has been successful in excluding laborers from India.

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[19] Cf. Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, for 1918-19, p. 59.

[20] The San Francisco Call, June 29, 1910, p. 7, c. 1.

[21] Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for 1918-19, p. 60.

CHAPTER II.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

The most important ports at which the Hindustanees made their first landings were San Francisco and Vancouver. From these two centers they gradually spread over towards the south, east and north, reaching different parts of the Pacific Coast in the course of time.

According to the report of the census of 1910, the whole of the Hindustani population which arrived in the United States were distributed as follows:

California	2,742
Washington	1,414
New York	492
Oregon	208
New Jersey	131
Missouri	119
Rest	118
Total in U. S.	5,424
Hawaii	362
	5,786

From the above table it is seen that next to British Columbia where 5179 Hindustanees arrived in the four years from 1905 to 1909, Table I, Chapter I, California had the next largest number of Hindustani immigrants, 2,742 in all. Washington stood next with 1,414. A few of them arrived at Seattle but most of them came from British Columbia. In Oregon, most of the Hindustanees were located in lumber camps. The majority of the 492 Hindustanees in the State of New York were congregated in the City of New York where they arrived mostly as sailors. Some few, however, came for the purpose of trade. This is true also of New Jersey and Missouri where the Hindustani population numbered 131 and 119 respectively.

There has been a good deal of change in the distribution of the Hindustani population in the United States in recent years, most of them being now located in the following centers:

1. The San Joaquin Valley.

About 75 miles south of San Francisco lies the great valley of the San Joaquin comprising some of the richest counties of California. The soil is generally sandy loam to light sand and contains all the mineral elements of plant food. In the delta near Stockton, the soil is especially rich in humus, in some places to a depth of ten or twelve feet. The annual rainfall for the whole valley amounts to ten inches with a dry period from May to September. The temperature rises as high as 82 degrees F. in the summer and falls as low as 47 degrees in the winter. Grapes, peaches, apricots, almonds, olives, figs, oranges, bean, potatoes, corn and sugar beets are among the products of the valley.

Beside its agricultural wealth, the valley itself is charming and pictureque. Blue and clear skies with specks of white clouds floating lazily above, the half-clad and misty hill sides on the distant horizon, the never-ending vineyards interspersed here and there with orchards, and the tall and lusty eucalyptus towering over the groves and cottages are fascinating even to casual travellers. To those who desire to settle down, the San Joaquin Valley appears to be the "promised land".

It was not long after their arrival in America that the Hindustanees came to appreciate the resources and opportunities in the San Joaquin Valley. While working on railroads they had occasion to travel and get acquainted with the rich resources of the valley and were soon filled with a desire to secure employment on the ranches. It was in 1907 that the first Hindustanees appeared in the San Joaquin Valley. Gradually a large number of them settled around Stockton, Fresno and Bakersfield, and these three cities became the important centers of the Hindustani workers in the San Joaquin Valley.

Of the above three centers, Stockton naturally took the lead. A large number of the Hindustanees were engaged in the work of cultivating farms around Stockton and, while moving from farm to farm, they made it their headquarters. The other important places around Stockton in which they are located at the present time are Holt, Lodi

and Sando. Their second important center in the San Joaquin Valley is Fresno County. Fresno, the "Queen of raisins", has attracted perhaps the largest number of Hindustani settlers on the Pacific Coast. They are scattered around Lone Star, Conejo, Clovis, Madera and other places.

2. The Sacramento Valley.

The Sacramento Valley is another rich section of Northern California. In physical features, soil texture and composition, and climatic conditions, it is not essentially different from the San Joaquin Valley. Some of the products such as grapes and peaches are practically the same as in the latter, but there is one essential difference: Unlike the San Joaquin Valley, the Sacramento Valley has large tracts of swamp land which are especially fitted for the cultivation of rice.

The Hindustanees began to arrive in the Sacramento Valley about the same time as they did in the San Joaquin Valley. It was not long before the city of Sacramento became one of their centers. Like Fresno City, Sacramento is also a stopping point for the migrating Hindustani laborers. In the periods between the agricultural seasons in the rice fields in northern California and the orchards in the west and south, they rest at Sacramento and carry on their social activities there.

Besides the city of Sacramento, the Hindustanees in the Sacramento Valley are found congregated in two different sections: first, in the fruit growing sections of Folsom, Orangeville, Loomis and Newcastle; and second, in the rice growing districts of Marysville, Colusa, Tudor, Willows, Chico, Butte City, Nelson, Gridley and Briggs. It is in the last center that they have become very successful business men and control a large percentage of the rice production of California.

3. Imperial Valley.

Imperial Valley is a county in Southern California bordering Mexico. A large section of the valley is below the sea-level. It is about 60 miles long and 45 miles broad and had a population of about 43 000 persons in 1920.

The precipitation for the whole year does not amount to more than one inch. The air is dry all the year round. The temperature does not fall below 24 degrees in winter and rises as high as 115 or more in the shade in July and August. The soil is very rich. Agriculture is altogether dependent upon irrigation. Among the chief products of the valley might be mentioned grapes, cotton, alfalfa, milo, barley and cantaloups.

The Hindustanees began to appear in Imperial Valley about 1910 when the country was still undeveloped. The extreme heat of the summer does not attract many American settlers. Here the Hindustanees found a great opportunity for carrying on their industrial activities. In 1919 their number in Imperial Valley amounted to nearly 300 and although the failure of the cotton crop has driven out a large number of them, there are still about 200 engaged in agricultural operations near such cities as El Centro, Calexico, Holtville and Brawley.

4. British Columbia.

British Columbia is one of the richest provinces of Canadian territories on the Pacific Coast, having an area of 372,630 square miles. Although mountainous and rugged, the soil near the coast and in the valleys is rich and productive. The climate is mild, and rainy on the coast. A large part of the region is adaptable to fruit-growing. In fact, the Fraser Valley is a "perennial garden" and produces some of the best fruits and vegetables found in any part of the world. Gold, silver, copper, zinc, mercury, coal and iron are among the minerals found in different sections of the Province. There is an abundance of fish both in the deep waters and in the rivers. Lumbering is one of the most important industries. Gold mining is extensively carried on in the Island of Vancouver. These various industries offered excellent opportunities to the Hindustanees upon their arrival at Vancouver some two decades ago.

Since their arrival, Vancouver has really become the largest center of the industrial activities and of the social and religious life of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast. There are more Hindustanees, especially Sikhs, in Van-

couver than in any other single city in either Canada or the United States. Next to Vancouver, Victoria is the city in which a large number of them carry on their business. From Vancouver they have scattered all around and at present are located at New Westminister, Fraser Mills, Duncan, Coombs and Ocean Falls.

5. Miscellaneous Localities.

Besides the above mentioned centers there are also several states and cities in which some Hindustanees are to be found.

States. Of the other States which offer inducement to them, the most important perhaps is Oregon. A number of them are employed in the lumber mills of Astoria, Linnton and Bridal Veil. About a decade ago over two hundred of them were employed in Oregon, but due to the depression in the lumber industry and in the migration of the Hindustanees themselves, the number has been reduced to about 100 at the present time.

In the State of Washington, some of them were formerly employed in different lumber mills such as those at Bellingham and Tacoma, but the number employed there at present is very insignificant. Among other causes which have reduced the number should be mentioned the "anti-Hindu movement" started by a few politicians and labor-leaders.

Several of them have also found their way into such states as Utah, Arizona, Nevada and South Dakota. During the war when the price of wheat went up, some of them bought land near Chandler in Arizona and began to raise wheat. Similarly, several of them have gone to Utah and started farming. There are at present about 15 Hindustanees who are engaged in agriculture near Brigham City, Utah.

Cities. Except in the cities of Vancouver and Victoria, B. C., and Sacramento, Cal., there are very few Hindustanees to be found engaged in industrial activities in the cities on the Pacific Coast. But in several cities on the Atlantic Coast and in the Middle West, such as New York, Chicago and New Orleans, some of them are to be found in different industrial activities.

CHAPTER III.

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION.

1. Transitional Occupations.

About the time when the Hindustanees began to land on the Pacific Coast, the Western Pacific Railroad was under construction. The greater part of the Hindustani immigrants were employed in the building of that line. A number was also employed as section hands on the Southern Pacific and the Northern Pacific Railroads. Some of them later found work in an iron foundry at Oakland, California, and for a while that place became the center of distribution for the new immigrants. Some of them were employed even in quarries and pottery works.

Since practically all the Hindustanees were agriculturists, railway work did not appeal to them. They, therefore, sought employment on farms. Woodward Island, a big ranch near Stockton, Cal., tried the first Hindustani laborers on the asparagus and beet fields. Their efficiency in this line of work soon attracted the attention of their employers and a new field of industrial opportunity was opened to the rest of them. On many farms the land-owners gave preference to the Hindustani workers and their jobs became more or less secure. Gradually they began to understand English and some of them, instead of working for others, leased land for themselves and began to operate their own farms. Such beginning was made near Holt, Cal., where potatoes, onions, celery and beans were among the crops first raised by them.

In the beginning their endeavor in agriculture did not meet with success. A number of their farming enterprises failed. But instead of giving up, some of them moved either south into Imperial Valley or north into the rice districts of the Sacramento Valley, where they were successful in the cultivation of cotton and rice.

While the Hindustanees in California were gradually shifting from railroad work to agriculture, a change was also taking place among their country-men in British

Columbia. The Hindustanees there at first worked in lumber mills, logging camps and on the railroads, but gradually they discovered other industrial opportunities. A number of them became real-estate men and many others started independent business. Some of them even became mill-owners, and a few went into agriculture.

2. Farm Operators.

The majority of the Hindustanees resident on the Pacific Coast, especially in California, as mentioned before, are farm operators. They take the lease of a ranch either on the share or cash basis and operate it for a period varying from one to three years, at the end of which time they renew the lease or move to another farm.

The size of farms varies according to the nature of crops, the rent of land, and the financial ability of farmers. A vineyard or orchard can be operated economically when it is as small as 40 acres in size, but it is not economical at all to cultivate such a small-sized farm for cotton or rice. Modern implements or machinery cannot be fully utilized on such small farms. This economy in operation underlies the size of the farms which the Hindustanees operate in different sections of the country. In the vineyards and fruit orchards of the San Joaquin Valley, the size of their farms are often only 40 acres, though in some cases the size ranges as high as 80 acres. For raising grapes or other fruits 40 acres are sufficient for one man. In some cases two of them will buy a 40 acre farm and work on it for a part of the time, hiring themselves out to other farmers during their spare time. This arrangement is resorted to only in case one man is unable to furnish all the money to operate or buy the farm.

In the cotton district of Imperial Valley the average size of a farm is 160 acres, which is operated by one or two men, sometimes even by a greater number, the number of operators depending upon the financial ability and the necessity of raising sufficient money to operate the farm. Many of the farms in Imperial Valley are, however, of a larger size than 160 acres. There are some

farms averaging 320 acres. The size of farms in the rice districts is even larger, ranging from 500 to 1000 acres. These farms, according to their size, are operated by from two to eight men.

The amount of rent which the operators have to pay the landlord differs from time to time and from place to place. During the war the rent of the cotton fields in Imperial Valley went up as high as $ 35.00 an acre while before the war it did not cost more than $ 4.00 an acre. In 1921 the rent went down again and the general rate was about $ 12.00 an acre. Besides the rent the operators have to pay for the use of water. When the rent is put on the crop basis instead of the cash, it varies from one fourth to one third of the crop. The vineyards and orchards are also rented either on the cash or crop basis. When paid on the crop basis, the rent is generally one third of the crop. The operator has also to pay for water. In the rice fields of northern California, rent is either on the crop basis or share basis or both. When paid on the share basis, it is one third of the crop plus one half of the price of the water used.

As mentioned before, the Hindustanees operate their farms on partnership. Generally all the members are equal shareholders and advance an equal amount of money for investment. The management of the farm is left to one man who might be called the foreman of the operators. It is he who negotiates with the landlords and transacts all the business in connection with the farm. He consults with all his partners before he decides matters. They are all equally responsible in case either of success or failure.

The duties and responsibilities of the different members of these enterprises are not clearly defined or fixed beforehand. These unbusinesslike arrangements have sometimes led to misunderstanding and litigation. On the whole, however, the partnership works very well and most of the enterprises have been very successful. Such a method of operating a farm eliminates the necessity for employing extra hands. All the workers have an equal interest in making the enterprise successful.

In financing the farms they have sometimes to borrow money from bankers. They pay the landlords part of the money at the beginning, about one quarter or one third of the total amount, and they give notes for deferred payments for the rest. This they do in the middle of the season or just before the harvesting period. The money is borrowed on mortgage of the crops and personal property. The rate of interest differs in different localities, varying from 7 or 8 per cent in northern districts of California to 10 per cent in Imperial Valley.

The nature of farming differs a good deal in different sections of the Pacific Coast. In Imperial Valley the Hindustani farm operators are chiefly engaged in raising cotton, milo and alfalfa. In the San Joaquin Valley they raise grapes, peaches, pears, apricots, almonds, beans, peas, corn, potatoes, celeries, asparagus and lettuce. In the Sacramento Valley they are engaged in raising peaches, pears, grapes and rice. In British Columbia they are largely engaged in raising vegetables and fruits. They supply milk also to such cities as Victoria and Vancouver. Some successful farmers are also engaged in raising high grade breeding stock, such as Jersey and Guernsey cattle.

3. Farm Laborers.

The second large industrial group to which the Hindutanees belong is that of farm laborers. Most of the Hindustani farm laborers are to be found in California. These workers may be divided into two groups, permanent workers and the casual or itinerant workers.

Some of the large American farmers employ the Hindustani workers as foremen or gang-masters. Such men have worked for a long time in one place and have gained the confidence of their employers. These foremen or gang-masters work by the year and are in charge of a gang of five or six men. In the agricultural season, they must recruit additional men varying in number from 30 to 60. Most of the Hindustani farm laborers are recruited by foremen or gang-masters in Imperial Valley, the San Joaquin Valley and the Sacramento Valley.

Although the number of these permanent workers is small, they exert a great influence on the industrial and social life of the rest of the workers. First, they help in securing jobs for other Hindustanees. Second, the reliability and steadiness of these workers stand out as models for the rest.

The majority of the farm workers belong to the casual or itinerant class. They migrate in a group from one locality to another according to the agricultural seasons, which in the fruit-growing industry in Southern California are as follows: Pruning in December and January, irrigating in March, April and May, picking fruits in July, August, September and October. In the cultivation of the sugar beet, the agricultural seasons are: Thinning in February and March, hoeing in April and May, picking and loading in July and August. One group following the harvesting seasons from Imperial Valley to Fresno County or even farther north. Another group moves from the San Joaquin Valley to the Sacramento Valley. The former group divides work between the cotton crop and the grape and fruit crops, and the latter between the rice crop and the grape, fruit and vegetable crops.

4. Mill Workers.

The third important group of the Hindustani workers is to be found in the lumber industry of Oregon, Washington and British Columbia. There was a time when the largest number of the Hindustanees in the northern section of the Pacific Coast were employed in saw-mills and logging camps. The recent depression in the lumber industry and the departure of a great many of them for India, have gradually reduced this number. At present they are found employed in the lumber mills of Linnton, Astoria and Bridal Veil in Oregon, and of Victoria, Vancouver, New Westminster and Fraser Mills in British Columbia.

Besides those employed in the mills owned by the Americans and Canadians, some of the Hindustanees are also employed in the lumber mills owned by their country-

men. Such mills exist at Duncan, Ladysmith, Coombs and Vancouver in British Columbia.

The significant point in connection with the work in lumber mills and logging camps in Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, is that they became the training ground for many Hindustanees. They learned their work so thoroughly that in a few years some of them became very efficient in the lumber industry and earned recognition as such.

5. Miscelaneous Laborers.

Only a few Hindustanees are employed in industries other than farming and saw-milling. Among those industries in which they are employed may be mentioned the following: Railroad work, building and repairing roads and streets, and iron and steel smelting. The number of the Hindustani laborers in industries other than the above mentioned is insignificant.

6. Farmers and Businessmen.

Besides the classes of workers mentioned above, there is also a large number of the Hindustanees who have been engaged in business for themselves. Most prominent among them are lumber-mill owners in British Columbia. In the last five or six years several of them have started lumber mills of their own such as the Tansor Lumber Company and the Mayo Lumber Company at Duncan, the Eastern Lumber Company at Ladysmith, the Virginia Lumber Company at Coombs and the Bharat Lumber Company at Vancouver.

In British Columbia they also started other industries such as the Bombay Trading Company with a capital of $ 25,000 in 1910, and the Guru-Nanak Banking and Trust Company with a capital of $ 50,000 in 1908. At present there are 7 logging camps, 2 shingle factories, 2 groceries, 50 fire-wood stores, 25 farms and 6 lumber companies owned by them.

As a rule these companies have been started on the partnership basis. There are generally from three to six partners, all of whom are active workers in the business.

Most of the mill owners have their own logging camps. They employ workers of all nationalities such as the Chinese, Japanese, Canadians and Hindustanees.

There are some Hindustanees who have business in real estate. There was a time when a very large number of them speculated in this business. But the great losses which most of them sustained during the war period caused them to change their occupation.

Dealing in fire-wood is a very profitable business and several Hindustanees are engaged in it. They make contracts with the lumber mills and buy outright all the waste wood of the mills at a certain sum per day. There is a good deal of speculation in this business and one must be thoroughly acquainted with the capacity of the mills as well as with the nature of the logs. Besides, the dealer must have one or more wagons and a storage place so that the wood may be held for an advantageous price.

In some cities of California, there are also to be found several Hindustanees in such small business as keeping hotels and running restaurants and grocery-stores.

Among the independent business men must also be included the farmers. Modern farming is a business organization devoted to raising crops for market rather than for home consumption.

It has already been pointed out that the Hindustanees entered into farm work at first as laborers. In a short time most of them became farm operators or tenant farmers. Gradually some of them began to buy land and own their own farms. The special interest which a farmer takes in his farm includes the general improvement as well as the preservation of soil-fertility. For these reasons the interest of the tenant-farmer becomes different from that of the farm-owner.

The exact number of Hindustani farmers is not known, as two or more persons sometimes band together to buy a farm; but the total acreage of land owned by them amounted to 2099 acres in 1920. Besides, 86,340 acres were under lease or contract.[1]

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[1] California and the Orientals, State Board of Control of California, p. 47.

CHAPTER IV.

EMPLOYMENT AND UNIONISM.

1. Method of Securing Employment.

It is the pioneer immigrant who helps his immediate followers to secure employment. This is as true in the case of the Hindustanees as of any other nationality. The Hindustanees who arrived here first were energetic and went around from ranch to ranch and presented themselves personally to employers and foremen. Their strong and robust constitution soon attracted the attention of employers in such industries as clearing land, building or repairing roads, and logging and lumbering. When one or two had worked in these industries and gained the confidence of their employers, they were naturally asked to recruit a gang of workers of their own nationality. These original workers in different industrial fields became gang masters or foremen. The majority of the Hindustanees in the early days thus secured their jobs through their countrymen. This method of getting work is to a certain extent in practice even to-day.

It is a common custom on the ranches, as in fact it is in many other industries, to entrust a particular work to a group or gang of laborers of the same nationality under the supervision of a gang-master. When one Hindustanee secures a job, he secures it not only for himself but also for many others. Whenever he requires extra workers for a season, he writes to his countrymen in different centers and engages them in advance of the time when they are needed. Often the same people are recruited for the same ranch for several years.

Sometimes the worker is recruited through recommendation. One employer recommends his Hindustani workers as soon as the work on his ranch is finished for the season to another employer needing help. Occasionally the entire gang is transferred from one farm to another at the request of employers.

Cases are known where a gang of the Hindustanees are engaged a year ahead. The workers who are em-

ployed in such work as irrigation and pruning on a certain ranch have a contract to do the same work every year. The pruning and irrigation work of several ranches in the same locality are often undertaken by the same gang of laborers, who go from ranch to ranch fulfilling their contracts.

When they first came to the United States, the Hindustanees had considerable trouble in securing employment. The regular employment agencies refused to help them in any way. Nor at present even can they expect anything from the employment agencies. Even the state and federal employment agencies were not always sympathetic towards them. Their peculiarity of head-dress has been given as the reason for the difficulty of placing them. Racial prejudice of course lies at the bottom of such treatment. It was not long before they became conscious of their position and avoided, as much as possible, seeking jobs through the employment agencies, either private or public.

It happens, however, that a demand for Hindustani workers sometimes is made by the state and federal employment agencies. It is mostly for specific work. Whenever an employer seeks the service of the Hindustanees, he gets in touch with them through the employment agencies or approaches them personally.

It has been said that some of the Hindustani gang-masters or foremen employ their own countrymen for exploitation. While it may be true in solitary instances, this kind of practice does not prevail to an extent that would warrant any such general statement. There are reasons why such a practice could not very well succeed among the Hindustanees. First, almost all of the Hindustani workers belong to the same industrial class as their gang-masters or foremen who work side by side with them. And sometimes a gang is organized by workers themselves who elect a foreman. Although the wages of a foreman are a little higher, this difference in income is not so great as to give rise to any difference in social status. Any desire on the part of a gangmaster to exploit his men is strongly opposed by the workers them-

selves. Second, a large number of agricultural laborers are also farm operators. When there is nothing else to be done on their own farms, they hire themselves out to other farm operators. The economic independence on the part of workers itself is a check upon the exploitation by foremen.

2. Seasonal Unemployment.

Unemployment offers perhaps the hardest problem of the modern industrial organization. Yet there is scarcely anything definitely known about it. This is as true of the Hindustanees as of the workers of other races. Although the Hindustanees were at first engaged in several industries, their work consists at the present time largely of agriculture and lumbering. Lumbering is a more or less regular industry carried on almost all the year round in Oregon, Washington and British Columbia. Due to heavy rains, logging may occasionally be held up for a day or two at a time. Sawing being carried on largely indoors is continuous throughout the year. But depression in the lumber industry, which was going on in 1920—1921 threw a large number of men, including the Hindustanees, out of work. Thus in Astoria, Oregon, where generally about 100 Hindustanees, were employed, there were to be found only 35 in 1921. The same was true of Linnton, Oregeon, and Fraser Mills, Duncan and Victoria in British Columbia. How many Hindustanees were out of employment in 1921 in the lumber mills on the Pacific Coast could not be ascertained. There is no doubt that unemployment was one of the reasons why a good many of them went back to India in 1921.

There are, however, some reasons why the position of the Hindustanees cannot be said to be so unfavorable as that of others. First, in most cases, these workers are picked men and are kept employed because of their efficiency. As a rule they are the last persons to be laid off. Second, there are several lumber companies, owned by the Hindustanees, who are willing to keep their people on the job as long as possible.

It is still harder to gather data on unemployment in agriculture. The extensive nature of the work on the

farm can always accommodate a few more workers and thus decrease the proportion of unemployment on the one hand, while the seasonal character of the work always imposes a period of involuntary idleness on the other. The depression in the agricultural industries in 1920, especially the failure of the cotton and rice crops, have thrown out of work a large number of farm laborers. It, of course, affected the Hindustanees, but not to the same extent as the laborers of other races, for, as has been mentioned before, a large number of the Hindustani farm laborers are also farm operators.

Between the harvestings of different crops there is always a period of unemployment. This period of unemployment varies in proportion to the extent of crop. Generally speaking the Hindustani workers are unemployed about two or three months each year.

3. Trade Unionism.

The number of the Hindustanees who work for wages is rather limited, and may be grouped, as before, into three classes, namely, farm laborers, mill workers and miscellaneous laborers. The Hindustani farm laborers do not belong to any trade or labor union. Trade organization is itself a difficult task among agricultural workers and although several attempts have been made to organize them, especially in the hop fields on the Pacific Coast, no success has as yet been attained. Beside the difficulty owing to the nature of the agricultural industry, there are several social, economic and political reasons why the Hindustani farm workers have not been inclined to form trade unions.

First, trade unions among a class of laborers come into existence when there is a consciousness of their status and interests. Most of the Hindustanees having been born on farms, the desire to become independent farm owners is very strong in them. Consequently they feel little interest in labor organization.

Second, the prime object of trade unionism is to establish collective bargaining in regard to the question of conditions of work and rate of wages. Due to the

shortness of the season, it is not practicable to maintain regular and definite hours of work in agriculture. Although most of the Hindustanees have to take work on time or piece basis, their desire for a trade union does not become very strong at any time, as they prefer contract work on a large scale.

Third, the casual nature of their work is also opposed to class solidarity among them. Most of the Hindustani farm laborers are itinerant. They move from locality to locality, travelling sometimes hundreds of miles for seasonal work. This constant movement does not afford them an opportunity for the growth of special interest in any particular locality or for any trade.

Fourth, most of the Hindustani laborers are compelled to become only temporary residents in America and Canada. They cannot, therefore, feel a strong interest in any occupation or locality.

Fifth, racial prejudice which most of the American people have against the Hindustanees and other Asian people and jealousy which the American laborers harbor against the economic success of others, are also among the important reasons why the Hindustanees do not and could not feel much interest in affiliating themselves with the local labor unions.

Despite the fact that they are not members of a trade union, the Hindustanees have a mutual understanding for maintaining their standard of wages and working hours. They follow the local custom in bargaining for time and wages and always maintain their right to demand good treatment. If one of their fellow-workers is mistreated in any way, they will go to any limits to defend him. Thus it may be seen that there exists a feeling of solidarity among the Hindustani farm workers and they never do anything which is prejudicial to the interests of labor.

"As far as I know", writes Mr. Edward E. Brown, "there is no labor organization among the Hindus. There have been, however, instances where groups of Hindus will get together and appoint a leader who would interview the employers in the vicinity where that particular

group was employed and state that they desired a certain wage for their labor. When the employer refuses to meet their demand, the Hindus would move off the job silently without any show or antagonism. They have remained away from such jobs. Their system has been very effective as far as they themselves are concerned."

As in agriculture, so it is in the lumber industry. The Hindustanees do not belong to any trade unions. Some of the reasons why there has been no trade unionism on the farms are also applicable to the lumber industry. The workers in the lumber industry may be grouped into two classes.

First, there are those who work for their own countrymen. In these cases they generally live on terms of equality with their employers and eat with them at the same table. The employer was himself once one of the workers. There was, therefore, little chance for the development of the consciousness of class interest. Moreover, some of the workers still hope that they may accumulate enough money to buy a share in the industry.

Second, there are those who work for American or Canadian employers. They find difficulty in getting into trade unions owing to racial prejudice.

The Hindustanees who work for wages in other industries such as mining and smelting, become members of the local unions, whenever they get the chance.

In spite of their more or less compulsory aloofness, the Hindustanees have great sympathy for the labor movement and highly appreciate its aims and ideals. Moreover, they are willing to cooperate with labor organizations whenever possible. There are many instances in which they have taken active part in the cause of labor. If they have not shown eagerness to enter into labor unions, it is rather due do apathy of the labor organizers.

The labor organizations on the Pacific Coast from the view point of their attitude towards Oriental labor, might be classed under two heads. First, there are those who are bitterly opposed to any Oriental immigration. The underlying cause of such a feeling is race prejudice, but

naturally they are unwilling to admit this. They oppose Oriental labor on the pretext that they lower the standard of living. Led by the local politicians they always stand against the interests of the Oriental laborers including the Hindustanees. In many cases they have become the instruments of anti-Asian movements.

Second, there are those who have no ill feeling against the Oriental laborers as such. They are willing to admit Oriental laborers, especially the Hindustanees, into their organizations. As a rule the industrial unions are more or less sympathetic towards the Oriental laborers.

4. Competition and Underbidding.

One of the chief complaints against foreign labor, especially against the Oriental workers, is that they work for lower wages. This is really a serious complaint. The American laborers have established a certain rate of wages and a certain standard of living and they have a right to preserve these at any cost. But at present there is no occasion for bringing such a charge against the Oriental laborers, especially against the Hindustanees. It is not impossible to cite cases where they have in the past accepted lower wages. In the beginning they were not well acquainted with conditions in America and no doubt some of the employers might have taken advantage of such a situation. But although this situation existed, it did not last long, and at present there is scarcely any underbidding on their part.

The reasons why they do not underbid are very obvious. First, practically all of them are healthy and efficient workers. There is always a demand for their work in certain industries. Second, they have no families with them and are not confronted with the problem of meeting immediate expenses for their dependents. Fellow feeling is very strong among them and if there is anybody in need they assist one another financially. Moreover, they are very thrifty and can bear hardships. They are not, therefore, driven by any economic necessity to accept a lower rate of wages or an inferior position in the field of competition.

The groups of people with whom the Hindustanees come into competition differ in occupations and in localities. In Imperial Valley, they compete with the Americans, Mexicans and Japanese in cotton and cantaloup fields. The Japanese mostly work for their own people, but occasionally they also hire themselves out to other people. In Fresno County, they come into competition with the Americans, Japanese, Armenians and some Mexicans in vineyards or on fruit ranches. In the San Joaquin Valley it is the Americans and Japanese who come into competition with the Hindustanees in vegetable cultivation and fruit growing. In the Sacramento Valley the chief competition lies in cultivating rice and the Japanese are the only other people who are engaged in the same business to any extent. In Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, the Chinese, Japanese, Hindustanees and the Americans or Canadians compete in the lumber industry. In all these fields of competition, the Hindustanees are equal to, if not better than, the workers of other races. There is, therefore, no reason, why they should underbid.

CHAPTER V.

CONDITIONS OF WORK.

The health and safety of laborers are affected by excessive hours and unsanitary and dangerous surroundings. One of the essential points in the study of the industrial life of a people is, therefore, the conditions under which they work.

1. Hours of Work.

Just how many hours a farmer or farm laborer works is difficult to determine. Unlike factory work, agricultural work is seasonal and urgent and the length of the working day must, therefore, be indefinite. When the farm work is of a more or less regular and steady nature as plowing and cultivating, for instance, the number of working hours is fixed. The Hindustanees generally work nine or ten hours a day on farms all along the Pacific Coast.

One of the special features of their work in Imperial Valley is their adaptability to the climatic conditions. During the summer the temperature rises as high as 115° F. It is impossible to work during the heat of the day. So they start work about two or three o'clock in the morning and quit work about ten or ten-thirty A. M. About four or five o'clock in the evening they go to the fields again and work until sunset, thus adding two or three more hours of work in the afternoon. In the winter season the work lasts from 7.30 or 8 o'clock in the morning to five in the evening with an interval of rest for one or one and a half hours at midday. Practically the same number of working hours prevail in other agricultural districts.

During agricultural seasons, however, the hours of work are unlimited. Crops must be harvested, and cotton and fruit must be picked within a limited period of time. At this time the number of working hours may be extended to 13 or 14 a day. Especially is this true when they undertake work on a contract basis. They begin very early in the morning and work as late as possible. They

have wonderful power of endurance. It must be borne in mind that these long hours of work last only for a short period of time, generally for not more than a week or two at a stretch. The busy seasons are generally followed by inactivity and leisure.

As in factories, the hours of work in the lumber industry are more or less fixed. In the lumber mills of Linnton and Astoria, Oregon, eight hours is the working day, but in Bridal Veil, Oregon, and in the mills of British Columbia, the regular working day is ten hours.

2. Rest Periods and Holidays.

The period of rest differs in different industries and in different parts of the country. One hour at noon is allowed for rest and refreshment all along the coast. In Imperial Valley five or six hours of rest are allowed during the summer months in the middle of the day. At other times one hour is allowed. When the Hindustanees work for themselves, their rest period is extended to one and a half hours.

In the lumber mills the period of rest is generally one hour, but in several places such as at Linnton, Oregon, they close down the mills on Saturday afternoon, though they work 48 hours during the week. They allow, therefore, only 45 minutes at noon for rest and refreshment so that the four hours on Saturday afternoon is made up by working longer on other days.

This arrangement seems to be very satisfactory to the Hindustani workers. It affords them time for shopping on Saturday afternoons and also gives them an opportunity for recreation.

In regular work either on the farms or in the mills, Sundays and other legal holidays are always enjoyed by them as holidays. Such, however, is not the custom during busy agricultural seasons. During the harvesting seasons the work is carried on seven days in the week until it is completed. But the Sunday work, even in these periods does not last the whole of the day. Generally the men stop work about noon.

3. Health and Safety.

Health and safety have scarcely become problems of labor in agriculture. The work is carried on out of doors, the machinery and implements used on the farms are generally simple and the work is usually individualistic rather than collective. Heat and cold are natural phenomena and their effects have not as yet been realised to constitute a problem. Moreover, the people have been engaged in agricultural work for so many ages that it has never been regarded as involving any danger to health and safety.

Even in the lumber industry the problem of health and safety have not acquired any importance. Logging is, of course, out of door work and so, to a certain extent, is lumbering. Although a certain amount of saw-dust is bound to exist in the sawing department of the mill, it has not as yet been found to be injurious to the health of the workers.

Accidents due to the use of machinery and to the general character of the work are bound to happen in logging and lumbering. The lumber mills are worked under the provisions of the factory acts of Oregon, Washington and British Columbia and the provisions for safety are made according to the law.

Several Hindustanees have met with accidents but only a few of them have seriously suffered. Cases are recorded where they have lost a leg or an arm and have been invalids for the rest of their lives. In some of these instances the injured failed to obtain adequate compensation.

CHAPTER VI.
INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY.

Efficiency is the basis of economic success which is the aim of all industrial activities. The acquisition of efficiency not only assures a man a reasonable income but also develops in him those qualities which build individual character and leads to social progress.

1. Elements of Efficiency.

Efficiency depends upon physical health on the one hand and upon education and training on the other.

a. Health and Vigor.

Health and vigor are the fundamental basis of industrial efficiency. The majority of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast come from the Punjab where the people are tall in stature and robust in constitution. These qualities give them an initial advantage over men of some other races engaged in the farm work and in the logging camps where they generally find employment.

Their ages range from 25 to 45 years. Most of them are in the prime of life. Although they live in a foreign country where the natural surroundings, climatic conditions and even food habits are different, nevertheless they have succeeded in adapting themselves to their new environment and even thrive in it. Most of them enjoy good health according to the testimonials of the physicians, located in various places, such as Calexico, Brawley, El Centro, Fresno, Stockton, Sacramento and Marysville in California, and Astoria, Linnton, Bridal Veil in Oregon, and Victoria and Vancouver in British Columbia.

The diseases from which they suffer are those which are common to the localities in which they live, such as malaria and cardiorenal affections at Sacramento, Cal. Even in such localities they have been found comparatively free from the prevailing diseases. Typhoid, small-pox and measles are the common diseases in Holtville, but Dr. H. B. Graeser with a large practice among them did not have any patient suffering "from the above complaints". In spite of the prevalence of influenza, pneumonia and typhoid fever at Calexico, Cal., Dr.

Charles P. Engel found their health "excellent". "The general health of the community is good", writes Dr. W. Y. Corry, Vancouver, B. C. The experience of several physicians in other localities is practically the same.

A discordant note has, however, been struck by Dr. Chas. von Geldern of Sacramento, Cal. "In my experience, based on a number of carefully recorded case histories", says Dr. von Geldern, "many of these people are hypochondriacal, and neurosthenia and hysteria are common". Dr. von Geldern's experiences are, however, rare. In none of the places where a special inquiry was made into the matter, did the local physicians make mention of the above ailments.

b. Aptitude and Adaptability.

Most of the Hindustanees come from the agricultural districts of India and have a natural inclination towards farming. In the first few years of their residence on the Pacific Coast, they had to work in factories or on railroads. But as soon as they had opportunities, they gave up their former jobs and took to farming.

The agricultural methods in America are not the same as in India, but they nevertheless soon learned the new methods. They became familiar with the process of cultivating land with modern machinery, such as gang plows, mowing machines, double-row listers and 8 foot six horse disks.

The work in saw-mills was also a new venture to them, but here also they adapted themselves very rapidly and have become expert in many of the operations in a short time.

c. Regularity of Attendance.

Regularity of attendance is essential to efficiency in modern industrial organizations. It may be more indispensible in factories than on farms, but its importance in the latter case cannot be minimized. The gang system of work, the shortness of the harvesting season, and the unreliability of the climatic conditions make it necessary that even the agricultural workers should be regular especially during the busy seasons. The Hindustani workers stand very high in the estimation of their employers

on this score. Not only are they punctual but always steady in their attendance. Whenever they accept a job they stick to it until it is finished.

To a questionnaire presented to the employers, managers, superintendents and foremen all over the Pacific Coast to ascertain the regularity of their attendance, practically all the replies were — "good", "very good", "very favorable", and "excellent".[1]

d. Application and Endurance.

Application and endurance are two of the essential qualities in industrial efficiency. In order to be efficient in a line of work a man must apply himself to it and have the power of continuance. In both of these qualities the Hindustanees stand very high.

To the questionnaire on the subject of endurance presented to many employers and superintendents as mentioned before, most of the replies were to the effect that the Hindustanees were in this respect either "good", "excellent", "steady", "reliable" or "industrious". Such attributes have often been applied to them also by bankers and real estate men who had occasion to see them at work in the fields.

Perhaps their power of endurance is best shown when they undertake contract work. Fixed and regular hours of work cannot always be adhered to in farm work, especially during the harvesting seasons. One often

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[1] Among the people who gave the above testimonies to this question are included Mr. A. E. Wray, Secretary-Manager, Growers' Distributing Agency for seasonal and steady labor, who had 4 years' experience with them in Fresno, Cal.; Mr. James J. Brennan, farmer at Loomis, Cal., who had 12 years' experience with them; Mr. Howard Reed, fruit grower of Marysville, Cal.; Mr. Wiley M. Giffen, fruit grower at Fresno, Cal.; Mr. E. F. Toomey, fruit grower also of Fresno, Cal.; Mr. E. W. Kingsley, manager of the West Oregon Lumber Company at Linnton, Oregon, who employed 17 Hindustanees and had some 50 or 60 in his employment at one time, and has known them for 9 years; Mr. J. A. Rankin, manager of the Hammond Lumber Company, Astoria, Oregon, who had known the Hindustanees for 8 years and had 35 of them working for him in 1921; Mr. Gust Raptis, cantaloup grower in Imperial Valley; and Mr. Frank Waterman, a beet grower at Manteca, California.

wonders if they do not overwork themselves. Whenever harvesting is to be done in a short and definite period, they work almost incessantly with only a few hours off for rest and recuperation, and continue to work in this manner until the job is finished.

e. Speed and Dexterity.

While application and endurance add to the quality of work, speed and dexterity increase the quantity and are, therefore, essential for success in industrial enterprises.

The Hindustanees also enjoy a high reputation in regard to these qualities. In certain classes of work in farming, lumbering, and logging, they cannot be excelled by any other race. Whenever the Americans or Canadians have work of similar nature, they get the first chance for employment, because of their speed and dexterity.

It has been pointed out by some of the employers that the Hindustanees do not work as fast for others as for themselves. The same charge has been or can be brought against other workers. Of course, it is quite natural that a man is inclined to turn out more when working for himself than for others.

f. Skill and Ingenuity.

Skill and ingenuity are the most important components of industrial efficiency. Like energy and endurance, the ability to learn a process quickly and to perform it adroitly is necessary for industrial success. Of still greater importance, however, is the faculty to meet some difficult situation in a particularly productive process or even to invent some method for overcoming obstacles in order to achieve results.

In the different industrial activities in which most of the Hindustanees are at present engaged on the Pacific Coast, they are regarded as very skilful and ingenious. In clearing and irrigating land, pruning trees and picking fruits, they have acquired a high degree of proficiency. In the cultivation of such crops as rice, cotton and as-

paragus, they have become model farmers in their respective districts.

In Arizona, Gopal Singh and several other Hindustanees bought some land and started raising cotton. Speaking of their venture the "Chandler Arizonian" writes in the issue of May 14th, 1920, as follows:

"The 400 acres of cotton didn't receive a bit of water until May 12th. Seeds came through without water under a system of planting which Gopal learned from his father in far off India, where dire necessity in lack of water resulted in finding a way to bring up vegetation by attracting underground moisture." — Gopal Singh and his friends were really the first people to lead the way and show what could be done to make a project a financial success.

Mr. C. S. Gonnason of the Lemon, Gonnason Company, Ltd., Victoria, B. C., found them to be "energetic workmen, with a keen desire to learn." The Columbia River Lumber Company, Ltd., of Golden ,B. C., employed about 100 Hindustanees in their saw-mills and lumber yards. "We have found them", writes the manager of the company, "to be steady workers, attentive to their work, quite intelligent and quick to learn." "Most of them (Hindustanees) are hard working and their farming is usually of high order", adds Mr. Gage. Mr. E. J. Walther says: "They are regarded as skilful workers in several special lines such as asparagus raising, tree growing and particularly as irrigators."

Mr. D. C. Cameron found them "quite expert in certain lines of work about the saw-mill." "Many of them", continued Mr. Cameron, "have shown extraordinary energy and resource in establishing saw-mill enterprises of their own." "They not only show perfect familiarity with the most advanced agricultural methods", writes Mr. C. H. Merry, "but in the disposal of their product give evidence of keen intelligence and thorough acquaintance with approved business principles." "My observation", further continues Mr. Merry, "is that they do best when operating upon their own account, and are possessed of the spirit of the initiative."

2. Comparative Efficiency.

It is a very difficult task to compare the efficiency of a race or a nation or even of a class with that of others. In the first place, different races have different stature and body-structure and they may not, therefore, be well fitted physically to do the same kind of work. The small-bodied Japanese, for instance, with his light and nimble limbs may be more efficient in certain operations, such as thinning beets than the large-bodied Hindustanee. On the other hand, the tall stature and large body of the latter is a decided advantage in irrigation work. In the second place, different nations and even different classes have different education and training and they cannot, therefore, easily adapt themselves to the same kind of work and do it with the same degree of efficiency. The Hindustanees, for instance, being born and raised in the very simplicity of an Indian village and being accustomed to agricultural work, find it rather hard to do the complicated work of a modern factory. In the third place, prejudice and discrimination, which are liable to play a more or less important role in the employment of different races, do not afford the same opportunity to all classes of workers. In the fourth place, there has scarcely been any scientific experiment made to test the comparative efficiency of different races and nations. Comparative efficiency is, therefore, a question of general impression rather than one of accurate measurement.

In the present study, a special attempt was made to ascertain the efficiency of the Hindustanees as compared with that of the other nationalities. Some of the results were verified by a large number of persons of different occupations, such as employers, superintendents, foremen and land-owners. With the exception of one or two unfavorable criticisms, the people generally spoke very highly of the efficiency of the Hindustanees.

A large number of the Hindustanees are themselves employers and they always prefer their own countrymen for their work and pay them higher wages. Mr. Asa Singh, a cotton-grower of Imperial Valley, for example, found it profitable to pay higher wages to the Hindus-

tanees, and this opinion was almost universally shared by all the Hindustani cotton and milo-growers of Imperial Valley. In the rice growing districts of northern California, such as Colusa, Marysville, Willows and Chico, the same opinion was found to prevail among the Hindustani employers in regard to their own countrymen. Mr. Hakim Khan at Marysville, Cal., for instance, a Hindustani farm operator of over a thousand acres of rice land, would employ as many of his countrymen as he could get in preference to the workers of other nationality.

The statements of other Hindustani fruit and vegetable ranch operators in Fresno County, San Joaquin Valley and Sacramento Valley are practically the same. In the saw-mills and lumber camps in British Columbia, the Hindustani employers also think very highly of their own countrymen.

"I have some Hindustani workers", observed Mr. Soran Singh, manager of the Eastern Lumber Company, Ladysmith, B. C., "whose places cannot be taken by the Chinese or Japanese even if we put three men to one job."

Mr. Bal Mukunda and Mr. Lochman Singh, managers of the Virginia Lumber Company, Coombs, B. C., and Mr. Kapoor Singh, manager of the Mayo Lumber Company, Duncan, B. C., had the same faith in the high efficiency of their countrymen in lumber and logging industries.

This belief in the higher efficiency of the Hindustani workers by their own countrymen, it might be said, is more or less liable to be biased for the reason that they would naturally take more interest in the farm or factory of their own countrymen than otherwise. This has often been found to be true in the case of the Japanese who are said to work much harder for their own countrymen than for employers of other nationalities. It must be remembered, however, that the Hindustani employers are first of all business men and, as such, would care more for profit and self-interest than for patronizing their own countrymen, if they did not find them at least as efficient as the workers of other races. Moreover, their statements are partially corroborated by the experience of most of the

American and Canadian employers and observers. A few statements were, however, made to the effect that the Hindustanees were not as efficient workers as the Americans.

"Compared with the Japanese, the Hindu does not seem to take to intensive farming. He prefers to raise cotton, corn and barley on as large a scale as his capital will permit. As a result, his farm is likely to show more weeds than the farm of the Japanese. The Hindu does not seem to take to dairying or alfalfa raising.[2] He seems to compare favorably in farming methods with the farmer from the Southern States, but is not equal to the middle-western farmer", is the statement of Mr. Clarance E. Gage. "Their industrial efficiency I have found is not to be compared with that of the Americans", writes Mr. H. L. Miller, a former manager of the State Employment Office at Chico, California.

Says Mr. W. F. Toomey, fruit grower of Fresno, California: "Japanese and Hindus are about equal; Americans, regular ranchers, better than either Japs or Hindus; average man from city not as good as either the Hindus or Japanese; Mexicans and (American-) Indians slower than above-mentioned, and not as industrious as any of above races." "Comparing them (The Hindustanees) to other nationalities as to their efficiency, I can say that they are as good as or better in some cases than the Japanese worker, and far above the Mexican and Chinese workers. The Chinese are a slow class of workers and the Mexicans have to be watched all the time," is the statement of Mr. John A. Greene, manager of the Public Employment Bureau of the State of California, at Stockton, Cal.

"I consider them very efficient", writes Mr. Kelt Gould of Clovis, California, "really the best workers we have among the people other than Americans."

"I consider them (the Hindustanees) the most efficient foreign labor unit on our ranch to date", writes Mr. Miller of Delano, Cal., in recommending a Hindustani

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[2] Some of the Hindustani farmers do, however, raise alfalfa.

labor gang to Mr. Fred Smith of the Producers' Fruit Company of California, Fresno, Cal.

Mr. Carson C. Cook of the Rindge Land and Navigation Company at Stockton, California, on the other hand, found the Hindustani farm worker as "capable as the average farmer of any race", while Mr. George E. Lemay, Secretary of the Fresno County Chamber of Commerce. Fresno, Cal., found them "as efficient as any of the other nationalities doing similar work."

"My opinion is", remarks H. B. Graeser, Holtville, Cal., "that the Hindu ranks well in intelligence with the American laborer and I have met a number who will rank much higher." "There are some classes of work", observes Mr. E. J. Walther, the Sacramento representative of the Commission of Immigration and Housing of California, "which I believe they (the Hindustanees) perhaps do better than some other classes of labor, for instance, asparagus cutting which is tedious work."

According to Judge H. B. Griffin, Justice of the Peace and a rich ranch owner of Brawley, Cal., the Hindustanees are "excellent farmers". And Mr. Byron H. Bearce of the Tidewater Southern Railway Company says: "Their farms in that locality (Stockton, Cal.,) have been used as models for other farmers." [3]

In the estimation of the employers and superintendents of the lumber companies in Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, the Hindustanees rank very high in industrial efficiency. The West Oregon Lumber Company, Linnton, Oregon and the Hammond Lumber Company of Astoria, Oregon, as mentioned before, found them as efficient as the American workers and have always paid the same rate of wages to both. In comparison with the Japanese they think the Hindustanees are superior workers. They stated that they did not have any experience with either the Chinese or Mexican workers. In the Fraser Mills, one of the largest lumber mills in British Columbia, where more than one hundred Hindustanees were employed, the superintendent found them more efficient than the Chinese and Japanese and put them on

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[3] In a letter to Governor Stephens of the State of California.

a par with the Canadians. In reply to a question as to why in the Fraser Mills the Hindustani workers were paid lower wages than the Canadians, it was pointed out that this was due to their lower standard of living. A differential rate of wages was also common practice in the Cameron Lumber Company, Ltd., Victoria, B. C., where the Chinese and Japanese were paid lower wages than the Canadians, but due to the higher efficiency of the Hindustani workers their wages were the same as those of the Canadians.

"We have generally paid our Hindu employers", writes Mr. D. O. Cameron, Secretary-Treasurer of the Cameron Lumber Company, mentioned before, "about the same wages which have been paid to Canadian and American men doing the same class of work."

"We are large employers of the Hindu labor in connection with our railroad construction", remarked Messrs. Moore & Pethick, engineers and contractors of Victoria, B. C., "and at present have about one hundred and fifty of them working for us at Union Bay, and some forty to fifty at Osborne Bay. We wish to express our high appreciation of them in our work. They are infinitely superior to ordinary 'pick and shovel' white labor."[4]

From the above statements some idea may be had of the efficiency of the Hindustani workers as compared with that of the Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, Americans and Canadians. In the first place, in comparison with the Mexicans, the Hindustanees seem to possess a very high degree of efficiency. Beginning with Calexio at the Mexican border in Southern California and passing up to the rice districts of the Sacramento Valley of Northern California, a large number of Mexicans are found to work either with or for the Hindustanees. It is the general opinion of the employers and the superintendents that as far as regularity of attendance, reliability of work, power of endurance, and skill and ingenuity are concerned, the Hindustanees stand on a much higher level than the Mexicans. Whether these Mexicans represent the aver-

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[4] Quoted in India's Appeal to Canada, p. 11.

age type of the people of their country cannot be ascertained. There is, moreover, a strong prejudice in California against the Mexicans. Of the two classes of people, Hindustanees and Mexicans, the employers prefer the former. In most of the places where investigation was made, the Hindustanees earned much higher wages than the Mexicans.

In the second place, it is not fair to compare the Chinese with the Hindustanees. Except in the lumber mills and logging camps of the North Pacific Coast where the Hindustanees and Chinese work side by side, there is no field of labor where they compete, so that no idea of their comparative efficiency can be obtained. There is, however, a general consensus of opinion among all classes of people on the Pacific Coast that the Chinese are very honest workers. They fulfill their contracts, and are steady and methodical, but "slow" and "spiritless" in their work. The Hindustanees, in addition to their steadiness and reliability also possess a good deal of speed and dexterity. Even when working long hours they remain energetic up to the last moment. For this reason the Hindustanees are preferred to the Chinese especially in the hard work of logging and lumbering. The earning power of the Hindustanee is invariably higher than the Chinese as pointed out later on.

In the third place, neither the Japanese nor the Hindustanees compete for the same kind of work except, as mentioned before, in lumbering and logging camps on the Northern Pacific Coast and in the rice fields of the Sacramento Valley. In Southern California a large number of Japanese are located in Imperial Valley but they generally do intensive farming, such as cantaloup growing, whereas the Hindustanees are engaged in extensive farming, such as raising milo-maize, cotton and alfalfa. There is, therefore, no possibility of getting any basis for comparison. The general opinion among the American employers and superintendents is that the Japanese are very hard and efficient workers. In the rice fields, however, the Japanese are engaged in the same kind of work as the Hindustanees, but unfortunately

no data have been available for comparison. In Oregon and British Columbia the Japanese and Hindustanees are found working side by side either for Hindustani employers or for American or Canadian employers. In the different operations of lumbering and logging the Hindustanees are given preference to the Japanese and the earnings of the former are much higher than those of the latter.

In the fourth place, the field of work in which the Hindustanees come into competition with Americans or Canadians is very much limited. In the lumber mills and logging camps the Hindustanees are reputed to be as efficient workers as the Americans or Canadians and, except in one or two cases, their wages are practically the same as those of the latter. In the rice growing districts of Northern California, the Hindustanees are regarded highly efficient workers. The Hindustanees and the Japanese are accustomed to this kind of work. Very few Americans grow rice, although some of them take employment under Hindustani or Japanese employers mostly as machinists. The Americans do not seem to posses any aptitude for work in the rice fields and there cannot, therefore, be any comparison between the Hindustanees and the Americans. But in raising vegetables and asparagus, the Hindustanees are regarded as being as good workers as are the Americans, if not better. In the cotton districts of Southern California, the Hindustanees show a much higher degree of efficiency than the native Americans. But Mr. Gage explains that these native Americans come from the Southern States. That may be true, but to say that the Hindustanees are in any way inferior to the farmer from the middle Western States is rather an assumption than a proven statement, as there is no field for comparison. If the Hindustanees in the grape districts of Fresno County lack any degree of efficiency in comparison with the regular ranchers of American birth, as pointed out by Mr. Toomey, it must be said in reply that the Hindustanees do not have the same opportunity as the native born Americans. First, most of the Hindustanees do not own any land, which is one

of the most important stimuli for increasing activities of agriculture. In the second place, most of the Hindustanees do not know the American language and are not familiar with the up-to-date methods of cultivation and marketing.

In spite of the difference of opinion as to the exact degree of efficiency we might say in conclusion that compared with other races and nationalities such as the Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, Americans and Canadians, the efficiency of the majority of the Hindustanees is of a very high order in the different fields in which they are engaged.

CHAPTER VII.

WAGES AND INCOME.

The prime object of all production, in fact practically of all industrial activities, is consumption. As consumption is determined by income, a consideration of wages and income is essential in understanding the welfare of a group of people.

1. Basis of Rate Making.

The basis of rate making in both farm operations and lumber mills is the time element. There are, however, quite a few exceptions to this general rule. Even in the lumber mills at Bridal Veil, Oregon, there are quite a number of the Hindustanees at work on the piece basis. They earn much more at piece work than on the time basis. While piece workers may be few in the lumber industry, the number of such workers in agriculture and horticulture, especially in the latter occupation, is by no means small. In fact, they prefer piece work. In picking fruits or cotton, the general basis of rate making is the piece. For example, the rate of wages for picking 100 trays of grapes was $ 1.75 in 1920. Similarly they pick peaches and other fruits on the piece basis charging a certain amount for each box.

Contract work is still another basis of rate making. Nothing is so welcome to the Hindustanees as contract work. All those who have been in America long enough to be familiar with the conditions of work prefer to enter into contract work. Generally one of the leading men who has a gang varying in number from 20 to 50 men, will undertake to accomplish a certain amount of work for a certain amount of money. The rate of wages for thinning beet fields, for instance, was fixed at $ 7.00 per acre in 1920 in the neighborhood of Brigham City, Utah. Sometimes the picking of grapes or other fruits is contracted for a whole ranch.

The contract is only a modified form of piece work, but there are several reasons why the Hindustanees, in fact all enterprising workmen, prefer it. First, there is an element of speculation in contract work which is

stimulating to such instincts as curiosity. Second, there is a certain amount of freedom in the work. They can select their own time of attendance and the number of working hours. Third, it gives them an opportunity for better division of labor and distribution of time. Sometimes they contract for several ranches or orchards in the same neighborhood and can pick fruits or cotton very economically. Fourth, it is their best chance of making money. Even in the earlier days of their arrival in this country they took contracts for clearing land. They are confident that they can get the best of the bargain in contract work. In fact, they are most successful financially when working on this basis. Most of their money which they later on invested in different agricultural enterprises, was made in contract work.

2. Time and Mode of Payment.

Since the workers have to depend upon wages for their daily expenses, the time of payment becomes an important item when their welfare is taken into consideration. Payment of wages at a regular time and at short intervals may enable a worker to make his purchases on cash which after all is cheaper than on credit.

The time of payment of wages depends upon both custom and agreement. In Imperial Valley, laborers are paid weekly during the time of harvesting cotton and fortnightly or every month during the rest of the season. Fortnightly payment for both time and piece work is also very common in the agricultural and lumber industry all over the Pacific Coast. This was found to be the case in the lumber mills and logging camps in Oregon and British Columbia. In the harvesting seasons the payment of agricultural laborers is made according to the contract. In piece work all payments are made at definite periods, such as a week or fortnight or at the end of the work. But in contract work, the payment is made upon the fulfilment of the contract; although small payments are sometimes advanced at certain stipulated periods.

One of the advantages the Hindustanees enjoy over the Mexican laborers in Southern California is that they can wait for their wages much longer than the Mexican

laborers. Most of the Mexican laborers are married and generally have large families with them. They camp on the ranches of their employers. They demand, therefore, the payment of their wages at short intervals, that is, at the end of each week. The Hindustanees, on the other hand, are usually single and often have money in the bank. When they know their employer, they will often leave their wages with him until the end of the harvesting season.

3. The Rate of Wages.

The Hindustanees are scattered over a vast area of the Pacific Coast and are engaged in different kinds of work so that their wages and income differ a good deal from place to place and from occupation to occupation. Moreover, there has been a great fluctuation both in wages and income during the last two decades during which they have lived in the United States and Canada. The exact data of the wages and income for the first few years of their residence in America are not available, but a fair idea of the rate of wages for the later years may be had from the following table:

I.

Wages of the Hindustanees from 1906 to 1920.[1]

Year	Occupation	Rate per hr. in cts.
1906—1907	Railroad or saw-mills	15 to 20
1908—1912	" " " "	15 to 25
1913—1914	Farm Labor	20 to 25
1915—1916	" "	25 to 30
1917—1918	" "	35 to 40
1919—1920	" "	40 to 60

Table I shows a gradual rise of wages for the Hindustani workers for 15 years. The figures have been collected from representative workers. In the beginning, practically all of the workers were engaged on railroads and the wages were more or less uniform for the men in the same gang. The rate varied from $ 1.50 to $ 2.50

[1] Computed from data supplied by the workers.

per day for the first 7 years. As soon as they began working on farms, their wages began to rise. On farms they earned high wages varying from two to three dollars per day in the years from 1913 to 1916. In 1917 their wages began to rise rapidly when the payment was from 35 to 40 cents per hour. The greatest increase took place, however, in the year 1919 and 1920 when some of the workers were earning 5 to 6 dollars a day.

Due to the depression in industries and the falling of prices, their wages have also fallen in 1921 as compared with previous years. The present rate of wages in agricultural work may be seen from the following table:

II.

Wages of the Hindustanees in Agriculture in 1921.[2]

Locality	Rate in cents	Remarks
Brigham City, Utah.	35	10 hrs.
Loomis, Cal.	40	Fruit growing
Colusa, Cal.	35—40	Rice Fields
Stockton, Cal.	30—40	Fruit picking Irrigating etc.
Calexico, Cal.	40	Cantaloups
Marysville, Cal.	30—35	Fruit picking
El Centro, Cal.	35	Cotton fields.

Table II shows the rate of wages of the Hindustani farm laborers in different localities on the Pacific Coast. Most of the farm workers are located in California and British Columbia, but in the latter province practically all those engaged in agriculture work for themselves. There are only a few Hindustani farm laborers in such states as Utah and their wages are given separately.

It is seen that the rate of wages in 1921 varied from 30 to 40 cents an hour which, when calculated for a day of 10 hours, would amount to from $ 3 to $ 4. Although this rate is lower than that of the previous two years, there is a decided advancement over that of the year 1909, for which the figures are available, as shown below:

[2] Computed from data supplied by employers.

III.

Wages of the Hindustani Laborers in Agriculture in 1909.[3]

Number of Laborers.	Rate in Dollars.
45	From 1.00 to less than 1.25
104	„ 1.25 „ „ „ 1.50
149	„ 1.50 „ „ „ 1.75
43	„ 1.75 „ „ „ 2.00
28	„ 2.00 „ „ „ 2.50
2	„ 2.25 „ „ „ 3.00
371	From 1.00 to 3.00

Table III shows that the rate of wages in agriculture for 371 Hindustanees in 1909 varied from $ 1 to $ 3. Those who received $ 1.75 or over were either piece workers or bosses, while the wages of the average worker in 1921 were $ 3 or over.

Next to agriculture is the lumber industry in which is engaged a large number of the Hindustanees. The present rate of wages in different localities in this industry is shown below:

IV.

Wages of the Hindustanees in the Lumber Industry, 1921.[4]

Location.	Rate in Dollars.
Astoria, Ore.[5]	$ 3.00 to $ 3.40 a day (37.5 to 42.5 cents per hr.)
Linnton, Ore.[5]	$ 3.20 to $ 4.80 a day (40 to 60 cents an hr.)
Duncan, B. C.[6]	$ .40 to .75 per hr.
Ladysmith, B. C.	$ .30 to .40 per hr.
Coombs, B. C.	$ .27½ to .50 per hr.
Vancouver, B. C.	$ .26 to .35 per hr.

[3] Abstract of Report of Immigration Commissioner, 1911, 1 : 680.
[4] From the data supplied by employers.
[5] Eight hours work.
[6] Wages for 1920.

In Table IV is shown the rate of wages of Hindustani workers in the lumber industry on the Pacific Coast. There was a great depression in the lumber industry at the time the rates were collected. In fact, some of the largest mills were partly or wholly shut down. Some of the mills after having been closed for several months had just opened again for business in order "to keep men and machinery going", to use the words of the manager of one of the mills. The rate of wages, therefore, was low in almost all lumber companies in comparison with those paid during previous years. But the variations are easily seen for the different mills.

As a rule, the wages are higher in the United States than in Canada. The hours of work are also shorter in the United States as before stated. The variation in the rate of wages runs from 26 cents at Vancouver, B. C. to 40 cents at Linnton, Ore. The wages for Hindustani laborers at Vancouver, B. C. are very low, like those of other Oriental workers. It is an established policy in some of the mills in Canada to pay lower wages to all Orientals in comparison with the Canadians.

4. Comparative Wages.

An interesting feature of the wage system in some of the mills and on some of the ranches under investigation is that it offers a basis for comparison. While it by no means leads to any general conclusion, as the industrial units are so few in number, they at least indicate some tendency in the rate of wages paid to workers of different nationalities.

In the agricuutlral industry the Hindustanees are sometimes found working side by side with the Americans and the Mexicans. The Hindustani farmers pay higher wages to their countrymen than to the workers of other nationalities. Mr. Asa Singh, a cotton grower in Imperial Valley, for instance, paid in 1921 $ 2 a day to the Mexican laborers, $ 2.25 a day to the American laborers, and $ 90 a month to the Hindustani laborers. For the same kind of work the Hindustani rice growers in the Sacramento Valley also pay higher wages to their

countrymen than to the Americans. Several American ranch owners employ both Hindustani and American laborers. For the same kind of work they pay the same rate of wages to both classes. At a fruit ranch near Fresno, Cal., for instance, the American laborers were paid $ 2 a day and board, and the Hindustani laborers $ 3 a day without board. But in special work, such as pruning, irrigating, and picking cotton, the Hindustanees receive higher wages even from American employers.

In the lumber mills of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, a large number of Hindustani workers compete with the Chinese, Japanese, American, and Canadian workers. The rate of their wages gives a rough idea of comparison as shown below:

V.

Comparative Wages in the Lumber Industry, 1921.[7]
(In cents)

Location.	Chinese.	Japanese	Canadians.	Hindustanees.
Number of employees on which calculations are based	90	31	59	90
Vancouver, B. C. . . .	20—22	20—26	30 -80	26 -35
Coombs, B. C.	20—30	25—40	25—80	27½ -50
Ladysmith, B. C. . . .	25—35	30—40	50—85	30—40
Duncan, B. C. (1921) . .	30 -40	40—60	40--1.00	40 -75
Variation	20—40	20—60	30—1.00	26—75

Table VI shows the rate of wages of the Chinese, Japanese, Canadian and Hindustani workers in the lumber industry in British Columbia. The number of men in each group has been found by adding the figures supplied by four mills. It is seen that the rate of wages runs from 20 to 40 cents in the case of the Chinese, from 20 to 60 cents in the case of the Japanese, from 30 cents to one dollar in the case of the Canadians and 26 to 75 cents in the case of the Hindustanees. It must be remembered

[7] From the data supplied by the Hindustani employers.

that the lowest and highest wages in each group do not indicate the actual earnings of the group. It shows, however, the highest and the lowest rate of wages for the workers in each group.

The above data are too inadequate to warrant any general statement. But it is seen that first, the wages of the Canadians are higher than those of any other nationality; second, the wages of the Hindustanees are higher than those of the Chinese and the Japanese; and third, in the case of the Chinese and Japanese, the rate of wages of the latter are higher than those of the former.

It needs, however, further explanation. Among the Canadians are grouped such skilled workers as engineers and mechanics who, according to the Canadian law, cannot be drawn from among the foreigners. They generally receive higher rate of wages. But those Canadians who are employed in the same work as the Hindustanees earn the same rate of wages.

It can, therefore, be said that the rate of wages of the Hindustanees in the lumber industry is higher than those of the Chinese and the Japanese and compares favorably with those of the Americans and the Canadians.

5. Annual Earnings.

What really concerns workmen is not the rate of wages paid per hour or per day but the amount of yearly income on which he has to live. The rate of wages does not. therefore, really indicate the welfare of a man. This is especially true in the case of laborers in agriculture which is an extremely seasonal industry.

Just what is the amount of annual income of the Hindustani laborer is hard to determine. It varies from year to year and from place to place as would naturally be expected. In Imperial Valley, the gross income of the average Hindustani worker has been put at $ 800.00 a year. In Fresno County, the San Joaquin Valley, and the Sacramento Valley, there were found several farm workers whose annual income was from $ 800.00 to $ 1000.00. The range of income lies between $ 600.00 and $ 1200.00. The average income has been variously

estimated at $ 900.00 a year. A decided advance is shown in the annual income of the Hindustanees in the past twelve years. In 1908, the average income of 53 Hindustanees amounted to $ 451.00 for an average of 10.2 months in the year.[8] In 1921, the average income had risen to $ 900.00. In the latter case the working period was from 9 to 10 months, and the average is for the total group of Hindustani farm workers.

The average annual income of the Hindustani workers in lumber and logging industries can be more easily determined from the rate of wages which is more or less steady. Taking 300 working days in the year and the rate of wages in Table III, it may be seen that the rate of wages varies from $ 780.00 at Fraser Mills to $ 1800.00 at Linnton, Oregon. The rate of wages at Duncan, B. C., ranged from 40 to 75 cents an hour in 1920. In that case the income was as high as $ 2250.00. Taking the actual rate of wages paid in 1921 at Fraser Mills, B. C. and at Linnton, Oregon, we find that the average income would amount to the mean sum between $ 780.00 and $ 1800.00

In connection with the income of the Hindustanees as mentioned before, there are several points which must be taken into consideration.

First, although the average income of the Hindustanees has risen from $ 451.00 in 1908 to $ 900.00 in 1921, i. e., about one hundred per cent, the prices of food have also risen about one hundred per cent. But the years 1920 and 1921 were rather abnormal. Due to the depression in the agricultural industry the income has decreased. Second, comparing the income in the agricultural industry with that in the lumber industry, it should be remembered that the workers on farms do not have to pay any rent. Wherever they work they get free accommodations. The mill workers, on the other hand, have to pay some rent although it is not very much. Third, the number of Hindustanees who work on farms for wages is very limited, as mentioned before. Most of them cultivate land for

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[8] Abstract of Report of the Immigration Commission, 1911, 1 : 678.

themselves or are engaged in independent business. Even those who do work on farms generally take contract work and their income, although indefinite, is generally higher. Moreover, a large number of the farm workers are also farm operators. They have their own farms which they cultivate, but when they have nothing else to do, they hire themselves out for a short period to other farm operators. The income shown above in the case of agricultural workers or mill workers represents, therefore, only a fraction of the Hindustani workers on the Pacific Coast. The average income of most of the Hindustanees is much higher than $ 900.00 per year.

CHAPTER VIII.
THE STANDARD OF LIVING.

1. Food.

The kind of food which people eat is generally determined by geography rather than by choice. Most of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast come from the Punjab which is a wheat-growing district. Their staple food is wheat. As a rule, they prefer whole wheat flour. Occasionally they also eat a small quantity of rice. Wheat and rice form thus the chief source of their carbohydrates. To this they add for proteid food, peas and beans of different kinds, both fresh and dried. These nitrogenous food stuffs are supplemented by such meat as beef, pork, chicken and mutton.

Religion has also some influence on their food habit. According to their religious faith they belong to three groups such as the Sikhs, the Mohammedans and the Hindus. The Hindus eat neither beef nor pork. The Mohammedans derive their religions from a section of the Semitic race and believe that pork is untouchable. The Sikhs, on the other hand, being closely connected with the Hindus, do not eat any beef.

Most of them are engaged in farm work and raise chickens and ducks, the eggs of which they consume in large quantities. Milk too is a very important item in their diet. Individual workers sometimes drink from one to two quarts of milk a day. Butter is the principal source of fat supply for them. They come from a section of India where neither vegetable oil nor lard are in common use. Instead they use large quantities of butter, amounting to at least 15 pounds a month per person.

Vegetables of all kinds such as potatoes, cauliflower, cabbage, eggplant, string-beans, squash, tomatoes and cucumbers are found on their menu. Fruits in season such as apples, peaches, pears, cherries and berries of all kinds form part of their diet. When fresh fruits and vegetables are not to be obtained, they make use of canned goods of all kinds. Tea and coffee form their chief beverages. Condiments of all kinds such as ginger, pepper, chillies,

bay-leaves, cloves, cardamoms and cinnamons are also kept on hand in all Hindustani kitchens.

Purchase of Food Stuffs: — The Hindustanees generally buy their food supplies in large quantities. When several of them form a dining club, it is easy for them to buy at wholesale prices. But even when only two or three of them board together, or in the case of a single family, they store up supplies for a month at a time. In some places, as in Victoria, British Columbia, the Khalsa Diwan Society runs a store, buying the food at wholesale prices and distributing it among the members at cost price plus operating and delivery charges.

Quality: — One of the essential points in connection with food is the quality. Food of good quality not only assures a wholesome diet but reflects on the cultural taste of a people. On investigation it has been ascertained that the quality of food purchased by the Hindustani workers is the best that can be obtained in the market. "The Hindus always buy good stuffs", was the emphatic reply of Mr. Stewart, grocer at El Centro, in Southern California, who supplies about 65 Hindustani customers with groceries and other provisons. The same reply was made by another grocer at Clovis, in Fresno County. Ashford Brothers, grocers at Tudor in Sacramento Valley, also found that the Hindustanees always demand the best.

"We have known these Hindustanes for fifteen years and they always buy the very best quality of high-priced groceries" writes Mr. Joe Lemma, proprietor of the Linnton Department Store at Linnton, Oregon. "They have always purcharsed the best quality of groceries" adds Mr. Jas. Jensen of Jensen & Co., grocers, also of Linnton, Oregon.

"As a rule they have bought a good class of groceries" was the statement of Mr. Drisket of Astoria, Oregon. Similar replies and statements were made by the grocery men of British Columbia.

Preparation: — As yet science has hardly entered into the domain of cooking. As an art, it is still determined by the custom of the country. The preparation of food is very largely a question of taste acquired by the

habit of a people. Most of the Hindustanees are grown-up persons when they come to America and retain, therefore, their native taste regarding food. Those who have been in America for a long time, or those who came when quite young, adapt themselves to American food. Practically all of them eat American dishes whenever necessary, but naturally they prefer their own preparation.

For example, one of the essential differences in the preparation of their food is in the making of their bread. When preparing the dough they add a large quantity of butter, shape the dough into cakes and bake it on a griddle on the top of the stove. This Chapati forms their daily bread and is served at every meal. To those who are accustomed to eating Chapati, the bread of other nations is flat and tasteless.

They use rice generally either boiled or in the form of a pudding. There is a third method of cooking rice which is very delicious. The rice is fried in butter to a certain degree, and then baked in the juice prepared from fish or meat to which condiments have been added. This is one of the most common methods of cooking rice in Eastern Asia. Generally, meat is prepared in the form of curry. Vegetables are usually fried in butter and then stewed and condiments added.

The variety of dishes prepared by them is not very large. This is largely due to the fact that most of them have no families and the men do their own cooking. Naturally they try to eliminate as much work as possible and cook only simple dishes that take very little time or trouble.

Service: — In the manner of serving their food, the Hindustanees are probably the most deficient. However, it must be remembered that the people of Eastern Asia do not use tables or chairs in their houses. Neither do they use knives or forks in eating their food. Their food is served to them as they sit on a rug or carpet and the dishes are placed on a white cloth spread on the floor. In America and Canada, the Hindustanees use tables and chairs and usually knives and forks. Since their meat

is cut into small pieces prior to cooking, no knives or forks are really needed and usually a spoon is sufficient for their needs when it comes to eating it.

The dining-table of the Hindustanees is usually covered with oil-cloth and is neat and clean. Though a piece of white linen might add to the artistic effect of the table, it is scarcely ever used. Still, it must be borne in mind that most of them are workers either on farms or in mills and their dining-hall is generally nothing more than a camp in which they live temporarily. Since they are all men, they hardly feel the necessity of decorating or beautifying their surroundings. Nor do the camps of men of other nationalities differ in this respect.

Dining Clubs: — The dining organizations of the Hindustanees require some comments. When there are two or more persons together, they form a mess and manage the affairs in turn. When a large number of men work together, they establish clubs consisting of sometimes as many as twenty. The club is run on a democratic basis. Each member takes the responsibility of the club for a month; he buys the provisions, distributes the cost and collects the expenses of operation from each member.

When they work in the mills of their own people, the club is organized on the same basis except that the money is collected and the provisions are bought by the company. The management, however, is left in the hands of the members.

These dining clubs invariably hire a cook, generally one of their own countrymen. They pay the cook the same salary as they earn themselves. In one of the lumber camps at Linnton, Oregon, the cook was paid $ 90 a month. At Fraser Mills, B. C., the cook received $ 3 a month from each club member which brought his salary to about $ 60 a month. In the lumber camps of Astoria, Oregon, and in other places, the salaries of cooks varied betwen $ 60 and $ 90 a month. Besides they get free board and lodge.

In some of the clubs it is customary to keep the expenditure for food at a certain level. Each member is allowed any amount of food of certain kinds, such as

chapati, dhal and curry. To this menu each member adds food of his own selection, which he himself buys and pays for. The fundamental idea of such a scheme is to bring to a common table all the people working in the same mill irrespective of their earnings. It affords an opportunity to the men earning low wages to enjoy the companionship at meal times of his countrymen who may be earning higher salaries. It affords also the means of regulating their expenditure for food according to the fluctuation in their earning power.

Cost of Food: — It is somewhat difficult to determine exactly the cost of food, especially in the case of a farming population who obtain a large part of their provisions from their farms. The cost, of course, varies in different parts of the country and among different classes of the people. From 30 to 35 dollars a month per member is the usual bill which a ranch owner near El Centro, Imperial Valley, pays to his grocer. Several ranch owners in Fresno, Stockton, Sacramento, Colusa, Marysville and other centers of Hindustani population in the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys furnished figures which would prove that the cost of food is from 25 to 35 dollars a month. In one or two cases, the cost was as high as 40 dollars a month. On the other hand, among the working classes the cost was as low as 20 dollars.

The cost of food at a lumber company at Coombs, B. C., was found to be about 30 dollars a month. At Fraser Mills, B. C., the cost was only 18 dollars a month. Two other lumber companies, both owned by the Hindustanees, at Duncan, B. C., charge their workers 20 dollars a month for board. To the general cost of food must be added the cost of extra food which each of them buys for himself according to his income. Although it is hard to estimate the exact expenses for extra food, it is probably 7 or 8 dollars a month on the average. There is one point which should not be forgotten in this connection: the food stuffs are generally bought at wholesale prices which help lower the cost. Thus the claim of practically all the Hindustanees that they spend "a dollar a day" for their food on an average seems to be justified.

In connection with the investigations it was possible to get hold of a bill which one of the Hindustani ranch owners came to pay to his grocer at Folsom, Cal. There were three members in this ranch household and one of them had been absent for quite a while. The grocery bill for this ranch from January 1st to June 30th, 1921, amounted to $ 363.65, i. e., about 20 dollars a month for each member. To this, of course, must be added the butcher's bill which was not available. The ranch also supplies an amount of provisions: There are two cows on the ranch, one of them was giving about 15 quarts of milk a day. There were 100 chickens which furnished meat and eggs. Grapefruit, apples, pears, peaches and cantaloups which the ranch produces for market also formed a part of the menu. When the cost of these articles is taken into consideration and added to 20 dollars a month paid to the grocer, the cost of food for each member of the household could not have been less than 30 dollars a month.

2. Clothing.

Climate and custom are the chief determinants of dress. Although the mode of dress is different in India, the Hindustanees upon their arrival in America, and some of them even before that, adopt American dress. There is only one exception to this: due to their religious customs, some of the Sikhs who form the majority of the Hindustanees in America, still retain their turbans. This is the most important distinction between the dress of the Hindustani resident in America, and that of the Americans. A large number of the Sikhs, especially those who enter the country in their early youth, or those who have been in the country for a long time, do discard their turbans and use hats instead. In one of the saw mills at Linnton, Oregon, for instance, there were found only 3 out of 19 Hindustanees who still wore their turbans. In the lumber camps of Astoria, Oregon, and of Duncan, Coombs, Ladysmith and the Fraser Mills in British Columbia a considerable number of Sikhs were found wearing hats. The same may be said of the Sikhs on the farms in different parts of the country. Those Hindustanees

belonging to the Mohammedan and Hindu religions began to use hats as soon as they landed on the Pacific Coast.

Like climate, occupation also influences dress, especially while at work. In this respect the Hindustanees too follow the mode and adapt their dress to the requirements of their occupations. Whether on the farms or in the factories, their dress resembles that of the other workers in each occupation.

The style of dress is decided on a basis of social approbation rather than on one of actual necessity. The majority of the Hindustanees live by themselves and they are not in touch with the social life of the American people, and as there is absence of their own women-folk, they do not feel the desire for fine dress. Nevertheless, the dress of the average Hindustanee compares very favorably with that of other groups of workers of the same class, such as farmers and mill-workers.

As to the cost of their clothing, it is hard to get any definite figures or information. However, it is known that the Hindustanees spend at least as much for their clothing as the average American and Canadian of the same class.

3. Housing.

Like clothing, housing is usually determined by climate and custom. There are, however, three essential elements which add to the comfort and beauty of a house: ownership of the house by the occupant, permanence of residence and the presence of women. These elements play little or no part in the houses of the Hindustanees in America. Most of them are either itinerary farm workers or operators of farms which they lease from one to three years. There are very few who have bought farm-land or homestead. A large number of them are housed in temporary quarters in the lumber mills and logging camps where they work.

Buildings: — The Hindustani farm operators live in houses furnished by their employers or land-owners and these houses are just as good, or perhaps one should say, just as bad, as the other farm houses in the locality. In spite of many defects in these houses, they do not feel

inclined to put any money into improvement, since they may occupy the house for only a year or two.

In the few cases where they have bought farms and homesteads, their houses are of decidedly better quality than those they occupy on leased farms. Mr. James E. Dobbs in the issues of the Canada-India for March and April, 1917, says on this subject: "I visited the home of one Sikh family in Vancouver, who succeeded in getting into Canada after waiting for about 18 months in Hong-Kong before being permitted to proceed. This family consists of father, four sons and grandmother. Through the industry of the father a large lot was purchased, a neat cottage built, and the family life to-day would be a credit to any immigrant laborer establishing a home in a new country."

In Imperial Valley where the climate is warm all the year round and the air is dry, it is found more comfortable to sleep out-of-doors than in the houses. Most of the houses here are found to be of the bungalow type with screen-windows and large porches. The houses are used only for storing clothes and other possessions. Most of the people sleep on the porches and some were even found sleeping in the open under the trees. The same conditions exist in Fresno, Stockton and Sacramento Counties, with the exception that in winter the people in these places sleep in the houses, which accordingly are of better construction.

All over the Pacific Coast the farm laborers and farm operators are housed in shacks built of timber. As one travels from Imperial Valley toward the north, one notes the distinction between the farm houses in Southern California and the houses in the saw-mill sections of Oregon, Washington and British Columbia. In the latter places the shacks are better built, and have glass windows and provisions for heating in the winter. They are built by the employers with the specific idea of renting them to the saw-mill employees, whereas on the farms in Southern California, the shacks are furnished the workers free of charge. In most cases these farm shacks are very small, in need of repair and improvement, and sometimes

do not even conform to the regulations of the Californian Commission of Immigration and Housing. Some of the Hindustanees who lease large ranches, anywhere from five hundred to a thousand acres, employ a large number of farm workers. Cases are on record where the houses furnished these workers failed to conform to the standard of sanitation fixed by the Commission of Immigration and Housing. They have no adequate system for the disposal of garbage, for example. While the Hindustani employers are responsible for keeping the quarters in proper order, the building of good, adequate and sanitary houses depends upon the owners who are mostly Americans.

The housing accommodations in the lumber camps vary a good deal in different places. A lumber company at Linnton, Oregon, for instance, accommodates its workers in separate groups according to nationality: Chinese in one camp, Japanese in another and Hindustanees in a third. For Hindustani workers they built a large frame house, in the basement of which was a kitchen. Rooms for more than 20 workers were provided and 19 Hindustanees were accommodated in this building at the time of investigation. Each man occupied a separate room which had outside windows. There was also a common sitting-room provided for them.

In another lumber camp at Astoria, Oregon, on the other hand, the men were housed in groups of four, two men sharing a bed-room. Here too a common sitting-room was provided. About 35 Hindustanees were thus housed in Astoria. In some cases two of the workers took a whole shack and lived more comfortably than was provided for by the regular accommodations.

In a lumber company at Bridal Veil, Oregon, the shacks are built for two persons. In these shacks there were a kitchen and a bathroom, besides separate sleeping-rooms.

The Hindustani employers in accommodating the different nationalities in the lumber camps follow the same method as the American or Canadian employers. They house their employees in groups according to nationality, such as Chinese, Americans and Hindustanees. For example, a Hindustani lumber company at Coombs, B. C.,

built shacks for the Chinese and Japanese. These shacks had each two rooms which were used as bed-rooms and a small anteroom which served as a sitting-room. Most of the saw-mills owned by the Hindustanees are newly built and although the shacks are of the same construction as those in other saw mills, they have better sanitary arrangements.

The accommodations furnished in a camp owned by the Hindustanees at Duncan, British Columbia, were of a very superior type. A great deal of attention was paid to sanitation and also to the comfort of the workers. There were about 32 cottages built on the one side of a board-road. All the cottages were painted green, each had a small porch facing the street and many of the houses were decorated with pots of flowers. Here the American, Japanese and Hindustani workers were housed in separate colonies. One defect found at this camp was that the employers had not thought it worth while to extend these better accommodations to their Chinese workers.

Perhaps the worst housing conditions were found in some of the saw-mills in British Columbia. At one of the mills, for instance, where a large number of workers were employed, the employees were housed in groups according to nationality. The shacks themselves were perhaps not worse than those found in other camps but were built close to the ground which, due to the excessive rainfall of British Columbia was very damp. One could feel the dampness in the air in these shacks which had low ceilings and were dark. Nearly 75 Hindustanees were at the time of the investigation employed at one of the mills.

Furniture: — The chief deficiency of the houses of the Hindustanees lies in the lack of furnishings. Most of the houses are poorly furnished. This is due to two reasons: In the first place, life among the Hindustanees in India is very simple; modern furniture is practically unknown there. In the second place, most of the Hindustani workers in America are only temporary residents in the houses they occupy and they have to get along as best as they can with the furniture which they find in the

rooms when they rent them. Naturally they do not like to invest any money in things which they cannot take with them when they move. It has, however, been found that some of the houses were supplied with modern furniture such as chairs, tables, paintings and bureaus, which were rather a novelty in camp life. Some of the studious-minded young men even had a large number of books.

The itinerant farm workers in moving from one district to another between agricultural seasons invariably pass through some towns or cities, where they reside in hotels mostly located in China towns. These hotels differ a good deal in character and quality. The Hindustanees make their choice of hotels according to the season of the year and the amount of money at their disposal. Between harvests when they have plenty of money, they generally patronize the better class of hotels. At other times they have, of course, to be satisfied with very ordinary accommodations.

In Sacramento, California, and also in Victoria and Vancouver, British Columbia, as well as in other smaller places, some of the Hindustanees run hotels for their own people. As a rule, two men are accommodated in one room and the accommodations cannot be said to be of a high order. In places like Stockton and Victoria, where the Sikhs have their own temples, they allow some of their countrymen to live there free of charge. In these places the accommodations are superior to those in the hotels run by the Hindustanees.

Cost: — The cost of housing varies in different places as naturally might be expected. Whenever a gang of Hindustani laborers work on a ranch, they are provided with living accommodations free. The same is true in the case of the farm operators. In the lumber mills where the Hindustani owners employ their own people, they do not generally charge anything for the shacks. But where the Hindustanees work in lumber mills owned by Americans or Canadians, a charge is always made for housing.

A lumber company at Linnton, Oregon, for instance, charges $ 1.50 a month to the Hindustani employees. Of

course, a similar charge is made to the employee's of other nationalities. Another lumber company at Astoria, Oregon, on the other hand, charges $ 5.00 for each shack irrespective of the number of people accommodated. As mentioned before, there is room for only four people in these shacks.

While living in the hotels in town, the Hindustani workers spend from 50 cents to $ 1.50 per day, depending, of course, upon their financial condition at the time.

4. Cleanliness.

One of the essential qualities of Hindustani life is personal cleanliness. Although the idea of cleanliness differs a good deal in the Orient as contrasted with that in the Occident, daily bathing is a common habit. Whether it is winter or summer, the first duty of a Hindustanee upon rising is to bathe. It is only extremely unfavorable circumstances which prevent him from doing this. He always washes his hands after returning from the toilet. As many of them do not smoke or chew, the rooms they occupy are generally free from expectorations. These were some of the points highly emphasized by some hotel owners.

The linens and underwear of the Hindustanees are always clean. They always clean their teeth with a brush which they make themselves out of the twigs of trees whenever possible. In towns, of course, they use modern tooth-brushes. After each meal they also cleanse their mouths.

The complaints which have been made against the Sikhs, who form the majority of the Hindustanees in America and Canada, are that they wear their hair and beards long and use turbans. True, it is not always possible to keep the beard quite free from dust while working in the saw-mills or on the farms. The turbans, often of white cloth, get soiled much more easily than hats. It is their dusty beards and soiled white turbans which sometimes give the impression that the Hindustanees are dirty in spite of their really scrupulous personal cleanliness. "I know some generous, warm-hearted people who have

been in close contact with the Sikhs throughout the Province of British Columbia and these people are free to speak appreciatively about the wholesomeness of Sikh living and thinking," says Mr. James E. Dobbs of Toronto, Canada.[1]

It must be pointed out that the Hindustanee does not dress himself with special reference to society. He may have taken his daily bath, washed his hair, brushed his teeth and donned clean underwear, yet he fails utterly to appreciate the idea that he must adjust his dress according to the social etiquette. His shirt though freshly washed, is frequently unironed; his suit though clean is often unpressed; his shoes, though costly, are unpolished, and these peculiarities make the Hindustanee look untidy.

Dr. S. H. Lawson, M. D. of British Columbia, Canada, says: "There is one phase of the Hindu question concerning which the majority of the public seem to hold most erroneous opinions. I refer to his personal habits regarding cleanliness, use of alcoholic liquors, etc. As ship surgeon on the C. P. R. steamer Monteagle and later the Tartar at the time of the greatest influx of Hindus, the majority of those people passed under my close observation. It was my duty to make a thorough physical examination of each immigrant at Hong-Kong, and although at first I was strongly prejudiced against them, I lost this prejudice after thousands of them had passed through my hands and I had compared them with the white steerage passengers I had seen on the Atlantic. I refer in particular to the Sikhs and I am not exaggerating in the least when I say that they were one hundred per cent cleaner in their habits and freer from disease than the European steerage passengers I had come in contact with. The Sikhs impressed me as a clean, manly, honest race. My more recent impressions as surgeon in mining camps among thousands of white men, where immorality is rife, has increased my respects for the Sikhs."[2]

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[1] Canada and India, April 1917, p. 10.
[2] Quoted from India's Appeal to Canada, p. 11.

5. Comforts.

The craving for comforts is as strong among the people of the Orient as it is among the people of the Occident. In fact, it was the Orient where luxuries were first indulged in, although, due to the development of democratic governments and the rise of conscionsness among the masses, the common people in the Occident have more access to the comforts and luxuries of life at the present time than the same class of people in the Orient. The Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast enjoy a good many comforts, such as silk shirts and turbans, scented oil and soap, and perfumery of all sorts.

The most important item among the comforts enjoyed by the Hindustanees, however, consists of the modern conveniences of travelling. While searching for jobs, they bought bicycles. After securing jobs, especially when they began to lease ranches, they bought horses and buggies. As they became successful in farming, they bought Ford automobiles. With still greater success in their business undertaking, they began to replace their Fords with the better types of automobile — Chandlers, Buicks, Dodges, Overlands, McLaughlins, Hudson Super-Sixes and other seven-passenger touring-cars.

With the depression of business and the failure of the rice and cotton crops within the last two years, many of them had to sell their machines. Quite a number, however, still retain them. Some of the best automobiles in Vancouver Island, British Columbia, are owned by the Hindustani mill owners.

One of the most important features in connection with the standard of living of the Hindustanees is that it is a very variable item in their lives. Whenever their wages and incomes are high, their standard of living also improves and they spend money freely. With the loss of their high wages or income, as happened in 1920, they would rather lower their standard of living than borrow money.

CHAPTER IX.

SOCIAL LIFE.

1. The Family.

The absence of women of their own race makes the social life of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast anything but cheerful. A large number of them are married in India and some even have children, but they left their family at home when they came to America. Only a few of them, therefore, have a home life. Most of them live in a sort of club of from two to twenty men. They generally keep to themselves and have scarcely any intercourse with the Americans except in a business way.

About a dozen Hindustanees have brought their wives with them from India. Three or four of these families are to be found near Sacramento and the rest in British Columbia. Some have married American or Canadian women. Perhaps a dozen such marriages have taken place all over the Pacific Coast. In Imperial Valley, however, a number of them have married Mexican women. It is only recently that such marriages have begun to take place. Within the course of the last two or three years there have been altogether 30 such marriages and there is every likelihood that the number will continue to increase.

It is evident, that except 50 or 55, none of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast has any home life. The evil effects of such a condition on the social and moral life of these people cannot be exaggerated.

2. Education.

Education is a great help to the moral and spiritual growth of an individual as well as to his material progress. While the lack of education may be detrimental to the best interests of a man in his own country, it is a calamity to him in a foreign country. Such is actually the case with the Hindustanees in America and Canada.

The majority of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast did not have much education before they came to America. Though some of them learned a smattering of

English while serving in the army or in the police force of India or China, no systematic attempt has been made to educate them since their arrival in America. Most of them, however, have acquired some reading and writing knowledge of their own language and practically all of them have learned how to sign their names in English and to conduct business with the Americans. There are, of course, a few exceptions here and there. In almost all localities where they settle, there are to be found a few intelligent young men who had some knowledge of English before leaving India, and who have, by dint of their own efforts, acquired some education. These men are generally regarded as the leaders of the community where they live and act as interpreters whenever necessary.

It is easily seen how inefficient and uneconomical it is for a man to depend upon some other person to act as mediator between him and his social and industrial environment. Some of the younger men fully realize the awkwardness of their situation and regret that they did not have any opportunity for learning the American language. The lack of knowledge of the language of the country where they live has many-fold effect. First, it is detrimental to their material interests. They have no chance of acquiring the most up-to-date methods of production and distribution and are quite in the dark as to the market conditions, although quite often they have to buy and sell on a large scale. Second, they are also deprived of many pleasures of life. Being unable to read English, they cannot spend their leisure hours reading the daily paper nor can they spend their time in association with any people but those of their own race. Third, it has kept them aloof from the social and political environment of the country where they reside. They have no opportunity of becoming familiar with the ideals and aspirations or manners and customs of the people with whom they live side by side.

3. Religion.

Some kind of religion is an essential part of the social life of any group. This is especially true of the people

of Hindustan where religion is the keynote to all traditions and institutions.

The Hindustanees in America belong to three distinct religions, namely Hinduism, Shikhism and Mohammedanism. They brought their faith from the old country and still adhere to it. After coming to America, no one seems to have embraced Christianity.

Hinduism is really a civilization rather than a religion. It is the sum total of the experiences of a group of people who have lived in Hindustan for over 5000 years. Essentially it is monistic but being based on a system of thoughts rather than the precepts of any one authority, it has various doctrines, faiths and practices, such as transcendentalism, pantheism, monotheism and symbolism. The fundamental difference between Hinduism and Christianity is that a Hindu enjoys absolute freedom of thought and belief, but as long as he lives in a society he must conform to its customs; whereas a man in the Christendom is allowed more freedom of action but he conforms to the general belief. As one's behaviour is more noticeable than one's thoughts or sentiments, and as most of the customs in India have come down from generations, the social life of the Hindustanee in many cases is conservative and even archaic.

Like Hinduism, Mohammedanism is also a civilization rather than a religion. Originally it was a branch of Judaism and as such is purely monotheistic, although some of the social customs such as those pertaining to marriage and family are simply anachronisms. Mohammedanism is very high in ethics and very democratic in constitution. Like Hinduism, Mohammedanism also enjoins its followers from certain actions such as drinking.

Sikhism has resulted from the combination of two great religions, Hinduism and Mohammedanism. About the time Luther started his reform movement in Europe, Sikhism arose in the Punjab under the leadership of Baba Nanak as a protest against the caste system, sectarianism, symbol worship and other practices which have gradually crept into Hinduism. It preached the unity of God and the brotherhood of man

and combined both the Hindus and Mohammedans alike into one fold under the name of Sikhs or disciples. In the 17th century, Guru Gobind Singh, the 9th and last teacher of Sikhism, wanted to make the Sikhs practically independent and safe from outside attack. He, therefore, organized the Sikhs into a strong militant party known as the Khalsa or the League Fellowship. He instituted the baptism of the sword, by which one could become a member of the Khalsa Brotherhood for the help of the weak and oppressed. It is to this Brotherhood that the Sikhs of the Pacific Coast belong.

There are only a few Hindus among the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast and they have no regularly established temple of their own. There is a Hindu temple in San Francisco which was established for the propagation of Vedanta philosophy among the Westerners. As most of the Hindu workers live outside of San Francisco, the temple there could have no influence upon their lives.

Neither does the number of Mohammedans on the Pacific Coast run very high. They have no mosque of their own. For the celebration of festivals they gather together in a place and celebrate the day. Many of them come from different parts of the State, sometimes travelling hundreds of miles, to join their brethren in these religious festivals.

As mentioned before, the majority of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast are Sikhs. Religion plays a very important part in their lives in America and Canada. They have several temples located in different places. At Stockton, Cal., they have built a temple, a two-storied building on land which they own themselves. On the ground floor is a hall for meetings, also several rooms and residence of the priest. Up-stairs is the prayer hall. There is an altar at one end of the hall on which is kept the G r a n t h or sacred book containing the precepts of the Gurus or the leaders of Sikhism. The hall is decorated with rich carpets on the floor, a rich canopy above and pictures and texts on the walls. In this hall, scriptures are read and expounded by the priest twice daily. Such temples are also found at Victoria and Vancouver in

British Columbia and other places. Wherever there are 20 or 25 Sikhs, there is a temple also, which is sometimes nothing but a shack used for divine service. In the lumber mills in British Columbia which are owned by the Sikhs, there is in each mill a temple built for the purpose. Altogether there are nine temples on the Pacific Coast.

Each temple is invariably officiated by a priest; very often he is one of the workers who devotes only a part of his time to religious exercises and takes care of the temple. He is elected annually by vote, and receives salary in addition to board and room. The essential qualities taken into consideration in electing a priest are that he must be a man of high moral character and must be educated in the Gurumukhi language. In the larger centers, such as Stockton in California and Victoria and Vancouver in British Columbia, the priest devotes his entire time to his religious work. He is appointed by the Khalsa Diwan Society. The entire expenses of the Khalsa Diwan Society for religious work is met by the subscriptions of the members. The central organizations for religious work among the Sikhs are located at Vancouver in British Columbia and at Stockton in California.

4. Recreation.

One of the great defects of Hindu civilization is the lack of proper provisions for recreation. The ideal of Hindu culture relates more to contemplation and meditation rather than action and pleasure. While the higher castes may follow such ideal, to the average man it is meaningless. The result has been that the majority of the people in India have been deprived of a great deal of the pleasure of living.

Games and plays are not entirely unknown to India. In fact, the Hindustanees have contributed some of the best games and sports to the world. Chess was first originated in India as was Polo; but chess is an aristocratic game and it has always been restricted to the leisured classes. The game of Polo, too, is both costly and impractical from the viewpoint of the average man.

Wrestling is very common in India, but its practice is mostly confined to occasional excitement rather than enjoyment and recreation for ordinary life. The game of cards has become quite a vogue among the common people of India to-day.

For the lack of proper recreation, the Hindustanees often indulge in unnecessary discussion and debate which, however it may sharpen their wits, often leads to arguments and quarrels. This has happened quite often among them in America.

Passing through the Oriental section of the cities on the Pacific Coast, one can easily see how the Japanese differ from the other Asian peoples in their provision for recreation. Pool rooms and bowling alleys where the Japanese workmen, after their day's work, can go for recreation are very common. There are very few Hindustanees to be seen either in pool rooms or bowling alleys. Nor do they take to gambling like the Chinese. While the Japanese play and the Chinese gamble, the Hindustanees debate.

A few modern methods of recreation have, however, been adopted by the Hindustanees. In a few cases they were found playing billiards. In one case the motion picture apparatus was installed in one of the dining halls, where they spent the evening after they had finished their daily work. Such instances of amusements are, however, not many.

The "movies" and theatres are also patronized by them to a certain extent, but as most of them live on farms often far away from the cities, it is not always possible for them to come to the towns for such diversions. The movies and theatres which the Hindustanees, like other Orientals, can visit, are always limited in number.

5. Vice and Crime.

Man is more or less liable to fall a victim to vice or to commit some crime. For the better understanding of the social life of a group or of a race, it is, therefore, necessary to take into consideration the vices and crimes common among its members.

A special attempt was made to ascertain the amount of vice and crime among the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast. One of the points of investigation was the prevalence of venereal diseases, about which the opinions of the medical practitioners may be summarized as follows:

Dr. Graeser, Holtville, Cal., did not find more than 6 men suffering from venereal diseases in his 7 years of practice among one hundred Hindustanees. According to Dr. Dunlap, Brawley, Cal., there were only a few of them suffering from these diseases. Dr. Engel, Calexico, Cal., found that these diseases among them were "less than among others." Dr. A. H. Konigmacher, Fresno County, Cal., stated that only about 15 % of them had some form of venereal disease. According to Dr. Linwood Dozier, City Health Officer, Stockton, Cal., the amount of venereal diseases among them was "not above the average." Dr. J. Myron Carr of Stockton, Cal., found, however, several cases of syphilis and gonorrhoea. According to Dr. Chas. E. von Geldern, Sacramento, Cal., the extent of gonorrhoea among them was the same as among other races. Dr. Frank P. Brendel, Sacramento, found several cases of syphilis and gonorrhoea. Dr. Corry of Vancouver, British Columbia, found only three cases of venereal diseases among 200 Hindustanees, to whom he was medical adviser for five years.

Cases of homosexuality among the Hindustanees have also been known. Homosexuality is a common vice in the mining districts, lumber camps, wheat fields, and fruit ranches. In fact, wherever a large number of men are grouped together apart from women, such vice is generally known to prevail. That this vice exists among the Hindustanees, who are as a rule without women, is shown by a few criminal records. While the records show its existence, they do not in any way indicate to what extent it is prevalent. There is no evidence to prove that they are more addicted to this vice than any other race. "From the standpoint of health and morals",

observed Dr. Corry, "I think they compare favorably with any other class of citizens."

Gambling is practically unknown to them. Speaking of the prevalence of gambling at Calexico, Cal., which is adjacent to Mexicali, a place notorious for gambling and other vices just over the Mexican border, Judge Roach remarked: "They (Hindustanees) abstain more than any other people here from this vice." The investigation in other cities on the Pacific Coast failed to disclose the existence of gambling among them.

The taking of drugs as a habit scarcely exists among them. It was only at Vancouver, British Columbia, that Dr. Corry found about six cases of the drug habit among his Hindustani patients. It is surprising that there should be so few cases of the drug habit among them, because they frequent the China towns on the Pacific Coast. And some of them had even resided, before their arrival in America, for a number of years in China and the Phillipines.

A most common vice to which they have fallen victim is drinking. They indulged in it a great deal when the country was wet. In Imperial Valley, Cal., more than one third of them was accustomed to drinking. In other places those who drank were nearly 50 per cent. Quite a few of them were in the habit of drinking strong liquors, such as whiskey and brandy, and very often got drunk.

Drinking does not end in itself but may lead to many crimes which a man would not commit were he sober. This is as true in the case of the Hindustanees as it is of other people. Drinking has, in fact, done a good deal of harm to their moral and mental progress. In the first place, there is always some financial loss and physical deterioration due to excessive drinking. In the second place, although they are as a rule very calm and quiet people, when drunk they get extremely noisy and often disturb other people. In the third place, some of their minor and even major crimes have been attributed to intoxication.

The investigations into criminal records led to the following results:

Imperial Valley: From February 24, 1919, to July 14, 1921, there were 2224 cases of general litigation brought before the City of El Centro, Cal. Of these cases there were 43 Hindustani defendants. Out of every thousand cases there were two cases relative to the Hindustanees. From January 1907 to July 6, 1921, there were 1054 criminal cases tried in the Court of El Centro, Cal. Of these, the Hindustanees were involved in 16 trials. Two of them were exonerated and 14 convicted. Of the 16 charges, 3 related to murder, 4 to assault with deadly weapon and the remaining 9 to each of such crimes as robbery, felony, bribery, seduction, contribution to delinquency, embezzlement, passing bad check, violation of the prohibition law and driving car under intoxication. "The justice criminal docket at Brawley, Cal.," writes Judge Griffin, "in a large township having about 250 Hindu farmers shows 7 misdemeanours and 2 felonies in a period of one and a half years out of 225 cases. The Recorders Police docket shows 11 cases of misdemeanours out of 300 cases." Out of 304 cases docketed from 1919 to the end of June 1921, 17 were relative to the Hindustanees according to Judge McDonald of Holtville, Cal. The Hindustanees are "in court less frequently than any other race in this immediate vicinity," remarked Judge Roach of Calexico, Cal.

Fresno County: Justice of the Peace, L. S. Beall, Clovis, Cal., found "very few cases of crimes" committed by the Hindustanees in his district. "During the four years", writes Mr. W. F. Toomey, Fresno, Cal., "that I was Mayor of the City of Fresno, which dated from April 23, 1917, to April 25, 1921, the police records will show that we had less trouble with the Hindus as a class than with any other of the nationalities in the city."

The San Joaquin Valley: Police Judge Wanent H. Atherton of Stockton, Cal., mentioned one crime of the Hindustanees to be drawing checks without funds in the bank. Writes Mr. W. M. Simpson, Chief of Police, Stockton, Cal., "as an officer of this city, I have an opportunity to observe all classes of laborers and frankly state, in my opinion the Hindu is the peer of any class. He keeps his

engagements, fulfills his contracts and performs his duties cheerfully and to the best of his understanding; has no socialistic, I. W. W., or Bolshevik tendencies; is studious, industrious and progressive; peace-loving, inoffensive and obeys the laws of the land, and on the whole, is singularly free from vice; does not traffic in opium or its derivatives and is rarely a victim of the social habit of using intoxicants; our criminal records show them, in proportion to their numbers, to be negligible."

The Sacramento Valley: "I believe", writes Mr. Oscar Robinson, President of the Board of Trustees (Mayor), Colusa, Cal., "that the Hindu people are law-abiding and try to conform to all our city regulations." Writes Mr. L. M. Shelley, Attorney at Law, Sacramento, Cal., "Hindus are not given to theft or robbery to any great extent. Not as much so as many other classes of people in our city. The killing of two persons is about the only serious crime committed by the Hindus in these localities within the last year. Much more crime among other people." Mr. Roy Morewell, District Attorney, Marysville, Cal., found only one Hindustanee sent to State's Prison in the past seven years. "I have had", continues Mr. Morewell, "very little trouble with them since being in office." "From observation they (the Hindustanees) appear to be a respectable, law-abiding class of people and with one or two exceptions they are rarely brought to the attention of this department", is the statement of Mr. Bernard McShane, Chief of Police, Sacramento, Cal. "I have not noted", writes Mr. M. F. Shelley, Justice of the Peace of Sacramento, Cal., "as much crime amongst the Hindus as amongst other European nationalities. Particularly those from Southern Europe." "In my position as District Attorney for eight years, there were very few criminal cases against the Hindus", says E. P. Foltz, State Council of Defense of California."[1]

British Columbia: Except for one case of a crime against nature and a few cases of drunkenness, the Chief of Police at Victoria, B. C. did not find very many crimes amongst the Hindustanees. The Chief of Police at Van-

[1] In a letter to Governor Stephens, Jan. 14, 1919.

couver, B. C., also spoke very highly of the law-abiding spirit of the Hindustanees. Their crimes both of a major and minor nature were very few in number.

From the above descriptions it is clearly seen that there are only a few major crimes committed by the Hindustanees. Murder or assault with a deadly weapon is a crime belonging to this group. Most of these crimes, as pointed out before, have been committed against their own countrymen. Some of the murder cases have been attributed to intoxication.

Some of the minor crimes, such as driving while intoxicated or over the speed limit, parking cars on the wrong side of the street, issuing checks over the amount of bank deposits or using water for irrigation more than is allowed by the law, are also attributed to them. But it has been said that the authorities and the neighbors in such cases generally try to be more exacting in the enforcement of the law in regard to the Hindustanees. Says Judge Griffin: "The Hindus are held responsible for more crimes than they actually commit."

In considering the vice and crime of a group of people, age, sex and home life should be taken into consideration. First, the majority of the crimes in society are committed by persons between the ages of 20 and 45. Second, more crimes are committed by men than by women. Third, home life is a restraint upon criminal impulse. The Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast being mostly men in the prime of life and without any home life, are more liable to commit crimes.

Very common is court litigation among the Hindustanees. From Imperial Valley to British Columbia this complaint has repeatedly been made by the Americans and Canadians. In fact, it is the most serious defect among them. They quarrel among themselves and often go to the courts for decision. Even the major crimes such as murder result from personal petty quarrels.

There are several reasons for the litigation among the Hindustanees. First, under the social and educational conditions they have to live too much among themselves. The old adage says: "Too much familiarity breeds con-

tempt," and it can very well be verified in the case of the Hindustanees. In the second place, most of them go into business with one another on the partnership basis. When they lease a ranch, several of them invest money in the same enterprise. As a rule there are no clearly defined duties and responsibilities and, in case of failure, individual selfishness gets the upper hand, leading sometimes to misunderstanding and litigation. In the third place, as mentioned before, they have no family life. After working hard on the farm or in the mill, they have no homes to which to go for the relaxation of their mind or for the expression of the softer and sweeter nature which manifests itself in the presence of wife and children. Having no chance for variety of expression, their lives are dull and monotonous until heated discussion and arguments furnish diverson.

6. Associations.

In order to carry on their social and industrial life, the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast have formed several associations of which the following are the chief: —

The Khalsa Diwan Society[2], or Free Divine Communion, of British Columbia, was organized in 1907 with its headquarters at Vancouver, B. C. Its objects as defined in the rules and regulations of the Society are: (a) To appoint ministers of the Sikh religion to officiate in the Province of British Columbia and elsewhere. (b) To look after the relgious interests of the scattered communities of the Sikhs both in the Province of British Columbia and elsewhere. Besides its religious functions, the Khalsa Diwan Society has also important aims, such as education and philanthropy. Most of the donations to educational and charitable purposes described later on were raised by this organization. The Society has its headquarters at Vancouver, B. C., with branches located at Victoria, Abbotsford, New Westminister, Fraser Mills, Duncan, Combs and Ocean Falls. It owns four temples, the valuation of the two at Victoria and Vancouver alone amounting to $ 45,000.

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[2] From the reports of Mr. Kapoor Singh and Mr. Mit Singh.

The Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society, Inc.[3], was organized about the same time as the Khalsa Diwan Society. It has its headquarters at Stockton, California. It is an independent organization, but the aims of these two organizations are practically the same and they often consult each other in important undertakings. The main objects of the Society are :— First, the promotion of religious interest among its members. Second, the promotion of educational interest among the Hindustanees both in the United States and in India. Third, the promotion of the welfare of the Hindustanees both at home and abroad. The Society derives its income from membership fees, which vary from 12 to 50 dollars a year, and donations occasionally raised for some definite purpose. The Society owns the Sikh Temple at Stockton, California, the present valuation of which is about $ 30,000.00. The educational work of the Society is carried on by the Sikh-American Education Society and many other sub-committees under the auspices of the central organization at Stockton, Cal.

The Moslem Association of America[4] was founded in 1919 with headquarters at Sacramento, Cal. The aims of the Association are social improvement, Americanization, reformation and education. The methods followed in order to achieve these aims are as follows: 1. To educate the Hindustani boys in American universities and to establish schools and colleges in India. 2. To have public meetings of the Hindustanees and Americans for the cultivation of friendly relationship. 3. To publish pamphlets from time to time on matters pertaining to the welfare of the Hindustanees in America. The Association has bought four lots of land in the cemetary at Sacramento. The Moslem Association of America has a branch in Imperial Valley.

The Hindustani Welfare and Reform Society of America[5] was founded in 1919 with headquarters at El Centro, Imperial Valley, Cal. The aims and objects of this Society

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[3] From the report of Mr. Lal Singh.

[4] From the reports of Messrs. Rahamat Ali Khan and Ali Mohammad Khan.

[5] From the reports of Messrs. Ram Chand, Asa Singh and Fazil Din.

are: — 1. To promote good will and fellow feeling among the Hindustanees in America and abroad. 2. To protect and safeguard the material and moral interests of the members of this Society and all other Hindustanees who seek the assistance of the Society. 3. To create understanding and establish good relations between the Hindustanees and the Americans. Membership in this association is open to all having sympathy with its aims and objects. Every member is required to pay ten dollars a year. One of the prime objects of this Society is to settle any quarrels and litigations which may arise among the members of the association and in this direction the Society has done a good deal of work. Since its establishment many of the quarrels of its members have been settled outside of the courts and it has already materially reduced the number of cases which came before the court for settlement in previous years.

The Hindu American Conference[6] was founded in June, 1920 with headquarters at Sacramento, California. The chief aims of this Association are to educate the Hindustanees in the English language, to bring about a better understanding between the Hindustanees and the Americans and to improve social conditions among the Hindustanees themselves. In order to carry out these objects the Conference adopted three methods: Lectures, social gatherings and publication of pamphlets.

The Canada-India League[7] was founded in 1915 with headquarters at Toronto, Ontario. Its principal aim was to bring about a better understanding between India and Canada, chiefly on the question of Hindustani immigration into British Columbia. In 1916 it sent Mr. James E. Dobbs, once the president of the organization, to study the conditions of the Hindustanees in British Columbia on behalf of the organization.

The Hindustan Swaraj Sabha of Canada[8], the reorganized United India Home Rule League, was founded

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[6] From the report of Mr. Godharam Chanan.
[7] From the report of Mr. James E. Dobbs.
[8] From the reports of Messrs. Kapoor Singh and Gurudit Singh.

in 1920, with its headquarters at Vancouver, B. C. The aim of the organization is: "To help the Indian National Congress achieve its aims, i. e., the attainment of the Swaraj (or autonomy) for India." Its functions are to commuicate the state of affairs in India to the Hindustanees abroad, especially in Canada, and to further the cause of the national movement in India. It has contributed large sums of money to the cause of India.

The Pacific Coast Hindustani Association[9], or, which is better known, the Hindustan Gadar Party, was organized in 1913 with its headquarters at San Francisco, Cal. The objects of the Association are: First, social and economic regeneration of India. Second, education as to the state of affairs in India. Third, the political independence of India and the establishment of the Federated Republic. The party owns a press and a house which is known as "Yugantar Asrama". It is decidedly a political party devoted to the deliverance of India from foreign rule. A great many of its members have suffered incarceration for their political activities.

Besides the above principal organizations there were also several smaller ones for local purposes. Quite a number of these organizations have been abolished.

It is clearly seen that except for the two political organizations mentioned, only one of which is revolutionary in character inasmuch as its aim is to establish a republic in India, all the organizations have been formed for social and religious purposes. Unfortunately, up to this time there is not a single organization for the protection of the industrial interests of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast. The Hindustani Welfare and Reform Society of America aims to attend to the industrial welfare of the Hindustani workers, but it is only a local organization and already it handles too many affairs.

The great defect of the social life of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast lies in their lack of a strong central organization. They arrived in Canada and the United States without concerted action among themselves or on

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[9] Report of Mr. H. S. Singh, one of the directors of the Association. See also Independent Hindustan, Nov., 1920.

the part of any group or organization. Neither the Indian nation nor the British India Government is alive to their interests. A central organization is necessary, not only for the preservation of their interests, but also to assist them to adjust to the social and economic conditions of the United States and Canada.

7. Publications.

Besides associations, the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast have also a number of publications by which their social life finds its expression.

The Hindustanees of British Columbia published at different times two periodicals, first, the Sansar, the official organ of the Hindustanees in British Columbia, which was published at Victoria B. C. It was started in 1913 and edited both in English and Punjabi. Its chief object was to promote the interests of the Hindustanees in Canada. After several issues it came to a sudden end. Second, the Hindustanee, which was the official organ of the United India League, located at Vancouver, B. C., was first published in 1914 by Mr. H. Rahim. Its object was practically the same as that of the Sansar. Besides they also have published pamphlets from time to time. The Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society undertook the publication of a series of pamphlets called the Guru Nanak Series. Such tracts as the Message of the Sikh Faith were published by the Society.

The Canada-India League published a periodical called the Canada and India. Several issues of it were published between 1915 and 1917. It also published several tracts such as India's Appeal to Canada.

The Pacific Coast Hindustani Association published a weekly organ called "Hindustan Gadar", published in two languages—Hindustani and Punjabi. Subsequently a monthly review called the Independent Hindustan was published in English. From time to time the Association published pamphlets and other literature in English, Hindustani and Punjabi. The publications of this organization are generally revolutionary in character.

CHAPTER X.

TRAITS AND ACHIEVEMENTS.

1. Enterprise.

The outstanding feature of the industrial life of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast is their business success. They landed at the Pacific ports as common laborers. The majority of them did not have money except the amount required by the immigration authorities. They could not write or read English and many of them could not understand it. These initial disadvantages were further increased by the religious belief which required them to retain some of the old customs. The anti-Asian feeling also stood in the way of taking advantage of the opportunities for work. Inspite of these disadvantages and inequalities, they did not lose courage. The confidence in their own ability to make good and the hope in the success of their endeavor, made them look forward to the future; and by dint of perseverance they have, in the course of only a few years, changed their status from that of common laborers to that of farm operators, farmers, independent businessmen, and even employers.

"My experience in the labor camp inspection", writes Mr. Edward A. Brown, the chief sanitary engineer, State Commission of Immigration and Housing, California, "shows that the Hindus are rapidly leaving the employed list and are becoming employers. Particularly this is true in the rice-growing section of the following counties in California: Yolo, Colusa, Glenn, Butte, Sutter, Yuba; also in the cotton district of Imperial County."[1] This is also true of those in British Columbia. Some of the Hindustanees stand today on the same level as the best farmers and businessmen in California and British Columbia.

It is hard to estimate the amount of business conducted by them, but a rough idea may be had from the following fragmentary data: In Imperial Valley they operated 20,000 acres of land in 1918; 25,000 acres in 1919; 38,000 acres in

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[1] From a written statement.

1920; and leased 30,000 acres in 1921[2]. In the Sacramento Valley, they operated 45,000 acres in rice, 35,000 acres in vegetables, and 5,000 acres in fruits.[3] There was also a large acreage of land operated by them in the San Joaquin Valley. In 1919 the land operated by them under lease or contract amounted to 86,340 acres, besides 2,499 acres, which they owned.[4] In British Columbia they were doing a business of over a million dollars in real estate in 1909. The value of their real estate amounted to about $ 400,000 even in 1921.[5] The amount of investment in farmland, lumber mills and other industries can only be conjectured.

The amount of financial loss sustained by them in 1919—20 also gives some notion of the volume of their business. The loss consisted of all their earnings and investments up to the year 1920. The individual loss varied from $ 3,000 to $ 80,000. According to the estimate of Mr. Hakim Khan, one of the "rice-kings" of the Sacramento Valley, the total loss of the Hindustanees in California in 1920 amounted to about $ 7,000,000 in investment and $ 9,000,000 including profits.

There are several causes which led to their success. The most important of them are as follows:

First, industrial opportunities are the fundamental cause of their success. Neither to the conditions of Imperial Valley nor to those of the San Joaquin Valley are the Americans so readily adaptable. The extreme heat in the one and the swampy character of the land in the other offer no attraction to the American farmers. But the Hindustanees and other Orientals have easily adapted themselvel to such conditions.

Second, business speculation has also often led them to success. They do not gamble, nor do they spend much time in fishing and hunting. Their gambling impulse finds expression in industrial speculation. As laborers, they prefer contract work. It may be more profitable, but

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[2] Mr. Ram Chand.
[3] Mr. Jalwant Singh.
[4] California and the Orientals, Sacramento, Cal., 1920, p. 47.
[5] Messrs. Kapoor Singh, Rahim and others.

even if it is not, they prefer it. It satisfies their craving. In operating farms or running lumber mills, their speculative impulse has a larger scope. In buying or leasing land and purchasing livestock, machinery and implements, they would choose the best at any price. They would undertake the operation of large farms and factories and invest a large amount of capital in a venture. If necessary, they would borrow money from banks. If they succeed, all the better; if they fail, they will not quit as long as they can afford to continue. The courage to take chances is a special feature of their industrial life.

Third, business ability is another cause of their success. Although most of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast lack in sufficient education, they understand very well things in general and their business in particular. They have achieved success not only in the rice fields of the Sacramento Valley and the cotton fields of Imperial Valley where the opportunity is great, but also in the orchards and vineyards of the San Joaquin Valley and in the lumber industry of British Columbia, in both of which there is a keen competition with the Americans and Canadians.

2. Integrity.

Another important feature of their life is integrity. This quality has also been one of the secrets of their business success. To be square in all their dealings with others is a part of their religion.

Good and bad people are to be found among all races and the Hindustanees are no exception to this rule. But the Hindustanees who have found guilty of dishonesty are, however, very small in number. The chief complaints against them are as follows:

First, cases are known where they have overdrawn their bank accounts or even issued checks without having bank deposits. Such cases are, however, rare.

Second, a few of them have been known to have rented farms and quit them without clearing their debts when they found their enterprise a failure. Such cases are too few to require any discussion.

Third, in 1921, the Housing and Sanitation inspectors of California had a good deal of difficulty in "compelling Hindu labor camp operators to provide camps for their American employees which would conform with the Camp Sanitation Act." Mr. Edward A. Brown, the chief of inspectors, concluded from these reports that the laws were violated, not because they failed to understand the full significance of the law, written in a foreign language, as some of them claimed, but because of their "evasive and dilatory tactics."

There is no excuse for the violation of law. But there may be some reasons why the people are prone to do so. That most of the Hindustanees do not know English is a fact. It is not easy for a rural population like that of India to comprehend the full meaning of an advanced sanitary measure like that of the Camp Sanitation Act of California. Moreover, the farms which they operate are leased or rented for so short a time that they do not like to incur any expenditure on permanent improvement.

Fourth, in Imperial Valley, the failure of the cotton crop in 1920 led some of them to take out insolvency papers. This action was highly resented at by some of the local bankers, who spoke badly of them at the time of the invistigation. The following facts were, however, brought into light:

In the first place, the bankers were responsible for the tremendous losses in the cotton trade in 1920 according to the statement made by the real-estatemen. Only 3 or 4 years ago, the rent of land was from $ 5 to $ 10 an acre. But through speculation, the bankers, some of whom were themselves landowners, raised the rent to $ 30 or $ 35 an acre. Besides, they charged interest at the rate of 10 per cent. Such action of the bankers seriously affected the business of the Hindustanees.

In the second place, the ginners held the bankers responsible for both speculation and unjustified dealings. The Hindustanees mortgaging their crops to the bankers were sometimes helpless to dispose of them to the best advantage. The bankers would sell these crops to any

one whenever they pleased, sometimes even to their friends or favorites.

In the third place, even some of the bankers did not blame the Hindustanees for bankruptcy. It was the "shyster" lawyers who, in order to make a few dollars, induced them to take out bankruptcy papers.

In the fourth place, the lawyers did not justify the bankers in attempting to force the Hindustanees to carry the burden for which they themselves were largely to blame. Moreover, if the latter took out bankruptcy papers, they did so in accordance with the law provided for the protection of the people in just such cases.

The above statement of the lawyers is partly corroborated by Mr. R. Justin Miller, formerly district attorney of Fresno County. "I have drawn contracts", says Mr. Miller, "in a number of instances, where the parties have been Hindus on one side and businessmen or property owners on the other and I have found that the terms of such contracts have been invariably more favorable to the Americans than the contracts between any other classes or races of people."

In the fifth place, the Hindustanees themselves said that upon the failure of the crops, they turned over to the bankers all the crops and personal property, as stipulated in the contract. They did not see any reason why they should also carry the bankers' debt!

That the Hindustanees fullfilled their contracts was admitted by some of the bankers even in Imperial Valley. Mr. J. K. Herman, Security, Commercial and Savings Bank, El Centro, Cal., in the same town where other bankers blamed the Hindustanees, found their "business honesty on a par with the average tenant." "We have not extended a heavy line of credit in the growing of cotton and therefore had but small loss in the payment of our Hindu loans. Public opinion has been in a measure unfair in its judgment of the Hindu. Unfortunately, the Hindu was exclusively a cotton grower and as the cotton grower was probably most severely injured in the deflation of prices the Hindu found himself almost without exception a bankrupt, and being unable to pay his debts and in

many instances leaving his cotton crop unpicked he has been classed as dishonest."

Besides some bankers in Imperial Valley mentioned above, there were very few on the whole Pacific Coast who questioned the integrity of the Hindustanees. The general consensus of opinion of the bankers and other business men from El Centro to Vancouver, was that they were very honest people in all their business dealings.

To the questionnaires as to the business honesty of the Hindustanees, the Stockton Savings and Loan Bank of Stockton, Cal., replied "fair", while the First National Bank of Fresno, Cal., the Commercial and Savings Bank and the Sacramento-San Joaquin Bank of Stockton, Cal., the First National Bank of Marysville, Cal., and the First National Bank of Colusa, Cal., replied "good".

The Royal Bank of Canada, Vancouver, B. C., found them "generally satisfactory customers and have lost no money in three years." "Our dealings with them have been very satisfactory", writes Mr. H. I. Ketchal, Manager of the Royal Bank of Canada, Victoria, B. C. Mr. J. M. Anderson, Vice President of the California Trust and Savings Bank, Astoria, Oregon, found them "satisfactory people to do business with." The cashier of the First National Bank at Linnton, Oregon, found them "absolutely honest". "We have found them, almost without exception, to be honorable in all their dealings with us," wrote Mr. E. I. Wilhoit, President of the Stockton Savings and Loan Society.[6] "They have been prompt in all their obligations to me and so far as I can find out by inquiry among all of their immediate neighbors in that locality, feel they have been a credit to themselves by the results obtained by their own efforts," says Mr. Byron A. Bearce, Tidewater Southern Railway Company.[7]

Mr. James J. Brennan, farmer and president of the Bank of Loomis, Cal., found them "honest and conscientious." "The honesty of your countrymen is to be admired" writes Mr. J. E. Roman, Cashier, Bank of Com-

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[6] From a letter to Governor Stephens of State of California, Jan. 13, 1919.

[7] From a letter to Governor Stephens, Jan. 30, 1919.

merce, Astoria, Oregon, "they would not violate their promise under any circumstance." Mr. H. B. Griffin, Justice of the Peace, Brawley, Cal., also found them "honest in their business affairs." "Have had considerable business in a professional way as an attorney at law," writes Mr. J. E. Ebert, Attorney at Law and United States Commissioner, Marysville, Cal., "with Hindus and from my experience can state that as a general rule, I find them to be honest and trustworthy." "They as a general rule", says Mr. John A. Greene, Manager Public Employment Bureau of the State of California, at Stockton, Cal., "can be relied upon to keep any contract or agreement that they have entered upon to the letter." "I have found them," writes Mr. Carson C. Cook, General Manager of the Rindge Land and Navigation Company, Stockton, Cal., "as honest, reliable and law-abiding as the average of their class of any race with which have had experience." "As a rule I found them reliable and their statements to be taken at par," says Mr. L. B. Mallory, Deputy Labor Commission, Fresno, Cal. The business honesty of most of them is "very good," writes Mr. M. P. Shaugnessy, Attorney at Law, Stockton, Cal., after knowing about one thousand of them for from one to five years. "In hiring men and women for different classes of employers, I find the Hindus very honest and generally they do as they say they will," writes Mr. Howard A. Miller, Manager, Public Employment Bureau, Sacramento, Cal. "To date, all the conditions of our lease to these men (Hindustanees) have been scrupulously lived up to by them," writes Mr. Argyle McLachlan of the Colorado River Land Company.

"As requested by you during our conversation of yesterday," writes Mr. H. J. Applegate of the Wood, Vallance & Leggat, Ltd., wholesalers in ship chandlery and automobile accessories, to the writer, "we have pleasure in verifying the statements made, that during our business dealings with Hindu concerns, we have always found them honest and sincere in business transactions and they invariably live up to promises made in regard to settlement of all their obligations." Mr. A. Leith Murray,

Manager of the Steel Products Department, Evans, Coleman and Evans, Ltd., Vancouver, B. C., a large concern dealing in steel rails and accessories, writes as follows: "Our experience of the Hindus with whom we have done business is that they appear to buy nothing until they have made proper arrangements so that they may be able to take care of their payments and that they have shown the greatest honesty in fulfilling their business engagements. In some cases deals have been concluded verbally and without being followed up with a written contract and we have never observed, in such cases, any disposition on the part of the Hindus to retreat from their bargains."

The above are only a few of the statements made by the Americans and Canadians. They show that the integrity of the Hindustanees is unquestionable.

3. Thrift.

Thrift is another notable virtue of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast. To live within their means is a special feature of their standard of living. This makes their standard more or less flexible and varying with their income. This practice not only keeps them out of debt, but also helps them save money, however little it may be.

There are several circumstances which have given them opportunity to practise frugality. First, except on the occasion of ceremonies and rituals, they are traditionally a frugal people. Second, living apart from the family life on the one hand and from the social life in America on the other, they are not under obligation of keeping up social prestige, and can, therefore, easily adapt their mode of living according to their income. Third, their income in the United States and Canada has increased faster than the improvement in their standard of living.

The thrift of a people can best be judged by their savings. Unfortunately it is hard to measure the savings of the Hindustanees. Only a rough notion of their savings may be had from the following fragmentary account. In

9 savings banks of California and Oregon,[8] 779 Hindustanees had a total deposit of $ 238,630 in 1921, i. e., $ 306 per capita. These figures do not include deposits in checking accounts. In the same year, in 3 banks of British Columbia,[9] 142 Hindustanees had a total deposit of $ 63,560, i. e., $ 431 per capita. These figures relate to checking accounts only.

The above accounts are, however, quite inadequate to convey any idea of their savings habit, and there are several reasons. First, it is only a partial list. The banks of only a few centres have been included in it. Some of the banks did not even like to give out any information regarding the deposits of their customers. Moreover, a Hindustanee often keeps accounts in more than one bank and the total amount of his savings cannot be determined unless the accounts of all the banks are available. Second, the time when these reports of savings were gathered was very inopportune. The year 1920 was very unfavorable to the agricultural and lumbering industries. Business depression was followed by low wages and unemployment, all of which affected the bank deposits. Third, the depression in the price of the rupee, which brought it down to 22 cents, i. e., 10 cents lower than the normal price also induced a large number of them to invest their savings in the purchase of rupees in Indian banks. The Royal Bank of Canada, Vancouver, B. C., for instance, sold to 85 Hindustanees $ 88,970 worth of rupees from January 1 to September 20, 1921. In the first six months of the same year, the Royal Bank of Canada at Victoria, B. C. sold $ 350,000 worth of rupees.

It might also be mentioned here that all the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast transact their business through banks. While in India, they scarcely knew anything of banks. Whatever savings they had, they invested mostly in ornaments. Soon after their arrival in America, they began to understand the importance and profitableness of the banking system and to use it for all business purposes.

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[8] Colusa, Fresno, Marysville, Sacramento and Stockton in California and Astoria and Linnton in Oregon.

[9] Victoria and Vancouver.

4. Self Respect.

Another important feature of the Hindustanees is the spirit of self-respect. After their arrival at the Pacific Coast, they had for the most part to depend upon themselves to secure employment, as explained before. As far as meeting their own expenditure is concerned, they are too proud to seek help from others. But this spirit of self-respect is more clearly seen in their aversion to seeking or expecting public charity. Fresno, Stockton and Sacramento in California and Victoria and Vancouver in British Columbia have been the centers of the Hindustanees for many years, but in none of these places have there been found any Hindustanee asking for public relief except in cases of occasional medical help.

"The only aid given the Hindustanee applicants through this office", writes Mr. Irving H. Webster, Registrar, Associated Charities of San Joaquin County, Stockton, Cal., "is medical treatment through county hospital and county physicians."

"To my knowledge in the past eleven years of social service work in the city and county of Sacramento", writes Miss Mary J. Judge, Registrar, Sacramento County, Department of Charities, Sacramento, Cal., "I have never had an application for relief of any kind from them."

Rev. George D. Ireland, Director of Relief Committee, Vancouver, B. C., and Miss E. M. Kane of the Associated Charities of San Francisco, Cal., made statements to the same effect. This spirit of self-dependence on the part of the Hindustanees for the past fifteen years proves conclusively how false was the fear of those who wanted to exclude the Hindustanees from America on the ground that they were liable to become public charges.

5. Patriotism.

The sentiment of patriotism is very strong among the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast. This spirit consists of their love both for the country of their birth and for the country of their adoption. This division in the sentiment of their patriotism is due to two reasons: First, they, like other immigrants, cannot very well forget the country of

their birth and the scene of their early life. Second, most of them have wives and children in India and expect to return there some time or other. Even for those who desire to remain in the United States and Canada, there have been raised many obstacles by the Governments of the two countries, as noted before. The number of the Hindustanees who have become naturalized is very limited. In spite of these facts, they have given sufficient proof of their devotion to the countries of their adoption. They have shown it in various ways:

First, when the United States declared war against Germany, some of them readily responded to the call for the draft. Several Hindustanees were in active service on the battle fields of France and Belgium.

Second, they expressed their loyality to the American Government on different occasions. On July 20, 1917, for instance, the Pacific Coast Hindustani Association passed a resolution pledging loyality to the Governor of California and offering their service to the cause of the Commonwealth.[10]

Third, they subscribed generously to the Liberty Loans and contributed large sums to the Red Cross and other charitable organisations.

"The Liberty Loan Headquarters witnessed a notable scene", says the Independent Stockton, April 16, 1918, referring to the purchase of Liberty Bonds by Hindustanees, "when the Committee of the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society which is the Brotherhood of Sikhs on the Coast, formally presented the subscription of twenty seven members of the organization for $ 1350. Some time ago a committee of seventeen was appointed to cooperate in making a success of the Liberty Loan campaign."

"The Hindus of San Joaquin County have attested to their patriotism", writes another Stockton paper,[11] "by purchasing $ 6000 worth of Liberty Bonds of the Fourth issue. The subscribers are practically all laborers and their subscriptions range from fifty to two hundred dollars each. Most of the bonds being of the fifty dollar

[10] The San Francisco Chronicle, July 22, 1918, p. 12, c. 7.
[11] Quoted by Dr. Pardaman Singh.

denomination. Most of those who subscribed also owned bonds of previous issue."

About 75 per cent of the Hindustanees in Imperial Valley bought Liberty Bonds. Taking the State of California as a whole, they bought at least $ 70,000 worth of Liberty Bonds.

"It can be truthfully said they are exemplary people, and used their efforts to cooperate with the War Industries Board, in the production of food supplies, and contributed liberally to the purchase of Liberty Bonds, War Stamps, and Thrift Stamps," says W. M. Simpson, Chief of Police, Sacramento, Cal.

6. Philanthropy.

One of the essential features of the social organization of India is its provision for charity. Not only the poor and needy find a place in the families of their relatives, however distant they may be, but there is always some provision made by which a large number of the helpless are taken care of by the community. Undoubtedly there is much misuse of this benevolent institution and there is much need for the development of a philanthropic or rational method of distributing charities. But despite its defects, the spirit of benevolence is a common feature of Hindustani life.

The people of the Punjab are well known for their philanthropic work. The charitable disposition of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast, who came mostly from the Punjab, is evident from their contribution to different causes. They contributed a large sum of money to the charitable organisations, such as the Red Cross in the United States and Canada, and the educational societies in India.

The Moslem League of America contributed $ 3400 to an orphanage in India in 1919 and $ 3000 to All-India Khaliphate Comittee in 1920. Besides, it is paying all the expenses of 3 students studying in American universities.

The Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society has helped many Hindustani students to continue their studies in

schools and colleges. The Society has bought at Berkeley a house where 15 students can reside free of charge and study in the University of California.

With the help of the donations by the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society of California and the Khalsa Diwan Society of British Columbia, day and night schools have been started in several districts of the Punjab. Up to the present there have been established 4 high schools, 8 middle schools, and more than a dozen primary schools in the districts of Hoshiarpur, Jellunder, Amritsar, Lahore, Ludhiana and Ferozpur. Other educational institutions including several girls' schools have also received their aid. Since its foundation, the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society has spent about $ 198,000 for educational purposes.[12]

A more complete list of contributions has been supplied by the Khalsa Diwan Society of British Columbia. The following are the chief:[13]

(1) Sufferers from the Nankana Sahib Massacre in Lahore	$ 1330
(2) Sufferers from Jullianwala Bagh Massacre	$ 3000
(3) Families of political prisoners in India	$ 2100
(4) Sufferers from the suppression of presses in India	$ 700
(5) Congress Tilak Swaraj Fund in India	$ 3333
(6) Religious and educational causes in Canada and India	$ 78,000
(7) Education in India	$ 70,000
(8) The Komagata Maru Case . . .	$ 50,000
(9) Immigration cases	$ 30,000
(10) Deputation to Canadian and British Governments	$ 12,000
(11) Contribution to the Hindustani presses in Canada	$ 15,000

[12] Report of Mr. Lal Singh.
[13] Reports of Mr. Kapoor Singh and Mr. Mit Singh.

(12) Sufferers from political causes mostly in India, but also in Canada, South Africa, Turkey and the United States	$ 30,000

7. Culture.

The culture of the Hindustanees is also of a very high order, although it may not be exactly similar to that ordinarily found in the West. Their cultural attainment is manifested in different ways.

The refinement of taste is shown by their desire for the best. They always try to buy the best in the market, such as farmland, livestock, implements, and provisions. They show a great liking for the production of high-grade goods and are engaged, whenever possible, in raising crops, fruits, and grapes of the best quality. Grand champion-ship has been awarded to the pure-breed cattle raised by a Hindustanee in British Columbia.

Their high appreciation for learning is a well known fact. They have imbibed it from Indian civilisation, which, above all, aspire after moral and intellectual attainment. Although through the irony of fate the people of India are to-day the most illiterate, they are neither ignorant nor have lost the desire for intellectual achievement. In fact, it is a heart-felt regret among the older generations that they did not receive better education. Having been deprived of education themselves, they have been doing everything in their power to advance the cause of education for their people. Among the younger generations, quite a few of them attend schools and colleges and spend their leisure hours in study and reading. "A number of them also go to the university", writes Mr. M. P. Shaughnessy, "as soon as they acquire enough money to pay for their education, and they are studying engineering, agriculture, and medicine for the purpose of being proficient in those subjects."[14]

The sentiment of gratitude is a feature of their moral achievement. Any favor shown them is highly appreciat-

[14] California and the Orientals, Sacramento, Cal., 1920, p. 108.

ed. If they ever receive any help from anybody, sooner or later they will return it in some form or other. The Americans and the Canadians are sometimes surprised to receive money or presents from some of the Hindustanees in India, whom they have altogether forgotten, but who, while on the Pacific Coast, received some help in times of need and remembered it for many years.

Congeniality is another feature of their life. One of the greatest sources of happiness in life is the communion between man and man. To be able to appreciate the ideals and aspirations of others and to sympathise with them in sorrow and happiness is a great virtue. It is this broad and generous attitude on which true friendship is built. Although the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast are, as a group, exclusive, yet many of them individually come in close contact with the Americans and Canadians, and command a high respect for their generosity. Quite a few Americans and Canadians of high standing on the Coast spoke very highly of their Hindustani friends.

One of the most noteworthy features of the Hindustani life is the spirit of universality, which expresses itself in toleration. It is rather a paradox that a people coming from a caste-ridden country like India should be universalist or tolerant. Nevertheless it is true. Their spirit of universalism is not in losing their identity and adopting other creeds and customs, but rather in learning how to respect them. Respect for the differences in others is one of the cardinal points of Hindu civilisation. While they adhere to their social and religious institutions, they never depreciate or despise those of others. Due to this spirit of toleration, they can live peacefully with all classes of people, such as the Chinesee, Japanes, Mexicans, Americans and Canadians.

Another achievement of the Hindustani life is the spirit of equanimity. A Hindustani possesses certain poise of mind which can not be easily disturbed by loss or gain. After several years' industrial success, all of a sudden the scale of fortune turned against them, and not only their savings were swept away, but many of them ran into debt. But they accepted the situation philosophically.

This indifference to loss shown by the Hindustanees surprised many Americans and Canadians. "If they had been Americans, many of them would have blown out their brains by this time", remarked Mr. Gage. "The Hindu personifies the element of chance in agricultural production", writes Mr. R. J. Miller, "making big gains in good years and in bad years taking the losses with a philosophical fatalism unnkown among the Occidental races".

To rise above all vicissitudes, to preserve internal peace in the midst of external disturbances, is the ideal of Hindu life. This is the gospel which Buddha the Great preached to the suffering humanity some 25 centuries ago. It is a pride to India that even her humble children represent the ideal, the propagation of which is her special mission to the world.

CHAPTER XI.

PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS.

1. Domestic Life.

The most important problem, which the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast have to solve, is that of their domestic life. Practically all of the immigrants are male. Most of them are married, but left their families in India. As soon as they became successful in business, they sent for their wives and children. Some of them came to join their husbands and fathers, but were not allowed to land on the Pacific Coast.

One of the objects of the policy adopted by the Canadian Government was to prohibit the arrival of the families of the Hindustanees domiciled in Canada so that they would be compelled to return to India sooner or later. This policy was also adopted by the United States Government.

The Hindustanees vigorously protested against such policy. They could not abandon their successful industrial careers in the new country, nor could they leave their wives and children in the old for good. Nothing has so much embittered them as this policy of exclusion; for it is not only injustice to them, but also to their innocent wives and children. This embitterment is fully shared by all educated men and women in India to-day.

Not less important is the problem of those who are still unmarried. If they want to stay on the Pacific Coast and to follow their successful industrial career, they have either to remain unmarried or to marry outside of their race. Celibacy, especially when it is enforced, is detrimental to the development of all those higher qualities which constitute manhood. To enforce celibacy upon a group of people is a transgression against the first law of nature.

Their marriage in Canada or the United States is beset with several difficulties. There are three possibilities of their getting wives. First, the negro women. But there is a strong prejudice among them against associating with the negroes in America. This is partly due to their feeling

of race superiority and partly to the fact that the negroes are socially ostracised by the Americans themselves and they do not like to be a party to the racial problem. Second, Mexican women. There have already been quite a few marriages between Mexican women and Hindustani men. But Mexican women are to be found only in Southern California, and are not, therefore, available to the majority of the Hindustanees in the north. Third, Canadian or American women. But there exists a strong prejudice among the Americans and Canadians against such marriages. Moreover, the cultural difference stands in the way of such marriages being happy and successful.

Under the existing law it is very hard for a Hindustanee to go to India for marriage. He can go to India, but must return to the United States in 6 months and to Canada in a year. Granting that a Hindustanee can travel to India for marriage and return within the stated period, he cannot bring his wife to the United States. There is no law against the admittance of the wife of a domiciled Hindustanee, who entered the United States before the passage of the law restricting Hindustani immigration, but to all practical purposes, his wife is barred. The policy of the Canadian Government has, however, been recently changed. During the war the Imperial Conference at London decided that the families of the British subjects of India must be permitted to reside in any part of the British Empire and this ruling of the Conference was confirmed by the Dominion Government of Canada. But the practical difficulties still remain.

2. Prejudice.

Love and hatred are two strong sentiments which find their expression in our life in some way or other. Out of our own minds we create God and Devil — we love and worship the one and hate and despise the other. This is not only true of individuals but of groups of people or nations. Every community has its "idol" and its "devil". It is as true on the Pacific Coast as anywhere else.

In Imperial Valley which is very close to the Mexican border, the object of hate of the American people are the

Mexicans who are to be found in large numbers all over Imperial Valley, in fact, all over Southern California. They are the "laziest bunch of people", "men without any morals", and so forth. In Fresno County, the Armenians are the object of resentment. They are the "dirtiest" people, utterly without "morals". Their business success lies in "cheating" the people and so forth. It must be remarked that Fresno County, both because of its arid climate and of its adaptability to the growing of grapes, has attracted a large number of Armenians. One fifth of the population of the city of Fresno is Armenian. The status of the Chinese is still lower. They are the "lazy, dirty opium-eaters", and gambling "underdogs" of humanity. Recently there has come a change in the attitude of the people towards the Chinese. They are "slow, but methodical and honest people". The Japanese are "aggressive and tricky". The Hindustanees are, of course, the "dirtiest and filthiest" of people. How could a people with long hair, and long beard and "10 foot long dirty turban", be otherwise? They also used to be very "inefficient" workers. But recently this view has been revised.

Such prejudice has not only resulted in disadvantage and sufferings to the Hindustani workers, but in many cases has endangered their freedom of action, even their very lives. The most important example of such an outburst of feeling on the part of the Americans against the Hindustanees is that of the riot at Bellingham, Washington, on September 5th 1907, when six hundred workers in the lumber mills raided the quarters of four hundred Hindustanees and, after terrorizing ordered them to leave the city. Mayor A. L. Bloch, of course, did everything in his power to restore order. Fifty deputies were sworn in at once. He offered the Hindustanees the city's protection and the mill owners offered them the same wages as they were paying the Americans. The attack was "condemned by the press, the pulpit and the public."[1] Similar attacks on the Hindustanees occurred at Live Oak, Cal., on

[1] Werter D. Dodd, The Hindu in the Northwest, The World Today, 13 : 1160, 1907.

January 25th 1908 and at St. John, Oregon, on March 21st, 1910.[2]

British Columbia was also a hot bed of agitation against the Hindustanees as well as against other Orientals. The press and platform there started vigorous campaigns not only against new immigrant Hindustanees, but also against the arrival of the families of those who had been already domiciled. Even the women protested against the admittance of the Hindustani women and children. Fifteen women in New Westminster, B. C., members of the Local Council of Women, passed a resolution condemning the order-in-council for permitting the entrance of the wives of some Hindustanees into Canada.

The most noted case as far as prejudice against them is concerned is the Komagata Maru affair. As they were not allowed to come to Canada unless they came directly from India, Bhai Gurdit Singh and others chartered a steamer, the Komagata Maru, and brought 375 Hindustanees to Vancouver. The steamer arrived on May 22, 1914. The immigration authorities refused admission to them and ordered the ship out of the port with its load of human freight. The Hindustani immigrants insisted upon their right to land as they were British subjects. A bitter fight ensued. The Hindustanees in British Columbia tried everything in their power, and even appealed to the Dominion Government and also to the British Government, but in vain. On July 23, the ship was forced return to India with the Hindustani immigrants. The affair cost them about $ 70,000 and the sufferings of those on board ship, who were refused even provisions and water, knew no bounds.

There are several causes for such feeling against the Hindustanees, as in fact against all Orientals and even Eastern Europeans:

First, the dislike which a race generally feels for others has been heightened in Western Europe and America by the material progress achieved within the last two hundred

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[2] The San Francisco Call, Feb. 2nd 1908, p. 32, c. 1.
[3] Ibid., March 23, 1910, p. s. c. 4.

years. They are too proud and intolerant to appreciate any difference in racial traits or cultural ideals.

Second, manners and customs, such as the long hair of the Sikhs, are also somewhat responsible for increasing the racial prejudice.

Third, lower wages and underbidding have also been mentioned among the causes. As stated before, except in the very beginning, the Hindustanees have not underbidden nor have they accepted lower wages.

Fourth, the lower standard of living has been given as still another reason for prejudice. The general standard of living in the East is undoubtedly lower than that in the West. Although the Hindustanees live somewhat differently from the Americans and Canadians, their living expenses are not lower than those of the same classes of people, as shown above.

Fifth, one of the most important causes of ill-feeling against the Hindustanees is their industrial success. "Conspicuous consumption" rather than actual earnings is more responsible for it. It takes more than ordinary patience for a native-born American or Canadian to see a Hindustanee ride a Hudson Super Six, when he cannot afford more than a Ford.

This opinion is held by many Americans and Canadians themselves. Judge Griffin, for instance, supported this view with an illustration. In the years 1918 and 1919, the Hindustanees in the Imperial Valley were very successful in cotton cultivation and the feeling against them was also very strong. In the following two years they began to lose and the feeling gradually subsided. Says Attorney Shaugnessy, "The Americans are inclined to be jealous of these people by reason of the fact that they are able to farm land to a greater advantage than their neighbours."

3. Discrimination.

This race prejudice has also given rise to much of the discrimination from which the Hindustanees suffer. Neither in political, social or economic life is there any equality of opportunity for them.

It is their belief that they are often discriminated against in the administration of the law and in political affairs. Some of their complaints are as follows: First, although they are permitted by law to become citizens of the United States and some of them have done so, their applications have often been summarily rejected on the ground of their being Hindustani. They had on several occasions to appeal to the higher courts in order to become citizens. Second, immigration officers have often been much stricter in dealing with them than provided by the law. Third, they have been illegally or on small pretext detained and put to unnecessary trouble by immigration officials. Fourth, steamship companies have often denied them tickets at the instructions of the immigration officials, although there has been no known cause for such refusal. Fifth, they have often been detained at ports like Hong Kong without any real reason. Sixth, when they tried to bring wives and children to Canada, the immigration officers have detained them or sent them back to Hong Kong. Seventh, often they have been required to give bail even in cases where bail was not required for American or Canadian citizens.

Discrimination against them in the industrial field is as great, if not greater, as it is in the legal affairs. The complaints often made are as follows: First, their field of industrial opportunity is very much limited. They are never employed in some industries. Second, in many cases they are offered lower wages, although their work is as satisfactory as that of any American or Canadian. Third, they are often required to do the lowest kind of work in a factory or workshop. Fourth, in case of any grievances or accidents, it is hard for them to get a hearing or to realize compensation. Fifth, they are charged a higher rate of rent when leasing land, and conditions of payment are often made harsher.

The most delicate and at the same time the most important discrimination is made in social life. Here the discrimination is shown in its worst form. Their complaint consists of several things: First, they are discriminated against in theatres, "movies", restaurants and hotels.

Second, they are compelled to seek living quarters in the most undesirable sections of the town. They are forced to seek shelter in shacks and houses in which they do not like to live. Third, they are often ridiculed for observing their national custom.

These are some of the cases of discrimination about which the Hindustanees feel very badly. The truth of some of these allegations cannot be denied.

4. Assimilation.

Due to the prejudice of the American and Canadian people, there has scarcely been any attempt at assimilation of the Hindustanees. Social intercourse between the two races is the best way to assimilation. But as long as there is any ill-feeling, the possibility of social intercourse is remote.

It has often been said that the Hindustanees cannot be assimilated. It is true that the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast being mostly Sikhs do not readily change their headdress, nor do they shave their beard or cut their long hair. This is a part of their religion. A large number of the Hindustanees have, however, changed their customs. There is scarcely any serious obstacle in the way of their adopting Western methods of living.

More important than custom is their adaptabilitiy to the moral and spiritual ideals. Here they are inferior to no other race on earth. The age-long connection of India with Western Asia and Eastern Europe have kept them in touch with the mental attitude of Western nations. They have the same deep respect for such institutions as the family, religion and the State. The devotional phase of their life cannot be surpassed by any other race.

5. Amalgamation.

While assimilation is cultural adaptability, amalgamation is the physiological unification of two or more races. Here again the Hindustanees do not raise any difficulty. "The problem presented by the natives of India is not, as in the case of the Japanese or Chinese, a race problem",

remarked Mr. Werter D. Dodd.[4] The only thing against them is that they are darker in complexion. Their features are distinctly indicative of a highly developed Caucasian type.

The question of racial deterioration does not enter at all in the intermixture of the Hindustanees and the European races. The intellectual capacity which once expressed itself in one of the highest forms of civilization yet built on earth is latent in the modern Hindustanees. In fields and factories, playgrounds and platforms, schools and laboratories, they have proved themselves to be equal, if not superior, to any other nation.

6. Conclusions.

It is evident from some of the foregoing chapters that the number of the Hindustanees on the Pacific Coast is very small. Even this small number is getting smaller by emigration. As new immigration has been stopped, there is practically no chance for any material increase in their number either in Canada or in the United States.

The presence of even such a small number has, however, given rise to several problems. A problem arising from the presence of one race in the midst of another depends not upon the numerical strength, but upon the influence which the one exerts upon the attitude, traditions and institutions of the other.

The essential conditions of a problem are the consciousness of some unfavorable conditions and the ability to remedy them. When the Hindustanees first arrived in Canada and the United States, they were more or less helpless and ignorant. In the recent years things have, however, changed. A large number of them has left for India, but those remaining are energetic and successful. Some of them have become fairly educated and acquired some degree of business success. The knowledge of the country and the success in life have made them conscious of their condition. They feel more than ever the injustice

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[4] "The Hindu in the Nordwest", The World to day, 1907, 13 : 1160.

of the social, political, and industrial discriminations under which they have to live.

There is another phase to the question. In the recent years a new spirit of nationalism has been arising in India. There is a growing desire on the part of the Hindustanees to help their countrymen abroad. Discrimination against them in foreign countries is bound to arouse a feeling of resentment. India may be weak to take political measures in the defence of her national honor, but she can retaliate economically by organizing the boycott of foreign goods, whenever occasion for such actions arises.

The misunderstanding between the Hindustanees and the Americans or the Canadians is detrimental both culturally and commercially. India with one of the oldest civilizations and America with her new culture can undoubtedly exert beneficial influence upon each other. Owing to the geographical situation and industrial conditions there exists a great possibility of commercial development between the two countries. But ill-feeling and discrimination stand against the growth of good will upon which both cultural and commercial relations depend. The removal of discriminatory measures and other causes of ill-feeling will not only do justice to a small group of people, but also pave the way for the establishment of friendly relationship between two great nations.

APPENDIX.

1. Documents Consulted.

1. Report of the Royal Commission appointed in 1907 to inquire into the methods by which Oriental laborers have been induced to come to Canada, 3827-1, Ottawa, 1908.
2. Report by W. L. Mackenzie King, C. M. G., Deputy Minister of Labor on mission to England to confer with the British authorities on the subject of Immigration from the Orient and Immigration from India in particular (No. 36a — 1908).
3. Canada, Reports of the Superintendent of Immigration.
4. Canada Year Books, The Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Vol. 1—11, Senate Document No. 747, 1911.
5. Abstracts of Reports of the U. S. Immigration Commission.
6. U. S. Reports of the Commissioner General Immigration.

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2. Persons Interviewd.

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