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'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling'

Holding Institution	British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers
Reference	IOR/R/15/1/349
Date(s)	17 Feb 1924-30 Jul 1936 (CE, Gregorian)
Written in	English and Arabic in Latin and Arabic script
Extent and Format	1 volume (41 folios)
Copyright for document	<u>Unknown</u>



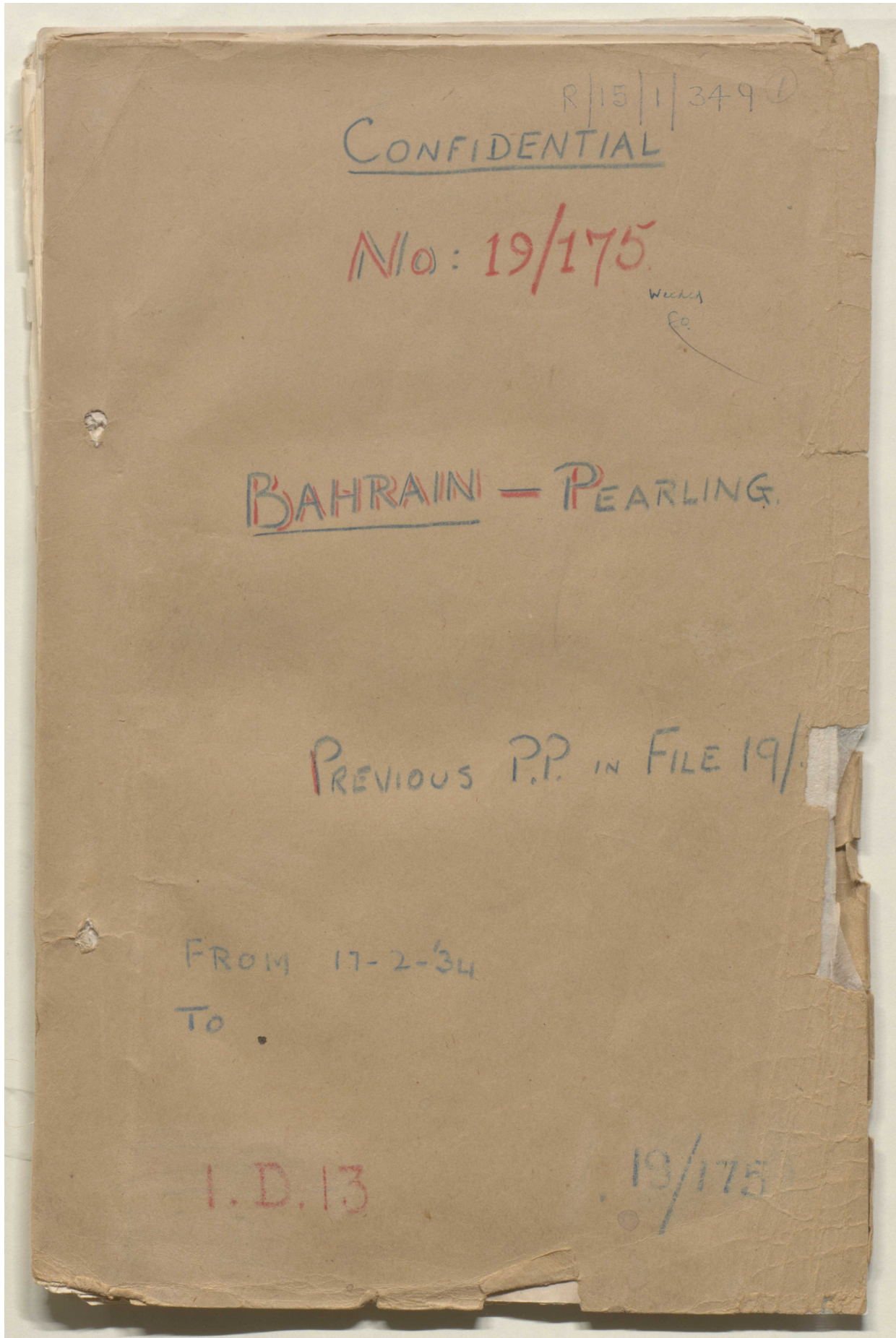
About this record

This file contains correspondence related to the pearling industry of Bahrain and the reforms of the industry that were enacted by the British during the 1920s.

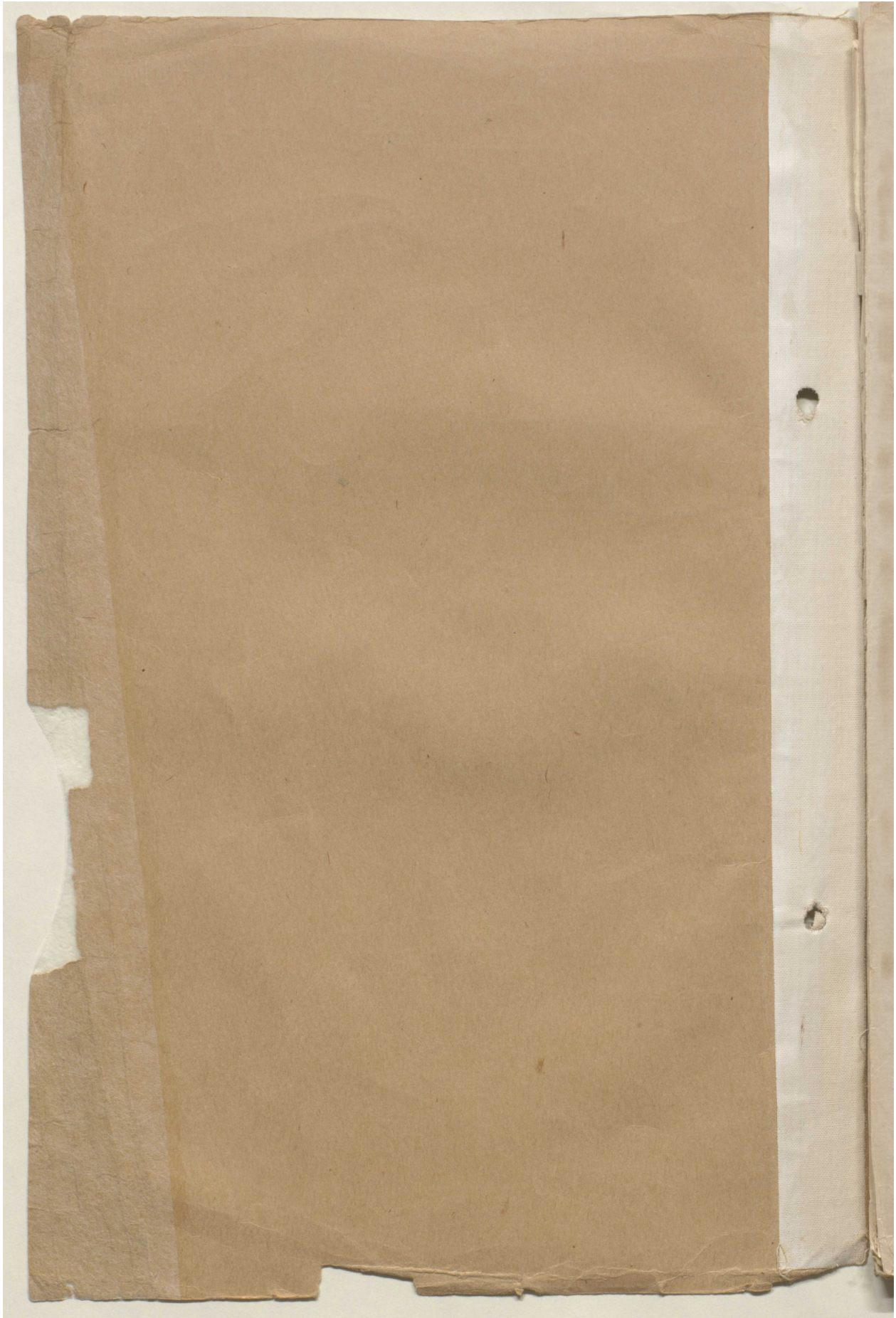
The correspondence discusses the status of the industry prior to the reforms, the nature of the relationship between the ship captains (Nakudas) and the pearl divers and the impact of the reforms - especially their positive impact on the condition of the divers.

An example of a Nakuda's general account is included on folio 16.

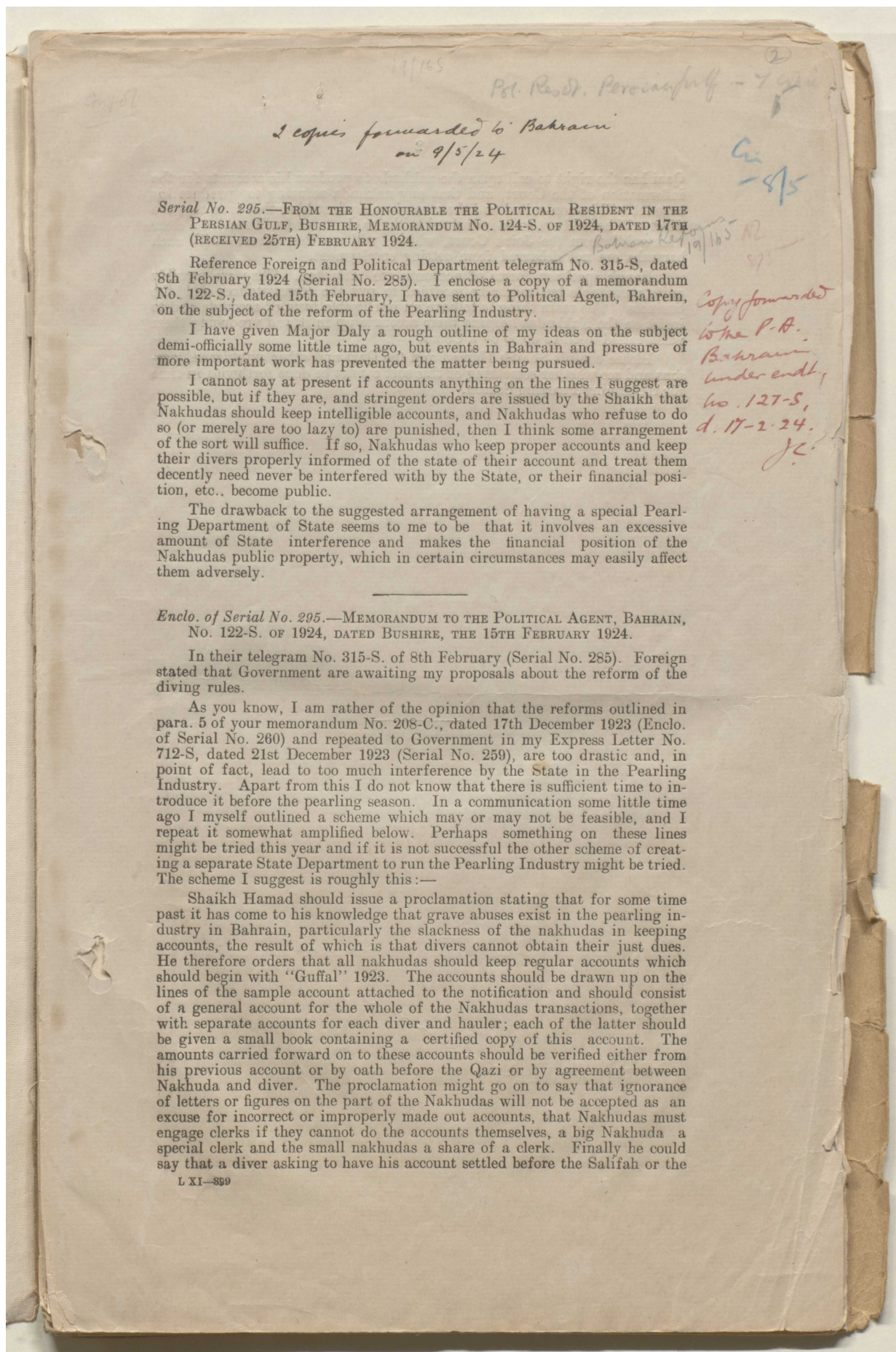
'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [front] (1/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [front-i] (2/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [2r] (3/83)



19/165
Pol. Resd. Persian Gulf - 7/24
2 copies forwarded to Bahrain on 9/5/24
19/165
-8/5
Bahrain Ref 19/165 R2
9/5
Copy forwarded to the P.A. Bahrain under encl. No. 127-S, d. 17-2-24.
J.C.

Serial No. 295.—FROM THE HONOURABLE THE POLITICAL RESIDENT IN THE PERSIAN GULF, BUSHIRE, MEMORANDUM NO. 124-S. OF 1924, DATED 17TH (RECEIVED 25TH) FEBRUARY 1924.

Reference Foreign and Political Department telegram No. 315-S, dated 8th February 1924 (Serial No. 285). I enclose a copy of a memorandum No. 122-S., dated 15th February, I have sent to Political Agent, Bahrein, on the subject of the reform of the Pearling Industry.

I have given Major Daly a rough outline of my ideas on the subject demi-officially some little time ago, but events in Bahrain and pressure of more important work has prevented the matter being pursued.

I cannot say at present if accounts anything on the lines I suggest are possible, but if they are, and stringent orders are issued by the Shaikh that Nakhudas should keep intelligible accounts, and Nakhudas who refuse to do so (or merely are too lazy to) are punished, then I think some arrangement of the sort will suffice. If so, Nakhudas who keep proper accounts and keep their divers properly informed of the state of their account and treat them decently need never be interfered with by the State, or their financial position, etc., become public.

The drawback to the suggested arrangement of having a special Pearling Department of State seems to me to be that it involves an excessive amount of State interference and makes the financial position of the Nakhudas public property, which in certain circumstances may easily affect them adversely.

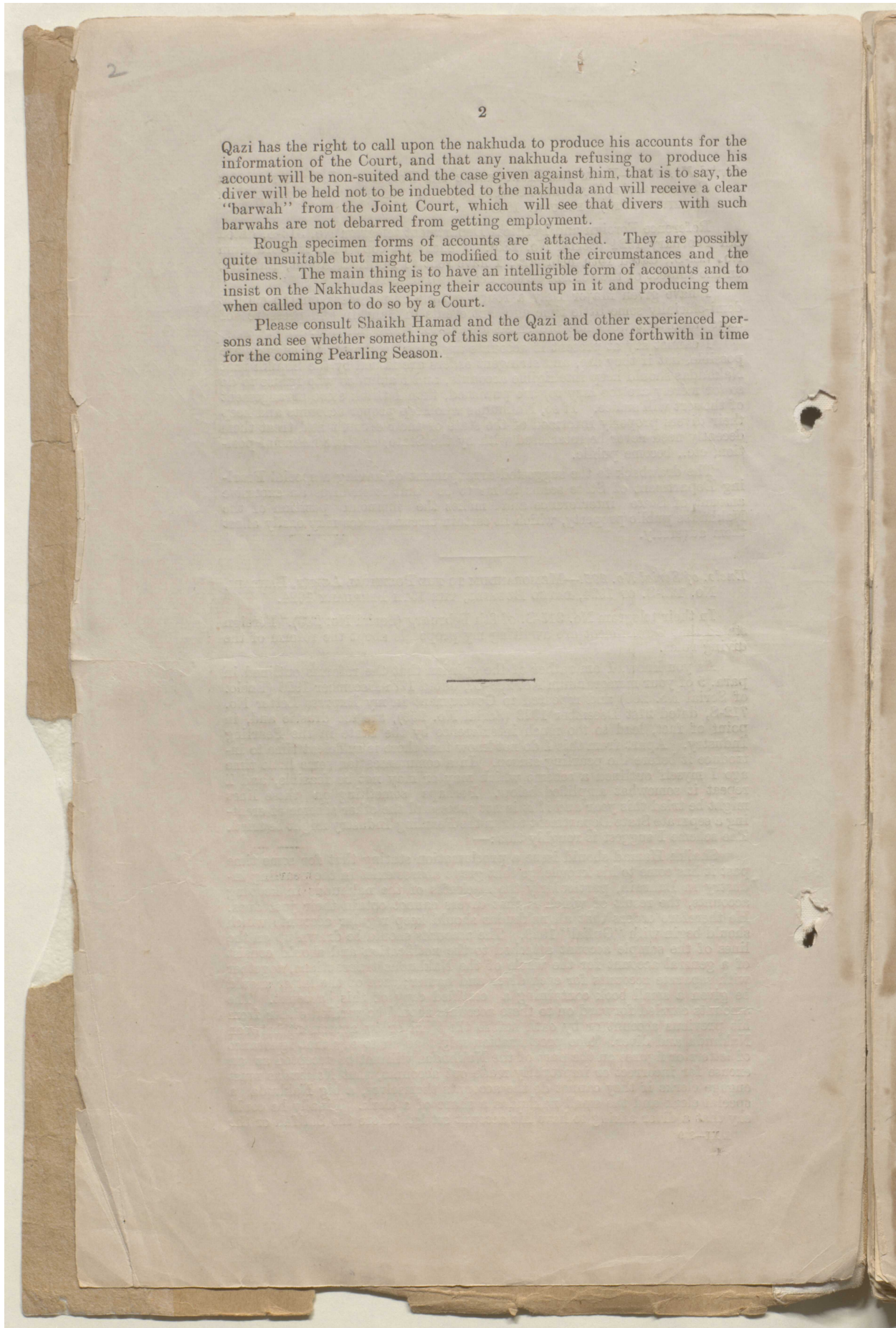
Encl. of Serial No. 295.—MEMORANDUM TO THE POLITICAL AGENT, BAHRAIN, NO. 122-S. OF 1924, DATED BUSHIRE, THE 15TH FEBRUARY 1924.

In their telegram No. 315-S. of 8th February (Serial No. 285). Foreign stated that Government are awaiting my proposals about the reform of the diving rules.

As you know, I am rather of the opinion that the reforms outlined in para. 5 of your memorandum No. 208-C., dated 17th December 1923 (Encl. of Serial No. 260) and repeated to Government in my Express Letter No. 712-S, dated 21st December 1923 (Serial No. 259), are too drastic and, in point of fact, lead to too much interference by the State in the Pearling Industry. Apart from this I do not know that there is sufficient time to introduce it before the pearling season. In a communication some little time ago I myself outlined a scheme which may or may not be feasible, and I repeat it somewhat amplified below. Perhaps something on these lines might be tried this year and if it is not successful the other scheme of creating a separate State Department to run the Pearling Industry might be tried. The scheme I suggest is roughly this:—

Shaikh Hamad should issue a proclamation stating that for some time past it has come to his knowledge that grave abuses exist in the pearling industry in Bahrain, particularly the slackness of the nakhudas in keeping accounts, the result of which is that divers cannot obtain their just dues. He therefore orders that all nakhudas should keep regular accounts which should begin with "Guffal" 1923. The accounts should be drawn up on the lines of the sample account attached to the notification and should consist of a general account for the whole of the Nakhudas transactions, together with separate accounts for each diver and hauler; each of the latter should be given a small book containing a certified copy of this account. The amounts carried forward on to these accounts should be verified either from his previous account or by oath before the Qazi or by agreement between Nakhuda and diver. The proclamation might go on to say that ignorance of letters or figures on the part of the Nakhudas will not be accepted as an excuse for incorrect or improperly made out accounts, that Nakhudas must engage clerks if they cannot do the accounts themselves, a big Nakhuda a special clerk and the small nakhudas a share of a clerk. Finally he could say that a diver asking to have his account settled before the Salifah or the

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [2v] (4/83)



2

Qazi has the right to call upon the nakhuda to produce his accounts for the information of the Court, and that any nakhuda refusing to produce his account will be non-suited and the case given against him, that is to say, the diver will be held not to be indebted to the nakhuda and will receive a clear "barwah" from the Joint Court, which will see that divers with such barwahs are not debarred from getting employment.

Rough specimen forms of accounts are attached. They are possibly quite unsuitable but might be modified to suit the circumstances and the business. The main thing is to have an intelligible form of accounts and to insist on the Nakhudas keeping their accounts up in it and producing them when called upon to do so by a Court.

Please consult Shaikh Hamad and the Qazi and other experienced persons and see whether something of this sort cannot be done forthwith in time for the coming Pearling Season.

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [3r] (5/83)

DIVER ABDULLA BIN AZIZ IN ACCOUNT WITH NAKHUDA.
(To be copied into Diver's small book).

Date.	Credit.	Rs.	A.	P.	REMARKS.	Date.	Debit.	Rs.	A.	P.	REMARKS.
						5 Rabi I . .	Balance due to Nakhuda at Guffal . 1341.	950	0	0	Signature, seal or thumb impression of Diver.
						1 Jemadi I . .	Two bags of rice cost Rs. 50 plus 12½ per cent. profit Rs 6¼.	56	4	0	Ditto.
						1 Jemadi II . .	Cash advance	100	0	0	Ditto.
						13 Shabar	Advance for Qagbad	300	0	0	Ditto.
						15 Zil Haj	Next season advance	150	0	0	Ditto.
							Total	1,556	4	0	
25 Rabi I	Diver's share of sale of pearls (amounting to Rs. 30,000) Rs. 1,500, paid.	1,500	0	0							
	Balance due from diver	56	4	0							
	Total	1,556	4	0							

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [3v] (6/83)

4-8

CASH ACCOUNT OF NAKHUDA ZAID BIN MUHAMMAD.

Date.	Receipts.	Rs.			REMARKS.	Date.	Expenditure.	Rs.			REMARKS.
		A.	P.					A.	P.		
21 Rabi I .	By sale of pearls fished during season (Diver's share 900 Hauler's share 600.)	20,000	0	0		22 Rabi I .	Paid to Diver Hussain bin Mohamed	900	0	0	Signature, seal or thumb impressions of Hussain, Hassan, etc.
							Paid to Diver Hassan bin Abdulla	900	0	0	
28 Rabi I .	Recovered from divers on account of debts at Guffal (see subsidiary accounts 1, 2, 4, 8, 10.)	10,000	0	0			Paid to Khadhar bin Khamis	900	0	0	
							Paid to Hauler Aziz bin Abdul, etc., etc.	600	0	0	
						1 Jem di .	Advanced to Diver Abdulla bin Aziz two bags rice cost..... plus profit.....				
						5th Jemadi .	Advanced to Hauler Isa bin Zaid, etc., etc., etc.	200	0	0	Signature, etc.
						13 Shabar .	Advances for Raqbah Diver Ghulam Hussain bin Mohamed.	300	0	0	Signatures, etc., of Ghulam, etc.
							Advances for Raqbah Diver Hassan bin Zaid.	300	0	0	
							Advances for Raqbah Diver Abdul Aziz, etc., etc.	200	0	0	

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [4r] (7/83)

13-15-

(4)

from the P.R. in the P.C.

Serial No. I.—EXPRESS LETTER TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN THE FOREIGN AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, DELHI, No. 27-T., DATED THE 13TH (RECEIVED 17TH) MARCH 1924.

SUBJECT :—*Bahrain Reforms. Pearling Industry.*

My endorsement No. 124-S. of 15th February (Serial No. 295 in file No. 480-X.)

Political Agent has consulted Shaikhs Hamad and Abdulla and all agree that accounts on the lines I have suggested can be introduced, and that it would be advantageous to do so forthwith in time for this season. Accordingly I am telegraphing to Political Agent to get Shaikh Hamad to issue the necessary orders.

The Shaikhs consider that the nakhudas will not like sharing actual sale value of pearls for fear they should be taxed proportionately — a diver's share being taken as tax in most states. To obviate the chance of fraud and collusion between nakhudas and drivers to falsify the sale value of pearls the Shaikhs have decided to charge a regular license fee on pearl boats based on the average diver's share gained by such boats, but a great deal less. The average for a good sized boat in Kuwait is considered to be about Rs. 500 and the Shaikhs propose to levy license fees in the grades according to the size of the boats, commencing at Rs. 250 for the large boats. This will be much less than charged by other Shaikhs, but a clear gain in Bahrain where for many years no regular tax has been levied on pearling boats.

In anticipation of sanction I am authorizing the Political Agent to agree to Shaikh Hamad proceeding with the licenses for the coming season.

2. As another reform the Shaikh proposes to start a Hospital Dhow to tour round the pearl banks, and requires a Sub-Assistant Surgeon to be in charge. The expenses of this boat have been entered in the budget: the only difficulty is the Sub-Assistant Surgeon. Could Government aid the Shaikh by appointing a regular Sub-Assistant Surgeon for foreign service in Bahrain for this duty? He should be a Mohommedan, and *must* be a good sailor, preferably a man who has served on ships. He should be prepared to stay at least two years, as it will take him some time to learn the language and get into the work. Salary proposed Rs. 150 per mensem *plus* Rs. 25 per mensem when out with the Pearling Fleet.

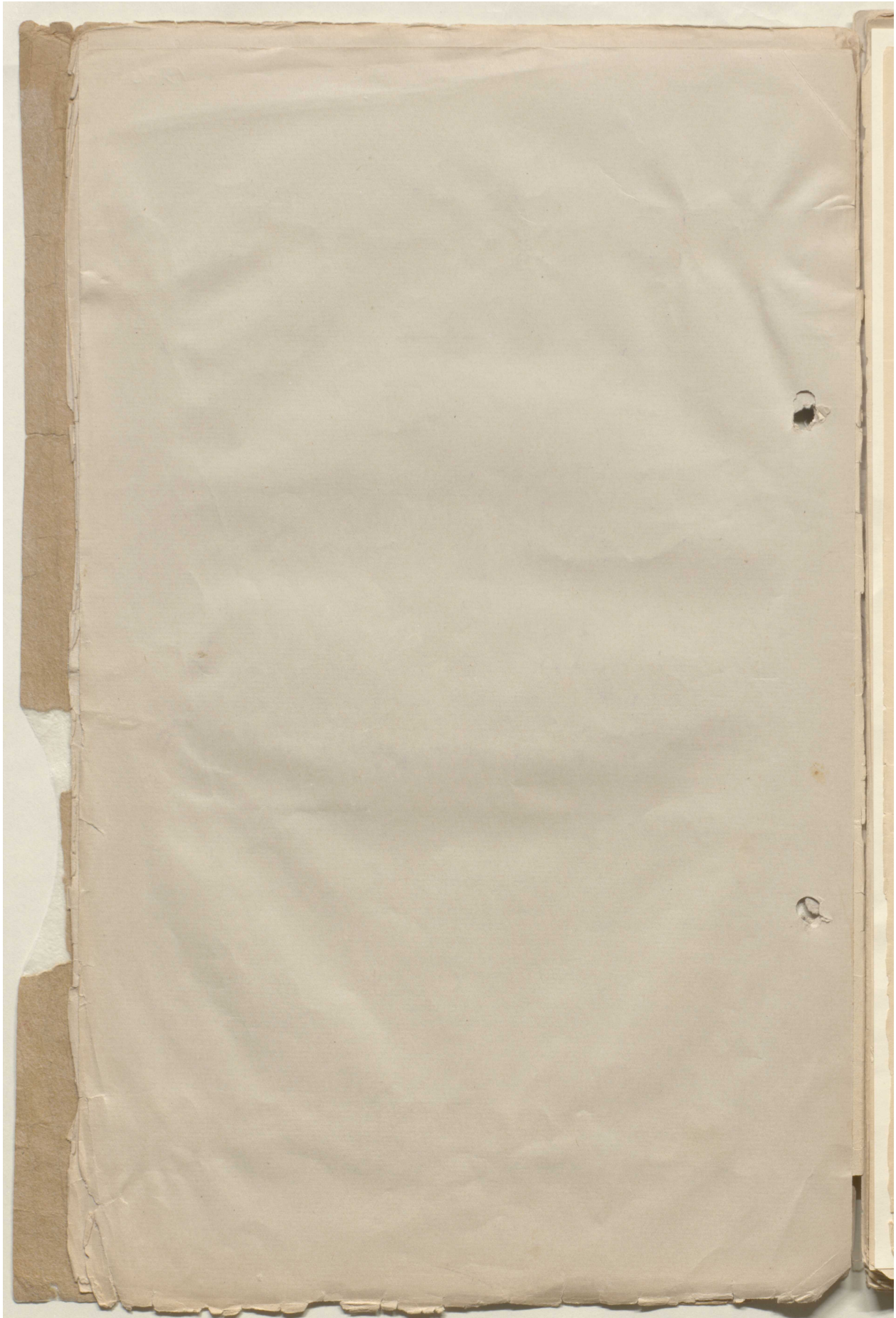
This man to be any use this season should be nominated at once.

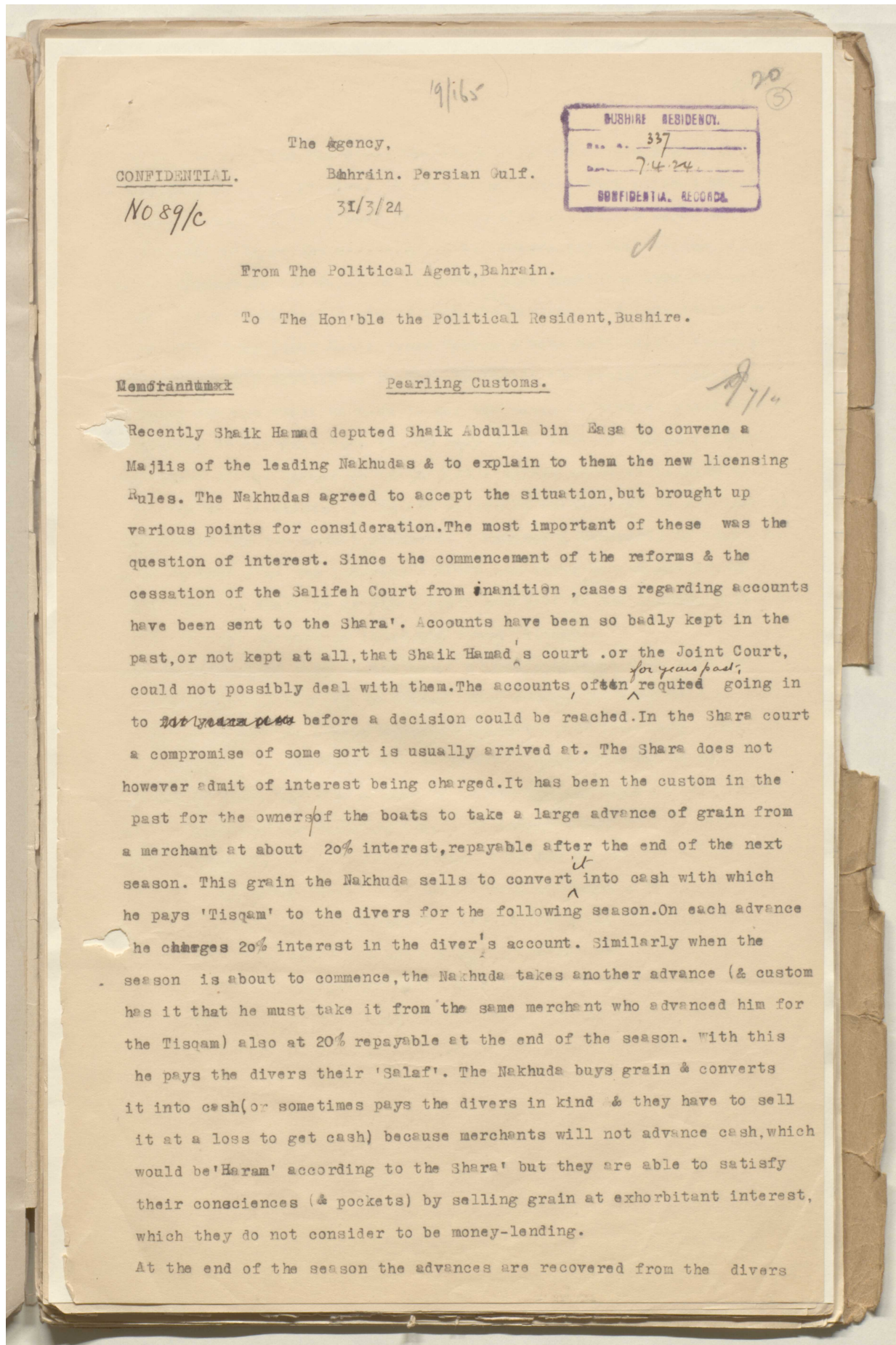
In the off season the Sub-Assistant Surgeon would assist the Assistant Surgeon in charge of the Victoria Memorial Hospital who has now a good deal of work. The Shaikh proposes to make him the Official Doctor and pay him a fixed retaining fee for this duty, as well as his salary for Quarantine work.

The Residency Surgeon considers the scheme for a Hospital Dhow a very good one and entirely approves of the suggestion that the Assistant Surgeon should be the Official Doctor and supervise the Hospital Dhow as well as the Victoria Memorial Hospital.

As mentioned above I am authorizing Major Daly to get Shaikh Hamad to proceed with the new system of accounts and the licensing pearling dhows at once in anticipation of sanction in order to bring the system into operation this season.

With the same object in view in the case of the Hospital Dhow will Government be pleased to select a Sub-Assistant Surgeon as soon as possible?





CONFIDENTIAL.

No 89/c

The Agency,
Bahrain. Persian Gulf.
31/3/24

19/165

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BUSHIRE RESIDENCY.
No. 337
Date 7.4.24
CONFIDENTIAL RECORDS

From The Political Agent, Bahrain.

To The Hon'ble the Political Resident, Bushire.

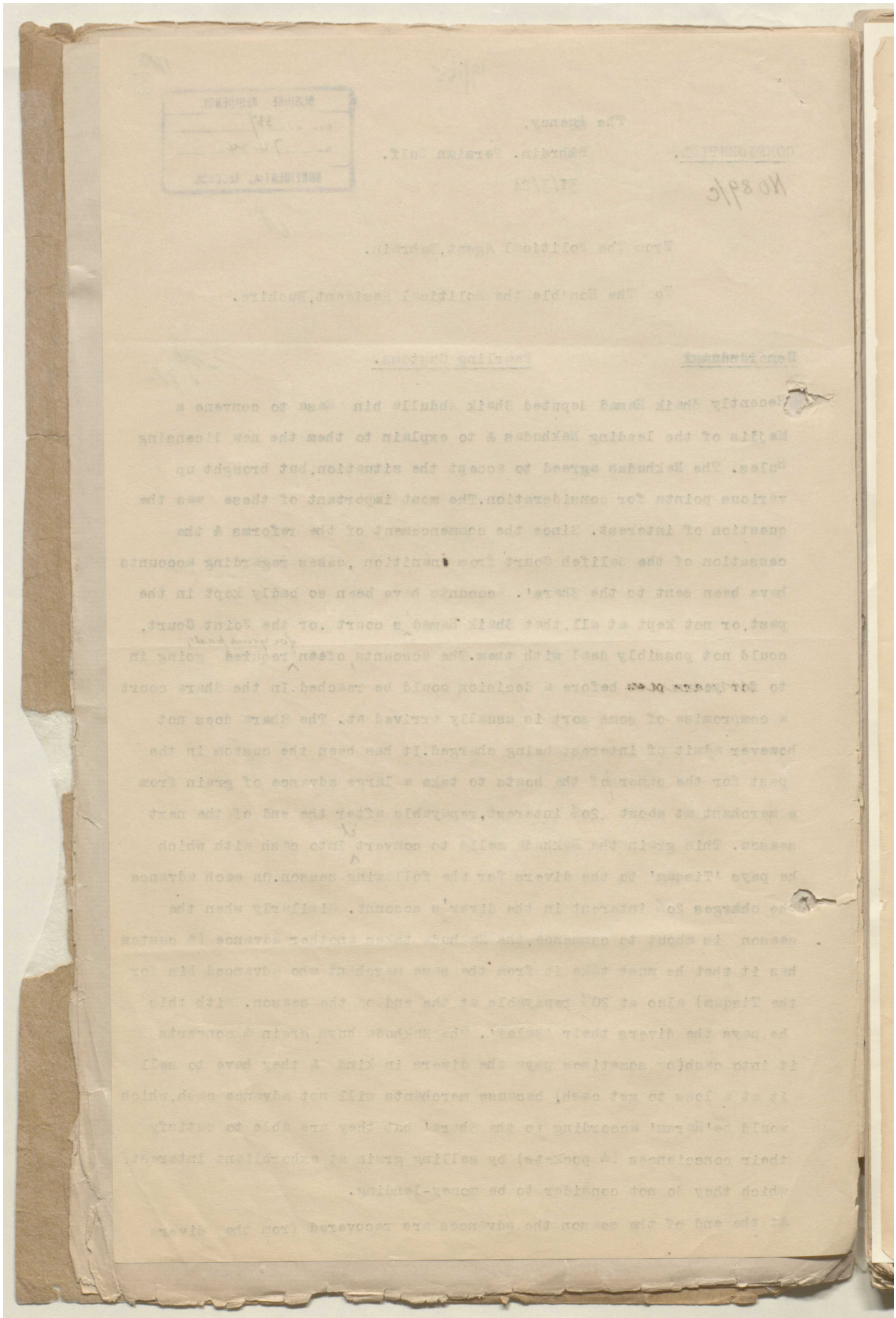
Memorandum

Pearling Customs.

Recently Shaik Hamad deputed Shaik Abdulla bin Basa to convene a Majlis of the leading Nakhudas & to explain to them the new licensing Rules. The Nakhudas agreed to accept the situation, but brought up various points for consideration. The most important of these was the question of interest. Since the commencement of the reforms & the cessation of the Salifeh Court from ~~in~~anition, cases regarding accounts have been sent to the Shara'. Accounts have been so badly kept in the past, or not kept at all, that Shaik Hamad's court, or the Joint Court, could not possibly deal with them. The accounts, ^{for years past,} often ^{it} required going in to ~~not years past~~ before a decision could be reached. In the Shara court a compromise of some sort is usually arrived at. The Shara does not however admit of interest being charged. It has been the custom in the past for the owners of the boats to take a large advance of grain from a merchant at about 20% interest, repayable after the end of the next season. This grain the Nakhuda sells to convert ^{it} into cash with which he pays 'Tisqam' to the divers for the following season. On each advance he charges 20% interest in the diver's account. Similarly when the season is about to commence, the Nakhuda takes another advance (& custom has it that he must take it from the same merchant who advanced him for the Tisqam) also at 20% repayable at the end of the season. With this he pays the divers their 'Salaf'. The Nakhuda buys grain & converts it into cash (or sometimes pays the divers in kind & they have to sell it at a loss to get cash) because merchants will not advance cash, which would be 'Haram' according to the Shara' but they are able to satisfy their consciences (& pockets) by selling grain at exorbitant interest, which they do not consider to be money-lending.

At the end of the season the advances are recovered from the divers

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [5v] (10/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [6r] (11/83)

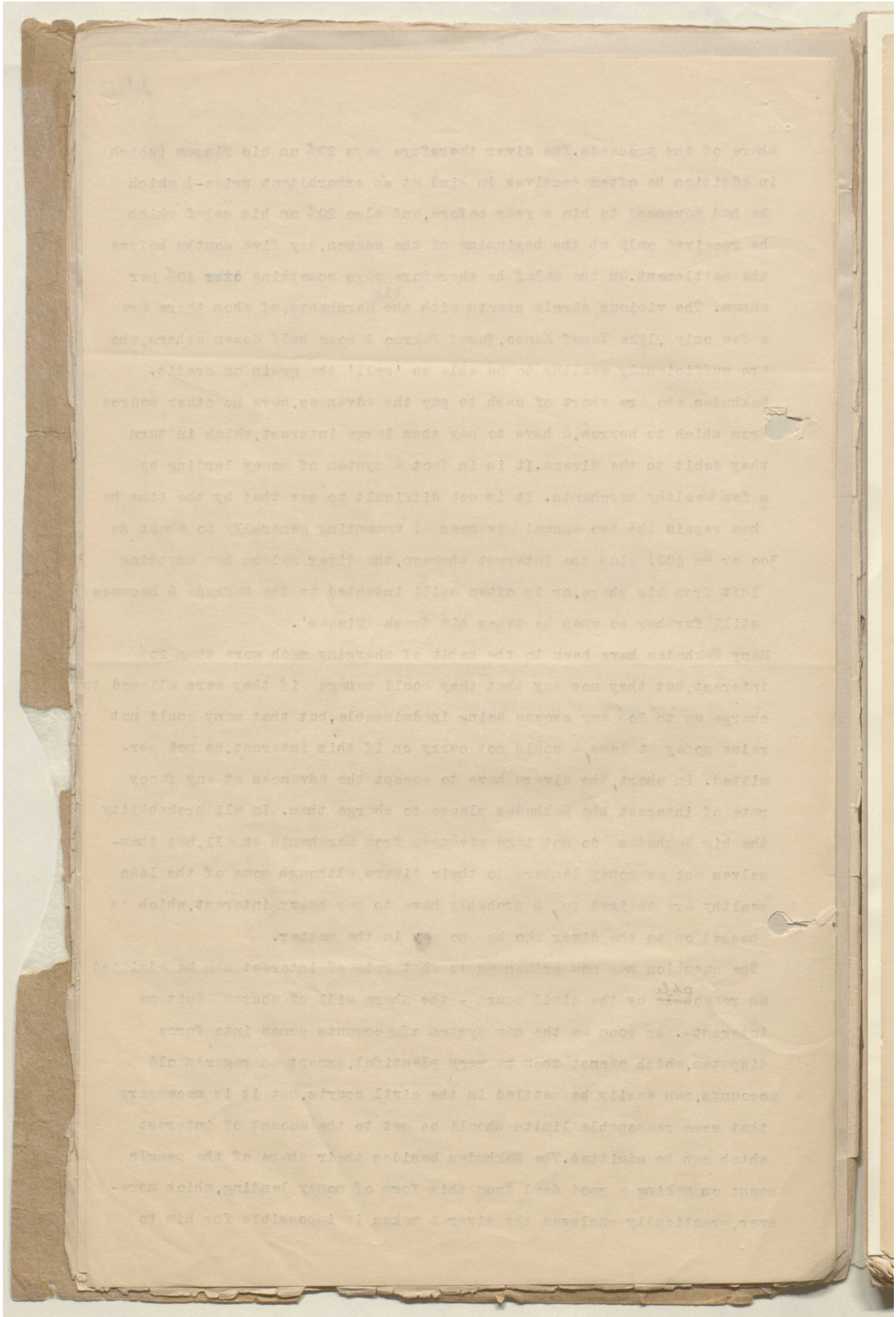
21 (6)

share of the proceeds. The diver therefore pays 20% on his Tisqam (which in addition he often receives in kind at an exorbitant price-) which he had advanced to him a year before, and also 20% on his salaf which he received only at the beginning of the season, say five months before the settlement. On the Salaf he therefore pays something ~~over~~ ^{big} 40% per annum. The vicious circle starts with the Merchants, of whom there are a few only, like Yusuf Kanoo, Yusuf Fakroo & some half dozen others, who are sufficiently wealthy to be able to 'sell' the grain on credit. Nakhudas who are short of cash to pay the advances, have no other source from which to borrow, & have to pay them large interest, which in turn they debit to the divers. It is in fact a system of money lending by a few wealthy merchants. It is not difficult to see that by the time he has repaid the two annual advances (amounting generally to about Rs 300 or Rs 400) plus the interest thereon, the diver seldom has anything left from his share, or is often still indebted to the Nakhuda & becomes still further so when he takes his fresh 'Tisqam'.

Many Nakhudas have been in the habit of charging much more than 20% interest, but they now say that they could manage if they were allowed to charge up to 20% any excess being inadmissible, but that many could not raise money at less, & could not carry on if this interest be not permitted. In short, the divers have to accept the advances at any fancy rate of interest the Nakhudas please to charge them. In all probability the big Nakhudas do not take advances from Merchants at all, but themselves act as money lenders to their divers, although some of the less wealthy are obliged to, & probably have to pay heavy interest, which is passed on to the diver who has no say in the matter.

The question has now arisen as to what rate of interest can be admitted as reasonable ^{able} by the civil court - the Shara will of course admit no interest-. As soon as the new system of accounts comes into force disputes, which cannot then be very plentiful, except as regards old accounts, can easily be settled in the civil courts, but it is necessary that some reasonable limits should be set to the amount of interest which can be admitted. The Nakhudas besides their share of the pearls count on making a good deal from this form of money lending, which moreover, practically enslaves the diver & makes it impossible for him to

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [6v] (12/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [7r] (13/83)

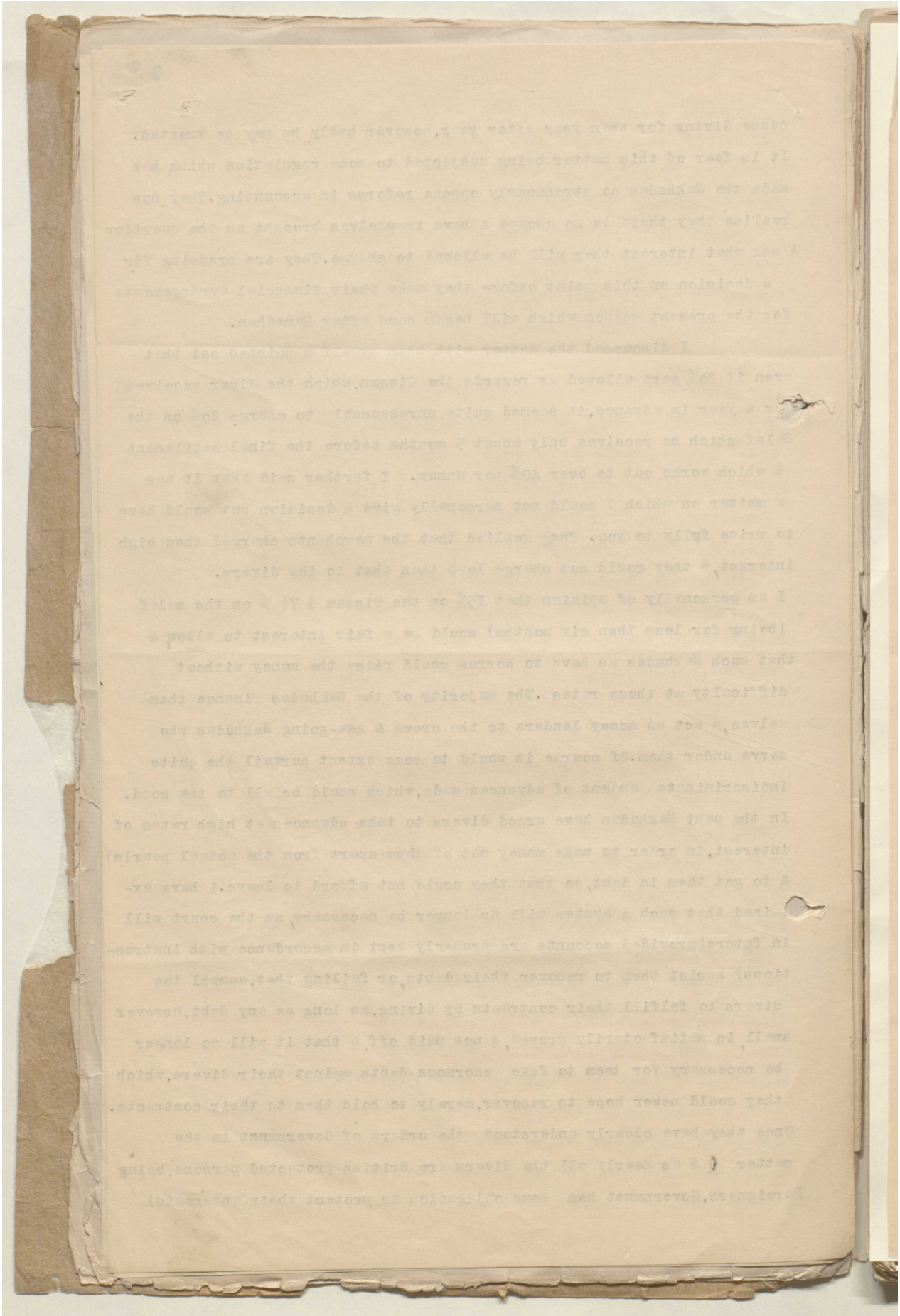
229

cease diving for them year after year, however badly he may be treated. It is fear of this matter being subjected to some regulation which has made the Nakhudas so strenuously oppose reforms in accounting. They now realise that there is no escape & have themselves brought up the question & ask what interest they will be allowed to charge. They are pressing for a decision on this point before they make their financial arrangements for the present season which will begin soon after Ramsadhan.

I discussed the matter with them myself & pointed out that even if 20% were allowed as regards the Tisqam, which the diver receives for a year in advance, it seemed quite unreasonable to charge 20% on the Salaf which he receives only about 5 months before the final settlement & which works out to over 40% per annum. I further said that it was a matter on which I could not personally give a decision but would have to write fully to you. They replied that the merchants charged them high interest, & they could not charge less than that to the divers.

I am personally of opinion that 15% on the Tisqam & 7½ % on the salaf (being for less than six months) would be a fair interest to allow, & that such Nakhudas as have to borrow could raise the money without difficulty at those rates. The majority of the Nakhudas finance themselves, & act as money lenders to the crews & sea-going Nakhudas who serve under them. Of course it would to some extent curtail the quite indiscriminate amount of advances made, which would be all to the good. In the past Nakhudas have urged divers to take advances at high rates of interest, in order to make money out of them (apart from the actual pearls) & to get them in debt, so that they could not afford to leave. I have explained that such a system will no longer be necessary, as the court will in future (provided accounts are properly kept in accordance with instructions) assist them to recover their debts, or failing that, compel the divers to fulfill their contracts by diving, as long as any debt, however small, is satisfactorily proved, & not paid off, & that it will no longer be necessary for them to fake enormous debts against their divers, which they could never hope to recover, merely to hold them to their contracts. Once they have clearly understood the orders of Government in the matter & as nearly all the divers are British protected persons, being Foreigners, Government has some obligation to protect their interests).

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [7v] (14/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearl' [8r] (15/83)

23
8

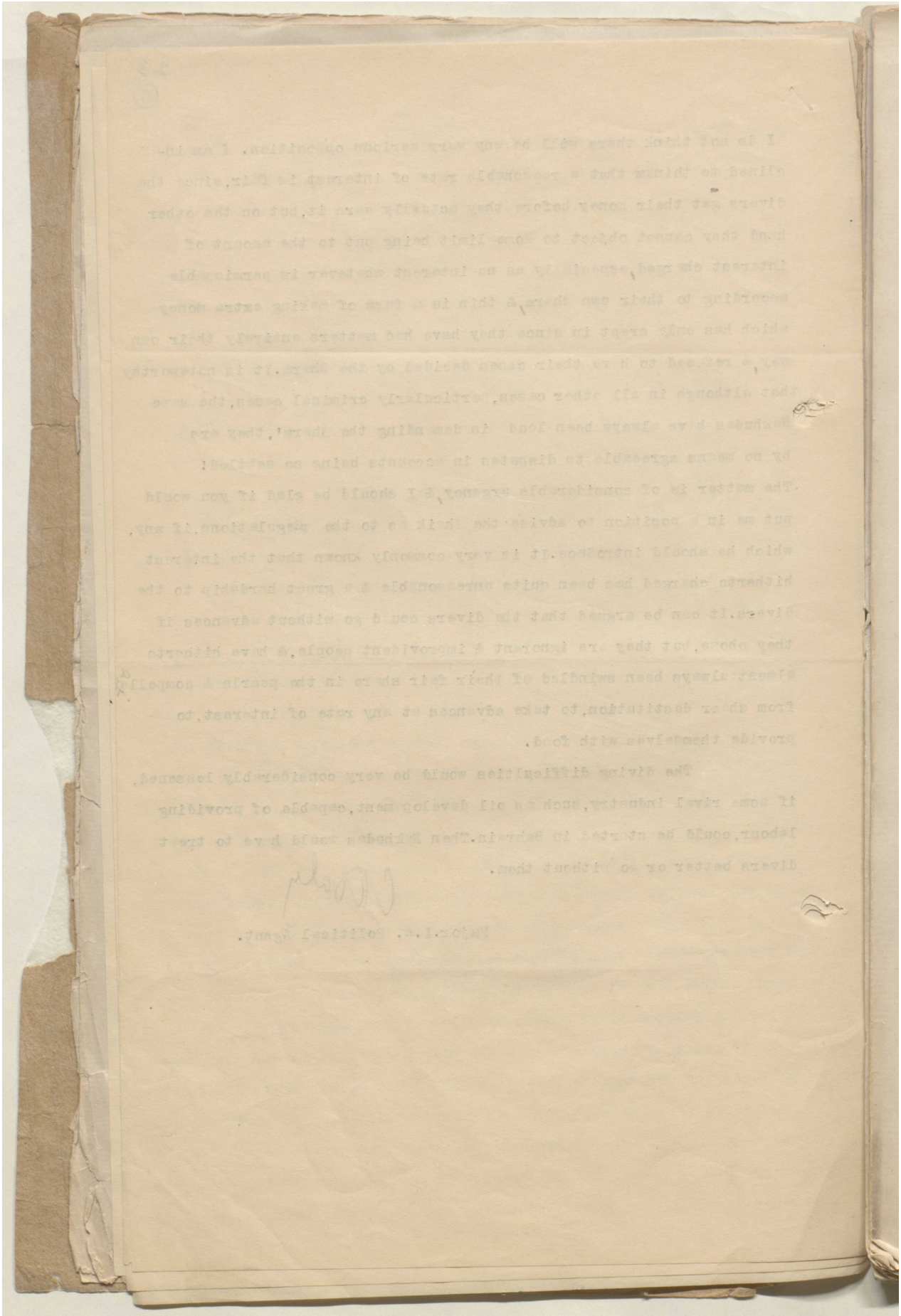
I do not think there will be any very serious opposition. I am inclined to think that a reasonable rate of interest is fair, since the divers get their money before they actually earn it, but on the other hand they cannot object to some limit being put to the amount of interest charged, especially as no interest whatever is permissible according to their own Shara, & this is a form of making extra money which has only crept in since they have had matters entirely their own way, & refused to have their cases decided by the Shara. It is noteworthy that although in all other cases, particularly criminal cases, the same Nakhudas have always been loud in demanding the Shara, they are by no means agreeable to disputes in accounts being so settled. The matter is of considerable urgency, & I should be glad if you would put me in a position to advise the Shaik as to the Regulations, if any, which he should introduce. It is very commonly known that the interest hitherto charged has been quite unreasonable & a great hardship to the divers. It can be argued that the divers could go without advances if they chose, but they are ignorant & improvident people, & have hitherto almost always been swindled of their fair share in the pearls & compelled from sheer destitution, to take advances at any rate of interest, to provide themselves with food.

The diving difficulties would be very considerably lessened, if some rival industry, such as oil development, capable of providing labour, could be started in Bahrain. Then Nakhudas would have to treat divers better or go without them.

C. W. Daly

Major. I. A. Political Agent.

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [8v] (16/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearl' [9r] (17/83)

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 233 -S of 1924.

British Residency and Consulate-General,
Bushire, 10th April 1924.

To

The Political Agent,
Bahrain.

Pearling Customs.

MEMORANDUM.

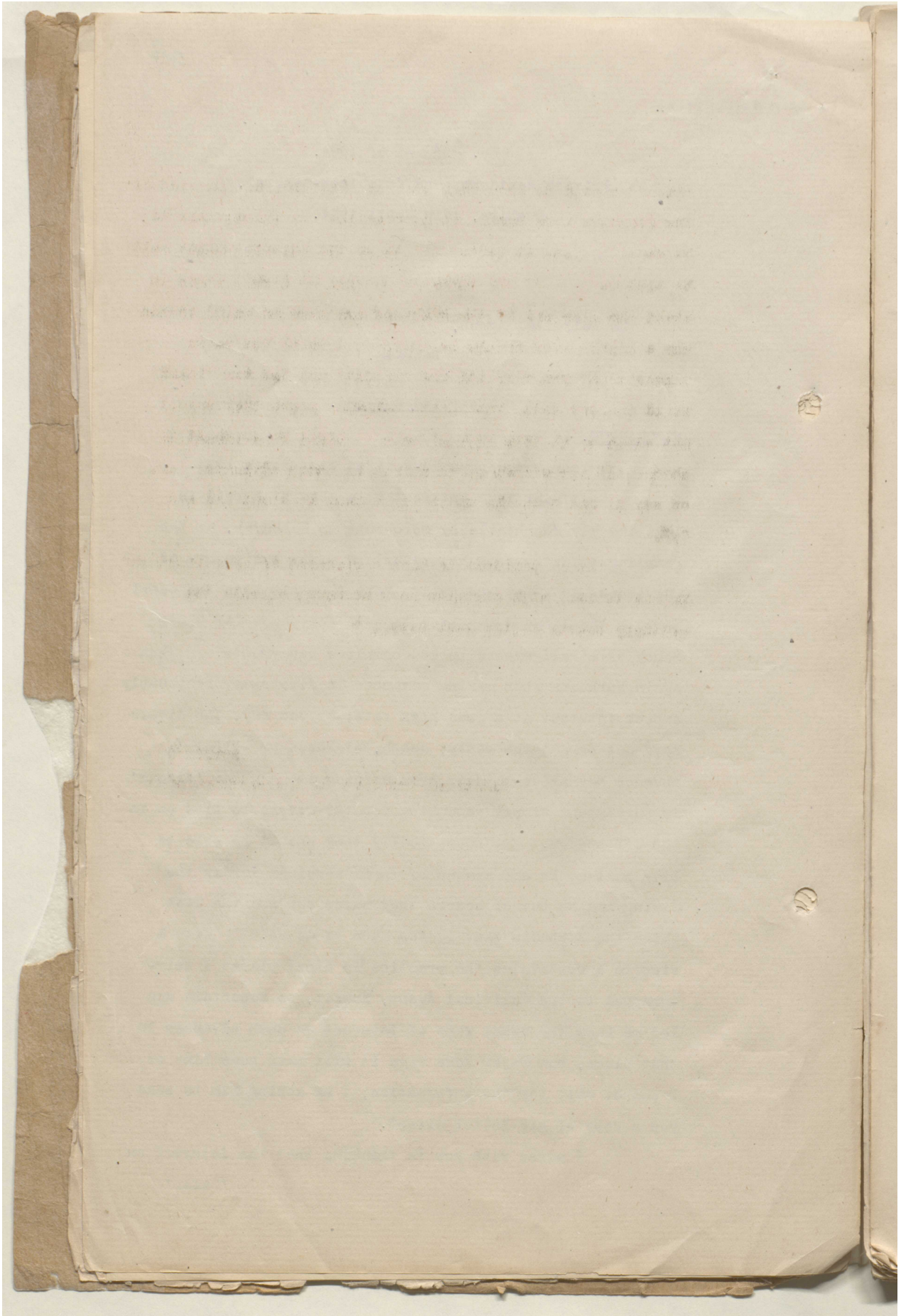
Your memorandum 89-C dated 31st March 1924.

I think that interest at a good high rate is legitimately chargeable by merchants to Nakhudas, as the Pearl Industry is a hazardous and risky business - if the season is a bad one or if there is a slump in the pearl markets the lenders may have to wait for years for their money, or at all events to get complete repayments. Then again Nakhudas when making advances to divers may reasonably expect interest at a good high rate; as you say, the divers have not earned the money; death, sickness or wilful absence may prevent their ever earning it. The 'tisqam' is purely and simply something for the divers to live on in the off season. Theoretically they should be able to live during the off season by their earnings ⁱⁿ during the diving season, but of course they never can, and the last thing the Nakhudas want is for them to do so. With a view to ascertaining the practice in other places I telegraphed to the Political Agent, Kuwait, to ascertain and let me know the usual rate of interest on such advances in that place, but Major More says it will take some time so I cannot wait for the information; I am asking him to send you a copy of his letter direct.

I agree with you in thinking that the interest on

'Salaf'

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [9v] (18/83)



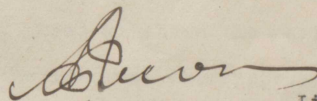
'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [10r] (19/83)

29⑩

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'Salaf' should be less than that on 'Tisqam', and in view of the relative time before it is possible for the advance to be repaid - i.e. at Qaffal - I think the interest might well be double. If the interest charged at Kuwait comes to about the same and if the Nakhudas can show no valid reason why a higher rate should be charged, I think the rates suggested by you viz. 15% for 'Tisqam' and 7½% for 'Salaf' would do very well, but if the Nakhudas prove they cannot get advances at this rate perhaps it might be arranged to charge 1½% per mensem up to 'guffal' on these advances, i.e. on say 11 and 5 months which would come to about 16½ and 7½%.

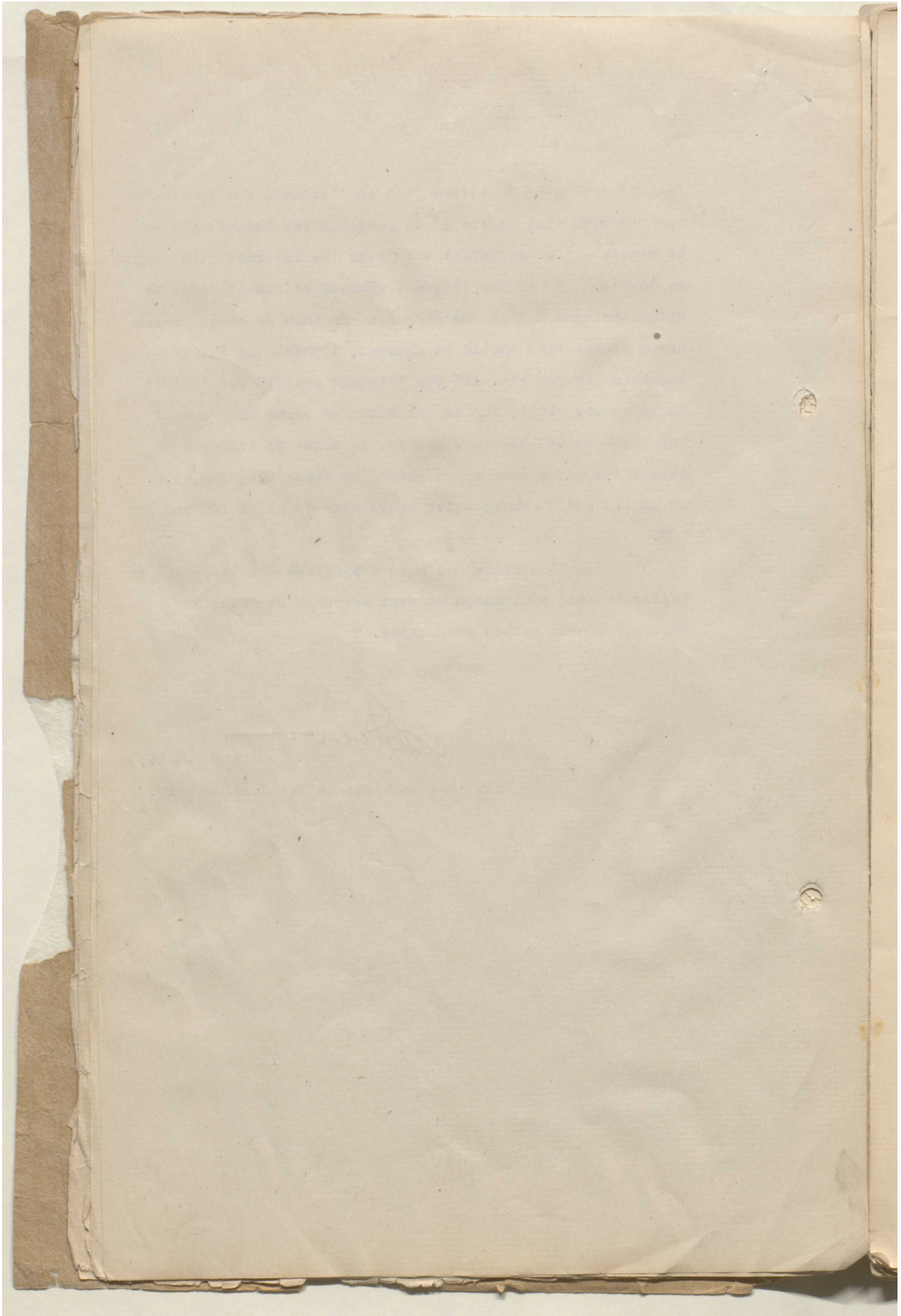
Is it proposed to have a reformed Salifah Court or Mejlis to deal with disputes over accounts or will the ordinary courts decide such cases. ?



Lieut-Col.,

Political Resident in the Persian Gulf.

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [10v] (20/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [11r] (21/83)

19/165

30①

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 114-S.

Political Agency, Kuwait.

11th April 1924.

BUSHIRE RESIDENCY
355
14.4.24.
CONFIDENTIAL RECORDS.

To

The Hon'ble the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf,
B U S H I R E.

Pearling Loans.

MEMORANDUM.

Reference your telegram No. 516 dated 7th April 1924.

In Kuwait the recognised rate of interest on loans charged by merchants to nakhudas, and by nakhudas to divers is 20 per cent. It is true that a higher rate is frequently secured by the expedient of fixing the price of the rice (in which loans are normally made) at above the market rate, but even so I do not think the interest ever approaches anywhere near 40 per cent.

Has this to be communicated to Bahrain?

Copy already given to Bahrain 14/4

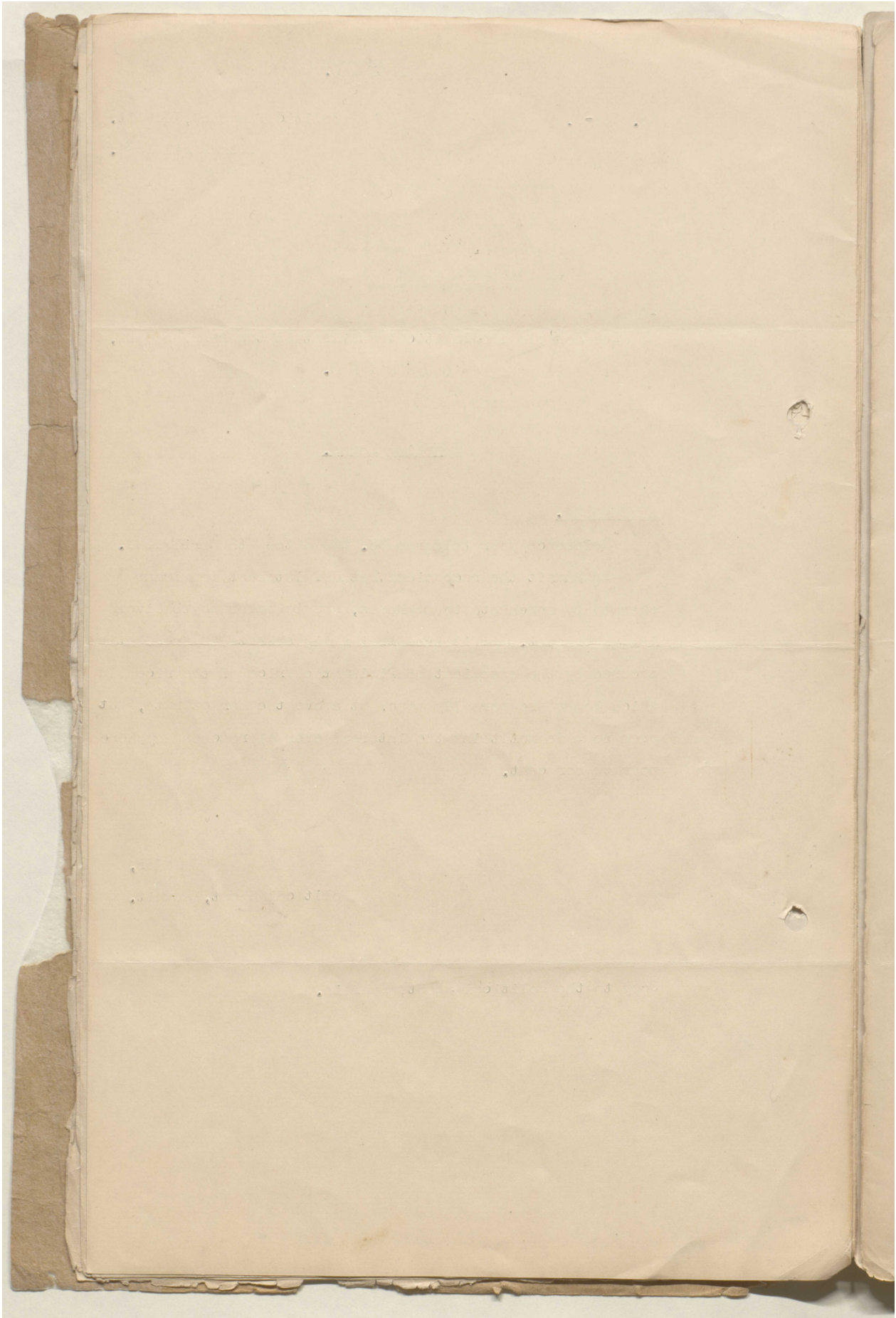
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Copy to the Political Agent, Bahrain.

J.C. Moore

Major,
Political Agent, Kuwait.

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [11v] (22/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [12r] (23/83)

CONFIDENTIAL.
No 170/9/5.

19/165
19/175

The Political Agency,
Bahrain.
Persian Gulf.
12/7/24;

410 (12)

BUSHIRE RESIDENCY.
Reg. No. 708.
Date 15.7.24
CONFIDENTIAL RECORDS.

From, The Political Agent, Bahrain.
To, The Hon'ble the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf,
Bushire.

MEMORANDUM.

REFORMS IN DIVING.

I beg to forward for your information a translation of a proclamation
Shaik Hamad Bin Easa, the Deputy Ruler of Bahrain, proposes to shortly
issue for the better regulation of the financial relations between
Nakhudas & their crews.

There are no innovations in these rules except the introduction of
the divers' personal account books, about which there has been
previous correspondence, & the limiting of the interest which may be
charged, both of which have already been announced by the Shaik.
The Rules for the two systems 'Amil' & 'Madyan' are based on the
customs hitherto in force, but with a view to remove certain abuses
which have recently crept in, such as attempts by some of the Nakhudas
to insist on prior right to buy the pearls at a cheap rate in ~~addition~~
addition to charging interest. Two examples of typical accounts, as
they should be kept, have been given for the instruction of Nakhudas.
The Shaik is ordering five thousand copies of the proclamation from
the press, & they will be widely circulated among the Nakhudas.

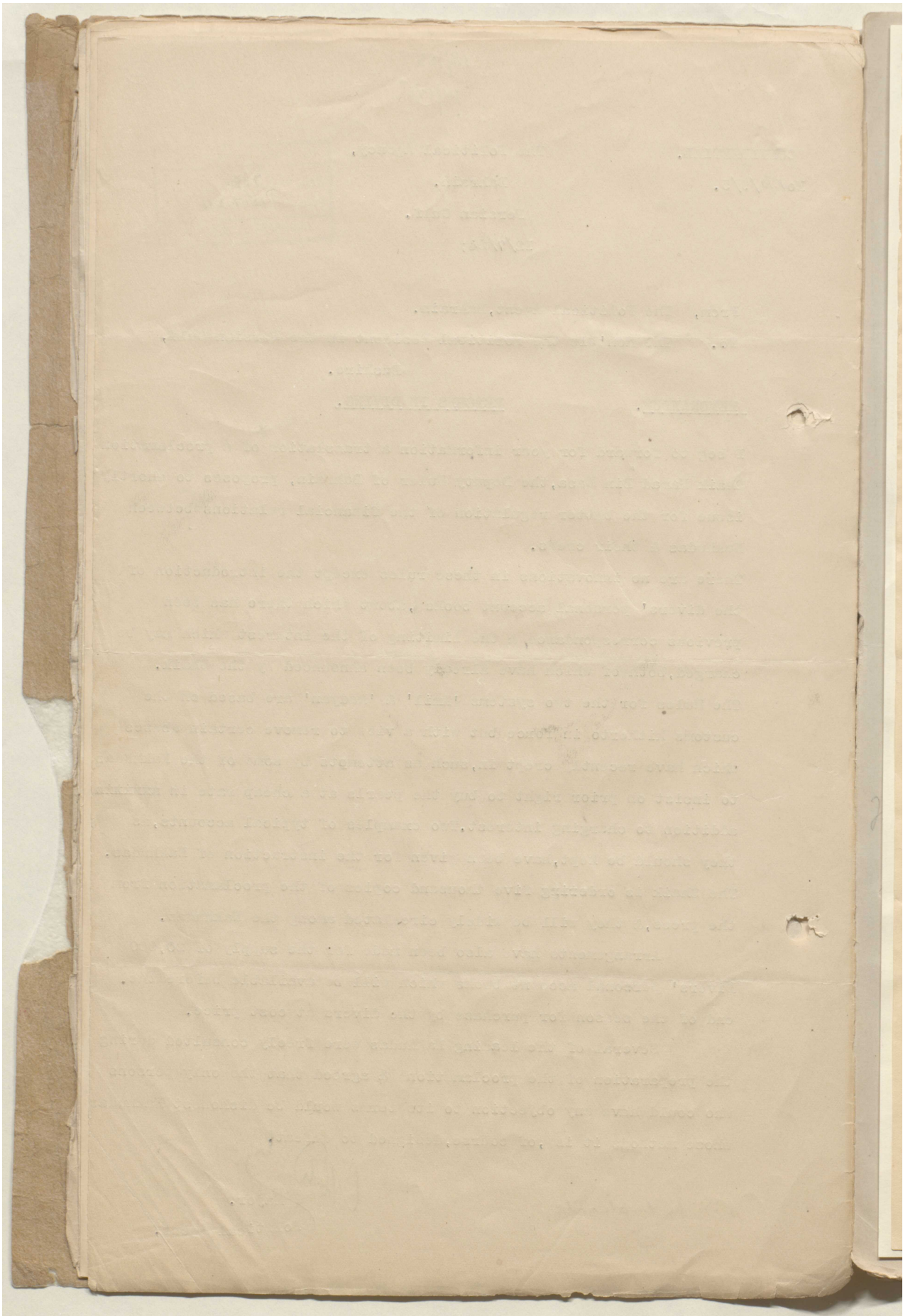
Arrangements have also been made for the supply of 20,000
Divers' personal account books which will be available before the
end of the season for purchase by the divers at cost price.

Several of the leading Nakhudas were freely consulted during
the preparation of the proclamation & agreed that the only persons
who could have any objection to its terms would be dishonest Nakhudas
whose methods it is, of course, designed to defeat.

.X. In duplicate

C. W. Daly
Major.
Political Agent.

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [12v] (24/83)



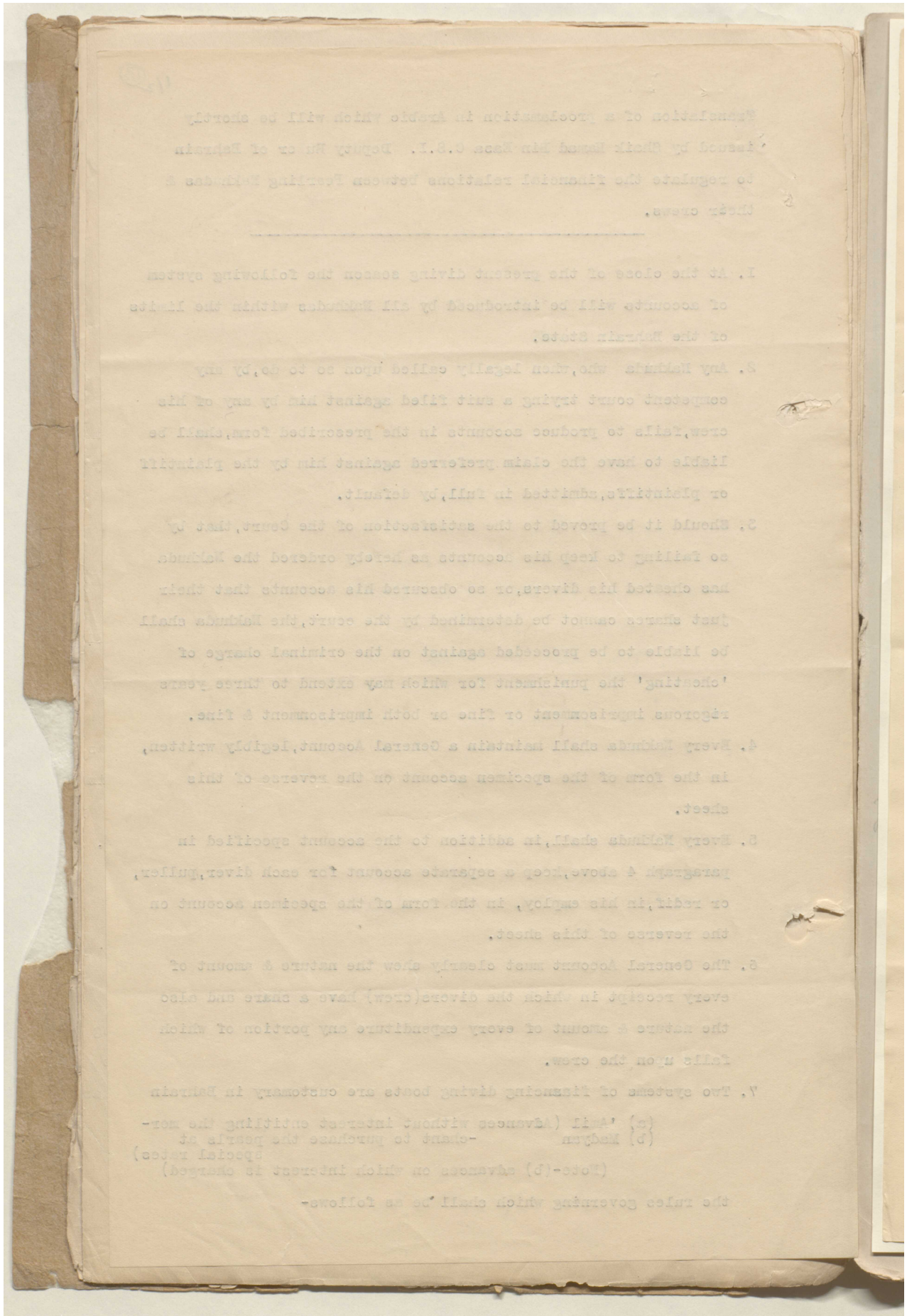
'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [13r] (25/83)

4/2 (13)

Translation of a proclamation in Arabic which will be shortly issued by Shaik Hamad Bin Easa C.S.I. Deputy Ruler of Bahrain to regulate the financial relations between Pearling Nakhudas & their crews.

1. At the close of the present diving season the following system of accounts will be introduced by all Nakhudas within the limits of the Bahrain State.
 2. Any Nakhuda who, when legally called upon so to do, by any competent court trying a suit filed against him by any of his crew, fails to produce accounts in the prescribed form, shall be liable to have the claim preferred against him by the plaintiff or plaintiffs, admitted in full, by default.
 3. Should it be proved to the satisfaction of the Court, that by so failing to keep his accounts as hereby ordered the Nakhuda has cheated his divers, or so obscured his accounts that their just shares cannot be determined by the court, the Nakhuda shall be liable to be proceeded against on the criminal charge of 'cheating' the punishment for which may extend to three years rigorous imprisonment or fine or both imprisonment & fine.
 4. Every Nakhuda shall maintain a General Account, legibly written, in the form of the specimen account on the reverse of this sheet.
 5. Every Nakhuda shall, in addition to the account specified in paragraph 4 above, keep a separate account for each diver, puller, or radif, in his employ, in the form of the specimen account on the reverse of this sheet.
 6. The General Account must clearly shew the nature & amount of every receipt in which the divers (crew) have a share and also the nature & amount of every expenditure any portion of which falls upon the crew.
 7. Two systems of financing diving boats are customary in Bahrain
 - (a) 'Amil (Advances without interest entitling the merchant to purchase the pearls at special rates)
 - (b) Madyan(Note-(b) advances on which interest is charged)
- the rules governing which shall be as follows-

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'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [14r] (27/83)

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8. If the system employed is 'Amil no interest may be charged by the shore Nakhuda (Note-the merchant who finances the boat but
- (a) does not go out with it) on his advances made to the Sea Nakhuda, neither may the latter charge any interest on the advances made by him to the crew.
 - (b) The Shore Nakhuda shall have the prior right to purchase all the pearls found by the crew of the boat he has financed.
 - (c) The price the shore Nakhuda shall pay for the pearls shall be less than the estimated market value, but shall not be more than 20% less. He shall normally purchase at the price agreed upon with the sea Nakhuda with the consent of at least two thirds of the crew.
 - (d) In the event of failure to agree as to the price to be paid, the parties may by mutual consent refer to agreed arbitrators who shall settle the market value of the pearls & the shore Nakhuda shall purchase at not less than 20% below the price estimated by the arbitrators. or
 - (e) The parties may refer to a competent court for decision as to the value of the pearls, in which case the court shall appoint competent assessors & determine the price which should be paid by the ~~shore~~ shore Nakhuda.
 - (f) Should the shore Nakhuda still be undesirous of purchasing at the price determined by the Court, the sea Nakhuda shall have the right to sell the pearls to whomsoever he may, with the consent of at least 2/3 of the crew, provided that he shall give to the Nakhuda (shore) notice of the time & place where he will receive payment & shall at that time & place immediately refund to the shore Nakhuda the full advance taken from him. He shall receive payment in the presence of at least 1/3 of the crew.
9. When the system employed is Madyan the Nakhuda (Shore) is entitled to charge interest at the rate agreed upon, on the advance made by him to the sea Nakhuda, provided that in no case shall such interest exceed 20% on Tisqam advances or 10% on Salaf advances. The sea-Nakhuda shall be entitled to charge the crew on advances made to them, at the same rate that he is charged by the shore-Nakhuda but under no circumstances shall it exceed 20% on the Tisqam or 10%

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8. If the system employed is 'with no interest' on the advance made by the shore (Kahnda) (Note-the merchant who finances the boat but does not go out with it) on his advance made to the sea (Kahnda), neither may the latter charge any interest on the advance made by him to the crew.

(a) The shore (Kahnda) shall have the prior right to purchase all the pearls found by the crew of the boat he has financed.

(b) The price the shore (Kahnda) shall pay for the pearls shall be less than the estimated market value, but shall not be more than 30% less. He shall normally purchase at the price agreed upon with the sea (Kahnda) with the consent of at least two thirds of the crew.

(c) In the event of failure to agree as to the price to be paid, the parties may by mutual consent refer to agreed arbitrators who shall settle the market value of the pearls & the shore (Kahnda) shall purchase at not less than 30% below the price estimated by the arbitrators, or

(d) The parties may refer to a competent court for decision as to the value of the pearls, in which case the court shall appoint competent assessors & determine the price which should be paid by the shore (Kahnda).

(e) Should the shore (Kahnda) still be desirous of purchasing at the price determined by the court, the sea (Kahnda) shall have the right to sell the pearls to whomever he may, with the consent of at least 2/3 of the crew, before to sell them, provided that he shall give to the (Kahnda) (shore) notice of the time & place where he will receive payment & shall at that time & place immediately refund to the shore (Kahnda) the full advance taken from him. He shall receive payment in the presence of at least 2/3 of the crew.

9. When the system employed is 'Kahnda the (Kahnda) (shore) is entitled to charge interest at the rate agreed upon on the advance made by him to the sea (Kahnda), provided that in no case shall such interest exceed 30% on the advance or 10% on the advance made to the sea (Kahnda) shall be entitled to charge the crew on advance made to them at the same rate that he is charged by the shore (Kahnda) but under no circumstances shall it exceed 30% on the advance or 10%

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on the Salaf (Note-The Tisqam is for one year ,while salaf is for approximately five months only).

The Nakhuda (Shore) shall have no right under this system to purchase the pearls of the boat he has financed ~~except~~ ^{but may do so} with the consent of the Nakhuda (sea) & at least 2/3 of the crew.

The share Nakhuda must pay the full price at which the crew are willing to sell & can claim no reduction on market value under this system, nor can he object to the sale of the pearls to any person to whom the crew may wish to sell.

No Nakhuda shall settle with a member of his crew without first writing in the personal account book of the member of the crew, a copy of his personal account, which shall be handed to him after being signed or sealed by the Nakhuda.

II. Books for the personal accounts of divers are obtainable from the Government Office at the Customs pier on payment of annas six to be paid by the diver. No Nakhuda shall pay off a diver until he is in possession of such a book & it has been entered up in accordance with para 10.

12. Any Nakhuda who acts contrary to the ~~rule~~ rule in para II & settles with a diver not in possession of a copy of his account in his personal book shall be liable to a fine not exceeding Rsx 300 for the first offence or 1500 for the second offence & for any subsequent offence he may, in addition to the fine authorised, be deprived of the right to take out a pearling license for a period which may extend to five years.

13. Made at Bahrain this day of 1343.

Sealed Hamad bi Easa

Deputy Governor, Bahrain.

Any diver dissatisfied with the statement of his account as given him in his account book, shall file a suit within 3 months of the 'ghuffal' failing which the suit shall be time-barred except in exceptional circumstances. The competent court shall itself be the sole judge as to whether circumstances warrant the admission of such a suit normally time-barred.

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on the Bahr (Note-The Tadar is four one year, while sail is
for approximately five months only).
The Makinda (Bahr) shall have no right under this system to
purchase the pearls of the boat he has financed ~~except~~ with
the consent of the Makinda (sea) & at least 2/3 of the crew.
The shore Makinda must pay the full price at which the crew are
willing to sell & can claim no reduction on market value under
this system, nor can he object to the sale of the pearls to any
person to whom the crew may wish to sell.
No Makinda shall settle with a member of his crew without first
writing in the personal account book of the member of the crew,
a copy of his personal account, which shall be handed to him after
being signed or sealed by the Makinda.
Books for the personal accounts of divers are obtainable from
the Government Office at the Customs pier on payment of sum
six to be paid by the diver. No Makinda shall pay off a diver
until he is in possession of such a book & it has been entered up
in accordance with para 10.
Any Makinda who acts contrary to the above rule in para 11 &
settles with a diver not in possession of a copy of his account
in his personal book shall be liable to a fine not exceeding
Rax 300 for the first offence or 1500 for the second offence &
for any subsequent offence he may, in addition to the fine
authorised, be deprived of the right to take out a pearling
licence for a period which may extend to five years.
Made at Bahrain this 10th day of 1943.
Sealed & signed by
Harry Governor, Bahrain.

*I have been thinking with the Makinda of the
Bahr as given in his account book, shall
the shore Makinda & member of the Makinda
finding that the Makinda shall be liable
in case of subsequent Commission. The Makinda
must state that he is the owner of the
Bahrainian account the Makinda of the
Bahr Makinda.*

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [16r] (31/83)

45 (16)

Example of a Nakhuda's General Account.

Nakhuda Zaid bin Amara in account with the crew of Boat
No 618.
Pearling season I343.

R E C E I P T S.	Rs.	EXPENDITURE.
By sale of 3 pearls 'Jewan' weight 10 chows @ Rs 1000 per chow.....	10,000	<u>Provisions</u> Cost of 10 sarir Tobacco @ Rs 30 per s.....
(pooneh) By sale pearls 12 chows (arab) 'Yaka' @ Rs 1000 per chow.....	12,000.	Cost 20 Rafa' firewood @ Rs 15 per Rafa'.....
By sale 15 chows (arab) 'Badleh' @ Rs 100 per chow.....	1,000.	Cost 15 bags rice @ Rs 16 per bag.....
By sale 7 Mithqals 'Dail' @ Rs 600 per mithqal (arab)	4,200.	Cost 100 'Galleh' dates @ Rs 3 per 'Galleh'.....
By sale 3 pearls 'Golweh' weight 20 Chows (arab) @ Rs 100 per chow.....	2,000.	Cost 3 maunds salt @ Rs 3..... cost 1 bag coffee.....
		Bahrain Government Tax.....
<u>Total.....</u>	<u>29,000.</u>	<u>Total.....</u>
		1469.

Profit after deducting expenditure

28,231.-13-0.	1/5th profits for boat owner (Khums al Mahmal)...	.5646-3-0
	21 divers @ Rs 579-1-6	12,160-15-6
	25 pullers @ Rs 386-1-0	9651-9-0
	4 Radifs @ Rs 193-0-6.	772-2-0.
	Indivisible balance	- 2-6.
<u>Total</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>28,231-13-0</u>
	<u>Total</u>	<u>28,231-13-0</u>

Example of the Personal account of one of the divers of the above boat
which account must be copied from the Nakhuda's book into the divers
personal book to be retained by the diver.

Nakhuda Zaid bin Amar---in account with---Diver Fulan bin Fulan.
season I343.

Credits.	Debits.
	Balance due from Diver from last year
	Rs. a. p. 375. 0. 0.
His Share of profits for season I343.....	20th Safar. His 'Tisqam' for season I343.....
579. 1. 6.	.250. 0. 0.
Balance due to Nakhuda	28th Ramadhan. His 'Salaf' for season I343.....
from diver.....	190. 0. 0.
255. 14. 6.	4th Muharram. His 'Saifieh' advance.....
<u>835-0-0</u>	20. 0. 0. <u>835-0-0</u>

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Example of a Baharna's General Account.

Baharna said his share in account with the crew of boat
No 612.
Pearling season 1343.

EXPENDITURE	No.	RECEIPTS
Provisions		By sale of 3 pearls
Cost of 10 cartz	10,000	'Lawa', weight 10 chows
Tobacco @ Rs 20		@ Rs 1000 per chow.....10,000
per 2.....300		(boom)
Cost @ Rs 15 per Nala	12,000	By sale pearls 12 chows
.....300		(grab) 'Yala' @ Rs 1000
Cost @ Rs 15 per Nala	12,000	per chow.....12,000
.....300		
Cost @ Rs 15 per Nala	12,000	By sale 15 chows (grab)
.....300		'Lawa' @ Rs 100 per
Cost 100 'Gala' @ Rs 3	300	chows.....1,500
.....300		
Cost 3 months salt @ Rs 3	900	By sale 3 pearls
.....300		'Lawa', weight 30
Cost 1 bag coffee.....150		chows (grab) @ Rs 100
Bahrain Government Tax.....300		per chow.....3,000
Total 1443		Total.....22,700

Profit after deducting expenditure

1/2th profits for boat	28,231-13-0
owner (Hanna al Baharna).....5848-3-0	
21 divers @ Rs 75-1-6	15,150-18-6
22 sailors @ Rs 38-1-0	851-9-0
4 Nalals @ Rs 125-0-0	500-0-0
Indivisible balance	- 2-8
Total	28,231-13-0

Example of the Personal account of one of the divers of the above boat
which account must be copied from the Baharna's book into the diver's
personal book to be retained by the diver.

Baharna said his share in account with---Diver Hala bin Taha.
season 1343.

Credits	Debits
His share of profits for season 1343.....578-1-8	Balance due from Diver from last year.....375-0-0
4th Baharna, His 'Share' for season 1343.....130-0-0	28th Baharna, His 'Share' for season 1343.....130-0-0
4th Baharna, His 'Share' advances.....23-0-0	
	588-0-0

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [17r] (33/83)

CONFIDENTIAL.

19/175
69 (17)
No. 93/9/5 of 1925.
Political Agency, Bahrain,
Dated the 8th November 1925.

From

Captain G. L. Mallam, I.A.,
Political Agent, Bahrain.

BUSHIRE RESIDENCY	
Reg. No.	1089
Date	11.11.25
CONFIDENTIAL RECORDS.	

To

Lt-Colonel F. B. Prideaux, C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Hon'ble the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf,
B u s h i r e .
Reforms in the pearling industry.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a petition from a number of influential diving nakhudas of Bahrain, setting forth some grievances in regard to conditions prevailing at present in the pearling industry as a result of the measures instituted in 1924 for the Reform of the industry.

These measures comprised:-

- File 19/175 p. 40
- (1) The abolition of the old Salifah Court.
 - (2) Rules regulating financial relations between pearling nakhudas and their crews contained in the proclamation issued by Shaik Hamad in 1924, a translation of which was forwarded to you under this office letter No. 170/9/5, dated 12th July 1924.

The signatories of the attached petition pray for re-consideration of two points only in connection with the above measures:-

- (1) The abolition of the Salifah Court.
- (2) The sale of pearls with the consent of 2/3rds of the crew.

The remaining points dealt with in the petition are matters on which no definite decision has yet been made either by H. M. Government or by Shaik Hamad himself by proclamation, although the general line taken by the Court in cases which have

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [17v] (34/83)

have come before it, should have satisfied the petitioners on many of the points now raised by them.

In view of Major Daly's imminent return to Bahrain, I am not in a position to venture any detailed comments on measures of reform which have already been instituted in the pearling industry during his incumbency as Political Agent. It may not however be out of place for me to submit for your consideration one or two points which have become apparent to me during my experience of this years pearling season in Bahrain.

In regard to the abolition of the Salifah Court, I will venture only to remark that my experience of the diving cases with which I have had to deal is that the restitution of a reformed kind of Salifah Court is a necessity, both from a point of view of equity and also from the fact that public opinion will sooner or later demand it.

I do not think that it is within the power of the ordinary Court of Justice to deal fairly with some of the complicated differences which arise between diver and nakhuda, and nakhuda and nakhuda and nakhuda and Tajar, without the assistance and advice of a body of men who enjoy universal respect in Bahrain, and who are well versed in local diving custom.

If it would be possible for H.M. Government to define the main principles by which these men should be guided in their decisions, and if the Political Agent and Sheikh Hamad were given all the powers of appeal and revision from those decisions in cases of necessity, I do not think there would be any serious danger of the old oppressions and malpractices creeping back into the industry. At the same time much discontent among the nakhudas and Tajars, who after all control the industry, would be removed and the Salifah body would be in a position to advise the Government in regard to further measures for the smooth working of the industry.

The sale of pearls with the consent of 2/3rds of the crew,
though

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though theoretically unassailable, is in practice a considerable hardship on the nakhuda. In the pearl trade bargains can only be made by ~~the~~ astute "haggling" with a would-be purchaser and by closing suddenly with a favourable offer. If the nakhuda is hampered by having to consult 2/3rds of his crew, who are mostly ignorant of the market value of the pearls, he is precluded from making a good bargain. On shore, when the diving season is over, the divers scatter almost at once to their homes and nakhudas have to my knowledge in many cases had the greatest of difficulty in assembling 2/3rds of their crew for a sale of the pearls, and in many cases they have lost valuable opportunities in doing so.

I venture to think that there is in the present petition a suggestion which is well worth consideration. If at the beginning of the diving ~~or~~ ~~the~~ season, the crew were to elect by a majority vote a limited number of their own fellows to represent their interests in the sale of the pearls throughout the diving season, much of the difficulties now experienced by the nakhuda would be alleviated, and the interests of the crew would be adequately protected.

I would suggest that one representative for every 10 or fraction of ten of the crew would be sufficient.

In regard to the remaining points raised in the petition I would suggest that the duties of the diver towards the nakhuda on shore and at sea, during the diving season and immediately before and afterwards be defined in a proclamation by Sheikh Hamad. Questions such as the arrest of ~~the~~ runaway divers and the postponement of ordinary disputes till after the ~~end~~ of the diving season might be similarly dealt with in the same proclamation.

I submit the above suggestions merely from a desire to record my impressions and experiences during the late diving season and ^{with} no object of embarrassing Major Daly whom you will

no

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [18v] (36/83)

no doubt consult before coming to any decision in the matter.

I have the honour to be,

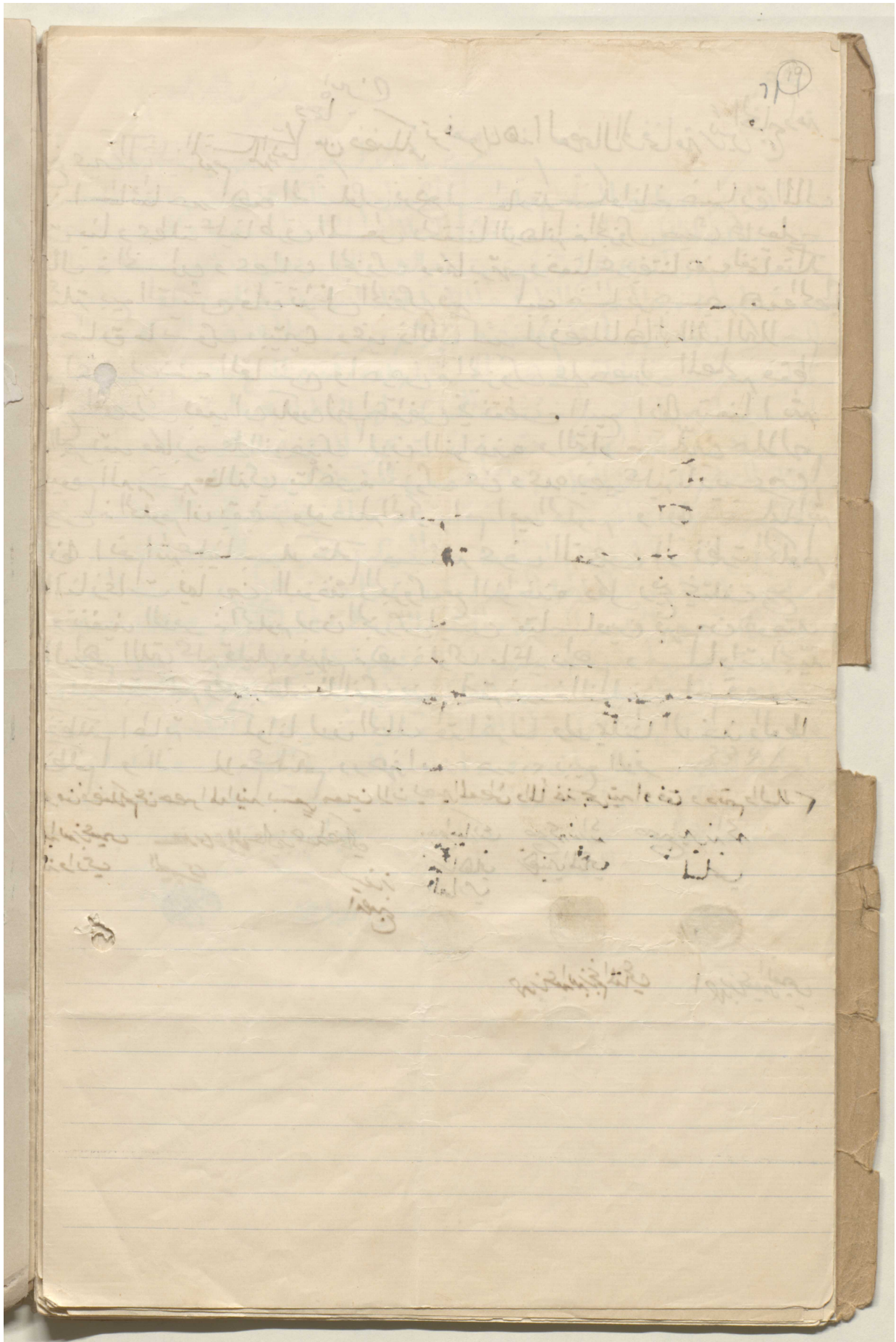
Sir,

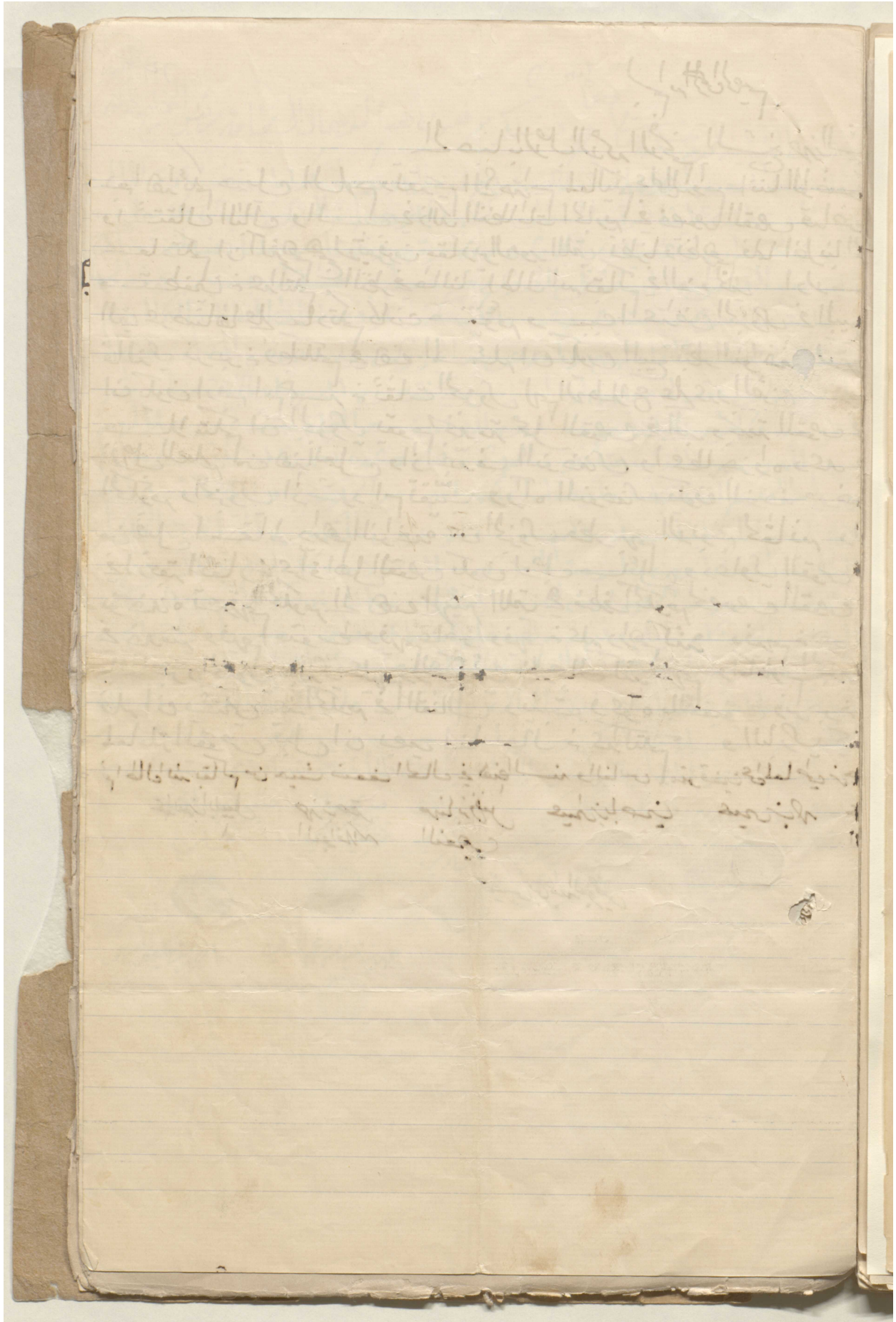
Your most obedient servant,

Templeton

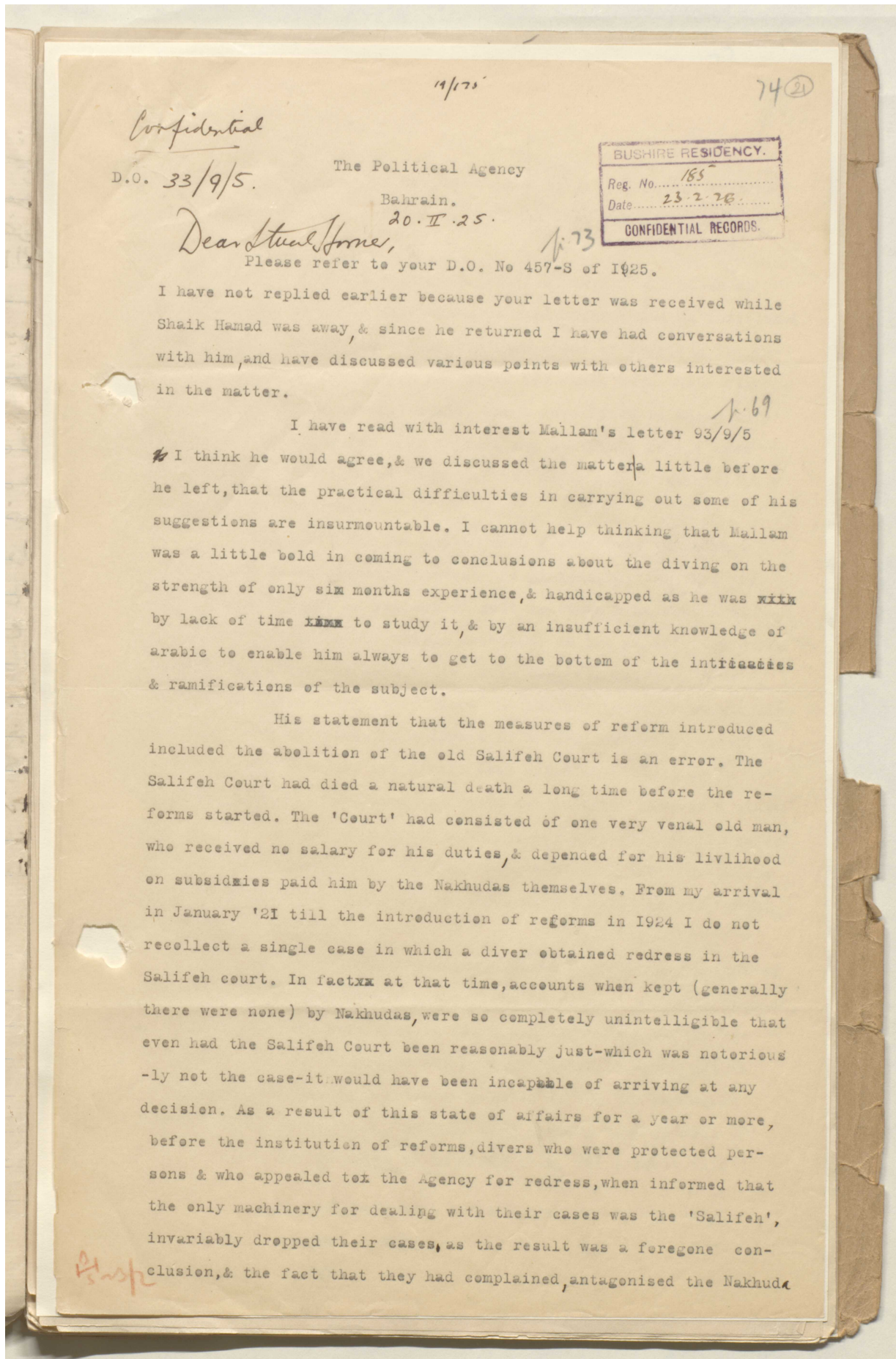
Captain, I.A.,

Political Agent, Bahrain.

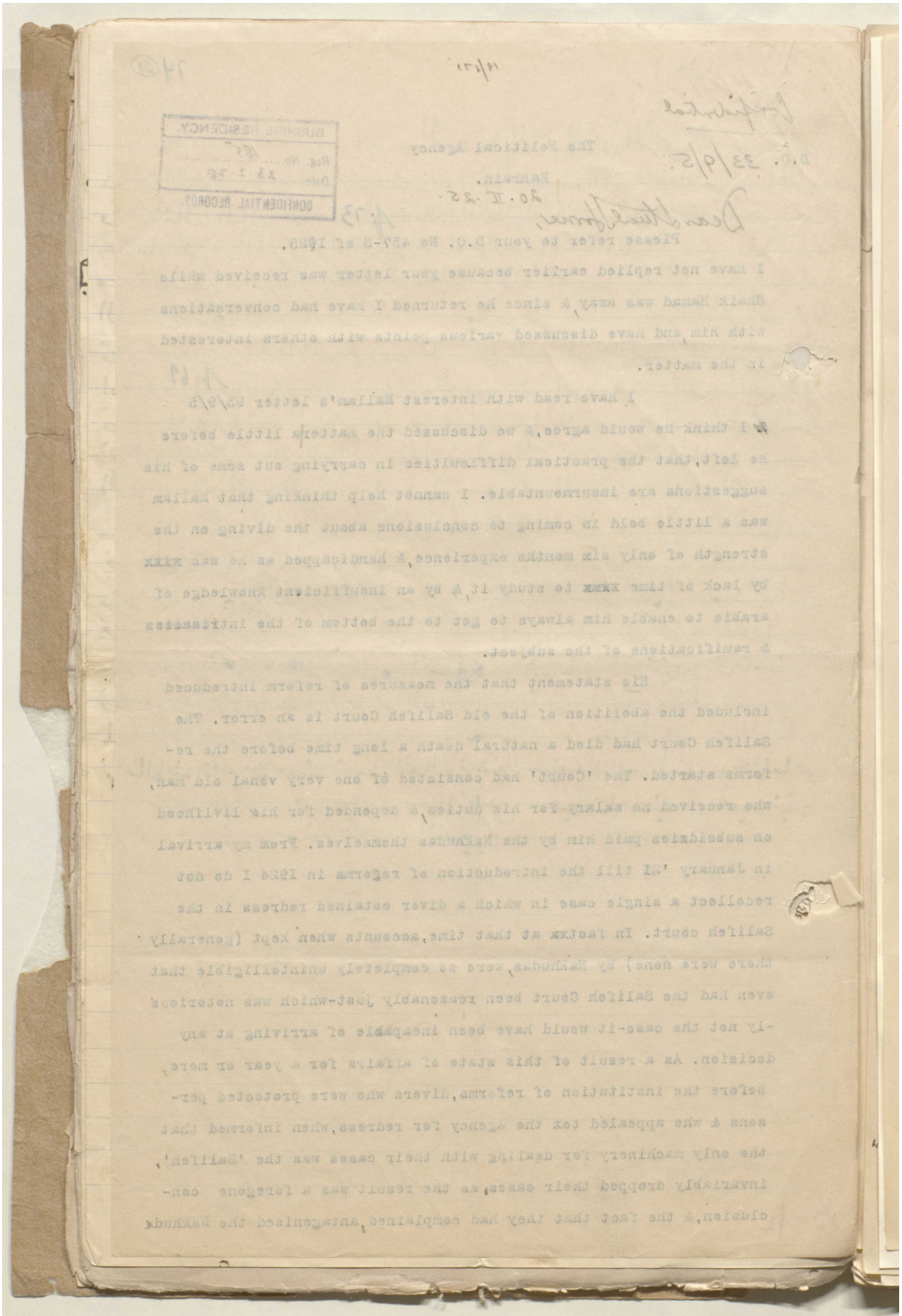




'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [21r] (40/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [21v] (41/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [22r] (42/83)

75 (22)

who subjected them to worse treatment than before. When the reforms started there virtually existed no tribunal for the settlement of diving disputes.

In 1924 a system was started whereby all Nakhudas were required to keep two accounts—a general account—and an individual account for each diver. The difficulty then arose of starting the individual accounts. Many divers had dived for years with their Nakhuda or had passed through several hands. There were cases in which they had never had accounts for twenty years and sometimes more, & when some sort of account existed the diver had never had access to it & did not know how he stood.

To start the new system, when a case came to court, a compromise had to be effected between the parties, failing this the case went to the Qadhi in respect of past accounts, & he contrived to make a compromise which was always accepted. In the majority of cases the amount the diver was alleged to be in debt was based on pure surmise, as no human being could check the chaotic accounts outstanding over a long term of years. An analysis of a large number of accounts brought to light that had the divers been credited with any reasonable earnings they would generally have been in credit not in debt. However a start had to be made as best we could, & with the new system properly enforced it was anticipated that the majority would work off their debts in the course of a few years, and that new divers would be protected in the future.

As can be imagined this involved a prodigious amount of work in 1924 (for most divers applied for adjustment of their accounts) Mallam during his term here came in for a certain number of the remaining cases, but as the season was on, & the court in order not to delay the work does not take accounts disputes during the diving, he missed the thick of the work, We have been getting through most of the old accounts, not disposed of in 1924, during the present cold weather.

Coming into this work without previous experience, Mallam must not unnaturally have found it difficult & confusing, which I think accounts for his supposition that no ordinary court can ad-

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In 1934 a system was started whereby all fishermen
were required to keep two accounts - a general account and an individual
account for each diver. The difficulty then arose of starting the in-
dividual accounts. Many divers had dived for years with their names
or had passed through several hands. There were cases in which they
had never had accounts for twenty years and sometimes more, when
some sort of account existed the diver had never had access to it &
did not know how he stood.

To start the new system when a case came to court,
compromise had to be effected between the parties, failing this the
case went to the judge in respect of past accounts & he contrived to
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I think accounts for his supposition that no ordinary court can ad-

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-equately deal, with diving disputes. Had Mallam been here sufficiently long to really study the diving question & to ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ take the measure of the local people, he could not have failed to come to the conclusion that there exists in Bahrain no body of men capable, or sufficiently disinterested, to form a tribunal fit to deal with diving disputes, before the new system has had full effect on the whole diving industry.

The Diving rules are not, as Mallam appears to think, intricate or in any way difficult, nor has there been, in introducing the reforms, any attempt made to alter the rules long established by custom. The ~~intimidations~~ of the situation arise from the appalling abuses which have been allowed to creep in during Shaik 'Isa's negligent rule, and it is the gradual elimination of these abuses which necessitates, for some little time, diving cases being taken in a court which is impartial, & which from the knowledge it derives from the many cases which come before it, is in a position to gradually frame rules which will prevent recurrence of the abuses. Mallam must have had extreme difficulty in distinguishing between customary rules, & what one may call customary abuses, by which I mean abuses which in late years had become well nigh customary, but which ~~are~~ ^{are} known to be a breach of the original rules. The customary diving rules are well known, and can be clearly stated in a ~~simple form~~ ^{simple form}. A new 'code' of diving rules would cause an uproar and is quite unnecessary, all that is now required is knowledge, combined with action, to put a stop to abuses of the well known code, this the court is rapidly effecting & the spade work has already been done. Care is essential for a few years to guard against backsliding.

I have studied this particular branch of the reforms more than any other, as it is by far the most important. The benefits of the reforms are already evident, and are most encouraging, & there is little doubt that in a few years, if the system be persevered in, almost all the divers will be out of debt & the accounting system will then be reduced to such a simple form that the few disputes which could arise ^{would not be involved in} would be immediately settled. The most encouraging part of all this is, that there is a very distinct change in the attitude of the Nakhudas themselves, who are slowly realising the advantages. If they could revert

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long to really study the diving question & to know the people, he could not have failed to come to
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that there is a very distinct change in the attitude of the Bahrainis
themselves, who are slowly realising the advantages. It has caused several

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76 A
24

to the old system of no accounts and a mock court, they would probably prefer it, for in these circumstances the divers were slaves & the Nakhudas could not be called to account. But if the reforms are to continue they undoubtedly prefer that the cases be taken, as at present, in a court which they know to be unbiassed, & which is able to quickly dispose of their cases; which all agree would never be ~~the case~~ ^{Possible} in any form of Salifeh court which could at present be devised.

The State is at present aiming at the gradual elimination of the system whereby the divers are kept permanently in debt. By regulating the amount of advances made, this is being rapidly achieved. It is interesting to note how this system has arisen & become so abused. It has always been the custom for divers to receive certain advances, such as the 'Salaf' when the season starts, to enable them to provide for families while they are away, & the 'Kharijiah' during the season, & finally the 'Tisqam' after accounts have been settled for the season, which is by nature of a contract to dive with the same Nakhuda next season. Kept within reasonable bounds (as is the case in many places in the Gulf where the Nakhudas have not acquired such a hold over divers, & advance only sums which are reasonably covered by the seasons earnings) ~~xxx~~ there is nothing very harmful in this system, but of late years the prices of pearls having risen & the wealth of the Islands greatly increased, there are many more persons engaged in the industry as Nakhudas, & a shortage of divers arose. Avaricious Nakhudas started bribing the divers of others, to transfer their services, by paying off the alleged debt to the first Nakhuda (generally much less than the diver himself was told!) & offering larger advances. In this way competition started, & up went the advances made, that is, the advances for the first few years each man dived. It might be supposed that this was in favour of the divers, but this is not so, the Nakhudas continued the high advances in each case only sufficiently long to get the diver heavily indebted so that he could not buy himself out, & there was little danger in another Nakhuda risking so much ^{money} to take him away. Then the Nakhuda by swindling the diver out of his earnings contrived to keep him steadily in debt.

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(25)

All that had really happened was that the original cost of enslaving a diver for life had risen, owing to competition, but the divers were hopelessly tied up, & in reality, worse off than formerly, when occasionally, an energetic man could work in the off-season & ~~repay~~ ^{repay} the debt & free himself. Of course the Nakhuda did not always have it his own way-sometimes the diver died after a few seasons, when he had genuinely, for the time being, 'got away with' the advances. Sometimes he bolted, & the Nakhuda in either case lost his money. 'Runaways' have greatly increased of late years, & many Nakhudas have been ruined in consequence. The methods now being gradually introduced will decrease the risks of the Nakhudas, & stop virtual enslavement of the divers. Most Nakhudas now realise that it will have advantages for them in lessening risk, & as advances are limited by the State the only means of attracting another Nakhuda's divers will be by fairer treatment, that is by paying the diver his fair earnings. An abuse which had sprung up in this connection, was that Nakhudas had begun to swindle one another by inducing divers to come to them without paying off the original debt and receiving a 'Barwah'.

The first result of improved conditions will be for divers to tend to come to Bahrain, where they can get a square deal. This is, in fact, already becoming noticeable, & herein lies the "effect created in other chiefships". It is not a question of what form of court exists, or does not exist, in Bahrain, which interests other chiefs, but the knowledge that the best divers will come to Bahrain. This is so, & the natural consequence is that in the course of time-the divers must be better treated in the rest of the Gulf, & we shall have achieved a more widespread improvement than could have been at first foreseen.

It is quite impossible to set forth all the details in a letter-I have made no mention of the various systems of diving-Khammas, 'Azal, Madyan, 'Amil etc all of which have their peculiarities & their individual abuses of their rules. To explain the full ramifications of the abuses which have arisen & their effect both on the industry & on trade, it would require an extremely lengthy ^{Document} ~~compendium~~. I have collected information with a view to writing

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [25v] (49/83)

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'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [26r] (50/83)

78
26r

such a treatise, but pressure of other work has made it impossible to produce it. Perhaps when the 'Adviser' has taken over some of the work I now deal with, I shall be able to get on with it.

I have gone into the question of a Salifeh Court thoroughly and am convinced that at this juncture, it would be impossible to find anyone capable of doing the work (I refer to the work as it is now-in the transition stage) during which abuses are being eliminated & past accounts straightened out) & that if we could patch up something, the improvements effected would be doomed, & great labour wasted. In two years I estimate the new system will be in full swing & then any court, 'Salifeh' or otherwise, would be able to deal with the situation. Then however, when the abuses have been checked, & accounts are on a simple basis, & large debts practically non-existent, you will not find anybody wanting a 'Salifeh' court. Many of the enlightened Nakhudas already say this - a 'Salifeh' is no use to them unless run on the old, unjust lines.

The petition presented just before my return was an effort of the die-hards among the old type of Nakhuda, & its unreasonableness is patent. It amounts to a demand for the divers to be completely under their control & for them to be able to imprison & punish at will. This being so, it may be assumed that the desire for a 'Salifeh' court is not for a reformed 'Salifeh', working on the new lines-prohibiting abuses-but for the old 'Salifeh', which means no court at all. Many of the Nakhudas have told me that the petition was regarded by them as a jest, & they knew that it was doomed to failure, & dissociated themselves from it.

I apologise for the length of this letter, but I have endeavoured to show as concisely as is possible, how the situation stands, & that the demand for a 'Salifeh' court is not genuine, & by no means insistent, that its creation at this stage would completely jeopardise the reforms in the pearling which are, without doubt, the most important part of the whole reforms scheme & which will have a lasting & desirable effect on the whole State of Bahrain.

Yours sincerely

C. K. Daly

Capt. E. Stuart-Horner. Secretary to the Political Resident, Bushir

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Yours sincerely,
C. R. D. ...

Genl. A. Bennett-Hunter, Secretary to the Political Resident, Bahrain

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [27r] (52/83)

19/175
82 (27)
D.O. No.C.1.

Political Agency, Bahrein.

Date the 1st January 1927 1927.

BUSHIRE RESIDENCY.
Reg. No. 6
Date 6.1.27.
CONFIDENTIAL RECORDS.

Dear Horner

Please refer to your demi-official letter No.548-S. dated the 23rd December last.

There is no question of altering the rules regarding the rate of interest. These seem to be regarded with favour by all persons whose opinions are worth considering.

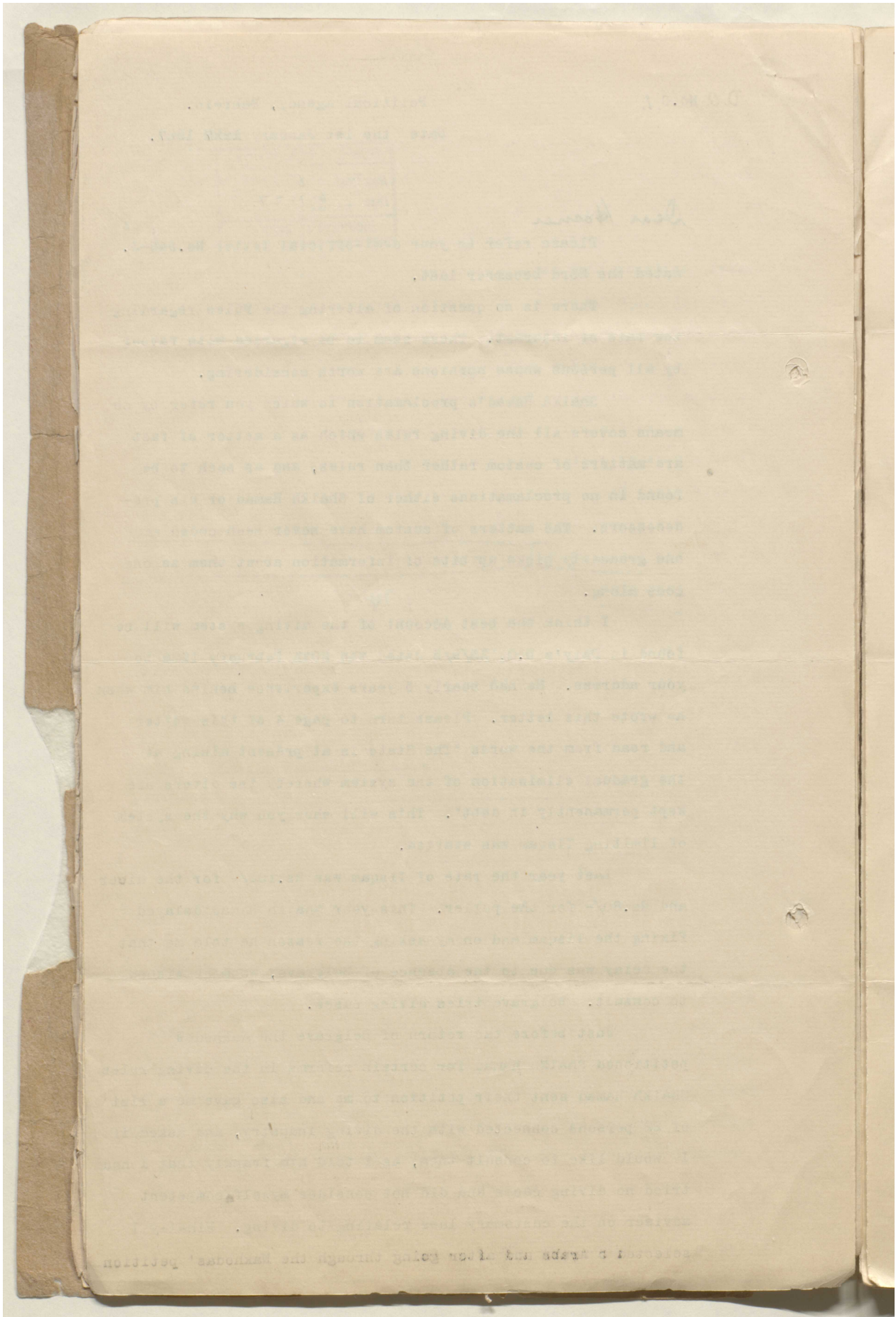
Shaikh Hamad's proclamation to which you refer by no means covers all the diving rules which as a matter of fact are matters of custom rather than rules, and as such to be found in no proclamations either of Shaikh Hamad or his predecessors. The matters of custom have never been coded and one gradually picks up bits of information about them as one goes along.

74.
I think the best account of the diving system will be found in Daly's D.O. 33/9/5 dated the 20th February 1926 to your address. He had nearly 5 years experience behind him when he wrote this letter. Please turn to page 4 of this letter and read from the words "The State is at present mining at the gradual elimination of the system whereby the divers are kept permanently in debt". This will show you why the system of limiting Tisqam was started.

Last year the rate of Tisqam was Rs.100/- for the diver and Rs.80/- for the puller. This year Shaikh Hamad delayed fixing the Tisqam and on my asking the reason he told me that the delay was due to the absence of Belgrave, whom he wished to consult. Belgrave tries diving cases.

13/4.
Just before the return of Belgrave the Nakhodas petitioned Shaikh Hamad for certain reforms in the diving rules. Shaikh Hamad sent their petition to me and also gave me a list of 22 persons connected with the diving industry, and asked if I would like to consult them, as I told him frankly that I had tried no diving cases and did not consider myself competent adviser on the customary laws relating to diving. Finally I selected 5 Arabs and after going through the Nakhodas' petition

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [27v] (53/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [28r] (54/83)

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83 (28)

with them I informed Shaikh Hamad of the advice proffered by these persons adding that I myself considered the limitation of Tisqam by executive order should continue so that the object desired i.e. the release of the divers from the bondage of debt should finally be achieved. I advised Shaikh Hamad before fixing the amount to consult 4 or 5 men of experience. One or two other matters which worked badly in practice were also discussed such as the right of a diver to hold up all diving work and bring a pearling boat to Bahrein in order to settle a squabble with his Nakhoda. I told Shaikh Hamad that I saw no reason why minor adjustments should not be made provided nothing was done which might lead in any way to the virtual enslavement of free men or the cheating of the divers by neglect in keeping up their accounts *and that these* ~~which~~ were the main points I wished to watch.

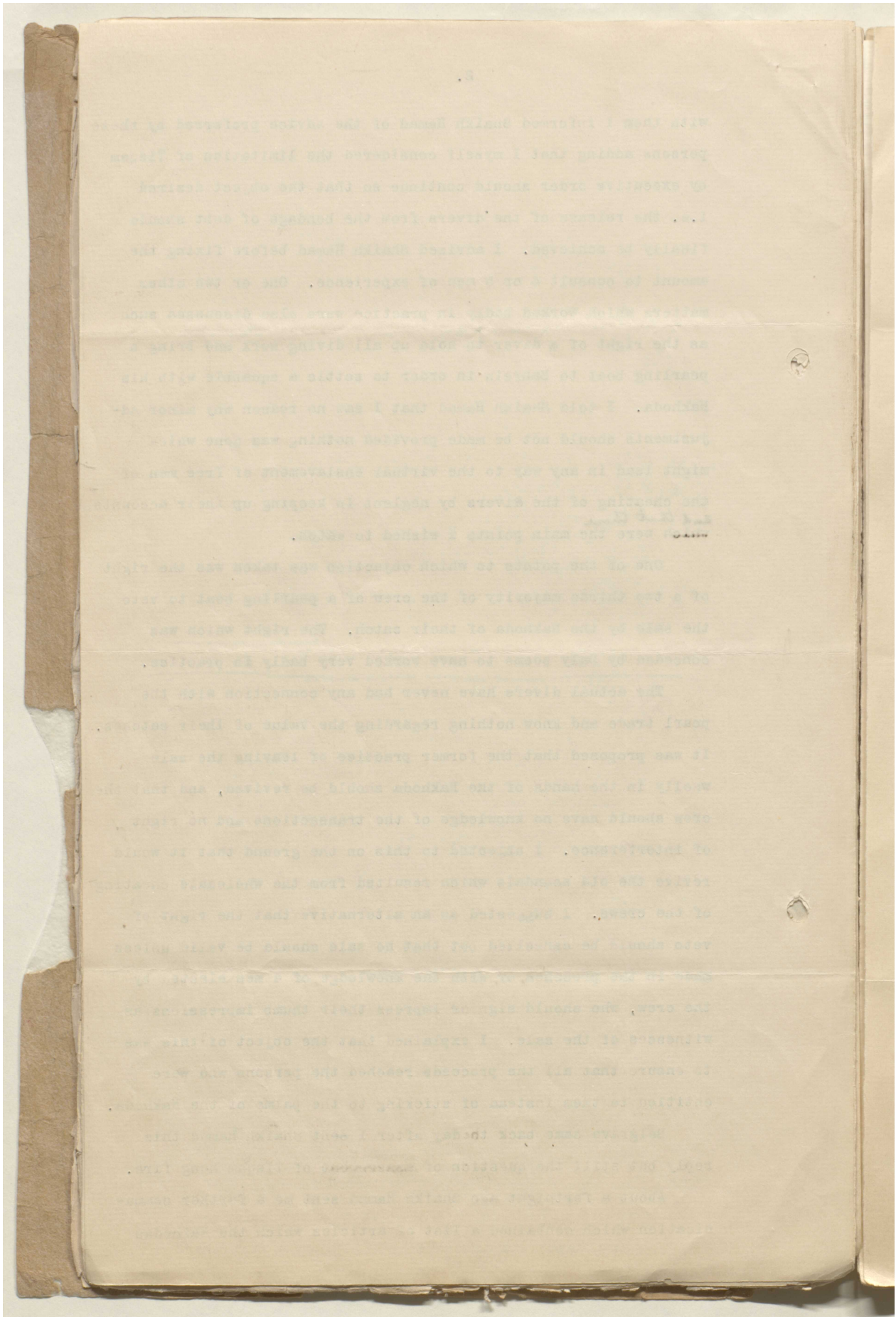
One of the points to which objection was taken was the right of a two thirds majority of the crew of a pearling boat to veto the sale by the Nakhoda of their catch. The right which was conceded by Daly seems to have worked very badly in practice.

The actual divers have never had any connection with the pearl trade and know nothing regarding the value of their catches. It was proposed that the former practice of leaving the sale wholly in the hands of the Nakhoda should be revived, and that the crew should have no knowledge of the transactions and no right of interference. I objected to this on the ground that it would revive the old scandals which resulted from the wholesale cheating of the crews. I suggested as an alternative that the right of veto should be cancelled but that no sale should be valid unless made in the presence, or, with the knowledge, of 4 men elected by the crew, who should sign or impress their thumb impressions as witnesses of the sale. I explained that the object of this was to ensure that all the proceeds reached the persons who were entitled to them instead of sticking to the palms of the Nakhoda.

Belgrave came back ~~to~~ day after I sent Shaikh Hamad this reply but still the question of ^{amount} ~~assessment~~ of Tisqam hung fire.

About a fortnight ago Shaikh Hamad sent me a further communication which contained a list of articles which the Nakhodas

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [28v] (55/83)



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^{act as a} proposed should guide ~~the Courts~~. The first on this list was that Tisqam should be free but that Sallaf should be limited by the orders of the Bahrein Government. Shaikh Abdullah at Shaikh Hamad's request came to discuss these articles with me. He agreed with me that there was no differentiation between Tisqam and Sallaf. I asked Shaikh Abdullah to tell Shaikh Hamad to proceed with the fixing of the amounts of Tisqam, setting if he liked a maximum below which the Nakhoda and his crew would be at liberty to come to an agreement, but I said that something should be done as the crew and their families had to live and they relied on Tisqam for maintenance.

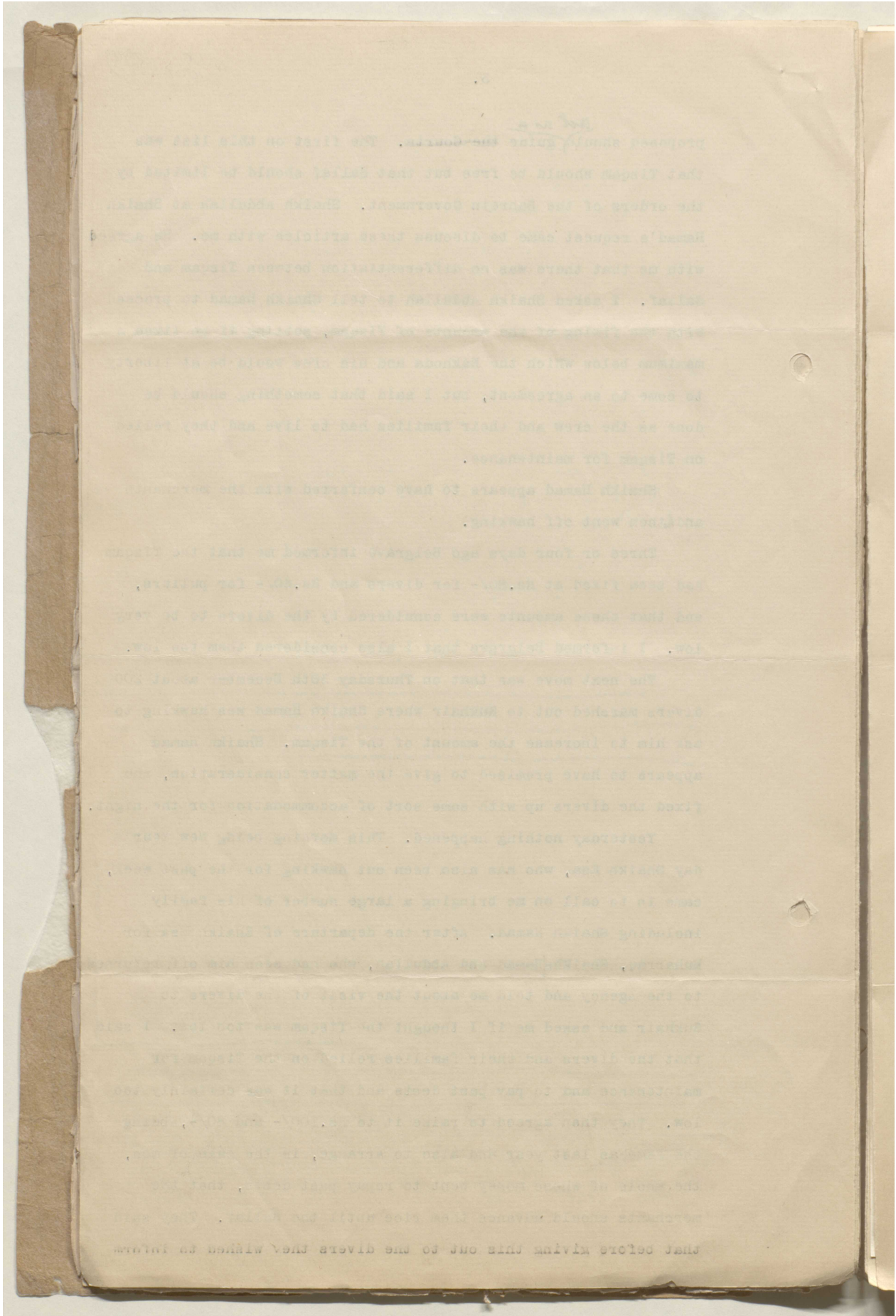
Shaikh Hamad appears to have conferred with the merchants and then went off hawking.

Three or four days ago Belgrave informed me that the Tisqam had been fixed at Rs.80/- for divers and Rs.60/- for pullers, and that these amounts were considered by the divers to be very low. I informed Belgrave that I also considered them too low.

The next move was that on Thursday 30th December about 200 divers marched out to Sukhair where Shaikh Hamad was hawking to ask him to increase the amount of the Tisqam. Shaikh Hamad appears to have promised to give the matter consideration, and fixed the divers up with some sort of accommodation for the night.

Yesterday nothing happened. This morning being New Year day Shaikh Esa, who has also been out hawking for the past week, came in to call on me bringing a large number of his family including Shaikh Hamad. After the departure of Shaikh Esa for Muharraq, Shaikh Hamad and Abdullah, who had seen him off, returned to the Agency and told me about the visit of the divers to Sukhair and asked me if I thought the Tisqam was too low. I said that the divers and their families relied on the Tisqam for maintenance and to pay past debts and that it was certainly too low. They then agreed to raise it to Rs.100/- and 80/7, being the same as last year and also to arrange, in the case of men, the whole of whose money went to repay past debts, that the merchants should advance them rice until the Sallaf. They said that before giving this out to the divers they wished to inform

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [29v] (57/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [30r] (58/83)

4.

80- (30)

the merchants who would make the actual payments, and would arrange for a deputation consisting of 6 divers to meet them on Monday to hear the decision.

Belgrave was present at the latter end of this interview and he and Shaikh Hamad departed together for the Customs House, where they had some work. On arrival there they found the 200 divers assembled waiting for their answer. Instead of speaking to them himself Shaikh Hamad who was anxious to leave for his hawking sent them a message by some *undusthopper* saying that he would meet 6 of their representatives on Monday and give them his reply. He himself drove off in his motor for Bukhair. After his departure the 200 divers walked into the Manama market and commenced a little *very minor* looting.

I have not got an estimate of the damage done, but it does not appear to have been very serious.

As soon as Belgrave got to know of what was happening he sent word to Robinson who marched a squad of his men into the bazaar whereupon all was peace.

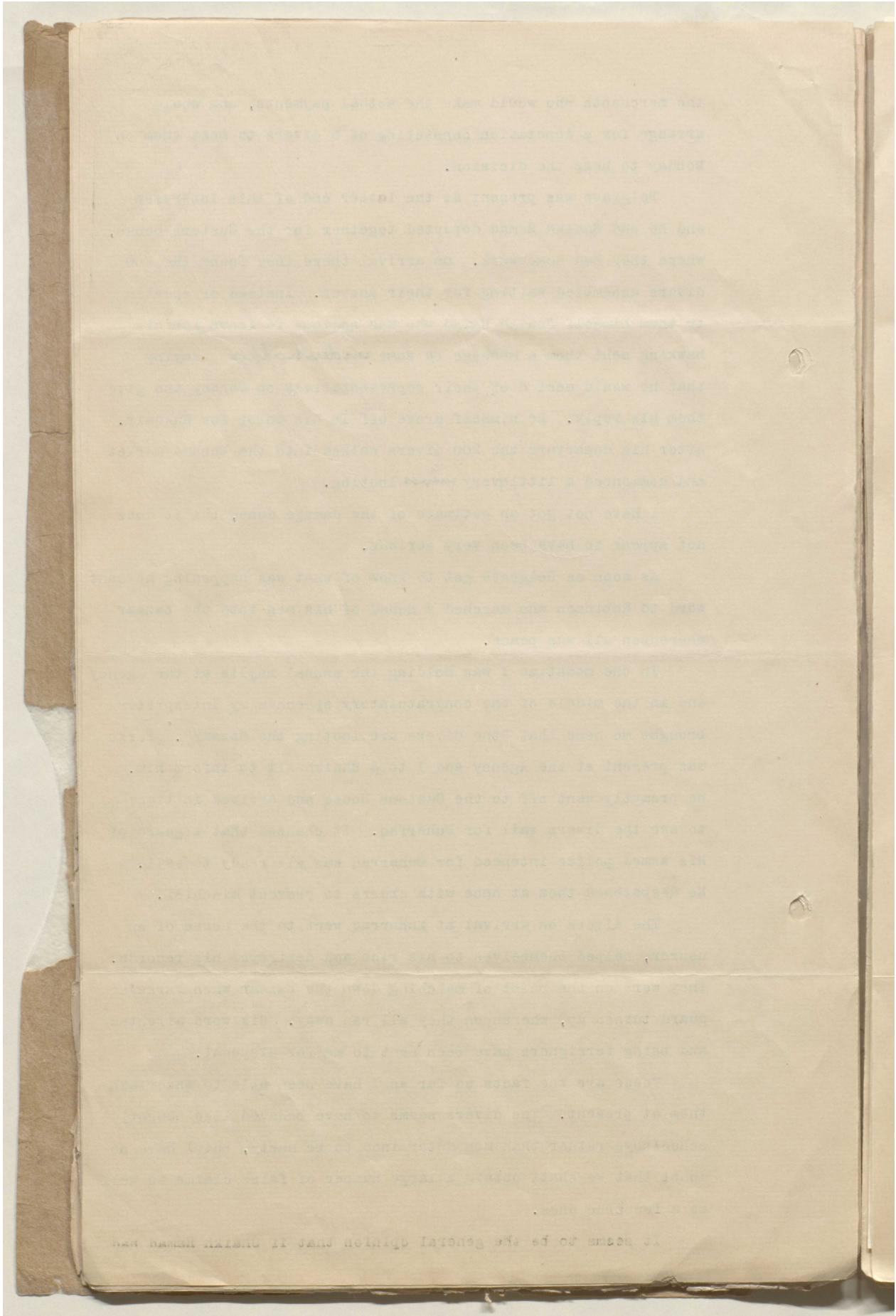
In the meantime I was holding the annual majlis at the Agency and in the middle of the congratulatory speeches my Interpreter brought me news that "the divers are looting the Bazaar". Parke was present at the Agency and I told Shaikh Ali to inform him. He promptly went off to the Customs House and arrived in time to see the divers sail for Muharraq. It chanced that a guard of his armed police intended for Muharraq was all ready to sail. He despatched them at once with orders to prevent mischief.

The divers on arrival at Muharraq went to the house of an usurer, helped themselves to his rice and destroyed his records. They were on the point of marching down the bazaar when Parke's guard turned up, whereupon they all ran away. Six were arrested and being foreigners have been sent to me for disposal.

These are the facts so far as I have been able to ascertain them at present. The divers seem to have behaved like naughty schoolboys rather than men determined to be nasty, but I have no doubt that we shall obtain a large number of false claims as well as a few true ones.

It seems to be the general opinion that if Shaikh Hamad had

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [30v] (59/83)



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86 (31)

said a few words to the divers himself this morning instead of driving off without speaking to them nothing would have happened. I share this view. I am passing Sukhair myself to-morrow morning on my way to ^{the proposed} ~~Helme's~~ ^{Holms'} site for his oil boring and I hope to have a few words with Shaikh Hamad on the subject.

Yours sincerely

Chameli

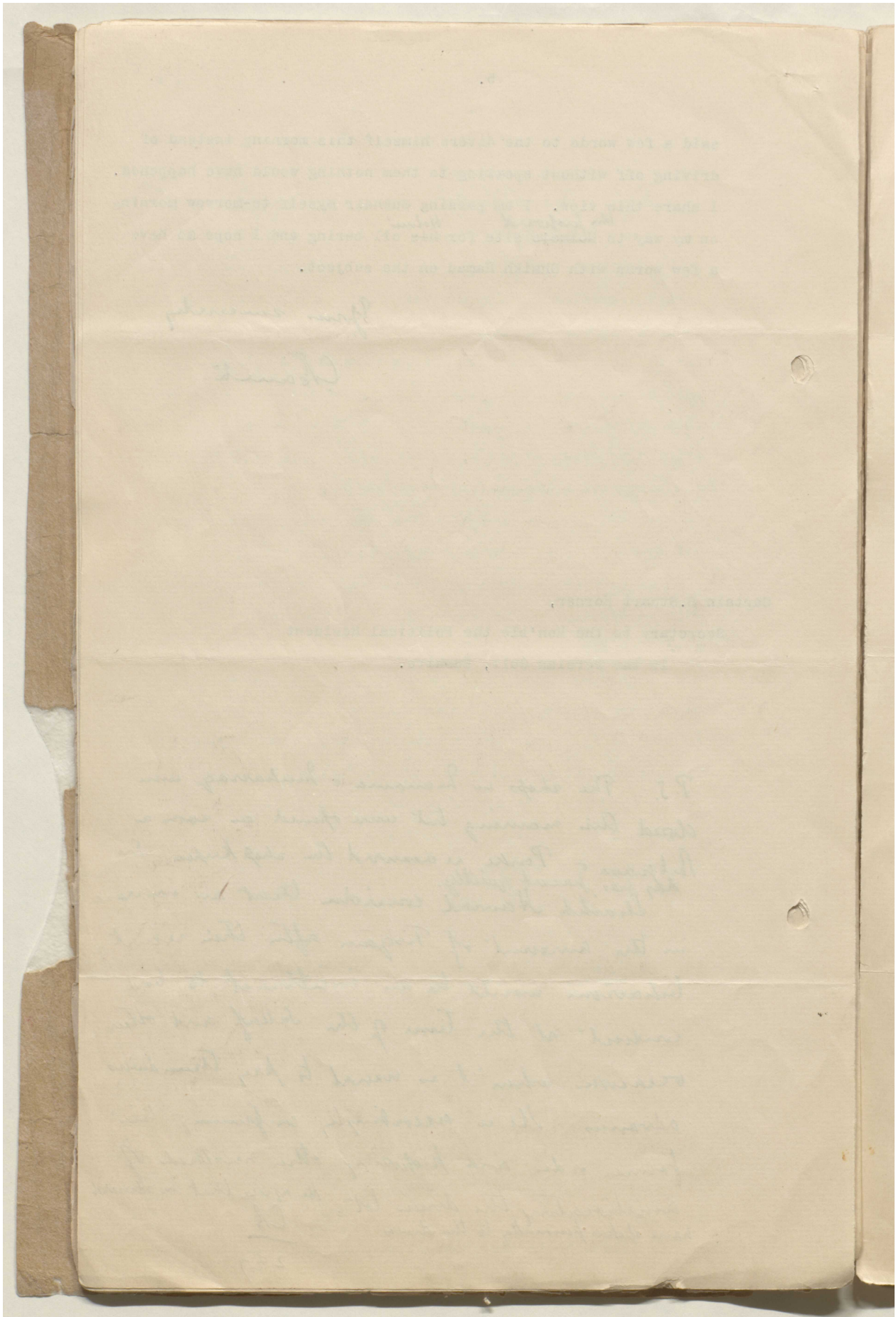
Captain B. Stuart Horner,
Secretary to the Hon'ble the Political Resident
in the Persian Gulf, Bushire.

P.S. The shops in Manama & Muharrag were closed this morning but were opened as soon as Sulgrave & Ponsie reassured the shop keepers. The day has passed quietly.
Shaikh Hamad considers that an increase in the amount of Tisqam after their recent behaviour would be an incitement to bad conduct at the time of the Salkaf and other occasions when it is usual to pay the divers advances. He is accordingly confirming his former order and proposing other methods of amerciating the divers' lot. He agrees that he should have spoken personally to the divers

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2/27

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [31v] (61/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [32r] (62/83)

19/175

87 (32)

D.O.No.C.12.

BUSHIRE RESIDENCY.
Reg. No. 23
Date 11.1.27.
CONFIDENTIAL RECORDS.

Political Agency, Bahrein,
Dated the 9th January 1927.

Dear Horner

There has been no repetition of the trouble with the divers to which I referred in my No.C-1 of last week.

The Muharraq merchants were timid and shut up their houses and placed guards on them. Eleven of them came to me as a Deputation on Monday saying that though they did not fear the divers they feared the Bilastis or unemployables who they stated were preparing to attack them that night. They asked for protection. I got Parke to increase the numbers of his police in Muharraq and all was peace.

On Wednesday the Jews came rushing to my office at 10 a.m. saying they had shut their shops fearing attack and requested me to do something. I went down to the bazaar and found all the other shops open even those of Buniahs and everything as usual. I told the Jews to open their shops and not be such fools.

It seems ~~that~~ that some fellow had played a practical joke on them by galloping past on a donkey shouting "Shut your shops".

We persuaded Shaikh Hamad to come to Muharraq for 3 days to talk matters over with all concerned and now things appear to be in a fair way to settlement. It has been decided to re-establish the Salifa Court about which Colonel Prideaux was keen, but with 4 members instead of the one Nakhuda who formerly had matters all his own way.

Shaikh Hamad has agreed to my proposal to have a working diver on the Court if we can find a suitable man. Belgrave thinks he can.

Shaikhs Hamad and Abdullah have now gone off hawking again. Bustards are very plentiful this year and I think Shaikh Hamad considers it was a great concession to interrupt the most important business in the world by coming to Muharraq to settle more State affairs.

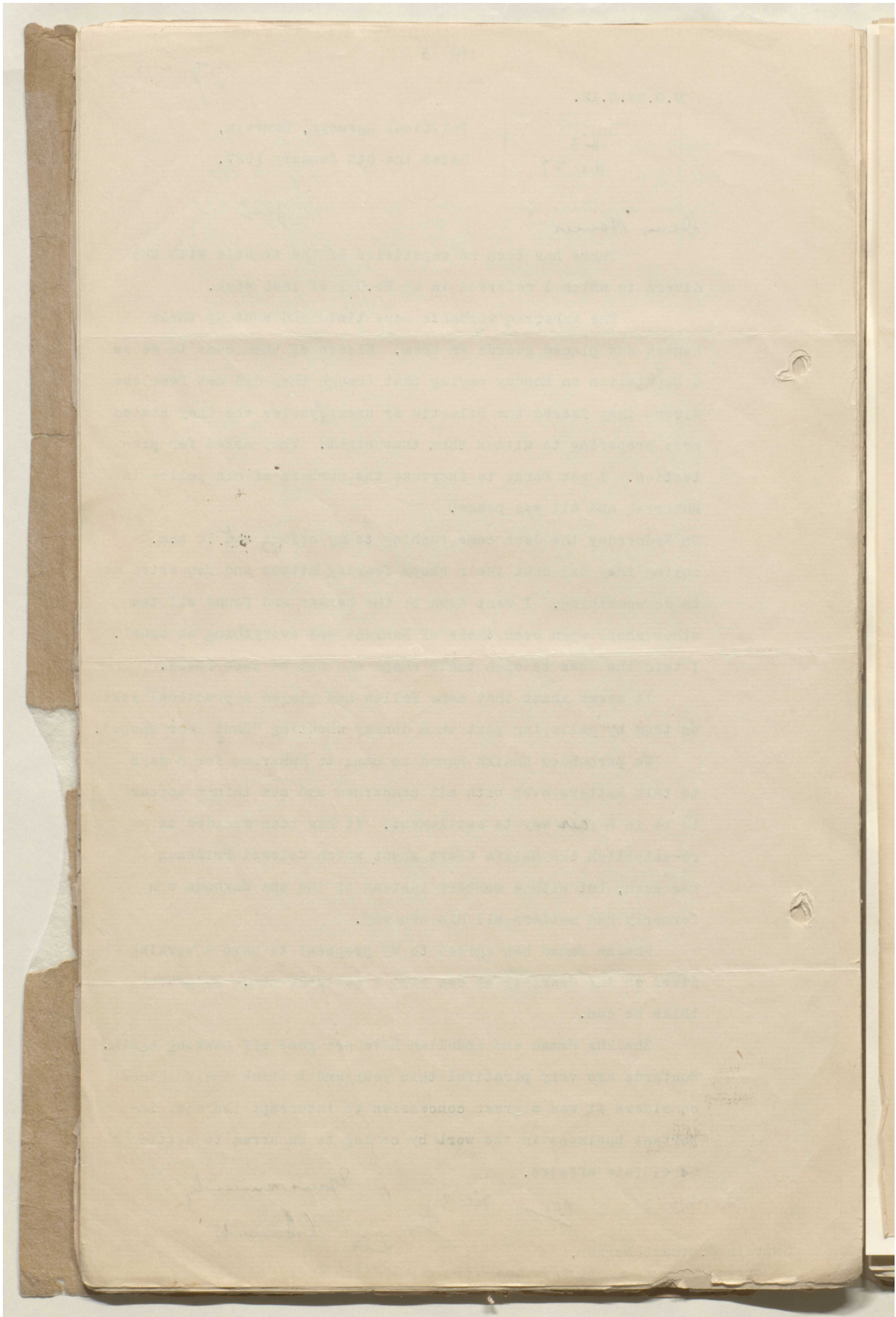
Captain B. Stuart Horner,
Secretary to the Hon'ble the Pol. Resident, Gulf Bushire 13.1.27

Yours sincerely
C. Chauch

File 19/175/13/1

13/1/1

P.R.



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [33r] (64/83)

19/75
Note for diary
88 (35)

No. C/89
Confidential.

The Agency, Bahrain.
24th May 1930.

Hmr
28/5/30

Noted in
Diary -
Arab Summary
for May.
OAR
23/6

My dear Colonel

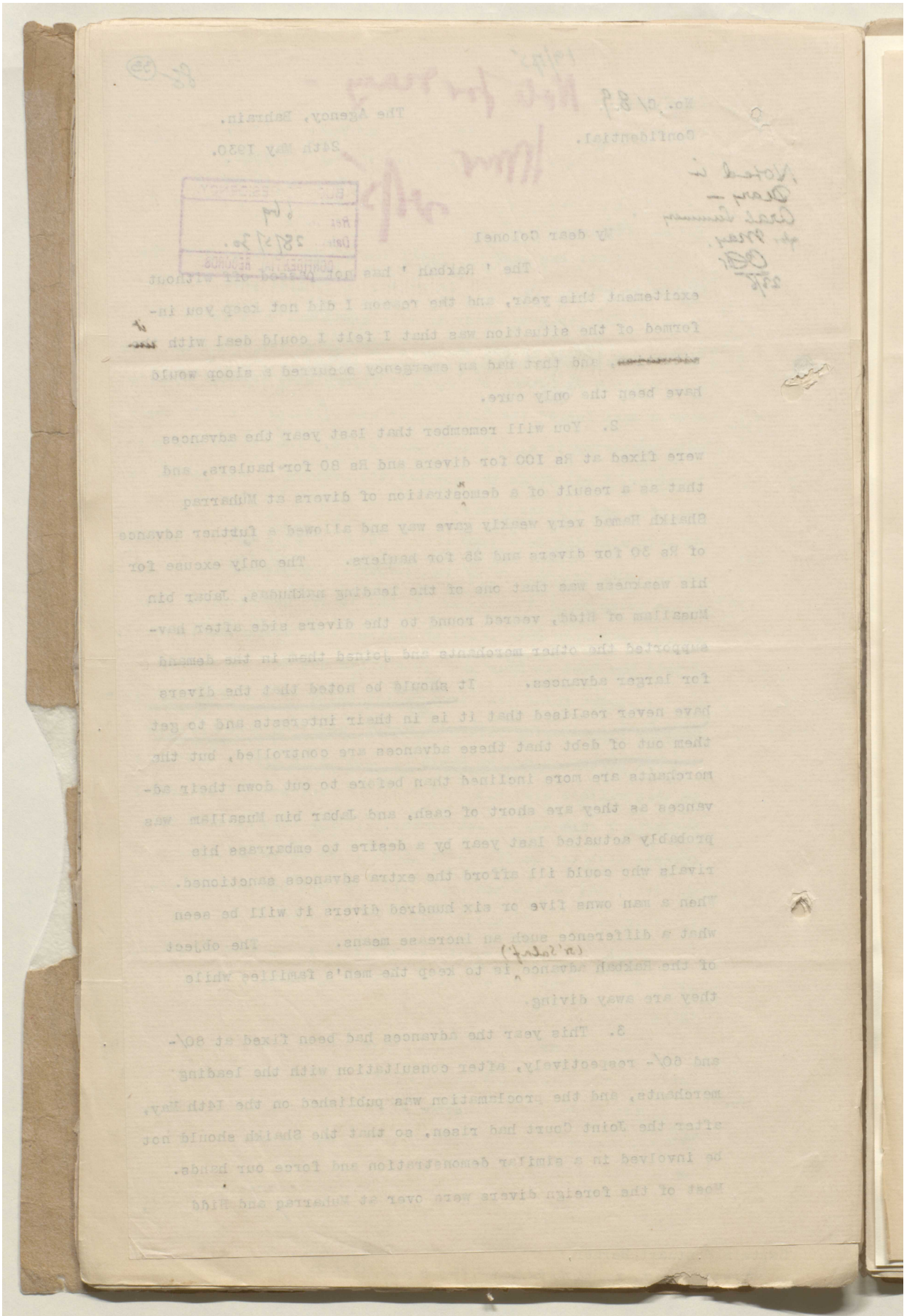
The 'Rakbah' has not passed off without excitement this year, and the reason I did not keep you informed of the situation was that I felt I could deal with ~~the~~ ^{it} ~~situation~~, and that had an emergency occurred a sloop would have been the only cure.

2. You will remember that last year the advances were fixed at Rs 100 for divers and Rs 80 for haulers, and that as a result of a demonstration of divers at Muharraq Shaikh Hamad very weakly gave way and allowed a further advance of Rs 30 for divers and 25 for haulers. The only excuse for his weakness was that one of the leading nakhudas, Jabar bin Musallam of Hidd, veered round to the divers side after having supported the other merchants and joined them in the demand for larger advances. It should be noted that the divers have never realised that it is in their interests and to get them out of debt that these advances are controlled, but the merchants are more inclined than before to cut down their advances as they are short of cash, and Jabar bin Musallam was probably actuated last year by a desire to embarrass his rivals who could ill afford the extra advances sanctioned. When a man owns five or six hundred divers it will be seen what a difference such an increase means. The object of the Rakbah advance ^(or 'salaf') is to keep the men's families while they are away diving.

3. This year the advances had been fixed at 80/- and 60/- respectively, after consultation with the leading merchants, and the proclamation was published on the 14th May, after the Joint Court had risen, so that the Shaikh should not be involved in a similar demonstration and force our hands. Most of the foreign divers were over at Muharraq and Hidd

BUSINESS RESIDENCY.
Res. No. 669
Date... 28/5/30.
CONFIDENTIAL RECORDS.

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [33v] (65/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [34r] (66/83)

Page 2.

89 (34)

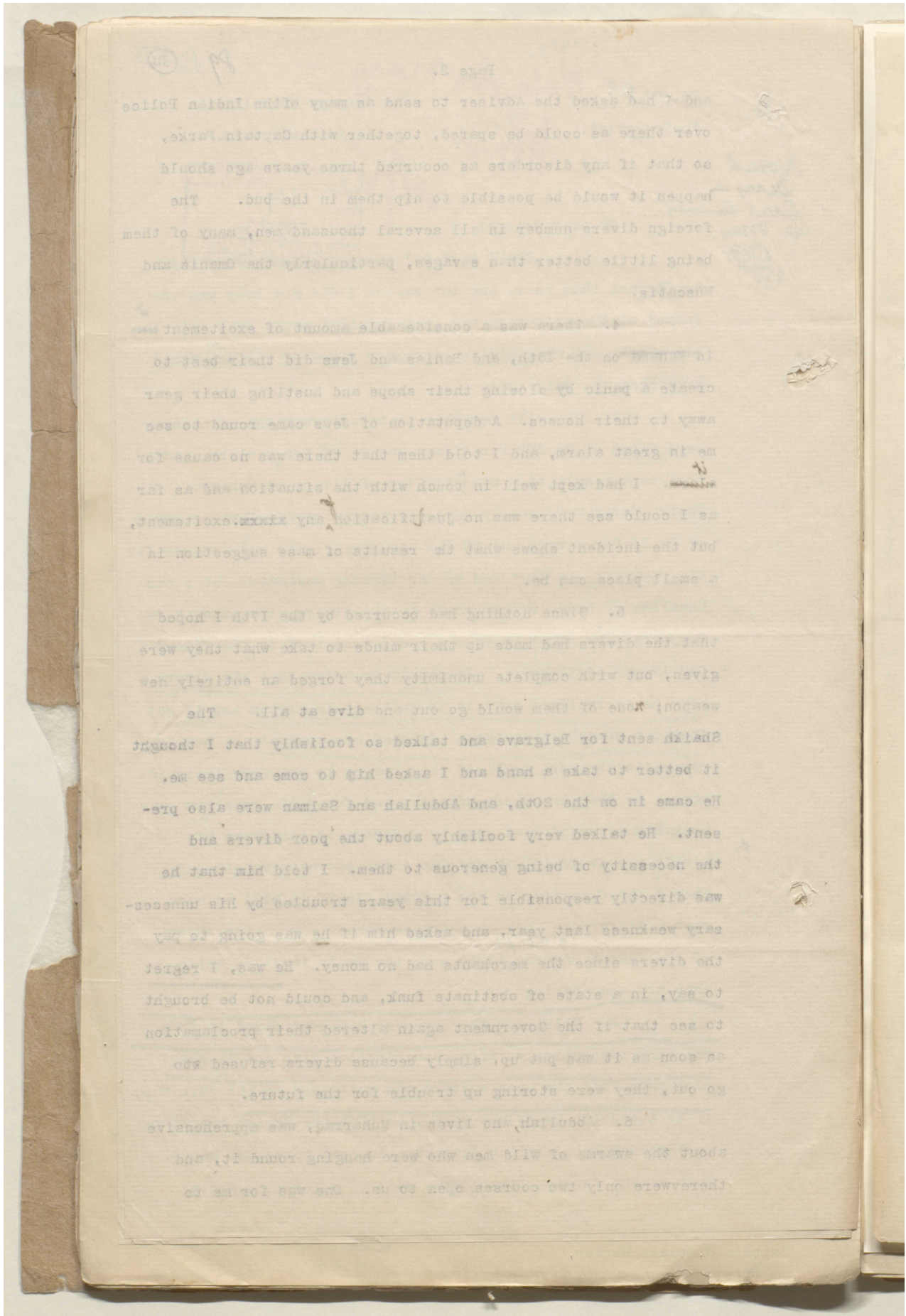
and I had asked the Adviser to send as many of the Indian Police over there as could be spared, together with Captain Parke, so that if any disorders as occurred three years ago should happen it would be possible to nip them in the bud. The foreign divers number in all several thousand men, many of them being little better than savages, particularly the Omanis and Muscatis.

4. There was a considerable amount of excitement in Manama on the 15th, and Banias and Jews did their best to create a panic by closing their shops and hustling their gear away to their houses. A deputation of Jews came round to see me in great alarm, and I told them that there was no cause for ~~it~~ ^{it}. I had kept well in touch with the situation and as far as I could see there was no justification ~~any~~ ^{any} excitement, but the incident shows what the results of mass suggestion in a small place can be.

5. Since nothing had occurred by the 17th I hoped that the divers had made up their minds to take what they were given, but with complete unanimity they forged an entirely new weapon; none of them would go out and dive at all. The Shaikh sent for Belgrave and talked so foolishly that I thought it better to take a hand and I asked him to come and see me. He came in on the 20th, and Abdullah and Salman were also present. He talked very foolishly about the 'poor divers' and the necessity of being generous to them. I told him that he was directly responsible for this year's troubles by his unnecessary weakness last year, and asked him if he was going to pay the divers since the merchants had no money. He was, I regret to say, in a state of obstinate funk, and could not be brought to see that if the Government again altered their proclamation as soon as it was put up, simply because divers refused to go out, they were storing up trouble for the future.

6. Abdullah, who lives in Muharraq, was apprehensive about the swarms of wild men who were hanging round it, and there were only two courses open to us. One was for me to

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [34v] (67/83)



Page 3.

90 (35)

coerce the foreign divers, who were the backbone of the passive resisters, or else to devise some concession which would save the face of the Bahrain Government. I think a little pressure would have brought them to reason, but seeing the Shaikh would give me no support and would certainly blame me for any trouble that occurred, ^(was anxious to avoid force.) Abdullah suggested that the nakhudas should be allowed to give a loan if they wanted to, up to 20/- for divers and 15/- for pullers against their 'tisqam' or end of season advance, and since it seemed likely that this would enable the nakhudas with Bahraini divers to get their men out (and so make it difficult for the others to stay behind as they always think that the boats that get out first may stumble on some big find) I advised the Shaikh to allow this, and arranged for it to be done in a way that would save the Bahrain Government ' face ' to some extent.

7. The Bahrain Government had decided that they would not enforce decrees against the divers salafs, and I had agreed to this, but without enthusiasm, since it meant revising orders in over a hundred cases, and since almost all our divers had left their homes provided for and only wanted their salafs to spend on new bishts and a final orgy of whoring, but a new complication now arose. To accept a ' tisqam ' at the close of the year binds the diver to dive for that nakhuda in the ensuing year, and men who had nearly paid off their debts did not want to bind themselves for another year by simply taking a loan of 20/- This difficulty was tided over and next day a number of Bahrain boats set out and finally, to day, practically all the remainder of the fleet have ~~returned.~~ sailed.

8. Belgrave's attitude over the salafs is not altogether reasonable. One is of course ~~in~~ anxious to keep the divers out of debt as far as possible, but when they are setting out on four months very hard work a substantial advance is only reasonable, and if an advance lower than this years would make the divers look about for some other employment; if Belgrave had his way, I think he would reduce them still further. The Shaikh, on the other hand, is never happier than when giving away other people's money, in ^{the} case the merchants, who are very hard ^{up & facing a worse season than they realize.}

J. A. S. & Co.

Page 35
... the foreign divers, who were the backbone of the pearling industry, or else to devise some concession which would save the face of the Bahrain Government. I think a little pressure would have brought them to reason, but seeing the Shaikh would give me no support and would certainly blame me for any trouble that occurred, Abdullah suggested that the regulations should be allowed to give a food if they wanted to, up to 20/- for divers and 15/- for purifiers against their stipend on end of season advance, and since it seemed likely that this would enable the Shaikh to get their men out (and so make it difficult for the others to stay behind) as they always think that the boats that get out first may stumble on some big find (I advised the Shaikh to allow this, and arranged for it to be done in a way that would save the Bahrain Government 'face' to some extent. The Bahrain Government had decided that they would not enforce orders against the divers, and I had agreed to this, but without enthusiasm, since it meant revoking orders in over a hundred cases, and since almost all our divers had left their homes provided for and only wanted their share to spend on new blouses and a final orgy of whoring, but a major complication now arose. To accept a stipend for the divers of the year binds the diver to have for that month in the coming year, and men who had nearly sold all their debts did not want to bind themselves for another year by simply taking a loan of 20/-. This difficulty was tied over and next day a number of Bahrain boats set out and finally, to day, practically all the remainder of the fleet have returned. It is not altogether B. A. DeGrove's attitude over the matter is not altogether responsible. He is of course anxious to keep the di- vers out of debt as far as possible, but when they are setting out on four months very hard work a substantial advance is only reasonable, and it is an advance for the year which would make the divers look about for some other employment; if DeGrove had his way, I think he would reduce them still further. The Shaikh, on the other hand, is never happier than when giving away other people's money, in case the merchants, who are very hard up often, never show them the results.

James out
W. B.

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [36r] (70/83)

19/175

BUSHIRE RESIDENCY.	
Rec	122/
Date	4/8/31
CONFIDENTIAL RECORDS.	

91

Confidential.

No: C/91.

Political Agency,
Bahrain, the 2nd August 1931.

204/8

From:-

The Political Agent,
Bahrain.

To:-

The Hon'ble the Political Resident
in the Persian Gulf.,
Bushire.

Sir,

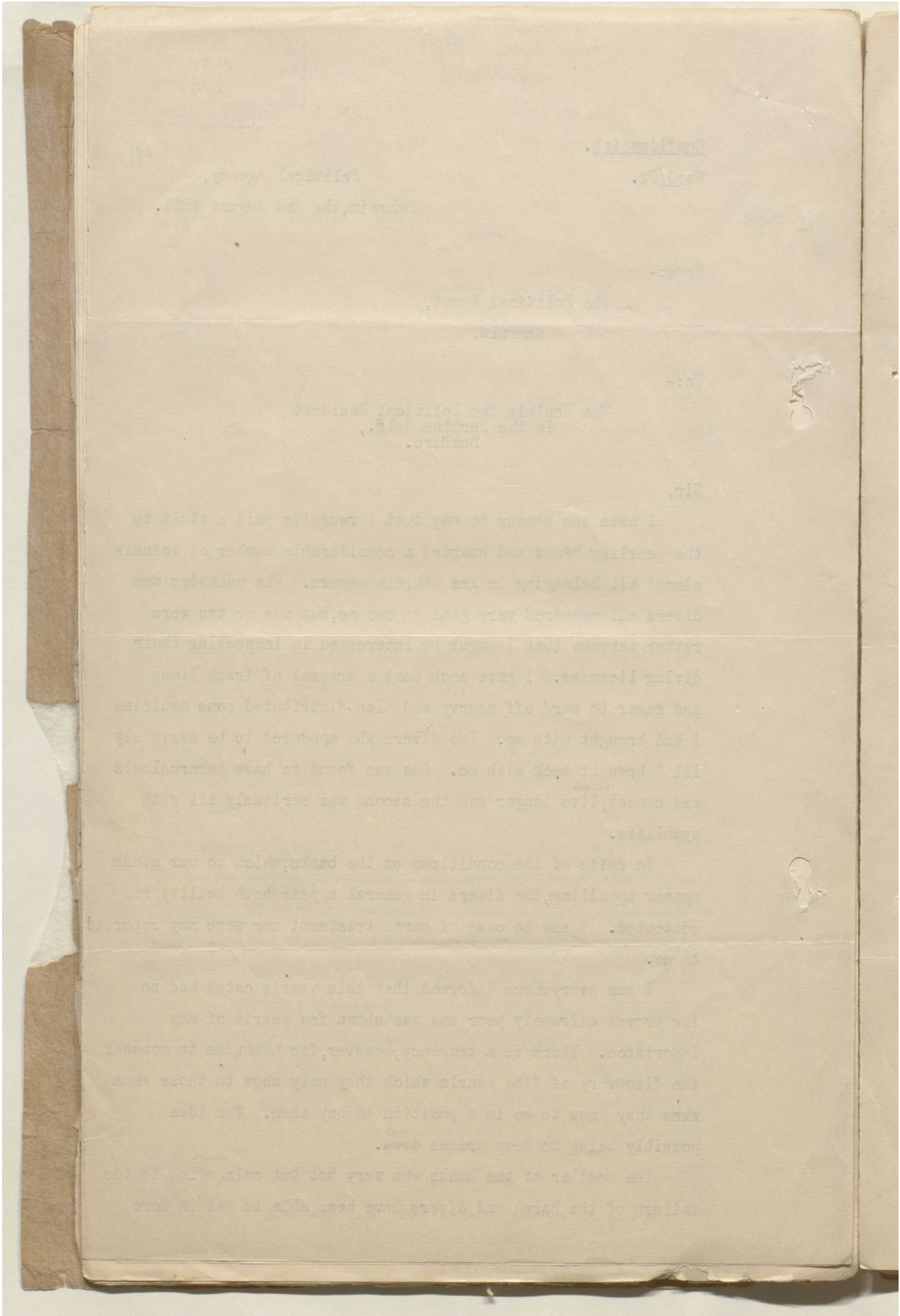
I have the honour to say that I recently paid a visit to the pearling banks and boarded a considerable number of vessels almost all belonging to ~~the~~ Bahrain owners. The nakhudas and divers all appeared very glad to see me, but one or two were rather nervous that I might be interested in inspecting their diving licenses. I gave each boat a present of fresh limes and sugar to ward off scurvy and also distributed some medicine I had brought with me. Two divers who appeared to be seriously ill I brought back with me. One was found to have tuberculosis and cannot ^{much} live longer and the second was seriously ill with syphilis.

In spite of the conditions on the banks, which to our minds appear appalling, the divers in general appear both healthy and contented. I saw no case of harsh treatment nor were any reported to me.

I was everywhere informed that this year's catch had so far proved extremely poor and was shown few pearls of any importance. There is a tendency, however, for nakhudas to conceal the discovery of fine pearls which they only show to those whom ~~whom~~ they know to be in a position to buy them, the idea possibly being to keep prices ^{up} ~~down~~.

The weather at the banks was very hot but calm, ^{and} owing to the failure of the bareh and divers have been able to get in more

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [36v] (71/83)



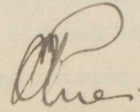
'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [37r] (72/83)

work than is usual in the early part of the year and this in
itself should produce a greater quantity, if of ^{not} ~~poor~~ quality
of pearls during this pearling season.

I have the honour to be

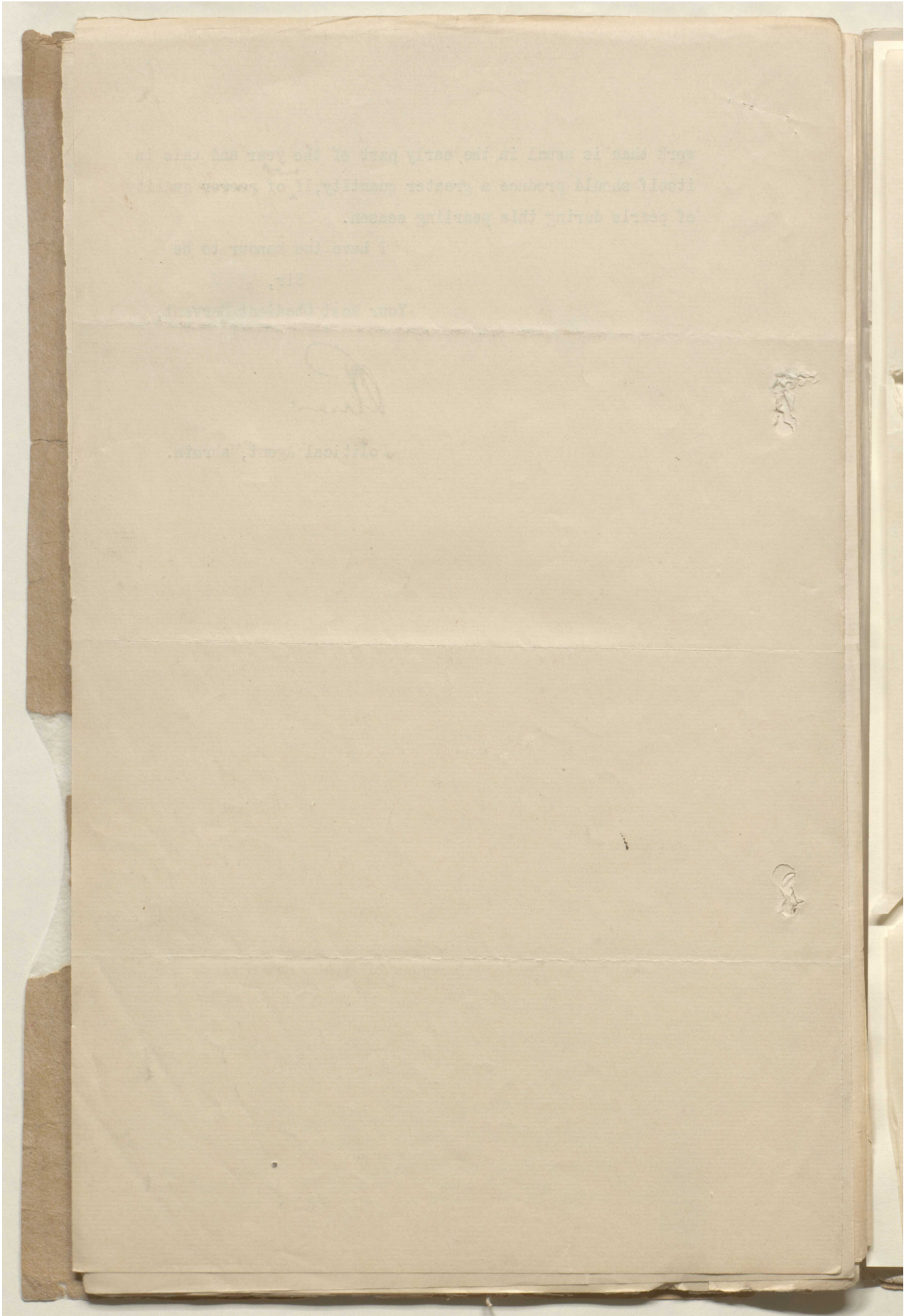
Sir,

Your Most Obedient Servant,



Political Agent, Bahrain.

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [37v] (73/83)



127 38
Note by Mr. Belgrave, Financial Adviser to
the Bahrain Government, on Bahrain Pearl Fishers.

The diving community in Bahrain consists of 3 categories: the shore merchants who do the big buying and selling and who either own or finance the boats, the nakhudas or boat captains, and the large inarticulate mass of divers, illiterate Arabs who were previously cheated and oppressed by their employers, or rather their owners, the boat captains. About 15,000 local divers go out from Bahrain every season and it has been estimated that about 100,000 men from the whole Gulf are employed on the banks every year.

Attempts to improve the diving system met with difficulties. The divers were suspicious and apathetic, the merchants and captains were violently opposed to changes that would loosen their hold over the men and until the present Shaikh succeeded his father it was considered unpolitic to press for reforms. In 1924 His Excellency Shaikh Hamad in conjunction with Major Daly, who was then Political Agent, and with the support of the Government of India, took the matter in hand. Only a very few of the more far sighted merchants, and the Shia and Sunni Qadis, supported the movement, but the reforms were finally pushed through mainly owing to the keenness and energy of Major Daly.

The principal features are as follows:-

The amount of the advance and the amount of interest permissible is laid down by law. No other charges may be debited against a diver. Merchants and boat captains are compelled to keep regular accounts, which were made out by a number of diving clerks who are authorised by the Government. Every diver keeps a small book issued by the Government which shows his account with his captain. Boat captains are forbidden to sell the pearls privately but must do so in the presence/

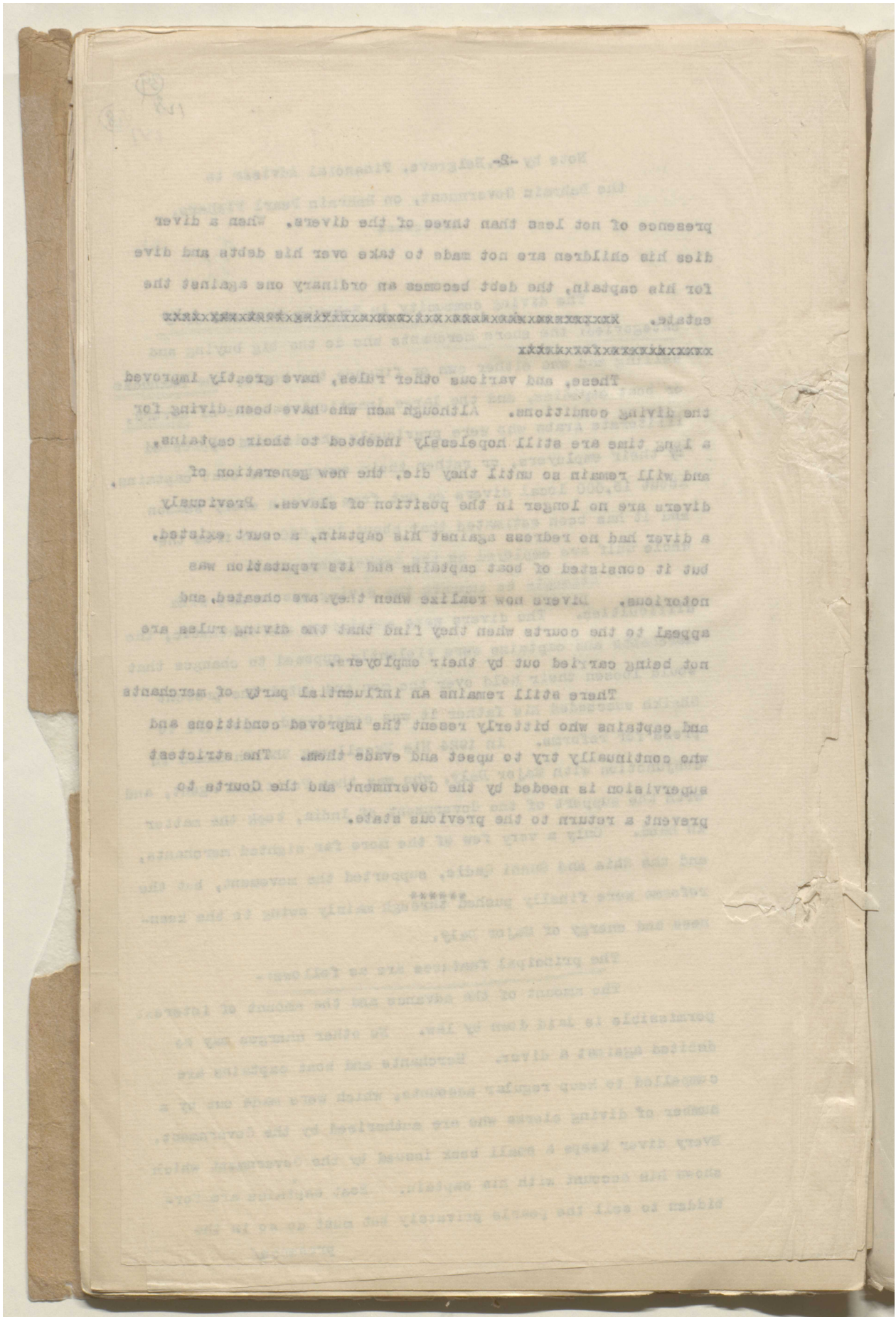
'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [38v] (75/83)

Note by Mr. Heigrove, Financial Adviser to
the Bahrain Government, on Bahrain Pearl Fisheries.

The diving community in Bahrain consists of 3
categories: the shore merchants who do the buying and
selling and who either own or finance the boats, the nakidhas
or boat captains, and the large inshore class of divers.
Illiterate Arabs who were previously cheated and oppressed
by their employers, or rather their owners, the boat captains.
About 13,000 local divers go out from Bahrain every season
and it has been estimated that about 100,000 men from the
whole Gulf are employed on the banks every year.

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presence



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [40r] (78/83)

40

5/193 and 19/175.

Note by The Hon'ble Lieut.-Colonel T.C.Fowle, C.B.E.
Political Resident in the Persian Gulf.

Pearl Diving Conditions (paragraphs 2 and
21 of Sir George's letter of 30th July
1936.

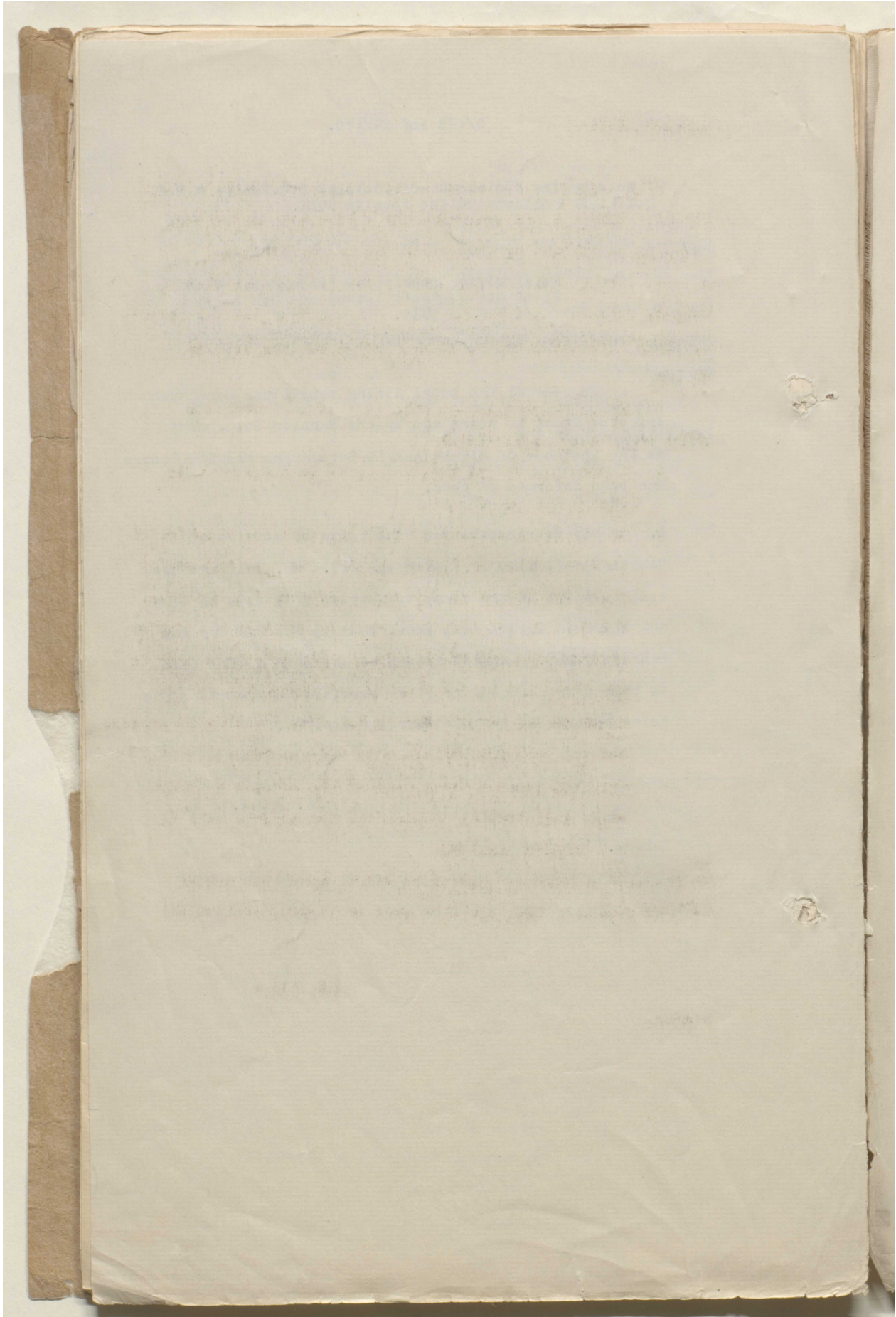
In general the pearl diving conditions were much improved about 12 years ago by the Bahrain Government at the instance of His Majesty's Government and Sir George has been informed of this.

2. Sir George asks for "the terms of service of Bahrain pearl divers", (paragraph 21). Mr. Belgrave has sent in report on the terms of service from time to time and there is a good deal about them in the Bushire and Bahrain files. When I return to the Gulf I will look up this point and see if it is possible to summarise the terms of service for Sir George's benefit.

Id. T.C.F.

London.

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [40v] (79/83)



(41)

Personal Note.

With regard to the terms of service of the Bahrain pearl divers, there was one procedure which struck me as perhaps verging on slavery or indentured labour, as follows :

2. A, with a diver in his employ, who owes him Rs.50/- is himself indebted to B for Rs.100/- A can transfer the diver's services to B until the diver has worked off the debt of Rs.50/-

But Mr.Belgrave explains that this is only possible under the following conditions :-

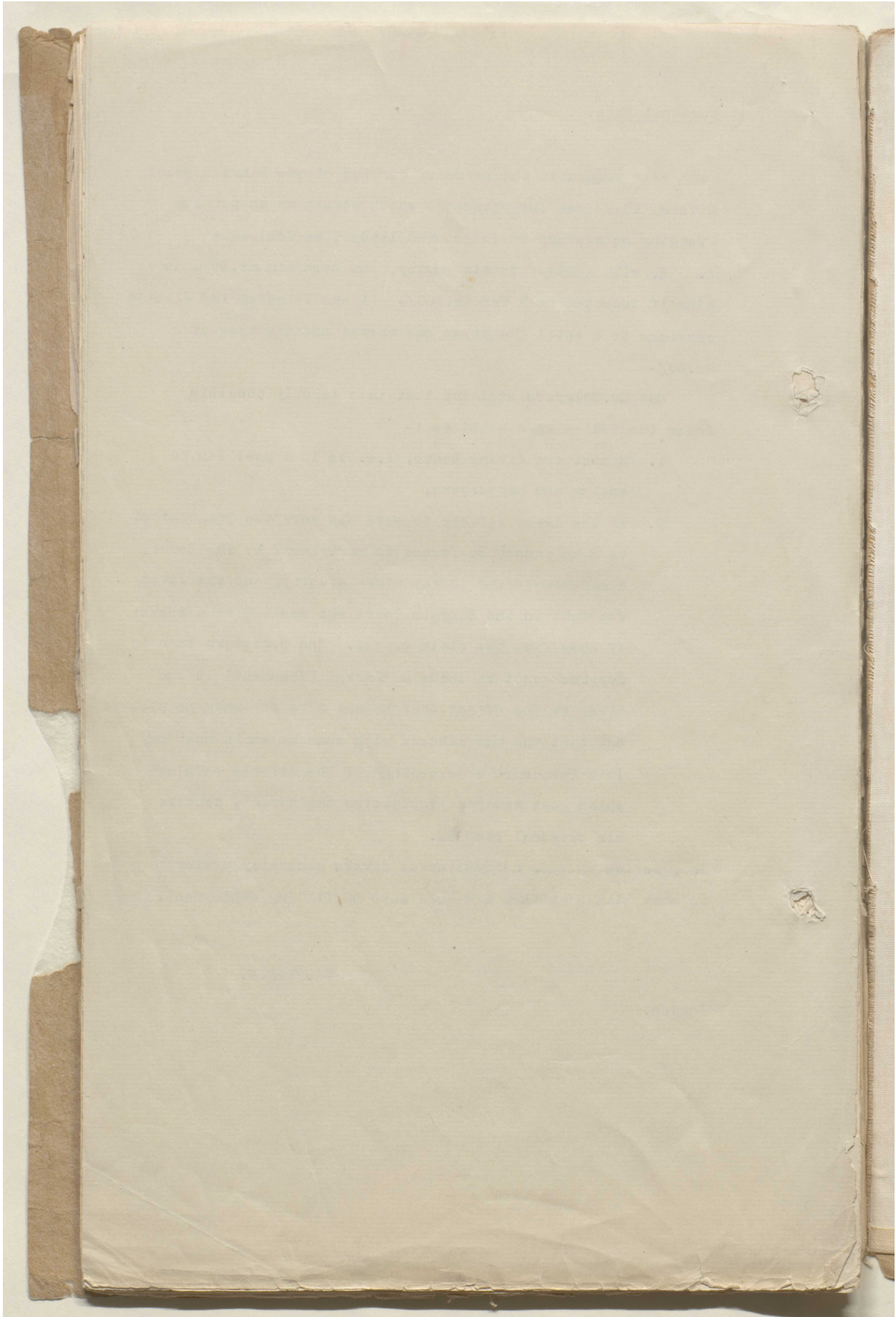
1. B must own diving boats, i.e. be in a position to employ and pay divers.
2. If the diver refuses to have his services transferred to B he cannot be forced to work for B by the Court, A can however, as in any other country, sue the diver for debt in the Bahrain Court who would give a decree if they find the claim proved. The procedure then is for the court to issue a "Barva" (document) to the diver to the effect that he can dive for whom he pleases but that the new nakhuda with whom he works must pay into the court a percentage of the diver's earnings which goes towards liquidating the diver's debt to his original nakhuda.

In practice in such circumstances divers generally prefer to work with B as they are then sure of finding employment.

Id. T.C.F.

London.

'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [41v] (81/83)



'File 19/175 Bahrain - Pearling' [back-i] (82/83)

