

task. No doubt this misconception had something to do with the increase of numbers in some districts; but, on the whole, it must be pronounced that there was no such increase as to cause alarm, or to necessitate especial enquiry into its cause. As soon as the rain began to fall steadily, the numbers decreased rapidly, and the people hastened back to more congenial employment in their fields.

18. *Causes of unpopularity of poor houses.*—The poor-houses were managed in all cases on the principles laid down first in Moradabad in 1861, and adopted afterwards in 1868 and 1874. Cooked food was given to all applicants on the condition of residence within the enclosure. The numbers were never large, the maximum being 26,000 in August. After the scarcity was over, reports were received from many quarters of thier extreme unpopularity. Three officers in particular confirmed this, who were specially deputed to enquire into the causes of the mortality. Mr. Benett wrote that though it was usually thought a sufficient precaution to provide a Brahmin to cook the food, this was not so. The cook must be known to the people, and known to be a man of good character.

“A tahsildar sent out a messenger to bring in a colony of 14 Ahirs and Lodhs whom he knew to be starving at a village a few miles off. They said they would die rather than lose their caste. And a week later two miserable old men crawled in saying that all the rest had died, and that, being left alone, they had no longer the spirit to resist the food that was so near them.”

Mr. Roberts states that loss of caste was occasionally the result of entering the poor-house. Captain Pitcher writes :—

“Everywhere I found in the village the practice of excommunication from caste resorted to by all castes except two (Chamars and Sweepers) against those people who went to the poor-houses. Poor-houses will never be more popular than they are now, until Chamars and Bhangis are relegated to separate enclosures.”

These reports are entirely opposed to the opinion which has hitherto been current, that the conditions of residence in a poor-house, and of cooked food, are tests severe indeed, but not too severe for the purpose of keeping away unworthy applicants. Colonel Baird Smith reported in 1861 that the system was highly approved by all the native members of relief committees. No objection to it was raised in 1868, or in 1874. It has been the deliberate conviction of the most experienced officers in the North-Western Provinces, that though cooked food is disliked, everyone who is starving or in the extremity of hunger would overcome that dislike and would accept it if offered him. Were those officers mistaken, or have the present reporters been misled by exaggeration, or has a change come over the feelings of the people, or was there any difference in the system of management of the poor-houses?

19. *Attempt at explanation.*—These questions do not, I believe, admit of any very definite replies, but to some extent a certain amount of light can be thrown on them. In the first place, there is no doubt that the extent of the mortality in previous famines was concealed from us, as it would still be but for the registers of deaths; also we know more of the process of chronic starvation, and are aware that in all severe famines many people will stop at home, in a vague hope of the impossible, till they are too weakened to apply for, or to be saved by relief, however liberal and unburdened with conditions. Acute starvation at a particular stage will probably drive a man to accept any food offered him, but chronic starvation leads often to apathetic resignation, or causes diseases for which there is no remedy. So far then it is not true to say that no one will die rather than go to a poor-house. Many will put off going there till it is too late. On the other hand it seems possible that the stories told after the scarcity was over would have been told after the close of previous famines, had similar opportunities been given. In other parts of India it has been observed that the very people who crowded to the relief-centres expressed the utmost horror of them afterwards, and denied having gone there. Captain Pitcher's most strenuous deponents were in the Bareilly district, of which the Commissioner reports that the people flocked to the poor-house, though they refused to have anything to say to the relief works, and they had to be turned out and sent to work by force. Thirdly, as to the caste question, there is no evidence whether people were or were not put out of caste before. No special enquiry, as far as is known, was ever made on the subject; but the Hon. Sayyad Ahmed states that he never heard of its happening, and if that is the case it shows that some change of feeling has passed over the minds of the people at large in respect of this mode of relief. It must not be supposed, however, that the fact of being put out of caste is a very terrible thing among the lower classes; it merely implies a small expenditure and a dinner. But it is worth considering whether on future occasions native public opinion could not be influenced through its leaders in such a way as to make people feel that it is base and cruel to punish socially those who are

compelled by want to accept food in this way. After the Orissa famine the Pundits of Calcutta and Cuttack issued notices declaring that paupers who had partaken of government cooked food under the pressure of hunger had committed no fault, and that it would be a sin to put them out of caste. Lastly, the management of the poor-houses seems to have been in all respects the same as in previous years. Sayyad Ahmad states (*vide* his memorandum), that he has heard of mismanagement, but perfect management of such institutions can hardly have been attained in former years; and there is much evidence as to the great care that was bestowed on them in many places. Mr. Edwards writes of the Bareli Poor-house which accommodated 5,000 paupers:—

“No pains were spared in making it what it should be. Separate blocks were allotted to Thakurs, Muhammadans, Chamars, &c., and every care taken to avoid interference with caste prejudices.”

Drs. Townsend and Planck, who were deputed on a special tour to examine these establishments, reported decidedly in favour of the way they were managed, though, as was natural, they found some faults to correct.

“The Poor-houses, as a rule, were well looked after. At Agra, Rai Bareli, and Basti, the arrangements were excellent. At Lucknow and Bareilly the accommodation was insufficient, and there was great overcrowding. At Muttra the inmates were well looked after; but the mistake had been made of occupying several separate buildings in different parts of the town, instead of collecting the paupers in a garden or tope outside. At Muttra also, through fear of expense, the kind of food was not suitable for people greatly reduced and debilitated. In other places it was invariably good and well cooked. The distribution of the food was also carefully supervised, and nowhere had we reason to suspect that the inmates did not receive the full ration prescribed. The ration usually given consisted of eight chittacks of wheat atta, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  of dal to adults, with salt and condiments; and, so far as I was able to judge by inspection of the inmates, this ration was sufficient for subsistence, and the weakly and emaciated (provided diarrhœa had not come on) recovered flesh and strength under it. In this opinion the medical officers generally agreed; and both at Agra and at Basti numbers had so far recovered under this ration as to be considered fit for transfer to the work.”

It is possible, however, that on future occasions some use might be made of Mr. Benett's suggestion for administering relief of this kind exclusively through native agency, so as to avoid the prejudices aroused by a poor-house managed by Europeans.

20. *Extent and nature of the mortality.*—With regard to mortality, I can hardly do better than refer to the notes on the mortuary statistics, and on the special inquiry into the causes of mortality, which are appended to this sketch. The facts may briefly be summed up thus. In the fourteen months, November 1877 to December 1878, the deaths registered were 1,721,652 against an average number (at 20·2 per mille of 990,747, giving an excess of 730,905; and if it be accepted that the actual usual number of deaths in ordinary years is about 35 per mille (of which only 20·2 are registered), and that the same deficiency went on in 1877–78, then the real ordinary number in fourteen months would be 1,716,640, and the actual number of deaths between November 1877 and December 1878 was 2,983,060, or an excess number of 1,266,420. Of the usual causes of death, cholera alone was less active than usual. Small-pox and fever were most virulent and fatal, and a great number of deaths were attributed to bowel-complaints. The special inquiry brought out the following as its most important results:—

“That the effect of relief-works, where they were large and numerously attended, is traceable, though not very clearly, in a diminished mortality; that in one tahsil in Oudh where the landowners behaved with remarkable liberality, their exertions, coupled with the Government relief measures, went a long way to enable the people to resist the losses by drought; . . . that the classes who suffered most were the field-labourers and rural artisans—after them the town artisans; while the cultivators escaped with little, and the landlords with no, loss of life.”

21. *Suggested summing up as to North-Western Provinces famine administration.*—The question how far mortality is preventible in any great famine has been discussed in my sketch of the Bombay famine of 1876–77, and my views need not be repeated here. But, as far as regards the North-Western Provinces, the Government of India have called on the Famine Commission to pronounce an opinion regarding the administration of relief in the North-Western Provinces, and whether to any defects therein the great mortality of 1878 is attributable. I submit, for the consideration of the president and members the conclusions to which I am led by an examination of such imperfect data as, in the absence of any provincial report we have before us. It seems to me that the principles on which relief was administered were perfectly sound and correct, but that there were a few errors and omissions in details which it may be well to point out for future guidance, though not with the intention of conveying censure, since all plans and arrangements are liable to correction in the light of the fuller knowledge of later events. The relief works were sagaciously planned, were sufficient in number, were opened in

due time, and were wisely put under professional supervision. But the relations between the Civil and Public Works Department officers were not clearly enough defined; the paramount authority of the collector was not laid down; enough care was not taken to instruct the subordinates as to the temper in which they should act, and the manner of carrying on relief works; and sufficient activity was not shown in supervising the works to see that orders were properly obeyed. The chief engineer, who was in charge of all relief operations, should also have had authority over poor houses, so as to see how the respective numbers fluctuated, and a system of weekly returns should have been initiated from the first for the same purpose. The belief that the government had to deal with a scarcity, not with a famine, was a correct one; and it was right to discourage panic and to restrict relief to those absolutely in want. But if collectors and commissioners had been more alive to the duty of seeing that what was being done was done well, it is probable that most of the irregularities in detail which were detected by Drs. Townsend and Planck, and again by Mr. Cunningham, would not have occurred. It is doubtful whether, even under a perfect system, a larger amount of relief could have been given in November, December, January, and February than was given, while that given in June, July, and August was, if anything, larger than necessary, not less, and was partly due to an unfortunate misunderstanding with the Government of India. The Local Government cannot therefore be held in any way chargeable with the mortality that occurred, since it is held that no relief that could have been administered on any sound and reasonable system (apart from errors in detail which have been noticed) could have availed to prevent it.

22. *Attempt to estimate the loss by Famine.*—It was observed in para. 4 that the data for making a complete detailed estimate of the loss of the kharif crop hardly exist; and yet it seems desirable to make such an approximation as is possible, considering how essential it is, in order to estimate the resisting power of the people, to calculate the extent of the strain they had to bear. According to the paper on agricultural statistics, the ordinary production of the province in an average kharif harvest is as follows:—

Crop.	Acres.	Outturn in maunds.
Jowar - - - -	4,976,500	36,278,600
Bajra - - - -	3,364,000	21,361,400
Rice - - - -	2,505,000	28,035,000
Makai - - - -	846,000	9,585,000
Small millets - - - -	819,000	5,733,000
Pulses - - - -	1,000,000	7,000,000
Arhar with cotton - - - -	—	6,938,000
Total - - - -	13,510,000	1,14,931,000

Now the indications reported as to the produce of the crop in 1877 (in paras. 4 and 8) may be summed up thus. In the Meerut and Agra divisions hardly any kharif had been saved except in irrigated lands, and of that but little was sown with food-grains; in Rohilkhand, Sitapur, Lucknow and Jhansi divisions, and in the Bundelkhand districts of Allahabad, and in Rai Bareilly the failure was almost total; it will probably be safe to put the outturn in these parts down as one-eighth of an average crop. In the rest of the Allahabad, Benares, Rai Bareilly and Fyzabad divisions the loss was less tremendous, but it was very heavy; and these districts contain about one-third of the total cultivated area of the province: in Azimgarh, Gorakhpur and Basti the rice was entirely lost, and the rest of the kharif was a quarter crop, in Jaunpur it was reckoned to be hardly more than an eighth of an average; in Benares about a quarter, in Pertabgarh about a sixth, altogether it can hardly be reckoned more than a quarter of the usual outturn. If then the harvest amounted to one-eighth in two-thirds of the province, and one-fourth in one-third, it amounted to one-sixth of an average over the whole province; the outturn was therefore 19,155,000 maunds, and the loss was 95,776,000 maunds, or 3,420,000 tons, which at Rs. 50 per ton amounts to 171 millions of rupees or 17 millions sterling.

## THE MADRAS FAMINE.—1876-1878.

Authorities [Review of the Madras Famine; Note on the Temple Wage; Resolution of the Government of India, June 1882. Moral and Material Progress Reports, 1876-77, 1877-78.]

*Brief History of the Famine.*

THE troubles in Madras dated as far back as the summer of 1875. The Presidency depends for its harvests on the south-west monsoon in summer, and on the north-east monsoon in autumn. In 1873 and 1874, the seasons were good, and, though unfavourable reports came in from 11 districts during the summer of 1875, prices generally kept low and steady. In Bellary, however, the south-west monsoon was an entire failure, and relief-works on a small scale were authorised as early as October. With 1876 the reports became more ominous. They attracted the attention of the Government of India, and the Government of Madras called for more detailed information.

As the summer months went on, it became clear that the south-west monsoon had again failed over the Dekkan plateau, and severe distress showed itself in the districts of that region. The numbers on the relief-works increased, and prices rose with alarming rapidity. By October 50,000 people were engaged on relief-works in Bellary alone, and over Rs. 3,00,000 had been spent generally on wages before the close of that month. Coarse rice was selling at 7 and 8 seers per rupee, and ragi at between 8 and 10. Moreover, when the time came round, the autumnal proved as scanty as the summer rains. In Nellore the rainfall was less than 2 inches against an average of 21; in Chingleput it was about 4 against 24; in Trichinopoly 3 against 14. The foodstocks in the country were unusually low, and the cattle died off for want of fodder, and fever began to make its appearance. Things grew steadily worse from the autumn to the end of the year, by which time at least a million labourers were on the relief-works, and prices had risen still further. Gratuitous relief had also begun on a large scale. The earliest months in 1877 were marked by an intensity of the sun's heat, which completely burnt up the already parched country. The distress reached its maximum, and the number relieved either on the works or gratuitously, touched its highest point. As summer advanced prices declined a little, but the south-west monsoon, though it did not entirely fail, was short and fitful. Towards autumn the outlook became more desperate than ever, in view of the possibility of the north-east monsoon again proving deficient. The Viceroy visited Madras to confer with the Governor on the necessity of a larger scheme of relief-works; but scarcely had this been organized when a copious north-east monsoon, accompanied with violent storms and floods, removed the worst apprehensions. At the end of November the number of persons in receipt of State relief had fallen to 675,000, and at the end of December to 470,000.

Prices, however, were high and fluctuating throughout the earlier part of 1878, and this circumstance produced a recrudescence of distress in certain districts. Up till July there were still 200,000 persons on the hands of the State; but the summer and autumn rains were abundant and well-distributed, and prices settled down gradually. The number of applicants for relief decreased in proportion, and by December of that year the Government felt justified in closing all relief-works.

*Area and Population of Famine Tract.*

The Madras Presidency is divided into 21 districts; 14 of these were affected more or less by the famine, forming an area of 83,000 square miles, with a population computed roughly at 19 million. In only seven<sup>1</sup> of these, however, was the famine really severe for an extended time. With the exception of the sea-board districts of Nellore and Chingleput, all these are grouped together in the centre of the Presidency to the east of the Ghâts. Taken together their total area came to 52,862 square miles, with a population of 10,024,104 at the census of 1871. In Bellary, Kurnool, and Cuddapah, the usual difficulties were enhanced by the proximity of the districts to the Nizam's territory, and the consequent immigration. Chingleput and Nellore were fortunately accessible by sea, and received supplies of grain in this way. The other group of districts is traversed by the Madras Railway, which connects them on the north with the Great Indian Peninsula line, and in the south with Madras port. Another branch of the line runs south-west from Madras to the Malabar coast, through Salem and Coimbatore. The main line of communication with the inland districts was therefore tolerably complete, although the carrying power of the railway at times proved inade-

<sup>1</sup> Bellary, Kurnool, Nellore, Cuddapah, Chingleput, Salem, Coimbatore.

quate, and the subsidiary roads and wheeled carriage were often defective. The northern districts of the Presidency entirely escaped the drought. In the extreme south the failure of the north-east monsoon of 1876, brought Madura, and, to a less extent, Tinnevely, into the list of famine districts, and, towards the close of 1877, the high price of food and the number on relief-works in the former district, indicated severe distress. Large stocks of grain were thrown into it from Tanjore and Negapatam by the South Indian Railway, which thus played a very important part in the scheme of relief. Between August 1876 and December 1878, the Madras Railway carried nearly 1,000,000 tons of grain, and the South Indian Railway nearly 400,000 tons, into the distressed districts.

#### *Action of Madras Government.*

The attitude of the Madras Government in the early months of 1876 was one rather of vigilance than decision. The first relief works on a small scale had been sanctioned for Bellary in the previous August. With the Spring of 1876, provisional relief-works, also on a small scale, were sanctioned for Cuddapah, Tinnevely, Chingleput, and South Arcot. By August the real character of the distress had become apparent, together with the inadequacy of the provincial funds. An application was consequently despatched to the Government of India for assistance from the Imperial funds, and also a proposal to start relief-works on an extensive scale, in order to concentrate the scattered labour. The particular undertaking suggested was the embankment of the Bellary-Guddak railway. Pending the reply, the Madras Government found itself confronted with a threatened insufficiency of the food supply. In October arrangements were made for forming a grain reserve, and Messrs. Arbuthnot were instructed to hold 30,000 tons of grain for Government. Further operations in the same direction were in contemplation, but were disapproved after a correspondence with the Government of India, as calculated to interfere with private enterprise, which appears to have been extraordinarily active. Towards the end of the same month the expected reply to their proposals was received by the Madras Government. Looking to the critical state of the finances, and the possibility of the situation improving, the Government of India declined to sanction large and expensive relief-works, and recommended the prosecution of local relief-works. To the organization of these attention was therefore directed. Accordingly, at the end of 1876, there was a large scattered system of petty relief-works, employing about a million labourers.

These, again, were found to be very inefficiently supervised. Orders were, in consequence, issued at the beginning of the next year, placing the subordinates of the Public Works Department at the disposal of the civil officers to supervise works, and directing the executive engineers to assist them. No action was, however, taken to give effect to these orders till the end of April.

#### *Deputation of Sir Richard Temple.*

In the beginning of 1877, the full gravity of the situation impressed itself upon the Government of India, and Sir Richard Temple, as an officer acquainted with their views, was deputed on a special mission to visit the residencies of Madras and Bombay, and to communicate personally with the two Governments on the subject of Famine Relief. He arrived in Madras on the 14th January, and left on April 24th, during which time he submitted a number of minutes and memoranda to the Madras Government, many of which were acted upon. The first thing that engaged his attention was the overcrowding on to the relief-works. Applicants for relief were thereupon subjected to a more stringent examination. Following on this, a stricter system of village inspection was established. The existing rate of wages was also reduced, and money wages were generally substituted for payment in grain wherever this prevailed, the rate being adjusted according to the price of food. Extensive public works were opened for the employment of large numbers of able-bodied labourers under professional superintendence, and arrangements were made for bringing gangs on to them from distant localities. Moreover, in addition to the strict scrutiny of applicants for relief-work, the population already occupied on it was examined, and any persons who showed no real sign of want were at once excluded. Various causes prevented these measures being carried out with full success; but their effect was immediately visible in the diminished numbers on the works.

*The Temple Wage.*

The previous wage paid on the relief works,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of grain and 3 pies for an adult, was reduced in January, at the strong recommendation of Sir R. Temple. The allowance was fixed at 1 lb. of grain and  $\frac{1}{2}$  an anna for an adult under ordinary circumstances, the  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna being raised to an anna when the works were under the Public Works Department. It will not be necessary to give the arguments in favour of either rate of wages, as they are discussed in a separate note on the effect of the Temple wage in Madras or Bombay in this volume. Only the history of the different changes in the rate will therefore be sufficient. On the 1st March the Sanitary Commissioner of the Presidency, Dr. Cornish, officially protested against the reduced grain ration, as insufficient to keep the people in health. A conference was held, at which Sir R. Temple was present, and though the Government determined to give the lower rate a further trial, some slight modifications were introduced. The reduced scale, however, appeared to tell heavily on persons already weakened by long privation, and in May the Government so far reverted to the old scale as to increase the  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna to 1 anna per diem on all relief-works where the tasks were not less than 50 per cent. of a nominal day's work.

*Gratuitous Relief.*

The beginning of 1877 brought the Government face to face with another difficulty, the enormous increase of gratuitous relief. This was largely occasioned by the summary reductions of numbers on the relief works, which in many cases simply transferred people to gratuitous relief, and also by the lower scale of wage. In January 80,000 persons were being gratuitously relieved. Two months after the introduction of the new wage the numbers had risen to 300,000, and in June they reached 491,949. Meanwhile the labourers on the relief-works fell off between January and April from 900,000 to 674,000. In administering gratuitous relief, those who were unable to work were at first collected in closed relief camps, where cooked food was given out. But eventually Government considered that this system fostered much unnecessary and aimless wandering, besides being opposed to the instincts of the people. Accordingly district officers were allowed in May to grant relief to the destitute in their own villages, instead of removing them to a relief camp, and a money dole given through the village headman was substituted for the cooked food. There was a hesitation in preferring village relief to central poor camps in Madras, because it was feared that the Government had not sufficiently strong inspecting agencies at command to prevent such relief being gratuitously obtained by many who ought to have been subjected to a labour task. This apprehension found expression in a minute by the Viceroy on the 12th August: "It is the inevitable tendency of all gratuitous relief afforded by the State, if it be not supervised and restricted with the most scrupulous exactitude, to intrude injuriously on the field of labour relief, and thus demoralise large masses of the population." At that time the average daily number of persons gratuitously relieved in the Madras Presidency was 1,131,000, of whom nearly half were the subjects of village relief, and the other half were resident in relief camps. The number of labourers on the relief works in August 1877 was 919,912, of whom only one-fifth were employed on large works under professional agency; and the monthly expenditure on famine relief of every kind had risen to the immense sum of 49 lakhs.

*System of Relief re-organised, August 1877.*

In August 1877 the south-west monsoon again failed, and the aspect of affairs became so menacing that the Viceroy undertook a journey to Madras to confer with the Governor. Before leaving he elaborately reviewed the situation in the minute quoted above. The chief points dwelt on were the defective carrying power of the railways, the inutility of the works on which the majority of the relief labourers were employed, the enormous numbers in receipt of gratuitous relief, the necessity for a large scheme of public works of lasting utility, and the intention of the supreme Government to place at the disposal of the Local Government the engineering and supervising staff required for this purpose. Again the cumbrousness of the existing administrative machinery was insisted upon, and it was determined to concentrate the whole famine administration in the hands of the Governor himself, assisted by a high officer, General Kennedy, in the confidence of the Supreme Government. Relief works on a large scale, and mostly under personal supervision, were made the backbone of the system; village relief was confined to the old and

house ridden, who were clearly incapable of labour. Relief camps were also retained, but on the understanding that the inmates, if they regained strength, would be transferred to work of a light nature under civil management, and thence to the larger operations under the Public Works Department. But the system of relief had scarcely been re-organised on this sound and economical basis when the rains of the north-east monsoon fell abundantly and dispelled the most serious apprehensions. By the end of November the number in receipt of relief fell to 675,000, by the end of December it had fallen below 500,000.

#### *Famine Expenditure.*

The total net expenditure incurred from the beginning of the famine till March 1880, amounted to 630 lakhs, allowing a credit of 30 lakhs for excess railway receipts, and of 26½ lakhs for grain recoveries. The heaviest expenditure fell in 1877-78, the figures for that year being more than 440 lakhs.

To this must be added the loss of revenue which is estimated at over 191 lakhs. The total loss therefore entailed by the Madras famine cannot be put down at less than 8¼ millions sterling. Three and a half millions of this were spent upon relief works which might have been productive. But the value of the work done, if estimated at the normal rates, was not more than one and a half millions. The reason for this result is to be found in the great number of petty works which were started, and to the inefficient supervising agency at the command of the Government until the latest stages of the famine were reached. Among the important works undertaken, the earth-works of the Bellary Hubli Railway, and the Buckingham Navigation Canal are conspicuous. Some large tanks were also excavated and repaired. The annual expenditure during the three famine years on relief works and on charitable relief is here contrasted.

—		1876-77.	1877-78.	1878-79.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Charitable Relief	- -	11.01.936	159.21.953	8.27.847
Relief Works	- -	94.94.369	230.54.463	—

(Madras Famine Review, Appendix P.)

#### *Money Advances.*

A satisfactory feature of the Famine Administration is to be found in the money advances made to the distressed population. Rs. 3.80.900 was advanced for the purchase of seed grain and Rs. 14.19,000 for the construction of wells and tanks under the Land Improvement Act. Of these 18 lakhs, less than one lakh is considered to be entirely irrecoverable. The policy of employing artizans, when applicants for relief in their own occupation, which, under certain conditions, has found a place among the recommendations of the Famine Commission, was also adopted. Twelve lakhs were advanced to the weavers, and were nominally recovered in the shape of cloth woven by them. A considerable stock however was left unsold, on which a certain loss must be incurred. But there is no reason for supposing that the labour of this population, had it been employed on the ordinary relief-works, would have proved more profitable.

#### *Loss of Land Revenue.*

The problem of estimating the loss of land revenue assignable to the famine is made very difficult in Madras, where the ryotwari system obtains. The ryot being at liberty to resign the whole or any part of his holding, the occupied area and the revenue on it necessarily fluctuate from year to year.

Again, the demand, when settled, is liable to reductions on account of remission of revenue made under the ordinary rules, and finally the reduced demand may not be realised in full, and the balances have to be struck off. But, keeping these considerations in mind, the following table will yet furnish a general illustration of the effect produced by the famine on the area held under the ryotwari settlement.

Year.	Occupied Area.	Percentage cultivated.	Land Revenue Remitted.	Net Demand.	Collections.
	Acres.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1875-76	20,021	87	38,94,609	3,46,12,214	3,17,09,251
1876-77	19,956	71	1,07,72,439	2,72,90,801	1,81,35,936
1877-78	20,009	78	38,88,867	3,50,68,670	2,40,67,242
1878-79	19,904	79	29,41,278	3,61,67,558	2,94,11,186
1879-80	19,171	81	31,43,694	3,54,57,141	3,04,37,387

It will be seen from these figures, first of all, that the occupied area did not shrink to any great extent on account of the drought. The people clung to their holdings, and the area leased to ryots in 1877-78 was practically as large as in 1875-76. The drought, however, affected cultivations severely. In the year before the famine, 87 per cent. of the occupied area was under cultivation. In 1876-77 the proportion had fallen as low as 71 per cent., or in other words very nearly  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions of acres had gone out of cultivation. Naturally the amount of remissions corresponded to this, and in the same year 107 lakhs of land revenue were struck off the gross demand, while the actual collections showed a proportional decline. In 1877-78 remissions were granted much less readily, and the net demand for the last three years taken has been up to the average of normal years. The actual collections, however, have not experienced a similar recovery.

The revenue charges of the permanently settled and other estates are more easily dealt with, because in normal years the revenue is less subject to fluctuations. The net demand on the whole land revenue of the Presidency, after the usual remissions have been made, averages 450 lakhs. In 1876-77 the net demand fell to 365 lakhs, or 85 below the usual amount. The year ended with an outstanding balance of 140 lakhs, of which over three were afterwards remitted. In 1877-78, the demand rose to 447 lakhs, of which 313 were collected, and the outstanding balances came to 183 lakhs in all. In 1878-79 the current demand was 461 lakhs, and 370 were collected. But  $134\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs were also realised on account of the outstanding arrears, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  were remitted. In 1878-79 the year began with outstanding balances estimated at 138 lakhs, and the current demand was fixed at 454 lakhs. By March 1881, all except  $24\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs had been collected of the current demand; 99 lakhs of arrears had been got in, and three were remitted. The total balances outstanding at that time aggregated  $60\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs, of which 36 were due to arrears between 1876-79. The Madras Government then wrote off  $11\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of this standing balance, and finally the remaining  $24\frac{1}{2}$  were remitted under the orders of the Secretary of State for India in Council.

To sum up, including the diminished land revenue of 1876-77 and succeeding years, the arrears written off at different times, and the large remission ordered by the Secretary of State, the total loss of land revenue due to the famine and the consequent impoverishment of the people, cannot be set down at less than 150 lakhs or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million sterling. In addition to this there is the decrease experienced in the excise, salt, and miscellaneous revenue. Thrown together, the various items bring up the total loss of revenue to a round sum of 191 lakhs.

#### *Difficulty of Collections.*

The land revenue, moreover, was not collected during the famine years without recourse to coercion. The large increase in the number of forced sales and other severe processes, and the decreasing area under occupation in Salem and other districts, point to the difficulty the Madras ryot encountered in satisfying the demands of the State. These questions eventually formed the subject of correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

It will not, however, be necessary to advert to it in this history, further than to record that the Government of India finally expressed a conviction<sup>1</sup> that a more certain and self-working method of relief should in future be introduced into the revenue system of the Presidency, which should minimize the risk of aggravating the distress of the agricultural population by harsh measures of collection.

<sup>1</sup> Resolution of the Government of India, § 19.

*Mortality.*

The mortality caused by the famine is a complicated and difficult problem. There are three sets of data on which calculations may be founded. A comparison of the population, according to the census of 1871, in six distressed districts, with the population given by the test census carried out in 1878, a comparison of the population in 1871 with the numbers given by applying the test census to the entire area affected by famine, and, finally, a comparison of the census results of 1871 and 1881. Into all these enters the question of the average annual increment of the population, which has been variously estimated, and several minor considerations.

Taking the first set of data, the test census of 1878 comprised the whole of the Salem District, one taluk in each of six very distressed districts, one taluk in each of three slightly distressed districts, and one in Tanjore, where the crops had been saved by irrigation. In Salem the population was returned at 1,599,896 against 1,969,995 in 1871, thus giving a decrease of 107,099.

The population of the six talaks of the west districts had similarly decreased from 871,061 to 739,989, while that of the four remaining taluks showed an increase ranging from 6 to 9 per cent. The total apparent loss in Salem and the six distressed districts amounted to 538,161. But this takes no account of the doubtful rate of increase. The Madras Government at first assumed it to be  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum. The accuracy of the computation was immediately challenged by General Kennedy, who contended that there was no evidence to bear it out. General Kennedy's arguments, however, were vitiated by his assertion that the limits of cultivation had been reached in Madras in 1871, the steady yearly increase in that year and in the fifteen previous years notwithstanding. He also laid great stress on the loss of population due to migration. But the emigrants appear to have been generally attracted home by the large donations of the Mansion House Fund for rebuilding and re-cultivating purposes. Nevertheless, the rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. seems too high. But if it is accepted, then the total loss in Salem and the six distressed districts would have been three-quarters of a million instead of 538,161.

Secondly, in a Memorandum of 20th June 1878, the Sanitary Commissioner of Madras, Dr. Cornish, applied the results of the test census to the whole famine area, taking a lower annual increment of 1 per cent. Proceeding by this method, which was necessarily conjectural to some extent, he estimated the whole loss to the Presidency at not less than three million lives.

Finally, the results obtained by the decennial census of 1871 and 1881 may be compared. In 1871 the population was returned at 31,597,872. In 1881 it was 30,389,181, and it must be remembered that every successive census improves in accuracy, and comprehends sections of society not before enumerated. There is reason to suppose that this was peculiarly the case with the Madras census of 1881. The decrease in the ten years was three-quarters of a million, while in the period between 1851 and 1871 the census returns show an advance from 22 to  $31\frac{1}{2}$  millions. Nor, of course, does the simple decrease at all represent the actual loss, as there is little doubt that the normal rate of increase, whatever it was, would have been maintained during the decade.

District returns abundantly confirm this conclusion. In the following two statements the change in the population between 1871 and 1881 is given (A.) in seven districts that totally escaped the famine; (B.) in the ten districts on which the calamity fell heaviest.

STATEMENT A.

District.	Population in		Increase in 1881.
	1871.	1881.	
Ganjam - - -	1,520,088	1,548,696	28,608
Vizagapatam - - -	2,159,199	2,363,277	204,078
Godavery - - -	1,592,939	1,792,866	199,927
Kistna - - -	1,452,374	1,548,507	96,133
Tanjore - - -	1,973,731	2,140,585	166,854
South Canara - - -	918,362	959,020	40,658
Malabar - - -	2,261,256	2,333,853	72,602

## STATEMENT B.

		Population in		Decrease or Increase.
		1871.	1881.	
Nellore - - - -	-	1,376,811	1,220,335	-156,476
Cuddapah - - - -	-	1,351,194	1,120,118	-231,036
Bellary - - - -	-	1,668,006	1,339,763	-328,243
Kurnool - - - -	-	959,646	711,557	-248,083
Chingleput - - - -	-	938,184	985,554	+ 47,370
N. Arcot - - - -	-	2,015,278	1,817,561	-197,717
Salem - - - -	-	1,966,995	1,599,425	-367,570
Coimbatore - - - -	-	1,763,274	1,658,567	-104,707
Madura - - - -	-	2,266,615	2,167,381	- 99,237
Madras Town - - - -	-	397,552	409,117	+ 8,565

In only two of the 10 districts, Madras and Chingleput, has population increased at all. It has fallen off in all the others. Bellary, Salem, Kurnool, where the distress was most intense, show the heaviest loss. In 1871 the population of these three districts was over  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions; in 1881 it barely exceeded  $3\frac{1}{2}$ . In Salem, moreover, the cultivated area has decreased by one-quarter since 1875, and the district officers attribute this decrease to the mortality among population and cattle in the famine period.

The corrected estimate in the Madras Census Report of 1881 puts the total loss of population even beyond Dr. Cornish's more conjectural computation after the test Census, while assuming a lower annual increment. Taking this at 0.795 per cent. for the 9½ years after the 1871 Census, but allowing for an estimated deficiency in the previous returns of females and floating population, and for the loss by balance of emigration and immigration, there appear to have been  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions of people missing in 1881.

## NOTE ON THE PRACTICAL EFFECTS OF THE REDUCED OR TEMPLE WAGE IN MADRAS, AND OF THE CORRESPONDING RATE IN BOMBAY.

### SECTION I.—MADRAS.

[The materials for this note are (1) the Parliamentary Blue Book, Vols. II. and III., (2) the proceedings of the Famine Department of the Government of India, (3) a file of papers, proceedings of the Madras Government, sent by that Government to the Famine Commission as containing all the information in their possession on this subject, (4) Notes of Evidence taken by the Famine Commission, (5) Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, Madras, for 1877.]

On the 19th January 1877, in his Minute No. VII., dated from Cuddapah, Sir Richard Temple wrote as follows<sup>1</sup> :—

“7. Now, the present rate of wages is fixed as two annas per diem for an adult, and proportionately lower for women and children. This rate is fixed upon the supposition that it will purchase one and a half pounds of grain per diem, a quantity which is deemed essential for a man while at work. There might indeed be a question whether life cannot be sustained with one pound of grain per diem and whether Government is bound to do more than sustain life. This is a matter of opinion; and I myself think that one pound per diem might be sufficient to sustain life; and that the experiment ought to be tried. Possibly the gangs might not perceptibly fall off in condition. After a week or fortnight of experience it would be seen whether they so fall off or not; if they were to seriously fall off, then the point could be considered. It is to be remembered that, when these poor people first came on relief, their condition was low, and they needed very full rations. Such rations have been allowed for some time, and the people are in very good case. A reduction might now be demanded in the interests of financial economy and might be attempted for a time at least without danger; at all events the trial might be made for people at task-work, and especially with those who are not really at task-work, and who, though nominally at some sort of task-work, are doing very light or nominal work. One pound of grain ought to be made to suffice. At the present prices, a rate of one anna and a half would purchase a pound of grain and would leave a small margin for condiments, vegetables, and the like. It may be that Government would be willing to allow more than a pound a day of grain if its financial means permitted; but the demands of economy seem to require that at all events a trial should be made as to whether a pound a day might not be made to suffice for the one purpose which is admitted, namely, the staving off of danger by starvation.”

2. On the 22nd January he followed this up with a further Minute No. XIV.,<sup>2</sup> answering, by anticipation, the objections which might be raised against it, and urging that as the present number of relief labourers in the Madras Presidency was about 1,200,000, their monthly cost was about 30 lakhs of rupees, and a reduction of the wage from 2 to 1½ annas in the case of an adult male would cause a saving of 7½ lakhs of rupees per mensem. The objections he anticipated were from—

- (1.) That 1½ annas per diem will not at present prices purchase sufficient food:
- (2.) That it will not sustain the people in robust health:
- (3.) That it will not enable a man to perform task-work with all his strength: \*
- (4.) That a reduction will make the relief labourers discontented, and tempt them to rioting.

To the first objection he answered as follows :—

“4. As regards the first objection: at a price of eight seers a rupee for common food-grains 1½ anna will purchase one pound avoirdupois of grain, and will leave a margin for vegetables and condiments. Experience has shown that, though this may not be a large ration, still it will sustain life. In prosperous times the peasantry perhaps eat more, but even in ordinary times it is probable that the poorest classes in many parts of India do not really get more, so much is this the case that in many parts of India half a seer a day, meaning one pound, has passed into a proverb for bare subsistence. I submit that, in such an emergency as this, to give more than such subsistence is beyond the power of Government. Nor can it be said that a man ought to receive more than 1½ anna per diem bare subsistence, because he has to feed those dependant on him; for, as a matter of fact, under the relief system, not only the man, but the wife and children, also receive wages.”

To the others his answer was that a very few weeks would show whether signs of physical depression began to manifest themselves among the labourers; that the task would be lowered according to their strength, it being out of the question to give high relief wages merely to get a high degree of task-work; and that there could be no rioting if only those were admitted to the works who were in absolute need of assistance.

3. On the 31st January,<sup>3</sup> the Madras Government accepted this suggestion and issued a resolution which stated that the defective organization of relief-work which had at first existed had been remedied and the supervising staff increased—“the Government there-

<sup>1</sup> Blue Book II., 39.

<sup>2</sup> Blue Book II., 56.

<sup>3</sup> Famine, A. Progs., India, February 1877, No. 88., page 190.

fore deem it imperatively necessary to require more systematic and economical administration than hitherto." "Influenced by these considerations and the obvious expediency of maintaining a uniform standard of State relief in adjacent provinces," the following rates of wage were laid down :—

I.—Under supervision by the Public Works Department, or where task-work, not less than 25 per cent. below ordinary task-work, is enforced.

For a man—the value of 1 lb. of grain, plus 1 anna.

For a woman—the value of 1 lb. of grain, plus  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna.

For a boy or girl— $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of grain, plus  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna.

II.—Under non-professional supervision, and where not less than 50 per cent. below ordinary task is enforced.

For a man—the value of 1 lb. of grain, plus  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna.

For a woman—the value of 1 lb. of grain, plus  $\frac{1}{4}$  anna.

For a boy or girl—the value of  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of grain plus  $\frac{1}{4}$  anna.

"All officers entrusted with the administration of relief operations \* \* \* \* \* are very carefully to observe the result of its introduction, and to report weekly till further notice, or immediately, if emergently necessary, the result of this reduction of wages more particularly as regards the physical condition of the people."

4. On the 13th February,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Cornish, Sanitary Commissioner, wrote objecting to the reduced wage, on the ground that 1 lb. of grain and half an anna could not supply enough nitrogenous nutriment for a man's support. The Government of Madras, 1st March, circulated this letter, in order to warn all district officers of "the importance of the duty confided to them of watching the tentative reduction of subsistence allowance," and directed all civil surgeons to report weekly, after the introduction of the new rate, whether they could detect any loss of power or flesh in the coolies.

5. On the 7th March,<sup>2</sup> Sir R. Temple replying to this letter writes as follows :—

"12. The rates were avowedly recommended by me as experimental, and if they shall be found insufficient, they may be increased; but it appears to me that they have not yet been found so, and that Dr. Cornish argues from a mistaken premise, which undermines his conclusions. If the poor people were found to be falling off in condition, then I would at once recommend an alteration in the rate. But at present we have no such experience.

"13. As a matter of fact, I must repeat that payments are not made in grain, but in cash. A pound of grain has been estimated as costing one anna, and in no cases have the wages paid been less than an anna and a half, the anna being the supposed equivalent of a pound of grain, and the half anna being available to eke out the ration. An anna, however, represents in most parts of the worst districts more than one pound of grain. At Adoni, for instance, where nearly 50 per cent. of the population were recently on work, one anna will purchase about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. of cholum, which is the staple food of the people, leaving each labourer half an anna to buy pulse, condiments, &c."

"15. There is one point which I must concede to Dr. Cornish's argument. In laying down the minimum scale, it was of course intended that each labourer should be able to consume his own wages, and not have to share them with other persons of his family. These members of the family should either work for themselves or, if unable to do so, should be admitted to gratuitous relief. The case of young children who accompany their parents to the works, but are too young to work, that is, children from one year to seven years of age, has already attracted my attention, and I have recommended in a separate minute that subsistence allowance be granted to them."

6. Paragraph 15 quoted above refers to a Minute of the previous day (6th March)<sup>3</sup> in which Sir R. Temple proposed that children under seven should get half the rate of working children. On the 16th March<sup>4</sup> he telegraphed that the Madras Government had ordered a month ago that children should receive special relief, and that "this is being carried out." The papers before me do not enable me to trace the date of this order.

7. Somewhere about this time an order which I have not yet been able to trace was issued allowing or directing that the wage laid down in Scale II. should be given for seven days in the week although the labourers only work for six.

8. On the 7th March the Government of Madras invited Sir R. Temple by telegram to come to Madras to discuss the question of the reduced rate which they thought of abandoning in consequence of receiving unfavourable reports as to its insufficiency. The discussion was held, and the Madras Government,<sup>5</sup> in deference to Sir R. Temple's arguments, resolved to await reports from other districts before deciding on the adequacy or otherwise of the wage. It was said, however, in the resolution, dated 15th March that—

"There is no doubt, in the opinion of His Grace in Council, from the perusal of the reports already received, as well as from the personal observation of members of Government, that many persons are

<sup>1</sup> Famine, A. Progs., India, March 1877, No. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Blue Book, III., 247.

<sup>3</sup> Famine, A. Progs., India, March 1877, No. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Famine, A., Progs., India, March 1877, No. 94.

<sup>5</sup> Famine A. Progs., India, March 1877, Nos. 83 to 96.

to be found in gangs, who are failing in strength either from insufficient nourishment or from other causes. This may arise from their having been previously weakened by insufficient or bad food before coming to the works, or from their having been in bad health, or, again, from the task of work exacted from them being too heavy, having regard to the sustenance given. His Grace in Council, therefore, directs the special attention of all collectors and divisional officers to these predisposing causes. Any persons found in working gangs whose appearance indicates failing condition shall be at once withdrawn from such gangs and placed to some lighter work, or if, on any large work, such persons are found to be numerous and no relief-camp be sufficiently near, they shall be placed together in a special gang and given such additional allowance as may be found necessary, to maintain their health and strength. Where the members of a gang generally show signs of physical deterioration it may indicate that the work has been too great, the allowance of food too small, or possibly that they have not received the full benefit of the allowance granted, either in consequence of malpractices on the part of maistries and overseers, or because they have dependents living upon them, and sharing their bare subsistence allowance, whose wants should have been discovered and relieved, if necessary, by the village officers."

"4. \* \* \* One part especially must never be overlooked, but which has, it is feared, received insufficient attention in some places, namely, the regularity and frequency of payments of wages. With good method and system, daily payments, should be the rule whether in cash or in grain."

9. On the 3rd of April, Sir R. Temple<sup>1</sup> wrote a Minute forwarding the reports made by Dr. Townsend, Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of India, regarding his inspection of famine coolies in the districts of Bellary, Cuddapah, and North Arcot. The detailed results of these inspections will be noticed afterwards. Sir R. Temple says—

"I am able so say that Dr. Townsend's views of this important matter coincide with mine, which have been formed after inspecting nearly 200,000 people under relief in Southern India. And my impression is that the majority of the civil officers, the relief officers, and the engineering officers, employed in supervising relief operations in the Madras Presidency, hold the same views. Yet these officers are in no way wanting in thoughtful consideration of the people, or in energetic care in watching their condition. Of the senior civil officers, Mr. Price, the Collector of Cuddapah, is the only one who has, to my knowledge, reported an opinion that the reduced relief wage is generally inadequate. But that view is not borne out by Dr. Townsend's inspection of some gangs at or near Cuddapah. And from my own knowledge of the relief gangs in that district, I should not be disposed to concur with the collector."

Dr. Townsend's report, dated 3rd April, on the result of his tour of inspection, wound up thus:—

"Taking the evidence that has come before me in the course of my tour, I can arrive at no other conclusion than that the rate to which the wage of the relief labourer was reduced on the recommendation of Sir Richard Temple is sufficient to support them in fair condition, provided that care is taken that the individual recipient is the only person who is supported on it. And I see no reason why the wage should be raised unless an equivalent amount of work is performed."

10. On the 6th April, Dr. Cornish wrote<sup>2</sup> in answer to Sir Richard Temple's Minutes of the 7th and 14th March (the latter of which has not been mentioned above, because it dealt only with the physiological side of the argument, and as this note is only intended to recapitulate what can be learnt as to the practical results of the wage all such discussions are omitted). In it he dwells on the difficulty of conducting an experiment as to the minimum wage under the existing conditions.

"Our relief-works are scattered over many thousands of square miles of country; they are but indifferently supervised, and in no instances are the native supervisors qualified to test the results of any special system of feeding or payment as regards the health of the people. To record the results of such an experiment with the accuracy required, it would be essential to weigh every individual of a gang; to enter their names and weights in columns, and to repeat the weighing week by week for a period of several months; to note also the condition of each individual, week by week, as to anæmia, pulse, tongue, heart's action, muscular power, &c. An 'experiment' of this nature might be carried out, as regards a few persons under the constant observation of a medical man, aided by careful assistants; but it is obvious that the results on a large scale, according to the tests proposed by Sir Richard Temple, could never be ascertained. Sir Richard Temple does not seem to be aware of the fact that 'a week or two' of low living, while doing much mischief, might still give no results measurable by the eye or by weighing.

"There is nothing more remarkable in connection with these famine relief-works than the sudden changes and fluctuations in the personnel of gangs. The people inspected one day may be away the next. The people falling ill and unable to work are replaced by others, and there is never any certainty that two inspecting officers, going over the same ground, within a short interval of time, are seeing the same people. Any comparison of their observations or reports, therefore, can scarcely be gone into profitably, while this uncertainty exists in regard to the identity of the individuals composing the gangs."

In the close of his reply, referring to Sir Richard Temple's expressed opinion that "with very few exceptions the general physical condition of the labourers is as good now as in ordinary years," he speaks of the miserable state of those fed in relief-houses

<sup>1</sup> Blue Book III., pp. 317-325.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid III., p. 333.

and by private charity, and adduces the great mortality registered in all the famine districts as showing that the general condition of the population is far below par.

11. In his minute<sup>1</sup> dated 18th April, Sir Richard Temple replied that there is no analogy between the condition of the people in relief-houses, and in the districts generally, and that of relief-labourers. If the people die in the villages and in the relief camp, that shows that they stay away from relief too long, and either die in their village, or apply for help too late, in other words, that the system of village relief is in fault—not that the wage on relief-works is insufficient.

12. At last, on the 22nd May,<sup>2</sup> the Government of Madras decided that the reduced wage (Scale No. II) must be given up; “the weight of the direct evidence being decidedly adverse to the continued maintenance of the lower rate.” Scale No. I was made “of general application to all famine-works, the task to be exacted being not less than 50 per cent. of a full task estimated according to the physical capability of the individual labourer in his normal condition.” “Labourers unable to perform this amount of task should not be in the labour gangs at all, but should be on specially light work or in a relief-camp.” Full rates were to be paid for Sundays, but no work exacted; children under seven years old to get 3 pie a-day, and wages to be paid not less frequently than once in three days.

13. On the 29th June,<sup>3</sup> the Government of India said that it was important “for financial and other reasons, to know the numbers who have been at various times on the reduced or lower scale of wages,” and asked for statements showing for each taluk the rate of wages paid in each successive week from January 27th to May 26th, inclusive, with the number of men, women, and children in receipt of the same. On the 9th July<sup>4</sup> (1877) the Madras Government promised compliance with this request, but the statement has not yet been submitted.

14. I now take up in order the notices I find regarding each district in the file of proceedings sent me by the Madras Government, in answer to my request that they would favour the Famine Commission with a statement of the information the Government had before it when it decided that the reduced rate was too low and must be raised.

#### I.—BELLARY.

10th March.—The collector reports that the new rate came into force between the 15th and 20th February in most cases;<sup>5</sup> there has hardly yet been time to observe the results of the change. Mr. Glenny, sub-collector, has seen no change in condition, nor has the deputy collector, Bellary Division, nor Mr. Howe, who has been in charge of relief-works round Bellary, since 27th February. On one road where there were 7,000 coolies he found 400 or 500 physically unfit; but it is not known if they came in that state to the work or not. The  $\frac{1}{4}$ -anna to infants is a great boon, and it is hoped the parents will now recover strength.

2. 19th March.—Collector forwards reports of subordinates: has not noticed any deterioration himself, but it may be going on all the same. Narsing Rao, temporary deputy collector, says (10th March) the Tahsildars report no change; but one of them would prefer 2 annas for a man's wage. Mr. Glenny (10th March) does not think the condition has deteriorated: the gangs look poorer on an average than they did a month ago, but that is due to the elimination of the conspicuously well nourished. Mr. Howe, (13th March)—the people continue in good condition; the relief camps are attracting from the work the weak and emaciated who are quite unfit for labour.

3. On the 26th, 27th, and 28th March, Dr. Townsend inspected different gangs, nearly 13,000 at Adoni and 10,000 at Bellary. At Adoni it was found that no Sunday wage was given except to the inefficient gangs: a few people were emaciated, but they were always found to be supporting some relative from their wage, or to have fever or some disease. The allowance of 3 pie for infants had not been distributed to the full extent intended by Government. A large gang who had refused to work at a distance of 10 miles, and applied to be admitted again to work near home, were in good case. Near Bellary a party of 7,500 were employed in breaking and stacking metal; the task

<sup>1</sup> Blue Book III, page 384.

<sup>2</sup> Famine A Progs., India, June 1877, No. 78, p. 812.

<sup>3</sup> Famine A Progs., India, July 1877, No. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Famine A Progs., India, August 1877, No. 70.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Richard Temple says (22nd March, page 509 famine file)—grain wages ceased about 26th February in Bellary.

was such that hardly any ever got the full (reduced) wage, but the majority received  $1\frac{1}{4}$  anna, 1 anna and 7 pies respectively, and yet their condition was good, and the officer in charge said they had improved since they came on the work and had certainly not fallen off since the wage was reduced.

4. On the 10th April Mr. Ross, head assistant collector, enquired if the 3-pie allowance was to be given to children every day or only on the days when their parents were present on the works. The Board's reply (approved by Government on the 7th May) was that the allowance was to be given for every day that the children were present on the works.

5. *12th April.*—The collector says that the sub-collector, deputy-collector, and two tehsilders, report no deterioration. Some coolies are reduced but must have been so before they came on the works. The collector himself has seen none emaciated, but has been lately in the southern taluks which are better off; does not think the rate should fall below  $1\frac{1}{2}$  anna; but as cholam is now 9 to  $9\frac{3}{4}$  seers, the man's wage is only  $1\frac{1}{3}$  anna.

6. On the 24th April, Sir Richard Temple wrote a minute (No. CX) describing his inspection of labourers at Gooty and Goondakal. He had visited these before, and his impressions were then recorded, as follows<sup>1</sup> :—

"9. On the occasion of his first visit (February 14th) Sir Richard Temple carefully inspected an aggregate of nearly 15,000 labourers collected from Adoni and the villages around. Many of them were poor people dependent for subsistence on their earnings at the works, but many belonged to a better class who were presumably able to maintain themselves. A large percentage were Musalmans, many were weavers and artisans, and there were few persons of low caste. Their general physical condition was good, and very few showed any signs of being insufficiently nourished. On his second visit (February 21st) he saw about 10,000 persons belonging to gangs from the Yemiganur road. The great majority were of extremely low castes, madigars (chamars), and others ranking even below pariahs, and regarded as so low and degraded that their better-born countrymen speak of them as persons 'who cannot come in our mouths,' whose very caste name cannot be mentioned. These are poor people, chiefly leather dressers, and live to a considerable extent on the flesh of the cattle whose skins they dress. They are extremely poor, always inured to hardship, and it is believed that very many of them have hitherto abstained from applying for relief under the mistaken notion that there could be no aid for such as they were, and that if even Government would give it them, the prejudices of their countrymen would prevent it reaching them. The contrast between these gangs and all those previously seen elsewhere was very great. Very many persons were considerably emaciated and had evidently been insufficiently nourished all their lives, and a few only among them had the fine physique and blooming condition so frequently found in other gangs among the better classes. Sir Richard considers that they were many degrees the worst he has yet seen."

"About<sup>2</sup> 4,500 persons were paraded. They were for the most parts ryots and subordinate cultivators, weavers, and working men of the better castes and classes in admirable condition, and bearing no signs of ever having missed a meal. Here and there a few poor-looking specimens, generally of inferior social position, presented themselves, and the contrast between them and the greater majority of the persons present was pointed out to the native officials, who could not fail to see it. Large numbers of the women belonged to respectable castes, and had come to the works to earn a little money, their husbands being employed at home or otherwise off the works. Some cases of cheating by gangmen were exposed, and many persons were shown to be in a position not to require aid from Government."

2. "Sir Richard was astonished by the very marked contrast between these gangs and the gangs of low-caste workmen seen on his second visit to Adoni, and Mr. Glenny remarked that, as regards physical condition, they were the best gangs he had yet seen. There was no sign of suffering among them, and Sir Richard Temple thought that there could be no doubt whatever that very many of them had been admitted to the works much too soon, and would have maintained themselves without difficulty had the works not been open to receive them. He considered that many of them might now be discharged without the smallest danger of their suffering risk of starvation or even of distress."

On this occasion he made the following remarks on the condition of the labourers he saw<sup>3</sup> :—

"One gang (500 strong) of relief labourers employed on the railway at Gooty under professional supervision, on reduced wage and good tasks, were found by me to be in very fair condition. Another large gang (1,000 strong) inspected by me at Goondakal consisted of 800 women and children in fair condition (with some few exceptions), and of 200 men of whom one-third were in indifferent condition, some even in bad condition, most of these latter being new arrivals. From information received from Bellary and Adoni, I learn that in several gangs there are found some persons in weakly condition. These points will doubtless cause some to think that the relief wage ought to be raised. Looking, however, to Dr. Townsend's recent evidence as to the good condition of the able-bodied labourers on the reduced wage which is again confirmed by my own recent observation, and to the importance of not holding out any temptation to able-bodied men to come on relief who might be otherwise able to sustain themselves, I would still strongly deprecate raising of the wage to the able-bodied."

<sup>1</sup> Minute No. XLIII, dated 22nd February 1877. Blue Book III, page 205.

<sup>2</sup> Minute No. XLIV. *Ibid.*, page 207.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, page 396.

Dr. Cornish, who apparently was with him at the time of his inspection, wrote on the 8th May regarding the visit :—

"The Honourable Sir Richard Temple had at Goondakal, on the 24th April, picked out 41 men from a gang of 180, who, from weakness and emaciation, were obviously unfit for work, and whom he considered should be fed at a relief-house without work. Of these persons, so far as could be ascertained, only 12 had recently come on the works, the remainder having been present for two or more months. In addition to these 41, I noted 18 others who, in my opinion, were in very feeble condition. As, at a previous inspection on 23rd February 1877, Dr. Harvey, Sir Richard Temple's medical attendant, specially comments on the fine physique of the Goondakal gangs, the only inference I can draw from the fact is, that, to quote Sir Richard Temple's own words, the men had been getting thinner and thinner, and weaker and weaker, till at last they have had to be drafted off to gratuitous relief-camps as unfit for work."

7. 25th April.—The collector states that the sub-collector, head assistant, and deputy collector of Anantapur, see no change: two other deputy collectors think the people are falling off sadly. He forwards these reports. Deputy collector Venkatachellam says (17th April) "it is a known fact to all natives that half a seer of grain is hardly sufficient for a Single meal for an able-bodied coolie" (*i.e.*, for half a day's food); that the coolies are falling off in strength and growing depressed in spirits; 92 deaths have occurred in one party since the new scale was introduced. A special deputy collector says women eat more than males, and require better nourishment, and their wage ought not to be less than a man's. Both the Deputy Collector, and the two Special Deputy Collectors under them, give a sad account of the condition of the coolies. The Deputy Collector of Bellary writes, 18th April—

"No less than 2,080 coolies have come under my observation, not mere inspection, and I must say that the result has not been encouraging.

"The female coolies outnumber the male beyond all proportion, and the bulk of them are of low physique, many adults and broods of young children looking pale and lank. The grown-up women, though of middle age, when their way at work, (*sic*), and some of their infants strolling about the place passing for miserable moving skeletons. The mothers complain that the -anna allowed to each of the children is not enough to buy sufficient nourishment for it, the pittance paid to themselves scarcely sufficing to buy them a good day's meal. Considering, therefore, the amount of exhaustion resulting from exposure to the burning sun of April and May, and the discouraging indications of the process of wastage among the relief labourers, I would respectfully suggest a gradual increase to the present rates of wages until such time as we could detect a change for the better in their physique."

8. On the 27th and 29th April the Collector wrote again, saying that Mr. Oldham had (on the 21st April) raised the wages in the Adoni Taluk (except in the town of Adoni) to 2 annas for men,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  for women and 1 for children; giving the wage for six days only, except to inefficient gangs, and the Sub-Collector Mr. Glenny had raised wages in his three taluks 3 pies all round. Asks leave to give the higher scale all over the district. The reasons given by Mr. Oldham (21st April) are that increased pressure is visible in the condition of the labourers and the time for relaxation has come.

"This pressure is chiefly due to the advancing season and the time the people have been on the works. But there are other causes. The price of grain has risen and is rising, and sometimes it is not easy to get on the remoter works, while at places distant from Adoni the price fluctuates greatly. The evening storms which now frequently occur interrupt payments and cause much inconvenience to the labourers camped on the roads. Their clothes are getting very ragged. The great heat, at a time when they are not compelled to work, is trying; and the recruiting for Nellore has undoubtedly pressed very severely on the adult male labourers.

"In fact it is among the latter that the change is visible, and this accounts for the apparent disproportion in the new rates. The women still look much as before, as no direct pressure has been put on them to go to Nellore. Many of them are in excellent condition, sleek and fat. This cannot be said of any of the men."

Mr. Glenny (21st April) considers that the people are decidedly thinner than they were.

The Board sent on this reference (7th May) saying that there is a strong concurrence of testimony showing that the rates are quite insufficient :—

"And the Board cannot but think that there is a very serious risk in continuing the lower rates now in force. They seemed to have failed wherever they have been fairly tried; for in many places where the new scale is said to have produced no ill effect, either the coolies have had the advantage of being able to purchase a cheaper grain than that taken as the standard, or they have been able to earn wages for the higher scale of task-work.

"The lower rates are probably now beginning to tell with severity on weakened frames exposed to great heat without any, or with very inadequate, shelter. A continuance of the present experiment may lead to great disaster."

The Government on the 17th May sanctioned the raising the rates generally in the district to 2,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 1 anna, and said "orders on the subject of a general raising of the wages rate in the distressed districts will issue separately."

9. Collector, 3rd May.—No deterioration seen by Deputy Collector of Anantapur. Dr. Williams inspected two gangs and found signs of defective nourishment generally, which indications an inexperienced eye could not perceive. Two other Deputy Collectors report that the coolies are getting weaker.

10. 7th May.—Collector reports that on 3rd May the Deputy Collector, Harpanhalli, raised the wage to 2 annas for men, &c.

11. 15th May.—Collector to Board. Mr. Glenny observes deterioration in condition of labourers in Alur and Gooty, and has raised the wage 3 pic all round, but wishes this not to be considered an increase but as payment for Sunday. Two Tahsildars report deterioration; other officers do not. Mr. Glenny's letter, enclosed, dated 28th April, says, in Tadpatri the condition of one-fourth of the people on the works has been discovered to be so exuberantly good that it is clear the elimination of unworthy recipients has not been carried out. These last three letters reached the Government after the Order of the 17th May and the General Resolution of May 22nd had been issued.

12. In his evidence before the Famine Commission Mr. A. F. Cox said as follows:—

"At the end of December I was sent to Bellary, and returned here in March. I saw the Temple ration in force then; the people seemed to be getting on perfectly well, and I thought it quite sufficient. There were a large number of people on a great number of works, which I was constantly inspecting. The people always complained of the wage, but I did not think there was any good reason for complaint. I did not inspect any one work constantly, so as to be able to notice and depose to the progressive condition of the people on the ration. I saw no falling off as long as the ration lasted, and others agreed with me, such as the Collector and Mr. Kitts; and I remember no one who held a different opinion. There was considerable mortality from diarrhoea both on the works and in the villages; it continued equally when the ration was increased. There was very little water, and people drank from filthy stagnant pools. Dr. Cornish never came to inspect any of my gangs while I was here. I should not have advised Government to make the changes in the ration, judging from the state of the gangs under me."

13. It appears that the reduced wage never had a fair trial in Bellary, as the orders were never properly carried out, the Sunday wage not being given; that the Collector was from the first doubtful, and that most of the Native Deputy Collectors were very hostile to it; that the European officers thought well of it till the latter part of April, when they too declared against it; but that no evidence exists that the progress of the experiment was ever carefully watched and followed in the persons of the same individual labourers, still less that any weighments were made. Moreover, the arguments used by Mr. Oldham (paragraph 8) should have led on to raising the rates all round, but to greater care that the rates were proportioned to the prices of food on *the spot*, and to an order that the labourers should get full wages even if on wet days they were unable to work.

## II.—CUDDAPAH.<sup>1</sup>

1. 17th February, the Collector Mr. J. F. Price reports,—has reduced the rate of task work (as he found the people unable to do "36 cubic yards of earth-work") and calculated the new rates. Task work is not yet being enforced as it should be.

"I fear that with the present scale of wages this can never be done. Making the coolies in this case turn out anything but the veriest pretence of a task, will mean killing them. I beg most respectfully to repeat what I have said before, that the coolies, though for the greater part not what I should call emaciated, are at the turning point, and that they will, I am convinced, under the effect of the present system, go down-hill very rapidly, and soon be in a condition such that they cannot work.

"I do not express this opinion owing to any nervous fear or wish to what I hold to be the worst of courses—pamper the coolies. I have neither the one nor the other, and believe myself equal, if supported, to cope with any difficulty that may arise. I speak from a deliberate consideration of what I have daily seen for very nearly four months which I have passed amongst many thousands of relief coolies, and I feel it my duty, whilst obeying as I have every order that was issued by those in authority over me, to say what I believe will soon be the state of things."

2. On the 23rd February, Sir Richard Temple inspected 1,000 coolies at Cuddapah itself and recorded their condition as middling,<sup>2</sup> but no special remarks were written regarding this visit.

<sup>1</sup> N.B.—It is not clear on what date the new rates were introduced in Cuddapah. Dr. Cornish's letter of 6th March states they were brought into force on 20th February. But the letter in the text implies an earlier date.

Sir Richard Temple (22nd March, page 509 Famine) says cash wages were introduced all over the district about the middle of February.

<sup>2</sup> Minute No. XLV., dated 24th February.

3. *6th March.*—Dr. Cornish reports a visit of inspection made on the 3rd. Out of a gang of 900 persons employed close to the town of Cuddapah, he found signs of defective nutrition, (*i.e.*, want of fat, looseness of skin, and flabbiness of muscle) in about 75 per cent., signs of anæmia in about 50 per cent., and a peculiarly sad, drawn expression of face, indicative of distress and bad feeling in about 25 per cent.

"In regard to the effect already produced by the reduced scale of wages, there has not been sufficient time to arrive at any definite conclusions. For the first effects of a reduced wages scale we must look to the condition of the old and infirm and the young children, that is, to the *dependents* of the labourers who are incapable of earning a living for themselves, and who have to subsist on the portion of food that can be spared by the bread-earners. These classes are not to be seen on the relief-works. If we desire to know how it fares with them we must seek for information elsewhere.

"The people, although they do not refuse the wages or decline work, are tolerably unanimous in their expressions that the wage is insufficient to give them their food and to keep up their strength, and this opinion is very general also amongst the native officials, who understand the habits and customs of the people; and amongst the European officials whom I met there was no doubt at all as to its insufficiency. The practice in force here is to pay once a week; but with so small a wage, and with so many hungry recipients, I think it should be paid every second day at least."

4. *12th March.*—Collector forwards reports by Mr. Cox, Special Deputy Collector, Badwail Taluk, dated 8th March. The revised scale of wages is greatly affecting the physical condition of the people, though he cannot assert it is doing so to such an extent as to endanger life. Observes that the wage is fixed according to prices at taluk head-quarters, whereas prices on the works are generally dearer. Collector adds—

"Mr. Cox's experience is of one full week.

"I would respectfully urge the discontinuance of the present scale of wages, which I feel assured will, no matter what precautions are taken, end in disaster.

"The coolies down here (the letter is dated from Pullampett) were on Saturday, for the first time, paid the reduced wages. I inspected over 2,000 this morning. They, as a rule, looked by no means in good condition, and their complaints were incessant. There can be but little doubt as to what their condition after a fortnight upon the existing wages will be."

5. *19th March.*—Mr. MacCartie, Special Assistant Collector, reports on coolies in Cuddapa Taluk: condition of men unchanged, but some of the older women show signs of deterioration. The reduced rate has stimulated emigration to Nellore, the ragi harvest has furnished the men with ample work, but these women and children have flocked to the works in inconvenient numbers.

"No harm has yet been done owing to the concurrent harvest, but there is no doubt that the present scale of rations will reduce the people very much during the ensuing three months, and so render it difficult to exact the full task.

"In my opinion it would be good policy to raise the scale to the purchasing power of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of grain for each adult with 3 pies for condiments, which appears to be the minimum on which they can work continuously without losing strength."

6. *24th March.*—Dr. Cornish reports the results of a visit to Madanapilly,<sup>1</sup> the sub-division of Cuddapah. Inspected about 3,000. Their wages had been  $2\frac{1}{2}$  annas per man and were reduced to 2 annas six weeks ago.<sup>2</sup> The "Temple" wage has not been introduced at all: from one-third to one-half of the coolies inspected "bore distinct evidence of bad living." "About 50 per cent., though still able to work, were not so well nourished as in ordinary seasons, and rather more than 30 per cent. showed decided evidence of distress and privation which, if not arrested, will most certainly lead to diseased conditions and premature death." Has told the Sub-Collector Mr. Gribble<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the 1st and 2nd February Sir Richard Temple had visited this sub-division and recorded the following remarks.

"Sir Richard Temple inspected several gangs of relief labourers in and about Madanapally, in all some 3,000 or 4,000 persons. He found that the labourers looked to be in good condition; and it appeared that some proportion of them must have been quite able to support themselves, for a time at least, without Government aid. Hardly any of them appeared to be in a physically reduced condition. Some of them bore on their persons evidence in the shape of good clothes or ornaments that they had not yet been reduced to extremity. The Sub-Collector was of opinion that some of these people could with safety be dismissed from the works, and he anticipated that when the Madras Government orders should be received he would be able to reduce and in future keep down the number of relief labours."

<sup>2</sup> This appears to be not quite correct, as the coolies were paid in grain for some time. *Vide* Sir Richard Temple's minute quoted above, para. 7.

<sup>3</sup> With reference to this, Mr. Gribble's evidence before the Famine Commission may be quoted:

"The Temple ration was introduced in the beginning of March in all cases except this gang, which Dr. Cornish reported on so unfavourably, and in which I refused to introduce it in consequence. This gang eventually got into the relief camp in April, where the ratio of deaths was 2,000 per mille. I remember a gang at Voilpad, inspected carefully, man by man, by Mr. Price and myself in the beginning of February. He spoke of it in his report as in fair working order, though rather low. On the 6th April I inspected it with my Assistant, Mr. Bradbury; of 382 persons we found 129 in really bad condition, and the remainder all showed falling off. On the 7th April, out of a gang of 59 coolies, I picked out 19 as in bad condition. But I

that "any reduction of the wage rate in this district may be attended by disaster," and recommended him to apply for Government orders before introducing the reduced wage in this taluk. On this report the Government passed the following order. (March 30th.)

"The Government note that, as respect the famine labourers, all this has occurred while the men were receiving at least 2 annas per diem. The Collector will therefore not be called upon to introduce the new subsistence wage which has been ordered for general adoption, without further inquiry and report. Mr Price will inquire whether the gangs have been short paid from fraud on the part of the maistries or others; whether they have had a difficulty in getting a sufficient allowance of food for their wages, or whether, finally, there has been any injudicious amount of task-work exacted, to account for the state of things here described."

7. 26th March.—Mr. Benson, Head Assistant Collector, reports—has "inspected all gangs on Chitwail-Hobly road." Did not see them before new rate was introduced and cannot compare their condition: many of them are in very fair condition: about 20 per cent. below par and suffering from insufficient food. Thinks the rates sufficient for women and children, but not for men, who should have half an anna more. The Collector forwarding this says (31st March) "the coolies on this road were inspected by me and I saw several who were by no means in good condition."

8. 28th March.—Mr. McCartie submits his 4th weekly report: has examined all gangs within 10 miles of Cuddapah. No perceptible change; but in each gang "4 or 5 cases will be found, generally elderly men and women, who are plainly suffering from insufficient nourishment." "The ration is insufficient for the exaction of task-work worthy the name, and there are many complaints; considerable suffering will be caused during April and the following months unless the old scale is returned to." But "the harvest has provided some members in each family with work, and many of the labourers have relations in service about the town." The Collector, Mr. Price, in sending this up remarks (30th March)—

"There can be but little doubt that the reduced scale of wages is steadily telling upon the coolies all over those parts of the district where it has been enforced."

9. 2nd April.—Mr. Benson reports—has inspected 1,500 coolies on the Cheyair, under Mr. West, Railway Engineer. The reduced scale had not been introduced nor the 3 pies gratuity given. People in fair condition; not more than 4 or 5 per cent. reduced. Many had dependants to support. Collector forwards this, 4th April, and adds—

"I have seen some 1,200 coolies on the road from Wontimittah to Tungatur. Condition pretty fair, but considerable reduction of flesh amongst women and children. I am inclined to think that the women and children have in some degree been supporting the males of their families who, in consequence of the reduction of wages, have struck. The difference between the present and former rates is, as regards women and children, so small that they come readily enough to the works."

10. 3rd April.—Dr. Townsend reported his inspection of Cuddapah coolies on the 29th and 30th March—

"Inspected some gangs of labourers employed in excavation of a tank close to the town of Cuddapah. Dr. Cornish, Sanitary Commissioner for Madras, was kind enough to accompany me. They mustered 950 in all, arranged in gangs of fifty, consisting of twenty men and thirty women and children. The number of children was small; the women greatly outnumbered the men; the people were chiefly the residents of the town and of the villages within two miles, and the Civil Surgeon, Mr. Ayaswamy, stated that a very large number of the women were the wives of syces and other servants of Europeans. The wages given are,—men, 1 anna 5 pies; children above 7, 8½ pies; women 1 anna 2 pies; children under 7, 3 pies. Payment is made on Sundays for six days. The daily task-work nominally exacted is twenty-four cubic yards of earth-work for a gang of fifty. This task, which is very light, was commonly completed, but even if it were not, the wage above mentioned was generally given."

"In my opinion, these people were in appearance little, if at all, below the standard of health common in native populations. Some were no doubt thin and anæmic, but the proportion in this

cannot assert that this was due to the Temple ration only, nor that the members of the gang when I inspected it were the same individuals as in February. In March, April, and May, I must have inspected several thousand coolies and always with the same result. In almost all gangs about 30 per cent. were in bad condition."

Mr. Traill, Assistant Engineer, also stated—"The Temple ration was in force for a very short time in the sub-division. Mr. Gribble would not introduce it at first till he got a special order, and soon after that the order came to raise it again. Hence I did not observe the effect of the ration; moreover I had not direct charge of the works, and the men were being changed about very much. I thought it a mistake when the ration was ordered, as the people were looking low and were not getting too much wage."

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Cornish, however, writing on 6th April, says Mr. West, C.E., in charge of the Cheyair embankment works, informs me that to meet the views of the district authorities and to avoid the appearance of competition in the labour market, he has reduced his rate from the ordinary 2 annas to the modified scale of Sir Richard Temple's and paid for the Sundays, and that practically his disbursements per head average same as before.

condition was not great. In many instances individuals that struck us as being more enfeebled than others were found on inquiry to have been on the works a very short time, one of them had been on a fortnight, another came on only yesterday. A very thin, weakly-looking woman had come on the works three days ago, another, a Brinjara, had been on only four days. A thin elderly man, who looked weak, was suffering from fever. One man, thin and anæmic, had been on the works from the commencement, but on either side of him there was a very stout strong man who had also been on the works for months."

"Booja road, 3 miles from Cuddapah. Inspected with Mr. MacCartie 800 people divided into gangs, each composed of 20 men, 25 women and 5 children. The women generally outnumber the men, who find other work. The people all belong to the surrounding villages. They are employed in digging and stacking gravel. The daily task assigned is 18 cubic yards for each gang, a more severe task than is imposed upon the laborers at the tank inspected yesterday. It is, however, exacted without difficulty. The rate of wages is the same as the other gangs in the district. The labourers are paid once a week on Sunday, for the six days. A considerable portion of the people in these gangs, as well as in those inspected yesterday, belong to castes who eat meat. The wudars kill and eat sheep and pigs but not bullocks. The pariahs eat carrion or the flesh of bullocks and other animals that have died. The shepherds eat the flesh of sheep and goats that die.

"The general appearance of the people composing these gangs was good. A very large number of the men and women were as stout and healthy looking as they could be in the best of times. Here and there thin persons in weakly condition were observable, but their history did not prove their condition to be attributable to want of food.

"Gang No. 1. Two thin men, but not unhealthy looking.

"No. 2. One spare weakly-looking man, states that he has been so for years.

"No. 3. Two thin feeble men, state that they have always been so. One sickly child has had fever.

"No. 4. All in good condition.

"No. 5. One feeble-looking man, states that he has always been so.

"No. 6. The same.

"Nos. 7, 8, 9. All in good condition.

"No. 10. An emaciated boy, has been on the works a fortnight and has improved since he joined.

"No. 11. A thin weakly lad, always so.

"No. 12. All in good condition.

"No. 13. A feeble man, has a large spleen; is better now than he has been for a long time; another sickly looking man has lately suffered from fever.

"Nos. 14, 15, 16. All in good condition.

"These gangs have been established from November last.

"Mr. Quinlass, the relief officer, says that when the people received the higher rate of wages, they did not spend more in food than they do now, but saved the difference. They have not deteriorated in condition since the wage has been reduced. About 15 men who had been sent to Nellore returned again to these gangs. They said the place did not agree with them; that the water was bad and gave them dysentery. The task-work at Nellore appears to be harder and the maistries more severe upon people transferred from other works.

"There were 26 applicants for work. Only one man among them, and he was a ryot who had lost all his cattle, and having no other source of maintenance, came on the works. He was a strong healthy man. The rest, all women and children, were in good condition."

11. 7th April.—Mr. Cox, Badwail Taluk, reports—Inspection shows but little change in outward appearances, but thinks "they are none the less surely suffering from the low rate of wages, especially as the hot weather is now beginning to tell on them." In one party 313 coolies in middling condition and 57 indifferent.

12. 16th April.—Mr. Benson's weekly report—Has inspected the Kodur coolies, and out of 1,764 persons selected 150, or 8.5 per cent. as emaciated. Very few children are employed; "many who could earn 9 pies are kept on the 3-pie list." Condition of coolies pretty fair, but a large number of small children very emaciated; some from fever; most from bad and insufficient food. Hopes the condition of those coolies and their children will now improve—

"1st.—Because the work is much nearer their homes.

"2nd.—Because the old and weakly are in separate gangs, and the tasks will thus be less for all.

"3rd.—Because the 3-pie bonus will be fully availed of.

"4th.—Because the more emaciated are being removed to the gratuitous relief list.

"It may be of interest to note—

"(1.) That the old men complain for the most of the insufficiency of the food.

"(2.) All natives say that children from five years upwards eat as much or more than an adult. As a corollary to this, it is observed that the children who get only 3 pies or 9 pies seem to suffer the most of any of the people. At least in their case it is most apparent to the eye.

"(3.) While some of the coolies are emaciated, others labouring beside them for months at the same work and on the same pay are actually robust: neither have any aid for their subsistence, and neither have any dependants to support; second sort of rice is the standard grain taken in fixing the rate of wages.

"At present I do not urge an increase of wage.

"The tahsildars do not notice any falling off in the condition of the coolies."

The Collector adds in forwarding this (April 20th)—

"The coolies are evidently failing in condition, and the wages are not enough. My experience in this part of the district fully bears out what is said by Mr. Benson. The infant population, *i.e.*, sucking children, is in a very bad state. The mothers have not sufficient sustenance for them, and children of this class are dependent upon their mothers alone. I have had to send many such cases into the relief camp. If some special allowance, more than 3 pies, is not made to nursing women, the camp will be filled with them, or the greater part of the infants under eighteen months will die. I most respectfully but most earnestly and strongly, urge that this matter may have the immediate consideration of Government. I have, as will be seen from the district returns, given the experiment of the reduced scale of wages a fair trial. Although from my experience of the famine, from the time it began to be seriously felt, I have been disposed to look upon the measure in an unfavourable light, I believe that I have carried out my instructions coolly and dispassionately. I feel it my duty, however, as a public servant entrusted with heavy responsibilities, and with all deference to the opinions of those in a position higher than mine, to express the conviction that do what we can to arrest it, the consequences of continuing the present system will be of the most disastrous character, and that it will, in the long run, cost the State far more than the scale of wages previously in force would have done."

The Board, in submitting the above, remark as follows:—

"It appears that the child's allowance of three pies has not yet been fully granted. If this is attended to, and if Sunday payments are made generally, which the Board believe is not the case everywhere in Cuddapah, matters may improve. The 3-pie allowance should be freely granted for children at the breast as well as others. Further, it would seem better that the very weakly should be put in gratuitous relief at once instead of being kept at works, and the higher rate of wages should always be paid when increased work renders it admissible."

The order of Government on it was the following (12th May):—

"The 3-pie allowance for children under seven should be made for sucking infants as well as for those which are not in arms; the Sunday wages should in every case be given, and the higher rate of wage for higher task calculated specially with reference to the state of the soil. If these expedients for raising the rate have been already tried, the Government will be prepared to raise the rate for nursing mothers and children."

13. 24th April.—Mr. Benson has inspected all the gangs on two roads leading to Kodur, 2,153 in all, and found only 64 persons or 3 per cent. in a depressed condition from want of good and sufficient food. This he attributes to—

- (1) More general advantage being taken by parents of the 3-pie bonus to children under seven years old.
- (2) The removal of several persons in a depressed condition from the working gangs to the gratuitous relief list.
- (3) The transfer of the greater part of the gangs from the Kodur-Settigunta road to the Kodur-Chitwail, some five miles nearer their homes, an immensity of physical exertion in walking daily to and from the works being thus saved.
- (4) The segregation into a single gang of some 100 old or weakly inefficient which had been scattered among all the gangs previously. These now perform a special task of three-fourths the usual amount. The efficiency of all the other gangs being thus increased, the act was equivalent to a small decrease of task to the able-bodied; but this has been compensated for by employing a larger number of boy coolies at 9 pie who were formerly on the gratuitous 3-pie list."

He adds that there is an improvement in the condition of the 3-pie children, but there are still some wretched specimens of emaciation. The Collector forwards this with the remark that he believes the coolies are able to buy ragi and not rice, but will enquire about this.

14. On the 26th April Mr. Price reports<sup>1</sup> his examination of 5,599 coolies in the Budwail Taluk. He classified them with the following results; "indifferent" meaning those who were unable fully to perform the small task allotted them:—

	Men.	Women.	Children.	TOTAL.
Condition good - -	17	10	13	13
Do. fair - -	62	69	48	63
Do. indifferent - -	18	18	31	20
Do. bad - -	2	2	6	3
Do. very bad - -	1	1	2	1
Total - -	100	100	100	100

After enquiring into the subject, he came to the conclusion that the coolies got their full wage and were not defrauded by any intermediary. The Board wrote, on the receipt of this letter, as follows:—

"3. The report deserves close attention: Mr. Price is a careful observer and competent to form an opinion, and there can be little doubt as to the accuracy of his description. The able-bodied men are

<sup>1</sup> Sanitary Commissioner's Report, 1877, p. 214, 6.

at present just kept going, but their condition is below par; the old men and growing children are very low, and nursing mothers are unable to nourish their infants. The numbers on gratuitous relief are increasing, and, unless some increase of wage is allowed, many on the works must succumb.

"4. There is no reason to suspect fraud upon the labourers, and their low condition cannot be accounted for in this way. Mr. Arbutnot, in passing through the locality some months ago, found the people much reduced and distress severe, and they have not been able to regain their strength on the relief wages. The reduced wages have told more upon the people at Porumamilla than at Budwail, because, as pointed out by Mr. Price, rice is alone procurable. The fact is that the new scale has there been fairly tried; whereas in most other places where it is in force, a cheaper grain than that on the price of which the scale is fixed has been available. The Board are of opinion that some addition to the wages should be conceded to the classes who seem to suffer most at present, viz., the old persons, the growing children, and the nursing mothers."

15. 27th April.—Mr. MacCartie reports—inspected gangs on three roads, 2,060 in number. On one road, no change for the worse: weakly persons about 3 per cent. On another, coolies have improved. On the 3rd (where before they had looked wretched and their wage was calculated on prices lower than they could buy at)—

"This gave them an increase of one pie per head, or the exact amount of concession allowed in a recent Government Order. On inspecting them on the 24th instant, I found a striking improvement in their appearance, as out of 193 inspected, 15 only were in a reduced state, which gives a percentage of 7 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent., and the people altogether had lost the depressed look, which struck me on my last inspection over a fortnight before; this must be ascribed to the slight increase in rate and to the fact that more advantage was taken of the provision for non-labouring children of which the people were slow to avail themselves of at first, under the impression that they would be forcibly vaccinated or transported to Nellore.

"On the whole, no harm has resulted, and I consider that the present scale may be continued as far as this taluk is concerned, for a time at least.

"Wages are calculated according to the price of rice and not ragi, which is considerably cheaper than the former."

The Collector adds:—

"Mr. MacCartie's report shows that the coolies are in good condition, but from what he says it is evident that they have, except perhaps at Yerraguntla, not been living upon one 1 lb. of grain. From what I saw of the country on the banks of the Pennair about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Yerraguntla and where the ragi crops had just been harvested, I am inclined to think that the people at Yerraguntla have been able to obtain ragi. I consider that it would be unsafe to alter the present standard."

The Board, in submitting the report, remark (9th May):—

"There seems no need to make immediate change here. The fact that ragi is obtainable, and that the wages are computed with reference to the price of rice, explains the result. The increase of one pie allowed by Mr. MacCartie at Yerraguntla could scarcely have produced so marked an effect."

16. On the 21st April Mr. Bernard wrote the following note after an interview Mr. Benson had with Sir Richard Temple<sup>1</sup>:—

"Regarding the condition of his labourers, Mr. Benson says that the men and women on the works seem to him to be generally in good condition. But among the small children (on 3 pie per diem) he finds, especially at Kodur, a considerable number of emaciated little creatures. Many of these were found on enquiry to have come on the 3-pie allowance within the last few days only. Perhaps they will come round on the 3-pie; meanwhile those who were very reduced have been handed over to the village headmen (Reddies) to be fed at home.

"On the Cheyair embankment the labourers were till recently on the 2-anna scale, but they were reduced to the 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ -anna rate about 20 days ago. Since the reduction took place, Mr. Benson has visited them twice, and he did not observe any sensible reduction in their condition. But then, though the wages are reduced, these labourers now get the Sunday's wage, and also get the 3-pie allowance for children, whereas previously they enjoyed neither of these advantages."

17. Mr. Price, in his evidence before the Famine Commission, made the following statement on this subject:—

"I watched carefully the working of the Temple ration in the Cuddapah district, where I was Acting Collector from the beginning of 1877 till March 1878. It was applied I believe in March, and continued until Government raised the ration in May or June. It was certainly in force for over two months. During that time I personally inspected 10,000 persons, some of the gangs two and three times; and in saying that I observed distinct deterioration, I base my statement upon particular observation of individuals whom I personally remembered. The wage was regulated by the price of rice at the head-quarter station of the taluk; and in some cases the people may not have been able to buy rice on the works at the same rate. There were, however, instances in which the price of 1 lb. of rice paid to the people on works bought more than 1 lb. of dry grain, which was the staple food of the people of the country. Where the latter was procurable, they bought it in preference to rice.

"The greatest difference that I can remember between the rates of rice at the kusba and on the works was from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a local seer per rupee. At this time all rice used by coolies was imported grain."

<sup>1</sup> Blue Book III, page 394.

"On a work near Cuddapah itself which I knew well, the people deteriorated in condition. They were doing only about one-third of what the Department of Public Works set down as a full day's task. Government ordered that, if short work was turned out by the coolies, we could only fine them to the extent of the six pies, but were never to interfere with the 1 lb. part of the ration. I tried fining them, but gave it up, as I found that it produced sickness.

"There was during all this time an utter absence of vegetable food in the country; but after the cyclone of May 13th, 1877, there was plenty of green food, then came the change in ration, and between the two the coolies certainly improved."

18. In Cuddapah it seems that nearly every possible fault was committed; the three pie allowance was not given regularly, the Sunday wage was not given at all, and the wage was often calculated on prices not obtainable on the works. Mr. Price, the collector, and Mr. Cox were opposed to the lower scale from the first, but Messrs. Benson and McCartie came to, on the whole, a favourable conclusion; and Dr. Townsend's evidence as to the good condition of the labourers near Cuddapah town is decided. In fact, where a large proportion of the labourers were the wives and children of syces and people in service in the town, it is hard to believe that they can have been as reduced as Mr. Price considers they were.

### III.—Nellore.

1. It appears that the reduced rate of wage was being gradually introduced into this district at the end of February, when Sir Richard Temple visited it. He thus wrote regarding the coolies:—

"Out of the large number of relief-labourers whom I inspected carefully (about 17,000 in all);<sup>1</sup> very few were found to be apparently in a condition to sustain themselves. The vast majority seemed to be persons of the right sort for these works; that is, persons who really needed this form of relief. Their physical condition was generally fair. But among them were found, sprinkled here and there, persons whose physical state was low and unsatisfactory. Every one of these I brought to the notice of the Collector. The total number at the time of my visit, 55,000 persons on district works and 30,000 on the East Coast Canal (of which latter most belong to the Nellore district), in all 85,000, amounts to six per cent. on the population of the district—a proportion which, though liberal and sufficient to meet the existing distress, is not excessive, considering the failure of harvests."

2. Very little seems to have been recorded by the Collector, Mr. Grose, regarding his opinions on the wage question; but the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Ross, made weekly weighments of relief-coolies on five occasions. It is not stated on what work the coolies were employed; but they were in all cases the same persons who were weighed on the first occasion on the 15th March. The following table shows the result of the weighments to be a general loss of 42 lbs.: the boys alone gained, on the whole, in weight; all other classes lost:—

		Date of weighments.	Number weighed.	Number increased.	Number decreased.	Increase or decrease of total weight.
Men	{	23rd March -	22	—	—	+ 7 lbs.
		30th " -	19	7	9	— 4
		7th April -	8	1	5	— 19
		15th " -	11	3	4	— 8
		21st " -	11	4	6	— 2
Women	{	23rd March -	29	—	—	— 11
		30th " -	27	14	9	+ 17½
		7th April -	13	6	7	— 1
		14th " -	18	5	12	— 21½
		21st " -	20	9	9	— 6
Boys	{	23rd March -	11	—	—	+ 2½
		30th " -	11	4	5	— 2½
		7th April -	8	6	1	+ 5½
		14th " -	7	5	—	+ 9
		20th " -	6	4	2	+ 3
Girls	{	23rd March -	17	—	—	+ 5
		30th " -	13	2	10	— 15½
		7th April -	6	4	2	— 2
		14th " -	6	1	5	— 12½
		21st " -	7	5	—	+ 13½

In reporting the weighments of March 31st, Dr. Ross said: "It may fairly be stated from the observations made hitherto that the scale of diet calculated on is insufficient;

<sup>1</sup> Minute dated 6th March, para. 4.

"and yet at this time frogs, fish, and dead-cattle flesh were procurable." On 11th April he wrote :—

"The examination under report, like those which preceded it, yields no very decided result. There are so many disturbing causes, that as regards the question of the sufficiency or otherwise of the rates allowed to relief-coolies to purchase enough food to maintain life these examinations can tend to no useful purpose, unless indeed these disturbing causes be duly weighed. Most of the coolies were able during the week to obtain a considerable amount of meat, fish, &c., without cost of anything more than a little additional labour. One of the coolies confessed that he had had over six pounds of (dead) beef during the week; and as the cattle are still dying rapidly (although not so rapidly as formerly), a valuable addition to the diet of the lower castes will probably be obtainable from this source for some little time to come."

On the 18th April he remarks as follows :—

"There has been a marked falling off in all classes during the week under report, which was quite visible to the eye in most cases. The rain which fell at the end of March killed a number of the weakly and dying cattle, affording an abundant supply of food to the lower castes; while the river freshes gave a quantity of fish to the fishermen and some other castes. Thus the week previous to that under report showed results somewhat favourable as regards the condition of the relief-work coolies. But the rain which killed the weakly and dying cattle gave forage to those remaining, and the deaths among the cattle became less frequent in the week ending the 7th April. Fish, too, became less easily procurable, and the result is marked.

"The ragi crops have come in; and as the price of this grain is only one-half of that of rice, and as it contains a much larger proportion of nitrogen, the condition of the coolies who can obtain it is much better than might otherwise have been expected. Mr. Crole, the additional sub-collector, tells me that some of his relief-coolies who are now living on ragi are in splendid condition. I requested that some might be sent me for examination; and when they come, I will submit a report of the result.

"\* \* \* \* They seem to demand more than they could obtain under the best circumstances in the best seasons, and to have perfect liberty of action also. If not satisfied in this respect, they prefer starving in their own houses to going to the relief-camps."

3. On the 17th April, the collector, Mr. Grose, reported that four of his officers noticed no change, six believed they had seen a loss of flesh. Mr. Stanley, in charge of large relief-works, state that his "workmen are in a very reduced state," but attributes this "as much to the inferiority of the rice sold there as to anything else":—

"All these gentlemen consider that the reduced scale is too low, and most of them comment on the discontent caused thus and by the enforcement of task-work; but that is not the point.

"As regards my own observations, I may state that when I came to this district, early in March, I was persuaded that the new scale of wages was dangerously low, and so gave anxious attention to the subject from the first. I still believe that the theoretical amount of grain and extras provided for by Government is insufficient to support life; but the sanitary commissioner himself states that irremediable evil will have been slowly caused before a change is perceptible to the eye; and I have seen nothing (except the opinions quoted above) to add certainty to my belief, though I have inspected many hundreds of coolies here and in Darsi and Podile, and lost no opportunity of questioning officials who have had opportunities of forming an opinion on the subject.

"The Zillah Surgeon has weighed the same coolies (selected under my orders as fair specimens) week after week, beginning on the 15th March; and I have made it a point to be present as often as possible. The coolies looked very thin and hungry at the first weighment, and they looked just as bad, but not worse, on the last occasion at which I was present, the 17th instant.

"It is not the case in this district that the relief camps are filling at the expense of the relief works. I have only discovered one recipient of gratuitous relief who had been on the works, and he was sent in by Mr. Crole, because of an affection of the eye."

The weighings were continued, and a letter from Dr. Cornish, dated 15th June (quoted in his report, page 221) shows that on the 27th May a general decrease of weight was observed except in the girls. This report is not contained in the Madras file.

4. On the 12th June, however, after the rate of wage had been raised, no improvement was evinced. Dr. Ross then wrote<sup>1</sup> :—

"The deterioration in the condition of the coolies is most marked. It will be more so if the wretched condition in which they were when first examined is borne in mind. A glance at the tables of weights taken at different periods will show a serious falling-off in the condition of the coolies examined, many of them young, or in an age of active growth; while if their diet during the period they were under examination had been sufficient, almost all should have increased in weight."

"On this report the surgeon-general makes the following remarks :—

"The coolies employed on the relief-works are practically illustrating in their poor bodies the gradual process of dying under a starvation-diet."

5. Mr. Crole, who was sub-collector of Nellore in 1877, gave the following evidence before the Famine Commission :—

"Question 6.—The Temple ration went on in February, March, and April, and I observed it carefully. There was a road from Rapur to Atmakar, where I watched the coolies, about 1,700 or 1,800.

<sup>1</sup> Sanitary Commissioners Report, 1877, p. 213.

I watched them improve gradually till I drafted them off to the canal. They were in poor condition when they came on the work, and they lived away from their homes. When they became stronger and in better health, I sent them off to the canal. Dr. Ross said that they got dead cattle to eat; but I never observed this, and many were of castes which could not eat such food. I should say I weeded out at least 1,000 in this way who had improved so on the Temple ration that they were too strong for mere relief-works, and were fit for the canal and for piece-work. Some again deteriorated, but I have seen that on all scales of pay. The task imposed was a light one, supposed to be 50 per cent. of a modified hot-weather task; but they really turned out more than this. The women improved as much as the men. Payments were made daily by a superintendent on about Rs. 80. He distributed to gumashtas; they to the gang maistris; and they again, to the coolies. If the outturn was short, they were cut sometimes to a small amount, a part of the pies, never any part of the 1 lb. I was careful to see that the wage was enough to buy 1 lb. on the work, not merely at the cusba town."

6. Dr. Ross's is the most weighty evidence against the wage, since it is based on personal observation and weighing of the same individuals. But Mr. Crole's statement must also be taken as proof that in a large number of cases the wage was sufficient.

#### IV.—Chingleput.

1. The reduced wage came into force among the gangs employed under Major Murray, special relief officer, on the 18th February. On the 5th March he wrote in his second weekly report: "I do not as yet perceive any difference either in their condition, spirits, or in the manner or amount of their work. Of course, they grumble more or less,..... but on the whole, I think, they are doing fairly well on the present wage."

2. On the 6th and 7th March, Major Murray reported, that rice being a little cheaper in Madras, the relief wage had been lowered to 0-1-4 for men (calculated at 10 pie for 1 lb. of rice), and that in consequence all the able-bodied had deserted the works. He objected to the frequent change of wage according to variations of price as unsettling people; urged that if they did get one or two pies too much it was a good thing, and that there should be a low minimum fixed, less than which should not be given as wage; the more so as on Public Works Department works close by they could earn two annas a man. The collector, Mr. Barlow, in forwarding this (10th March) observes that "the new scale of wages is very low, too low in my opinion; but it was intended only to be just enough to keep body and soul together," and that the people would be sure to crowd into Madras, hoping to get higher wages.

3. On the 8th March, Major Murray, writing direct to Government, said:—

"Since my last report to Mr. Barlow, the deputy tahsildar in charge here has brought to my notice several cases of fainting at work. Both this officer and the hospital assistant who saw the cases attribute the fainting to no other cause but that of insufficient food."

"Since this order came into force, I have carefully watched our working people, and this morning I have gone over all (about 700) at work here; and though I cannot say I see them much poorer in looks than before, there is, I think, little doubt from all the evidence in the matter that they are insufficiently fed."

4. Next day Major Murray wrote to say, that though rice could be bought in Madras at 1 lb. for 10 pie, at or near the works it cost 12 or 13 pie, so that the workmen did not get the quantity they were intended to get for their wage of 16 pie per man, 13 pie per woman, and 8 pie per child:

"Under present circumstances, where the wage is so small and the food to be bought for it so inadequate, I am decidedly of opinion that the physical condition of the people I inspected this morning at the Poonamallee camp-works is falling off; and they complain bitterly."

The Government order on this was, that the collector was to visit the camp and see to the wage rates in force, and that Major Murray was to "forthwith introduce the payment of the value of 1 lb. of grain plus half an anna," meaning, apparently, that the wage should be so calculated as to allow the workmen to buy 1 lb. of grain at the rates current on the spot. On the 20th March, the collector reports having paid this visit on the 16th and given orders about the rates, warning the special relief-officer carefully to test the statements of coolies and grain-dealers as to the local rates of food. He adds: "I consider that the working labourers are not in good condition.....I have already reported that I consider the scale of wages to be insufficient."

5. On the 15th March, Major Murray remarked that the gift of 3 pie for infants only affected the children of low-caste people:

"The high-caste man will not bring his wife or children when unable to work, even if starving to our relief-camps. \* \* He takes home his daily wage to his village, and it is clear that, if he shares his small earning with others, his physical condition must suffer."

Mr. Barlow, in forwarding this on the 23rd March, says :—

"Nothing strikes me more than the gradually increasing appearance of distress pervading the better classes in this district.

"I do not now see what can be done beyond affording plenty of work and fair wages, and holding village officers responsible for cases of actual starvation."

6. On the 23rd March the collector, Mr. Barlow, reports on the condition of his relief coolies for the week ending 10th March. Some of his officers see no change. Major Murray says, "I do not now think that the people are thriving on the amount of food to be bought for this wage, and I am of opinion that they are physically falling off" and three other officials say, "the coolies are beginning to look somewhat weak and emaciated."

7. On the 24th, the collector reports for the week ending the 17th, in almost exactly the same terms. The sub-collector wanted more time to pronounce an opinion. Major Murray's verdict was again unfavourable; one temporary deputy collector said :—

"The coolies certainly did not look to me very robust and in best of health, but, as a rule, they looked tolerably healthy, although there were a few who had an emaciated and bloated appearance about them, the result of low diet."

8. On the 7th April, the collector reported for two weeks ending the 24th and 31st March :—

"2. The special relief officer states, that he sees no change in the condition of the people under his charge since the date of his last report, and attributes this partly to people now obtaining as wage the full value of 1 lb. of rice at the retail price of the bazaars nearest the camps, plus the extra allowance for condiments, and chiefly to the fact of the wives and children of the coolies, if unable to work, being carefully fed at the camps.

"3. The deputy-collector in charge of the Saidapet taluk has noticed no changes, but the temporary deputy in charge of the Trivellore taluk says, that there has been a marked falling off in the number of coolies on nearly all the works, and that the physical condition of such as are still employed is gradually but slowly becoming impaired. He is, however, of opinion, that 'where a man spends the whole of his earnings on himself, the rates are adequate to provide him with food sufficient for his subsistence.' It further appears, I am glad to say, that the railway works lately begun are attracting a very large number of coolies."

The sub-collector, Mr. McCarthy writes :—

"It appears that the most marked result of the reduction of coolies' wages has been a large falling off in their numbers. This you will observe from the numerical returns for the past week. In most places a large proportion of the coolies withdrew from the works on the introduction of the new rates, though, in some cases, they returned to work again after a few days. This was when they could not get any other employment in the neighbourhood, under the Public Works Department for instance. The Deputy Tahsildar of Utrameralur states, that he has observed some deterioration in the physical condition of the labourers, and so also apparently has the Deputy Tahsildar of Chingleput, but none of the others seem to have noticed any such result as yet. It is not an easy thing to note changes of this kind, which can only be very gradual, and I do not think the observations of officers in charge of the works are much to be depended on. One man may imagine he sees a falling off in the condition of coolies when there has been none, while another may fail to observe it when it has happened. For this reason I think it is a dangerous experiment in the hands of inexperienced persons, which can be ill repaid by the small saving of expenditure which may be effected.

"As regards\* works under execution by Public Works Department, the executive engineer in charge of No. 2 Range says, that the physical condition of the people employed on the Porur Tank is gradually falling off, and that 'the others on other works are not in good condition,' and that 'none of them can be forced to do an average task.' In the reports from other officers of this department it is merely stated that the physical condition of the working classes is generally good or satisfactory."

\* Collector, dated 7th April, report for week ending 31st March.

The Board remark on this, that the reports are so conflicting that no reliance can be placed on them, and that as the Public Works Department pay by piece-work, the alleged deterioration there cannot be due to the reduced wage.

9. On the 9th April, Major Murray writes—

"I yesterday took the opportunity of Sunday being a day of rest, to inspect all the labourers at the Poonamali relief camp. This morning I have inspected those at Palaveram. The result of my inspection is, that I believe that these people are losing heart, and that during the last week they have fallen off in appearance and condition.

"I had fancied, or perhaps hoped, that during the two previous weeks, there was no change for the worse in their strength or general well-being, and my reasons for this hopefulness I gave you in my two last reports. I notice, however, now an appearance of listless weariness about them, which is distressing to see in people from whom one is bound to exact a certain amount of work before the daily pittance, which enables them to exist, can be paid. I must, therefore, again bring distinctly to notice that I believe the labourers, who are now working under my orders, are insufficiently fed."

10. 14th April.—Collector's report for week ending 7th: The Tahsildar of Trivellore thinks the coolies are low in condition and less capable of hard work than in the previous

week, and the special relief officer states, that they have fallen off in condition and appearance, and are losing heart. Mr. Barlow himself had inspected one camp, and could see little difference in the condition of the working coolies there. The great majority of these are women and children, the bulk of the able-bodied men having gone off to the railway works.

11. 19th April.—Collector's report for week ending 14th April, nothing fresh: "The number employed on local relief works is small, owing to the large numbers on the railway," i.e., the doubling of the line from Madras to Arcunum.

12. 25th April.—Report for week ending the 21st :—

"The special relief officer states that the labourers on works attached to the Palaveram camp 'are generally in poor condition, and are clearly suffering from insufficient food,' while those at the Poonamali camp are in somewhat better condition. The deputy collectors in charge of the Saidapet and Trivellore Taluks have observed no changes since their last report. \* \* \* The complaints as to the inadequacy of the wage, however, continue as frequent as ever."

13. 5th May.—Report for week ending 28th April :

"The Special Relief Officer says that 'those of the labourers who have been working on the present wage since its introduction, have decidedly fallen off in physical condition,' but the other officers have observed no change since their last reports." "I have especially inspected, since my last report, a fair number of coolies who have been on the works ever since the new wage was introduced. Their condition is not good in my opinion."

14. On the 11th May, he sent up his last report for week ending the 5th May, to the same effect :

"The Special Relief Officer says, 'the people who came under my notice as labourers in this district on the reduced scale of wage, are still falling off ; and it will be unnecessary that I should furnish any further weekly report on this subject, as I am fully convinced, and no further experience can alter this conviction, that the reduced scale of wage is insufficient to provide the labourer with the necessary food to keep up his physical condition, and at the same time do any work.'

"The Deputy Collector in charge of the Saidapet Taluk has observed no changes, but the officers in charge of relief works in the Trivellore Taluk state that there has been a slight deterioration in the physical condition of the coolies, owing to the insufficiency of the scale of wages, but partly to the excessive heat of the weather."

15. The numbers employed in Chingleput on the reduced wage were too small to be of much service in this discussion. The district officers in general were satisfied with the wage, except Major Murray ; and that officer changed his opinion too suddenly between the 5th and 9th of March, for his views to carry much weight.

#### V.—North Arcot.

1. The reduced scale of wages was introduced among the relief-gangs employed near Vellore on the 3rd March. The civil surgeon of Vellore, Dr. Fox, reported on the 19th March, having repeatedly visited the 1,600 coolies at work on a tank near Vellore, that—

"in my opinion, as a body they have much deteriorated. A very considerable number are weakly and much emaciated, more especially so among the very young and the old ; the men (of whom there are but few) and the young women do not show it to so great an extent ; but there are very few coolies that could be classed as 'able-bodied,' and even these, who as yet are not very much emaciated, in most instances show symptoms of commencing anæmia in the pale conjunctiva and abnormally white sclerotic. Very few indeed look robust, and all form a striking contrast to the large jail population in this station."

On another work where 400 men were employed in fencing the relief camp, their condition was better and the men and young women looked better than the children and old people.

"The inferior condition of the gangs on the Suriaguntah tank, compared with those at the relief camp may, perhaps, be partly due to the nature of the work which at the tank is much harder ; removing thick tenacious mud up a steep incline, and carrying it some distance ; it may also be less wholesome, as the mud has rather a disagreeable smell when first disturbed ; but both gangs in my opinion show insufficient feeding."

2. On the 31st March Dr. Townsend inspected the Vellore gangs and wrote as follows<sup>1</sup> :—

"1,120 people divided into eight gangs of 32 (*query*—32 gangs of 35 each) in the proportion of 7 men, 16 women, and 12 children. Some of these gangs were formed on the 15th of March, others on the 21st to 23rd, and some as late as the 29th.

<sup>1</sup> Blue Book III. page 325.

"These people are employed on task-work, the task being 75 per cent. of the ordinary Public Works rates, and they are paid at the following rate:—

	A.	P.
Men	1	11
Women	1	5
Children	1	0

No allowance is given to young children.

"Payment is made once a week, seven days' pay is given for six days' work. A very large proportion of the men employed were old or elderly and many of them were of spare habits, as is very commonly the case with the natives above the middle age, but they were fairly muscular and their appearance healthy. The younger men were, for the most part, robust and in good condition. The same may be said of the women. Many of the older women were thin and spare and some of them weakly-looking, but the younger women were, for the most part, plump and in good condition. The children on the whole had the appearance of being well nourished."

"Gangs of coolies, chiefly women, employed in fencing the relief camp. These gangs had been established about six weeks, and had been on the reduced rate of—

	A.	P.
For men	1	5
" women	1	0
" children	0	9

"They appeared to be in very fair condition, and there was no sickness among them."

He does not seem to have visited the coolies on the tank of whom Dr. Fox gives so bad a report, and the party he first inspected were on the higher scale of wage; the second party, however, were on the reduced wage.

### 3. On the 15th April, the Collector, Mr. Whiteside, reported:—

"My divisional officers are unanimous in stating that the rates of wages in force have not produced any unfavourable change in the condition of the labourers employed on relief-works. From my personal observation I entertain a similar opinion, so far as regards present effects of the existing rates of wages on the condition of the people."

"The only officer who complains of the insufficiency of wages and the consequent failing condition of the relief-gangs is Mr. Clerk, in charge of the relief-works in the Punganoor division; and he avers that there is now a very perceptible falling off in the condition of the gangs. I have authorised him to reduce the task-work in proportion to the physical capability of the working-gangs, to make alterations in them according to circumstances, to afford gratuitous relief to the aged or weak relatives of the labourers on the work who hitherto have been dependent upon them for subsistence, and the payment of three pies per diem to all children under seven years of age belonging to the relief coolies and actually present on the works, is also being made."

The Board also remark—

"The state of the case seems to be that where coolies were in good condition to begin with, the new scale of wages has been enough to maintain them in that state, but where they began work in a low state, they have not been able to regain strength on the new scale, or even to maintain their former condition. It must be remembered that the new scale has scarcely anywhere been really introduced in its entirety."

### 4. Again on the 26th April, the Collector wrote:—

"From the information furnished to me by the various officers in charge of relief works and from my own personal observations, I am of opinion that, during the past week, the reduced scale of wages has not injuriously affected the physical condition of the relief-labourers; on the other hand, the Assistant Collector Mr. Tremeneheere, in charge of relief-works in the Chittoor Taluk, has reported to me that he weighed some of the relief-coolies from time to time, but did not find any material deterioration in their bodily weight, and in many instances the coolies increased three and four pounds in weight during the month."

### 5. On the 14th May the Civil Surgeon of Chittour reported:—

"On the 11th instant and 13th, I inspected about 2,000 coolies; of these, I especially examined 700 one by one. This body of 700 people comprised 350 men, 260 women and 90 children. Of the men, I consider 30 per cent. to be anæmic, of the women 24 per cent., and of the children 20 per cent. Many of those who were anæmic do not appear to have lost flesh, though their health has undoubtedly deteriorated, and daily numbers present themselves at the hospital suffering from dropsy, unable to continue longer on the works, from this cause. Many also (about 100, I am informed) have been unable during the last two weeks to complete their task-work on account of weakness, they have been fined one or two pies in consequence, which further reduced their ration. \* \* \*

"I enclose list of weights of seven gangs of coolies. From the aggregate of these lists, it may be seen that, during the week from May 4th to May 11th, 39 coolies decreased in weight 46½ lbs., and 17 coolies increased 18 lbs., showing a decrease of 28½ lbs. in 56 coolies in a week; and that during the fortnight from April 27th to May 11th, 35 coolies decreased in weight 68½ lbs., and 13 coolies increased 19½ lbs., showing a decrease of 49 lbs. in 48 coolies in a fortnight."

"Again on the 8th June, or a fortnight after the higher scale of wages had been brought into force, Dr. Walker was not able to report any improvement."

6. In his evidence before the Famine Commission, Mr. Whiteside said as follows :—

“ I observed the working of the Temple ration. Mr. Tremenhoe was employed under my orders weighing the coolies week by week, and I personally inspected gangs repeatedly who were working on this ration in and around Chittúr. My opinion was that if the whole ration was consumed by the worker and not shared with other members of the family, it was sufficient to keep him in fair ordinary health. It was not enough to improve on, if in a low state of health. I will send Mr. Tremenhoe's figures. They were reported to the Board, who pooh-poohed them, doubting if Mr. Tremenhoe had weighed the same people; but he was a careful officer and was sure he had done so. I think the ration was a bare subsistence, but not enough to bring up in health those reduced, or to keep in health a man in really hard work; it is dangerously near the mark. The subsequent rate of 1 lb. *plus* 1½ annas was too liberal; people were so happy over it, they evidently did not really want it. The Bombay ration of 1 lb. *plus* 1 anna was, I think, the right thing.”

7. Similarly the Collector's Sheristadar, Mr. B. Strinivasachari, stated :—

“ I observed the working of the Temple ration on many works in the district. I did not observe in any case the same persons on the same works at consecutive periods of time; but I inspected the gangs on the works and was satisfied with their condition. On two or three works I did inspect the people twice and found some people fatter and some in the same condition, but no one thinner. When they did grow thinner, I should be inclined to suspect that the cause was that they share the ration with other members of their family who did not work.”

8. Mr. Tremenhoe's weighments have never been sent. So far as they go they would tend to weaken the conclusions drawn from Dr. Ross's weighments, were it not that Dr. Walker also weighed the coolies with such unsatisfactory results. The opinion of the district officers, except the two civil surgeons, is decidedly favourable to the reduced wage.

#### VI.—Coimbatore.

1. On the 2nd March the Collector, Mr. Wedderburn, reports that the reduced rates had been introduced in four taluks. In three of them the effect produced had been that a large number of coolies deserted the works; no change was observed in the condition of those who remained. In the fourth Mr. Cook, the Special Relief Officer, reported (February 24th)—

“ With regard to the physique of the coolies at work since the reduction of wages, I regret to state that I observe a decided falling off. This is more marked among the men than the women. I fear that as the hot weather approaches they will find it very difficult to work in the sun, supported as they are by the miserable pittance allowed them.”

In the remaining taluks the labourers worked up to 25 per cent. of a full task, and were paid at scale No. I.

2. 15th March.—Collector and Sub-Collector (Mr. McWatters) have examined nearly 10,000 coolies all on Scale I., and saw no signs of defective nutrition, though they considered it was not safe to make any further reduction.

3. 14th March.—Mr. Cook reports—

“ The condition of the coolies is not as I should wish. They have certainly deteriorated owing to the small pittance we pay them, and say they are unable to do the same quantity of work they were doing before. If we want to keep up the physique of the coolies and help them to ward off cholera in these famine days, it is necessary to pay them higher wages. If Government are not willing to raise wages, lesser work should be exacted from them.”

Payments are made bi-weekly, and the wages given are 1½ annas to men, 1¼ to women, and ¾ anna to children. But he has since found that his coolies are doing 75 per cent. of an ordinary task, and he intends to raise their wages to the higher scale. This alteration the Collector and the Government approved. (At this time there was a severe outbreak of cholera in the taluk).

4. 22nd March.—Mr. Wedderburn states that he had not understood before that each labourer's wage was intended for himself, and that the members of a family who were incapable of work might receive gratuitous relief. Out of 100 families taken at random aggregating 462 souls, the workers were 163, and the non-workers 299. Work is paid for weekly.

31st March.—The Collector submits reports by his Assistant, Mr. Martindale's conclusion was that the deterioration in one taluk was due to the incompetence of the tahsildar who managed the works. Mr. Cook's report is summed up by the Government as showing that while the reduced wage was in force, in February, the coolies deteriorated, but from the 1st March they were paid on the higher scale (No. I.), and since then they have improved.

6. 18th April.—The Collector argues that it is better for Government to pay the higher wage to a man who does more work and supports his non-labouring children, than to pay the lower wage to a man who does less work and who gets additional pay for his non-working children. The Board remark on this that even on the higher scale, the man should get extra pay for his non-labouring children.

7. It is clear that in this district the reduced wage was never properly tried; it was only in force in part of the district for a short time, and to the last the local officers never thoroughly grasped the idea that each labourer's wage was intended only to support himself, and not his dependents.

#### General.

In his evidence recorded by the Famine Commission, His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos made the following statements as the matured and deliberate expression of his opinion on the effects of the reduced wage:—

"11. As to a ration, I think I went too low in approving the Temple ration, 1 lb. + 6 pie. In May it was abandoned; possibly the raised diet was too large for the second member of a family, though not for single persons. It is true vegetable food was wanting; leaves, &c., all dried up in the beginning of the year: afterwards these revived, and may have caused an improved condition of people: during the first period, too, people eat roots, bark, fibres, which may have hurt them. The lowest safe minimum at one period might not be safe at another, and it is hard to make a comparison for that reason. I watched certain gangs for four weeks, who were on the lower ration, and saw a marked loss of condition. In Nellore some gangs kept up condition apparently on the ration, but they also ate, we ascertained, lizards and snakes, which abounded in the jungles close by, and which they spent the nights in catching."

In his report for 1877, Dr. Cornish has treated this subject at length and recapitulates at length some of the evidence which has been quoted above in this note, against the rate, but none of the evidence in favour of it. He sums up strongly against the rate of wage, but adds, that wishing to be impartial he is bound to state two other causes which conduced to lowering the vitality of the people: viz., Alterations in staple of food, i.e., the loss of the millets on which they chiefly live, and the substitution of rice; and the want of all green vegetable food at the hottest period of the year.

Again, on being asked by the Famine Commission to state on what precise examinations of the same gangs of labourers at different periods of time he based his conclusion that they were suffering from the reduced wage, he replied (March 5th, 1879):—

"4. I have delayed submission of this reply to look over in detail the diaries of Inspecting Medical officers. In several instances, weighments and measurements were taken; in others, the absence of scales and weights interfered with the experiment, and, as a rule, the people subjected to experiment could not be found when wanted for a second weighing. The evidence, therefore, except that from Nellore and Palaveram, is of no value. I must add that the movements of the Sanitary Inspectors were so constant, that they could not undertake periodical examinations of the same gangs.

"5. My general experience, founded on the examination of many thousand coolies, was that under the low scale of wages the people rapidly lost flesh. I saw, with Sir Richard Temple, on 24th of April, at Gundacul, a gang of 180 men, and these, I was assured, were the same people whom Dr. Harvey, two months before, had pronounced to be in such admirable condition that they looked as if they had never missed a meal; and yet out of this gang Sir Richard Temple himself selected 41 as unfit for any work.

"6. At Bellary and Adoni I saw gangs of labourers in April who had a fair proportion of well-nourished individuals; but three months later, in July, there was not, broadly speaking, an able-bodied labourer to be seen in the same districts. The few had either gone off elsewhere to work, or the many had undergone a gradual wasting.

"7. My experience went to show, also, that the higher rate of pay introduced after 22nd May was not immediately attended by any satisfactory improvement in the physical condition of the people. While the rate of wages was increased, food prices had gone up in a corresponding ratio; and those in whom excessive bodily wasting had occurred, failed to benefit by the considerable addition to the wages. The evidence on this point in my annual report is important.

"8. But, while my personal experience as to the exact value of the one-pound ration is wanting in detail, I would beg the Commission to understand that evidence of a similar but more exact nature, in regard to many thousands of persons constantly under observation in jails, has been before me for years, and that, on my knowledge of the effects of jail diets, I do not hesitate in repeating, in the plainest of terms, that a diet of one pound of grain in famine times, plus the extras that can be purchased for half an anna (in famine times), is utterly inadequate for the wear and tear of a human being engaged on the daily labour involved in a famine labour task.

\* \* \* \* \*

"11. If the Commission desire to see this question sifted to a practical conclusion, I trust it will support my view that it should be placed in the hands of a committee of scientific experts, with full powers to institute rigid experiments on a limited number of the class of old offenders in our jails.

<sup>1</sup> N.B.—No weighments from Palaveram are reported.

It can never be decided by the opinion of this or that person ; and it is certainly most important that the issue raised should receive most careful examination. If Sir Richard Temple, and those who think with him, be right, it is quite clear that every jailor within the confines of India is in error, and guilty of wasteful extravagance in the feeding of convicts. In my view, jail administration, based on experience and close observation for many years, is not likely to have erred widely in regard to the quantity of food necessary for the support of a person engaged on moderate or hard labour."

## SECTION II.—THE RELIEF-WAGE IN BOMBAY.

Materials for this note : (1) Mr. J. M. Campbell's *Handbook for Famine Officers* ; (2) three notes "on the general policy of the Government," &c., by General Sir M. Kennedy and Colonel Merriman ; (3) Proceedings of the Bombay Government in the Famine Department ; (4) a printed collection of papers containing reports by district officers on the civil agency rates furnished to the Famine Commission by the Bombay Government ; (5) Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, Bombay, for 1877.

1. The following is a short statement of the different orders passed from time to time on this subject by the Bombay Government<sup>1</sup> :—

A.—For able-bodied labourers on Public Works Department works doing 75 per cent. of an ordinary task—

4th November 1876—

Men	- 2 annas.
Women	- 1½ „
Children	- 1 anna.

15th November 1876.—When grain rises to be dearer than 16 lbs. per rupee (the scale was made universal for all prices on 13th December)—

Men	- price of 1 lb. plus 1 anna.
Women	- „ 1 lb. „ ½ anna.
Children	- „ 1 lb.

19th December.—No work to be done and no wages paid on Sundays.

26th December.—Infants under 7 years of age to get ¼ anna daily.

29th December.—Grain means the medium quality of the cheapest variety.

17th March 1877.—Fractions of a pound to be given in the labourer's favour in computing wages.

13th June.—When work is stopped by rain, labourers to get civil agency rates.

B.—For non-able-bodied labourers on civil agency works doing 50 per cent. of an ordinary task—

19th January—

Men	- price of 1 lb. plus ½ anna.
Women	- „ 1 lb. „ ¼ „
Children	- „ ½ lb. „ ¼ „

29th May 1877.—When grain is dearer than 16 lbs. per rupee, the price of ¼ lb. to be given to infants, instead of ¼ anna.

10th August 1877.—When the price of grain reaches 9 lbs. per rupee, an increase of ⅓ to be made to the daily wage so as to provide for Sunday, but no work to be exacted on that day.

2. On the 23rd April the Sanitary Commissioner of Bombay (Dr. Hewlett), after completing a two-months' tour of inspection in the famine districts, reported as follows :—

"The physical condition of the labourers employed on the relief-works in the Mahratta-speaking country, including Sholapur, is, on the whole, extremely satisfactory, and the sanitary arrangements for them reflect, as a rule, great credit on the officers in charge of works."

Dr. Hewlett contrasted the good condition of the labourers in these districts with the condition of those in the Kanarese-speaking districts :

The present condition of the labourers at Sholapur impressed him as to the sufficiency of the rate of wages to enable persons who had been extremely reduced to recover strength and flesh ; and if the standard he has formed, viz., the condition of the children and the adult young men and women, be (as he maintains it is) a correct one, and the only safe guide in estimating the physical condition of the people, then, even on civil agency works, the people, it is evident, have from somewhere or other procured sufficient food to prevent wasting, and to keep the children, at all events, plump and with well rounded limbs.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Campbell's *Handbook for Famine Officers*, page 8.

"The people in the Kanarese districts were decidedly lower, but from the special causes fully met by the recent orders in Government Resolution No. 202 E—709, Local, dated 31st March 1877. If these orders are energetically and intelligently carried out, there is no reason why the condition of these people should not be quite on a par with that of the labourers in the Deccan districts. As far as he can see, every possible contingency is now provided for. The organization of village inspection; the immediate relief of destitute persons out of employment and unfit to work; the establishment of relief kitchens at suitable points; the issue of food to the old, the infirm, and cripples, who are too far removed from the central kitchen; the provision of employment to persons capable of work; the support of young children, with full powers to treat exceptional cases in a special manner, are measures which fully and entirely meet every possible requirement for the good of the people, and must be followed with the best results."

3. On the 27th March, the Commissioner of the Southern Division issued orders to his Collectors and their subordinates to "visit repeatedly the civil agency works and examine the gangs, to notice whether civil agency rates are sufficient, and whether the people maintain their condition," and to report their views from time to time.

#### *Poona.*

4. 29th March.—Commissioner forwards a letter from Collector of Poona (Mr. Norman) (date not given) reporting that—

"since the commencement of large public works in his district the numbers employed on works under civil agency have so much decreased, that it is difficult to say whether the rate of wages allowed on the latter class of work is sufficient or not. Observing that most of the labourers on civil agency works are so feeble and decrepit from age and other infirmities, that it is impossible to say whether their present condition is attributable to insufficiency of food or to natural infirmities; that, after inspecting nearly 20,000 labourers in company with Sir Richard Temple, the gangs which had been longest under the Public Works Department seemed to be in better condition than those which had recently joined from Civil works; and that this is notably the case on the Dhond railway, where some of the gangs, which had recently been sent from Indapur, were certainly suffering from insufficient food. Stating his opinion that a slight increase to the rates allowed on civil agency works is desirable; care of course being taken to employ none who are fit to do a fair day's work under Public Works Department."

5. 18th April.—Collector reports that his three assistants, Messrs. Keyser, Fletcher, and Ozanne, "after personal inspection of labourers on civil agency works, are not prepared to say that there is any marked deterioration apparent. The children especially appear to be in good condition."

6. 28th April.—Collector reports: "Nothing has come to my knowledge which would lead me to suppose that the present rate of wages on civil agency works is insufficient."

7. Mr. Keyser gave the following evidence before the Famine Commission:—

"I do not feel able to form an opinion about the sufficiency of the civil agency works wage. I do not think one can tell the effect of a wage: from constant inspection I can assert that it kept them in apparent good health, but I am sure it is below the ordinary food of the people of the country; and I suspect secret waste of the system may have been going on which would only appear outwardly after a long time. I had one civil agency work with 600 people, when cholera broke out and about 60 people died; and I had a suspicion that they must have succumbed the more readily through being reduced."

#### *Ahmednagar.*

8. 8th March.—Mr. Ffordc, a special relief officer, writes:—

"I consider the rate of pay on works under civil agency quite sufficient.

"On their introduction I was inclined to think the lesser wages too small; but, since I have had good opportunities of observing their effect, I am compelled to say that they appear to me high enough to maintain the people in comfort, and I think the following facts will go far to support this view.

"On the Kopargaon-Newasa road there were some 600 labourers at work under civil agency; and on my informing them that I should transfer them to works under professional agency, they at once intimated that they would prefer to remain on the lesser rate of pay. \* \* \* \* On this road there was an openly-expressed dread of the larger task on the Public Works Department works, and a preference was distinctly given to the lighter task and lesser pay on those under civil agency.

"I have just sorted a body of about 500 labourers on the Chinchala tank and Brahmui road works in this zilla. Out of this number, I have only discovered half a dozen who are unable-bodied, or who have no able-bodied members of their families. \* \* \* \* Many of the children had ornaments, and nearly all were chewing sugarcane, showing, I think, that there was no lack of means to live well. There was not a single complaint that the wages were insufficient, nor any demand for an increase, common enough on works where the pay is higher and the work heavier."

16th March.—Mr. Spry, 1st Assistant Collector, writes:—

"This morning I inspected a body of people numbering about 150. About two thirds of these were able-bodied, who had come on to the work since I last visited it for the purpose of drafting such persons on the railway. These I drafted off to-day. The remaining one-third were the less able-bodied whom I had left on the works previously. I do not hesitate to say, and I believe you will agree with me, that

the whole gang looked well and in good condition. Indeed, I think the less able-bodied who had been longest on the work had improved. No single complaint as to the rates, moreover, was made. Hitherto I have been inclined to believe that the civil agency rates were a little too low, but from what I have now seen I must confess that I think they are sufficient to afford a healthy existence."

16th March.—Mr. Hamilton, Assistant Collector, writes :—

"I see no reason to modify the opinion expressed in my letter No. 131 of the 21st ultimo, on the insufficiency of the wages on civil works.

"2. It seems to me that the question might be determined at once by an inspection of labourers, who have worked some time on the reduced wages at a distance from their homes, if there be any such; premising, of course, that they have no other means of subsistence.

"3. In the talukas under my charge, none would work on these conditions; they only remained where their homes were so near that they could visit them frequently.

"4. My opinion is worth little, therefore, compared with the opinion of those who have had charge of Civil works since the reduction of wages."

19th March.—The collector, Mr. Jacomb, writes as follows, forwarding these reports, with reference to Mr. Fforde's letter, paragraph 2 :—

"With reference to paragraph 2 of Mr. Fforde's letter, in which he states that the wages on civil agency works appear to him high enough to maintain the people in comfort, I beg to state that the wage of itself is insufficient in my view. The first proof adduced by Mr. Fforde in favour of his opinion that, out of the 600 labourers sent to the Ojhar Canal, only 117 entered themselves, does not agree with the experience elsewhere, as in Mr. Woodburn's taluka preference is given to the Public Works Department works.

"In reference to Mr. Spry's letter, I concur with him (paragraph 1) that the whole gang looked in very good condition; but I have seen another gang decidedly worse; and I should hesitate to accept Mr. Spry's conclusion from the inspection of a single gang, two-thirds of whom are admitted to have been able-bodied, and all to have only recently joined the works, and from no great distance, especially when I believe that the civil agency wage of itself is only sufficient for bare support without any margin whatever for accidents, and that the civil agency works in the worst talukas have been deserted since the introduction of the new rates.

The Revenue Commissioner, Mr. Robertson, remarks on these letters (27th March) :—

"Mr. Hamilton has, in the Revenue Commissioner's opinion, hit one of the most important points, when he states people only remained on civil agency rates when near to their homes.

"A careful perusal of Mr. Fforde's letter shows that the people he had on his civil agency works near to Rahuri belonged to a better and well-to-do class, who probably should not be on relief-works. The civil agency works were near their homes.

"Now, it is most possible that civil agency rates may be ample for people near to their homes; yet quite insufficient for those at a distance.

9. 8th April.—Mr. Woodburn, Supernumerary Assistant Collector, has inspected the only civil agency work in his taluka several times. "The people appear to maintain their condition and to be contented. There was no appreciable deterioration. None of them had, however, been more than a fortnight on the work."

9th April.—Mr. Fforde has personally inspected every individual on the works, and their condition appears satisfactory. "The children both weaned and at the breast are "in good condition."

16th April.—Dr. Dunn, Civil Surgeon, inspected, in company with Mr. Spry, two works, one under Public Work Department supervision with about 700 labourers; the other under civil agency with 200. He writes :—

"The gangs of work-people visited by me this morning,—those employed on the Shahpur tank under the Public Works Department, and those on the Sheogaon road under civil agency,—seemed to be in equally good condition. The children, too, seemed particularly plump and healthy.

Mr. Spry adds :—

"I do not think that, under the present system, it can be said that the relief-works are popular. On the reverse, they are not resorted to, except as a last resource. As a rule, the women and children seem in better condition than the men."

10. 4th May.—The collector, Mr. Jacomb, reports : "On the civil agency work near Nagar I found the people in good condition, with the exception of a few who had recently joined, and who will receive special treatment." He forwards two reports by Messrs. Hamilton and Fforde on a civil agency work between the Prawara and Mahalungi rivers. Mr. Hamilton says :—

"They are the weakest and poorest set of labourers I have yet seen, and do not get through the task I had originally designed for them. A 100 cubic feet of sand-filling costs 12 annas about, the lead being from 150 to 180 feet. At the same time, the people do not seem to be starving; they are physically a weak lot, and I do not think any interference is necessary."

Mr. Fforde writes :—

"Paraded mothers with infants at the breast. Condition of mothers and infants in most cases good, Infants all capable of eating bread. No falling off in condition of people."

11. 16th May.—Mr. Jacomb sends up reports by Messrs. Candy and Woodburn, which are satisfactory so far as they go, but refer to too small numbers on civil agency rates to be at all conclusive.

12. 7th July.—Mr. Candy wrote as follows:—

“When they came into force last January, I was co-operating with Mr. Spry, and made the first civil agency payment on the Nagar-Sheogaon road. The immediate result was great discontent, some violent talking, and a very general desertion of the work. There was a similar result in Rahuri taluka about the beginning of February.”

“I have since seen the working of civil agency rates on the railway and in the Shrigonda taluka. The civil agency gang on the railway, which was under me for a long time, was composed of those really unable to do hard work. They got on very fairly, and I did not observe any deterioration in their condition.

“On the Mandavgaon road the coolies kept very well on civil agency rates, but they did very little work. Where the better class of people engaged in work such as cleaning-out of wells, I found civil agency rates had the effect of clearing them off very quickly.

“I am of opinion that the introduction of civil agency rates in contradistinction to Public Works rates has been most beneficial, and has saved Government a large sum of money; for civil agency rates afford only a bare subsistence, while Public Works rates allow a small margin. Hence idlers, who came on the works to make money, found their hopes frustrated by the payment of civil agency rates.”

12th July.—Mr. Hamilton reported—

“The labourers under civil agency in the talukas under my charge have continued in good health and condition on the lower rate of wages, and they appeared to get sufficient to eat.

“I think it, however, very probable that the majority of them either had some small private means or received additional help from their co-villagers. Women with small children were certainly better off than those who had none; for the additional quarter anna per head was more than sufficient for the cost of their food.”

“I think the reduction in the rate of wages was felt most by individual men and women without families, though beyond doubt large numbers of such individuals have managed to keep their health and perform a little work.”

7th July.—Mr. Woodburn had been too frequently moved to maintain a personal inspection of any one set of labourers, but says:—

“The people generally on these works have kept in fair condition, and I may safely say that those who were thin, who consisted principally of old people and young children, did not fall off in condition after coming to work, and that the thin children improved. Extra pay was given to emaciated children and others.”

7th July.—Mr. Fforde points out that the people on civil agency works lived close by, and presumably had some little means of their own to eke out their wage. He adds:—

“As regards the sufficiency of the food which could be bought with the daily ration on civil agency works to keep a labourer in health, I can only give the result of my own observations among people who were undoubtedly badly off. My experience is, that there were few, if any, who could be called unhealthy from lack of food, and there were no cases of severe distress. This was especially apparent among women who were deserted by their husbands, of whom the number has been large, and among widows. But these and the nursing mothers with their infants have been all along in excellent health. Weakness of voice, the most certain sign of starvation, has not in any case been a characteristic of these people.”

9th July.—Mr. Apaji Rao, Deputy Collector, says he has not much experience of the work; but “from what I have seen lately of the labourers employed on the works “in Nagar and Newase taluks, I always found them in good condition and “health.”

13. On the whole it seems that in Ahmednagar all the district officers, except the collector, were satisfied with the civil agency rates; but the numbers employed on civil agency work were very small.

#### *Satara.*

14. The only report from this district, printed in the collection of papers, is by Mr. Moore, the collector, dated 7th June. The relief-mamlatdars in three talukas report that the rates of wages on civil agency works are favourable; that they are ordinarily sufficient to subsist a labourer in health, and that no prejudicial effect has been noticed.

#### *Kaladgi.*

15. 1st March.—The Relief-Mamlatdar, Bijapur, reports strongly against the civil agency rates. A man requires for his support 3 lbs. of jowari flour and 3 oz. of dāl,

besides salt, oil, &c. ; by the present rates he gets only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. of flour and nothing else, which will only be enough to keep him alive for a month or two, no work at all being taken from him :—

“ The people have now become so feeble on account of insufficient food, that I have found them on civil works, where only weak, old, and infirm persons are admitted, walking with little baskets over their heads at a very slow pace, now and then sitting down, only to be aroused by the dinning and scolding of the mustering karkuns, mukkadams, and others.”

This letter was forwarded by Mr. Silcock, Supernumerary Assistant Collector, with the remark that he did not concur. The civil agency rate had only been in force for a fortnight, which was too short a time for a trial; but the relief-mamlatdar himself admitted that no cases of severe distress had happened on the works. He agreed, however, that a Sunday wage ought to be given.

16. 8th March.—The deputy collector forwards reports by two other mamlatdars, who hold that the present rates are insufficient to keep the labourers in health, and are already telling on their physical condition.

17. 9th March.—Relief-mamlatdar Balaji Babaji Thakur reports against the rates. The average quantity of grain a man requires is a seer, and he needs more if he does any work in the open air. Hence the civil agency rate is insufficient, and many have left the works and got employment in the fields, where they can earn half a seer with four hours' labour. Those who remain on the works are persons whose homes are close by and who have private means. Urges that the wage should be four annas a day.

18. 13th March.—Mr. Fleet, 1st Assistant Collector, reports: “ It is my opinion that the present scale of wages is insufficient, and that, to preserve strength and health among the labourers employed by us, we should allow a man  $2\frac{1}{2}$  annas, a woman 2 annas, and a child  $1\frac{1}{4}$  annas.” He does not speak of having inspected any works, but forwards the reports of two mamlatdars who also consider the scale insufficient, and one of whom says that the people's complaint that their strength is reduced is, in his opinion, well founded.

19. 13th March.—Mr. S. B. Pandit, Extra Deputy Collector, reports at some length against the wage, but chiefly on the theoretical ground that it cannot be sufficient. He has inspected several works day by day, and observed that the labourers eat their food in the form of gruel, not of bread, which, he thinks, is a proof that the wage is insufficient.

20. 17th March.—Mr. Hogg, collector, sends up all these reports; says that, directly the order came out, he protested against it, and proved by figures that the rate must be insufficient. He then directed his subordinate to report on their effect, and this is the result. Except Mr. Silcock, every one condemns the reduced rate, and most officers consider that even 2 annas would not be enough.

21. On the whole, then, the Kaladgi opinion was decidedly unfavourable to the civil agency rates; but it is clear that this opinion was mainly formed on *a priori* grounds, and that there is no evidence that after careful inspection of the same people for a sufficient period their condition was found to deteriorate. It may perhaps be added that the Bombay Government considered that Mr. Hogg was in fault for having too clearly expressed the opinion which he wished his subordinates to adopt, and that he was removed from his appointment on the ground that the experiment could not have a fair trial under him. Mr. A. Wingate, who took the principal share in the relief administration in this district at a later period, drew up the following statement for the Famine Commission :—

“ I think the Bombay scales were ample. My attention was early drawn to the question of sufficiency; and I carefully watched the people in my charge, inspecting the gangs, individual by individual, both on public and civil works, and visiting the villages, house by house. There were many gangs, families, and individuals, whom I knew very well during several months. When dealing with thousands, it is no test of a wage to find here and there somebody weak and ill. At first, I made many inquiries, and I satisfied myself there were reasons why these cases should occur; after that, I simply set aside the exception for exceptional treatment. But to the last I could turn out the Public Works Department gangs, and feel they were as strong and cheery-looking as in a time of great trouble one would expect to find the population. Whatever a wage may be in theory, in practice I know that I can support hundreds of thousands on the value of a pound plus an anna; that a large majority will save on that wage, and that with graduated tasks, proper hospital arrangements, and a nursery for the children of those parents who are selfish or careless, I should fear the results of no inspection. I say so after handling, questioning, and examining very anxiously large numbers, and the same people over and over again during some five or six months of the worst of the famine in the worst part of our worst

district. I go further and say what I thought during the famine, that I could turn the whole Public Works Department people over to a civil agency wage, and pick out for the Public Works Department wage the few thousands who would require it; but I would not perhaps recommend this, unless I had a very strong staff of village relief-officers."

### *Sholapur.*

22. The only report from this district (relating to the earlier period) is one from the collector, Mr. Percival, dated 14th February, who considers that both the Public Works Department and civil agency rates should be slightly increased. He forwards a letter from Mr. Acworth, second assistant collector, who, writing on the hypothesis that Government desires to provide every labourer with two full meals of ordinary plain food per diem, shows that the civil agency rates of wage do not provide more than three-fifths of the quantity which (in his opinion) they ordinarily eat.

23. Dr. Townsend, officiating sanitary commissioner with the Government of India, deputed to ascertain whether the scale of wages was sufficient, wrote:—

"March 21st.—Rode out with Mr. Percival, the collector, to visit a gang of labourers employed under the civil authorities in excavating a tank about three miles from Sholapur. These were a much poorer lot than the gangs employed on the Moti Bagh tank. A very large portion of them were old and infirm, or in some way incapacitated for hard labour. Task-work is not exacted, and they accomplish very little in the day. The number employed here was about 300. The men receive  $1\frac{1}{2}$  annas, the women  $1\frac{1}{4}$  annas, and the children 7 to 9 pie. The bigger lads are reckoned as women. Children too young to work receive 3 pie each.

"The greater number of these people had been on the work at the above rate of wages since the middle of January. Their condition varied considerably: many were stout and in good condition; others were thin and weakly. The majority of the latter were old and infirm; but there were a few among the lads and young women who were undoubtedly suffering from the effects of insufficient nourishment. These cases, however, had come on the relief-work very feeble and emaciated, and they had improved since. The young children were in very good condition, and looked to be well cared for.

24. In evidence taken by the Famine Commission, the Rev. Harding (missionary) says: "I do not think the wages should have been so low as they were—both the civil agency and the Public Works Department rates. I formed this opinion from seeing the condition of the people after they came off the works, not while on them." And Mr. Sadasheo Pandmay Kaikar, manager of the cotton mill at Sholapur, says:—

"The wage ration of 1 lb. plus 1 anna is not sufficient. Two lbs. and one anna are sufficient. I saw the effect of the wage on roads, civil agency, near Sholapur. It made people quite weak, and they became fit for poor-houses. The 3 pies for children were not enough: they ought to get half of what an adult does. Flour or cooked food should be given instead of money wages."

25. About the time (22nd May) when the Government of Madras abandoned the reduced rate of wage on civil agency works the following classified census was taken of the labourers on the Bombay relief works:—

CLASSIFIED STATEMENT of PEOPLE, exclusive of CHILDREN under 7 years of age, upon RELIEF-  
WORKS in the AFFECTED COLLECTORATES on 19th May 1877.

Agency.	Total number of people on the work.	Number of persons belonging to the taluka in which the work is situated.	Number of persons belonging to the collectorate in which the work is situated, exclusive of those belonging to the taluka.	Number of Persons belonging to		Number of persons belonging to manufacturing classes, artisans or mechanics, or who are dwellers in towns.	Number of persons who are holders or sub-holders of land.	Number of persons belonging to the labouring classes.	Remarks.
				Other Collectorates.	Foreign States.				
P. W. Department Agency.	338,903	190,771	99,729	29,652	18,751	15,318	132,030	188,157	The difference, 4,321, is owing to the executive engineer, Kanara, and the collector of Dharwar, being unable to classify the people.
Civil Agency -	38,552	33,359	2,447	1,666	1,080	1,937	11,472	24,220	
Total -	377,455	224,130	102,176	31,318	19,831	17,255	143,502	212,377	

And the Bombay Government, writing on the 11th June, and referring to the passage in the Madras resolution of 22nd May, which said that comparatively few people received the lower rate of wage in Bombay, observed that this was true; for, though at first

nearly half the relief-labourers had been on civil works, at that time only one-tenth was so employed, it having been found practicable to organise the Public Works Department works so extensively that in the great majority of cases the higher wage was given in payment for a commensurate return of good and useful work.

25. On the 9th August, Mr. Robertson, Revenue Commissioner, reports as follows, after calling on all his Collectors for their opinion :—

“ Mr. Percival, Collector of Sholapur, has replied briefly as follows :—

‘ Before reporting, I sent the following questions to my assistants, as, although I know their opinions generally, I wish to obtain as definite answers as possible :—

- (1.) Have people who came on civil agency works improved or not?
- (2.) Have people on any civil works fallen out of condition to such an extent that they have been obliged to give up the work and come on charitable relief?
- (3.) What has been the effect of the rates on the children?

‘ The answers to these questions are—

- (1.) Doubtful, or not improved much.
- (2.) No such cases known.
- (3.) Good everywhere.

“ Mr. Percival observes that Mr. Davidson, who has watched the effect of the civil rates most carefully, sums up thus :—

‘ As a whole, I think the civil rates, modified by grants of extra allowance to nursing mothers, and with a little straining the point as to when boys and girls should be counted as men and women, and with payment as charity through the village officers to workpeople temporarily unfit for work through illness, have proved quite sufficient to keep the people alive and in health, though not to fully satisfy their appetites, or to keep their strength up to its normal point in an ordinary year.’

“ Mr. Percival adds :—

‘ Soon after I came here, I noticed that growing boys particularly complained of the low rates, and I advised the taluka officers to take a liberal view of such cases, which has been, I think, generally done in this district. It is difficult to fix the exact age at which a boy is to be considered to be an adult ; and on civil agency works this must be left to the relief-officers to decide as cases arise.

‘ With this exception, I think that the civil rates have proved sufficient for all persons on light work, and that the distinction between civil and Public Works rates should be kept up on relief-works.’

“ The collector of Satara, Mr. Moore, states that, from the opinions which his Assistants have expressed on the subject, and from his own observation, it appears to him that the civil agency rates are sufficient to maintain persons employed on light labour, such as is exacted on civil agency works, in good health and condition.

“ Mr. Jacomb, collector of Ahmednagar, observes as follows :—

‘ In my previous reports on the subject of the civil agency rates I recommended a slight increase, as I considered that the rate was sufficient only for a bare maintenance ; but I am inclined to think now, from the way in which the labourers on civil agency works have kept in condition, that the addition of 3 pies, which I once thought necessary as a margin for accidents and off-days, was not, as a rule, indispensable for the sustenance of people on work. In many cases this extra allowance was necessary, and has in reality been provided under the exceptional treatment plan ; and I still think that though no harm has come of the reduction

of wages, the cost of extras, of village inspection, of feeding weekly wanderers at the relief-houses, of allowances to children under 7 years of age, and of lower-power labour, will about counterbalance the saving that may have been effected under the change of wages.’

“ Mr. Norman, collector of Poona, observes that—

‘ it seems to be the general impression, in which he concurs, that civil agency rates have proved sufficient for the maintenance of the old and infirm, and such persons as are incapable of performing a fair day's work.

‘ On the other hand, it must be remembered that the orders of Government, under which special allowances could be granted to all persons in need of such assistance, have been freely made use of.

‘ It is also as well to note that task-work on civil agency works has never been rigidly exacted, partly for want of adequate establishment, but chiefly because the people, being in very good condition, could not be turned off, even if unable to perform the tasks allotted.’

“ It will be seen from the above that all the officers in this division, who have now had no inconsiderable practical experience, are of opinion that the civil agency rates are sufficient to maintain those receiving them in fair condition. I concur fully in this opinion. It must, however, be noticed that all lay no inconsiderable stress on the fact that much of the success attending these rates is due to the exceptional treatment which has been sanctioned by Government in certain cases. In Sholapur they have found it necessary to deal liberally when deciding whether young lads should be rated as boys or as men. The aid given to young children and nursing mothers has been also a great boon, as the civil agency rates were not calculated for these exceptional cases.”

On this letter the Government of Bombay remarked as follows :—

"The views expressed by the officers of the Southern Division in the report now submitted are confirmed by the recorded opinions of the Sanitary Commissioner to the same effect, and also by the opinions of experienced officers in the Kanarese districts, especially in Kaladgi, the worst of all the districts in the famine area ; and Government have, therefore, every reason for feeling satisfied that the wages all through the famine districts, both on civil agency and on Public Works Department rates, when paid under the adjustment of the sliding scale, and for six days only, are safe and sufficient, provided there be a proper and efficient organisation to pick up and deal with special cases of weakly persons."

26. In paragraph 49 of his final minute, dated 24th December 1877, on the Bengal famine, his Excellency Sir Richard Temple thus sums up his matured conclusions on the subject :—

"Subsequently some controversy arose, together with some conflict of medical opinion, as to the sufficiency of these rates, especially as regards the lower scale for those employed under civil agency. The relief-officers, the sanitary officers, and all others concerned, were instructed to watch the effect on the physical condition of the labourers, attention being specially directed to the civil agency gangs. Week after week, month after month, reports came to the effect that the condition of the labourers was not deteriorating. Opinion was at first less confident in respect to the civil agency gangs, but, as experience was gained, these people also were found to continue in ordinary condition. These observations were further confirmed by the sanitary officers after inspection, as also by the Sanitary Commissioner. Later in the season, it was thought desirable to collate all the evidence, including the most recent experience on the subject. And it is now regarded in the Bombay Presidency by all concerned, as an established fact that the scale is sufficient, and ought not, in justice to the public interests, to be exceeded."

27. And in his evidence before the Famine Committee, His Excellency delivered the following opinions :—

*Answer to Q. 220.*—"Speaking with the general concurrence of my advisers and coadjutors in the Bombay Presidency, I have to say that the scales of rations which prevailed in this Presidency have been found sufficient, not more than sufficient indeed, but still sufficient, and no more. In connection with this point, the strictness on supervision must be taken into account. If Government can rely on the relief people obtaining all that they are entitled to, then these rations are sufficient ; but Government cannot be confident of this, unless ample supervision is ensured. If, from any circumstances, the affair of relief passes out of control, if the numbers of people on relief multiply faster than the supervision, then we may be quite sure that these people will not get all that they require, and under such circumstances there is great danger of a ration which is barely sufficient being stinted by various sorts of peculations and thus becoming insufficient. In a ration restricted to bare sufficiency, no margin exists for peculation and the ration becomes condemned because it never was fully doled out. Unless therefore Government is quite sure of keeping relief thoroughly under control, unless abuses can be rendered next to impossible, it may be prudent for a time to allow a somewhat larger ration than would otherwise be allowed, upon the plain ground that if perchance poor people do not get all they are entitled to, still they will receive enough to sustain relief. If under any circumstances I were to find that relief people were crowding upon me beyond my power of immediate management, I would allow for a time something over the ration allowed in Bombay, simply as a margin for safety ; but, as soon as the affair was brought under control, I would gradually introduce the Bombay ration. If, on the other hand, the affair was thoroughly under my control from the beginning, I would advocate the Bombay ration. This, however, is a matter upon which I am unwilling to dogmatise. If there be any reasonable doubt, I would give it in favour of the people, and would rather incur the additional cost of the enhanced ration than run any risk of endangering life. In the Madras Presidency, the controversy which arose was recorded at the time. I have only now to say that when serious doubts were raised by the local sanitary authorities, I obtained from the Government of India the services of the then highest sanitary officer in India, and, after he had carefully conducted extensive examinations of the relief labourers, his written opinion was received in detail, and my recommendations were guided thereby. Subsequently the opinions of this high medical authority were endorsed by the sanitary officers in the Bombay Presidency. So far, then, as medical authority went, it was amply in support of the recommendations which I made."

*Mr. Caird : Q. 221.*—Did the high authority confirm the Bombay ration ?

*Answer.*—Yes, he did. But always, both in the Madras Presidency and in the Bombay Presidency, we provided that there should be extra allowance made for those who required special treatment. This provision was carefully carried out in the Bombay Presidency. How far it may have been carried out in the Madras Presidency I can hardly say.

*Mr. Sullivan : Q. 222.*—Did you not modify your original recommendation in Madras and allow something extra for young children attending along with their parents in relief ?

*Answer.*—My original recommendation was open to some misapprehension on this head, which misapprehension I rectified by a supplementary recommendation. At one time the Sanitary Commissioner of Madras appeared to consider that my ultimate recommendation, on the ration generally, very nearly went as far as his own. But be that as it may, shortly after I left that Presidency the Madras Government, according to their own judgment, early in May I think, adopted some slightly increased ration.

*General Strachey : Q. 225.*—On the whole, did the Bombay ration succeed in the Madras Presidency, or fail, so far as you know ?

*Answer.*—I cannot say whether it succeeded or failed, for it was tried only for a short period of about 2½ months, and that not universally. In the month of May 1877, the Madras Government

reverted to the more liberal ration, which ration was, as I believe, in full operation throughout the brunt of the famine in that Presidency. Whether the lesser ration would have proved sufficient or not, had it been persevered in, is a question which cannot now be answered. It never was brought to the test of proper experience."

28. In his Sanitary Report for 1877, Dr. Hewlett wrote the following remarks as conveying his final impressions and experience<sup>1</sup> :—

"The general run of people on the Public Works rates were healthy labourers mostly in the prime of life with their families: but on Civil Agency works, the old and infirm, and less physically capable, were employed, but with them there were always many young adult men and women, and children, who would not forsake their aged relative.

"In judging of the sufficiency of the rates, I always took the condition of the young adult men and women, and the children, as my standard. In India the labouring classes show symptoms of age, comparatively speaking, very early in life, and the normal condition of old men and old women in this country is to be lank, thin, and withered; but their condition would have been no true guide in estimating the general physical condition of the labourers. If I saw that the young men and young women, and children, were well nourished and without any symptoms of wasting, I felt convinced that they obtained sufficient food somewhere or other to maintain health.

"The question which has so often been discussed as to whether a pound of grain for six days in the week is sufficient for a subsistence allowance for a native of India, never really arose, because each man received half an anna besides the value of allowance of grain, with which he could purchase dhall, and a little curry-stuff, vegetables, and salt.

"When first established, I had very grave doubts as to the sufficiency of the Civil Agency rates, and shortly after they came into force I travelled through the Dharwar and Kaladgi Districts, and as before stated, from what I saw in the latter, where, however, I subsequently learnt that the instructions of Government regarding expenditure in charitable relief, and for the relief of young children, had not been carried out as strictly as they should have been, I reported most strongly against the continuance of the rates and urged that, at all events, a seventh day wage should be given; but on visiting Civil Agency works in other collectorates, where the orders of Government had been fully carried out, I was constrained to report that the people on Civil Agency rates obtained sufficient food to prevent wasting. Subsequent and anxious enquiries into the matter confirmed me in the conviction of the sufficiency of the Civil Agency rates for the class of the people who came on to these works and for the amount of labour demanded from them. It became clear that the majority of the people seeking aid on these relief-works had private stores of their own with which they supplemented the rates, whilst those who had absolutely no money and were weakly and emaciated received special treatment and were not put to work until recovered.

"The universal testimony of the district officers went to prove that strong people remained strong, and weakly and attenuated people recovered strength and flesh; and there can be no doubt that these rates, in dealing with large bodies of this class of labourers at all events in the first year of famine, are sufficient, provided that care is taken to supplement the rates by the treatment of special cases and by careful attention to seeing that the allowance for young children is drawn and distributed. Regular daily payments are also an important and necessary measure."

### *Summing-up.*

1. The evidence as to the practical working of the lower scale of wage has run to such length that it is advisable to recapitulate briefly the more important heads before proceeding further.

2. The cases in which, after a trial lasting over a considerable time, judgment was pronounced against the reduced wage in Madras, are the following :—

- (1.)—At Gundakal,<sup>2</sup> on the 24th April, a gang was found in what Sir Richard Temple considered to be "a fair condition," but Dr. Cornish held that it had deteriorated greatly since it was first inspected in February.
- (2.) The Deputy Collector of Bellary,<sup>3</sup> 18th April, found that the females and young children in particular were suffering. But the Native Deputy Collectors of this district seem all to have been led away by a theory as to the quantity of food required for consumption; one committing himself to the extravagant statement that an ordinary coolie requires 4 lbs. of dry grain a day, another holding that women eat more than men.
- (3.) On the 21st April,<sup>4</sup> Mr. Oldham found it necessary to raise the wages of his labourers, except in one case, to the higher scale, because the men were falling off, though the women looked sleek and fat. Here no wage was given for Sundays to the ordinary gangs, and up to the 20th March, if not later, the infants' ration had not been fully given: apparently the wages had been calculated on prices at which the labourers could not purchase on the spot, and were not given on rainy days.

<sup>1</sup> Bombay Sanitary Administration Report for 1877, pages 251 and 252.

<sup>2</sup> p. 8, para. 6.

<sup>3</sup> p. 9, para. 7.

<sup>4</sup> p. 9, para. 3.

- (4.) On the 28th April,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Glenny raised the wages by 3 pie all round; but this was in lieu of Sunday wage which had not previously been given.
  - (5.) On the 26th March,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Benson thought the male labourers in want, and Mr. Price saw several who were not in good condition.
  - (6.) On the 16th April,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Benson inspected a large gang at Kodur and found 8·5 per cent. emaciated, especially small children, but many children able to work were not allowed to do so and received only the infants' ration; many infants did not receive it at all, and many persons were on the works who ought to have been receiving gratuitous or special relief. Sunday payments also were not, apparently, made. The result of the introduction of these reforms (that is, of the complete carrying out of the Government order which had hitherto been disobeyed) was that on the 24th April Mr. Benson found only 3 per cent. of the labourers in a depressed condition and a general improvement had taken place.
  - (7.) In Nellore,<sup>4</sup> the weighments made by Dr. Ross tell of deterioration in the labourers, who seem to have been a peculiarly depressed and emaciated lot from the first; nothing is reported as to the work they did and whether they got Sunday wages or not.
  - (8.) On 17th April,<sup>5</sup> Mr. Stanley reported that the labourers on his relief-works were falling off, because of the badness of the rice sold to them.
  - (9.) In Chingleput,<sup>6</sup> Major Murray reported strongly against the wage. At first it was calculated on prices prevailing at a distance, and at which they could not purchase their food; but when that error was corrected they did not, in his opinion, improve.
  - (10.) At Vellore,<sup>7</sup> the Civil Surgeon found the coolies in a gang, which he had repeatedly visited, falling off in condition; in another gang they kept in good case. Apparently the task in the first case was too heavy, and it seems probable from what Dr. Townsend wrote shortly afterwards they received no Sunday wage.
  - (11.) The Civil Surgeon at Chittur,<sup>8</sup> reported (14th May) very unfavourably; the coolies were dropping off the works into the hospital, and many were unable to fulfil their task: his weighment shewed decrease in weight. Here it appears probable that the rules as to special treatment were not properly carried out, for the feeble ought to have been put into special gangs and not to have remained in ordinary gangs in the works till they were fit for hospital.
  - (12.) In Coimbatore,<sup>9</sup> in one taluk, the coolies were found to deteriorate so early as the 24th February; but on the 14th March, finding they were doing a full task according to Scale I., the relief officer raised them to the pay of that scale. If this statement is correct, the severer task on reduced wage accounts for the previous deterioration. Moreover in the reports from this district it is clear that village relief was not actively carried out, but that the labourers supported feeble relations out of their wages.
3. On the other hand, the following are the cases in which the opinion of responsible officers was delivered in favour of the reduced wage:—
- (1.) On the 20th March,<sup>10</sup> Dr. Townsend found a party of 7,500 near Bellary who were getting less than the reduced wage, and yet had improved on the works.
  - (2.) At the same time<sup>11</sup> that Mr. Glenny was raising the wages to make up the Sunday wage, he reported that the condition of one-fourth of the workers at Tadpatri was "exuberantly good."
  - (3.) On the 3rd April,<sup>12</sup> Dr. Townsend inspected two sets of labourers' gangs near Cuddapah, and although the Sunday wage was not being given he reported favourably on their condition.
  - (4.) On the 27th April,<sup>13</sup> Mr. McCartie reported favourably of his inspection of over 2,000 coolies: in one case they had received wages calculated on prices at which food was not obtainable on the spot and had fallen off, but they improved again when this error was corrected. This is, however, explained by the fact that wages were calculated on the price of rice, and that ragi had just been harvested and was to be bought cheaper.

<sup>1</sup> p. 10, para. 11.<sup>4</sup> p. 19, para. 2.<sup>7</sup> p. 25, para. 1.<sup>10</sup> p. 7, para. 3.<sup>2</sup> p. 13, para. 7.<sup>5</sup> p. 20, para. 3.<sup>8</sup> p. 26, para. 5.<sup>11</sup> p. 10, para. 11.<sup>3</sup> p. 15, para. 12; p. 16, para. 13.<sup>6</sup> p. 22, para. 4; p. 23, paras. 9-14.<sup>9</sup> p. 27, para. 1; p. 28.<sup>12</sup> p. 14, para. 10.<sup>13</sup> p. 17, para. 15.

- (5.)—Mr. Crole<sup>1</sup> deposes distinctly to the improvement he witnessed among coolies on the reduced wage at Nellore.
- (6.)—Dr. Townsend,<sup>2</sup> on the 31st March, inspected the Vellore gangs, and while one party receiving the higher scale of pay were in rather poor case, another party on the lower scale were in very fair condition.
- (7.)—Mr. Whiteside<sup>3</sup> reports strongly in favour of the working of the reduced wage, and quotes the weighments made by Mr. Tremeneere in support of his conclusions.

4. In the Bombay Presidency, with the exception of the objections of all the Kaladgi officers but two, and of the opinions expressed by some officers in the early stages of the experiment, which opinions they afterwards saw reason to change, the conclusion of all the responsible officers (except Mr. Keyser, who expresses himself doubtfully) is unanimous in favour of the sufficiency of the Civil Agency wage, which, it will be remembered, was lower than the reduced Madras wage in respect of not admitting a Sunday wage, unless food was dearer than 9 lbs. per rupee.

5. The conclusions to which a consideration of this evidence leads the Commission are as follows :—

6. In Bombay the weight of opinion is given with almost complete unanimity in favour of the ration. The following reasons seem chiefly to have conduced to its success :—

- (a.) The clearness and precision with which the order was given, and the absence of subsequent modifications, fixed it in the minds of the officers and made it easy to carry out.
- (b.) The smallness of the numbers to which it was applied admitted of personal inspection of the labourers and supervision of the working of the rule.
- (c.) The officers who administered it were for the most part thoroughly efficient, and carried out the entire system with discrimination, working this rule in connection with those for the special treatment of the feeble and for village relief.
- (d.) The labourers in some cases had resources of their own; in some districts prices were much cheaper than in the Madras famine tract, and in none (except Kaladgi and Sholapur) was the pressure of famine so severe.

7. In Madras the evidence is more conflicting, and the information is so incomplete that it is impossible to deduce from it any definite conclusion as to the sufficiency or insufficiency of the wage. The reduced rate was nominally in force on one class of works from the beginning of February till the 22nd May; but the Commission have not had the means of learning whether the deterioration was more observable on these works than on those where higher rates prevailed; or in fact, whether deterioration was observable in any case in which the orders of Government were properly carried out. In several cases where the people in receipt of the wage suffered, the cause is shown to have lain in disobedience of the orders of Government and in neglect of the supplementary measures designed to accompany the wage for actual workers; in some cases, where the people are said to have prospered, the cause is alleged to have lain in the fact that they were able to procure more food than the relief wage alone could have obtained. On the whole, however, looking to the manner in which the system was carried out and the results which the reduced wage produced on the people who received it, the weight of opinion is against it. The chief causes of its failure appear to have been these :—

- (a.) The scale of wage was not laid down with clearness and precision; provision for infants was omitted, and a supplementary rule had to be issued almost directly regarding them; another supplementary rule was added afterwards regarding the Sunday wage; these additions and alterations confused the minds of the officers employed, and the result was that in hardly any place were the orders carried out in their entirety.
- (b.) The numbers concerned were extremely large, so that it was impossible for the relief-officers to supervise them constantly, to ensure that the wage was paid daily and paid in full, and the task suitable to their strength, to watch closely the condition of individuals in receipt of the reduced wage or to secure for them special treatment and exceptional allowances the moment they began to deteriorate and before they became emaciated and fit only for hospitals.
- (c.) The orders as to special treatment and extra allowances being given to emaciated persons were imperfectly carried out, and in no district was the system of village-

<sup>1</sup> p. 21, para. 5.

<sup>2</sup> p. 25, para. 2.

<sup>3</sup> p. 26, paras. 3, 4, 6.

relief in complete and efficient working at the time the reduced rate of wage was in force.

(d.) The labourers, probably from the conjoint effect of both physical and moral causes, were in a low condition of body, and failed to improve even under the increased rate of wage given in June.

(e.) In most cases the only food obtainable in the markets was rice, to which the labourers were unaccustomed and which may have injured their health.

#### NOTE ON THE RESULTS OF THE ENQUIRIES MADE INTO THE MORTALITY IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

Govt., N.W.P. and Oudh, No. 596, dated 17th March 1879.

1. *Extent and general results of the enquiry.*—Mr. Bennett inspected 50 villages in about a month's time in the districts of Lucknow, Barabanki, and Rai Bareli. He did not test the census taken in 1869, but was satisfied that the population had considerably increased since then (paragraph 5). In these 50 villages he found that 3,380 deaths had actually occurred in a population of 50,705 against a registered mortality of 3,062, being an excess of about 10 per cent. The rate of mortality was 66·6 per mille for 14 months, or 57·1 per mille per annum.

2. Mr. Roberts in a little over a month inspected 62 villages in the districts of Agra, Etah, and Mainpuri. He took a census in all these villages, and found a population of 35,674 as against 36,588 in 1872 (paragraph 13). The registered mortality in these villages had been 1,882, and the actual number ascertained to have died was 2,298, or an excess of 22 per cent. The rate of mortality was therefore 64·3 per mille for 14 months, or 55·1 per mille per annum.

3. Captain Pitcher began his enquiries in November, and in the course of 2½ months inspected 196 villages in Shahjahanpur, Bareilly, Budaun, Moradabad, and Bijnor. In most of these he took a fresh census, but not in all: and in some villages he was unable to ascertain the registered mortality. Putting these cases aside, in 112 villages he found a population of 26,097 as against a census population of 27,640; and the number of ascertained and verified deaths were 2,052 as against a registered mortality of 2,620, the registration being thus 23 per cent. in excess of the reality. The death-rate, on Captain Pitcher's figures, was 73·6 per mille for 15 months, or 62·9 per mille per annum.

4. *Accuracy of the registration.*—On this subject there is a considerable difference between the opinions formed by the investigating officers.

5. Mr. Bennett finds that, on the whole, the mortuary returns were very fairly accurate, and that where errors occurred they arose from very natural causes.<sup>1</sup> People who died away from their villages were sometimes recorded twice over, in their own villages and in the place where they died. On the other hand, the reporting officials themselves were liable to death and disease from starvation; and irregularities and omissions occurred from divided responsibility and from incompetence. But, on the whole, he considers that "an immense improvement has lately taken place in the registration, and that in a large number of villages it is very nearly perfect."

6. Mr. Roberts' view is not very different. He finds the registration to be considerably below the truth, but is satisfied<sup>2</sup> that in the course of his enquiries he did not discover the whole of the mortality. He especially refers<sup>3</sup> to the difficulty of ascertaining the number of deaths in the case of strangers who die along the road, and of families of which no member remains. He finds that it is impossible to expect the survivors to remember every death that occurred. He believes that, though his verified number exceeds the registered number of deaths by 22 per cent., the real excess was not less than 25 per cent.<sup>4</sup> But, in spite of this, he holds that<sup>5</sup> "defective as the registration was, it was greatly more looked after than in any previous year." He entertains no doubt that "a smaller proportion of deaths has been unreported this year than was ever the case before." As to the census of 1872, he throws no doubt on its accuracy at the time it was taken, but shows that since then the population<sup>6</sup> has shifted somewhat from the dry and barren to the canal-irrigated tracts, and that this disturbs the percentages which may be drawn out for any particular locality.

<sup>1</sup> Paragraph 6.  
<sup>4</sup> Paragraph 21.

<sup>2</sup> Paragraph 8.  
<sup>5</sup> Paragraph 39.  
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<sup>3</sup> Paragraph 6.  
<sup>6</sup> Paragraphs 13—15.

7. Captain Pitcher alone makes an uncompromising attack on the figures both of the original census and of the mortuary registration. As to the former point, he took a fresh census in most of his villages, and found inexplicable discrepancies between it and the figures of 1872. In one village he counted<sup>1</sup> 593 people instead of 186; in another<sup>2</sup> 807 instead of 450; and several other such cases are mentioned in his report, so that he sums up his conclusion<sup>3</sup> thus: "The fact seems certain that the population of the district up to October 1877 was far in excess of that on which the average for mortality statistics are calculated." It is of course possible that such gross errors as these may have occurred; though those who were concerned in taking the census of 1872, or those who may read in Mr. Plowden's report the description of the elaborate and careful measures taken for securing accuracy and for testing results, will be rather slow to believe it. But it is also possible that an explanation may be found for the discrepancies which Captain Pitcher was unable to discover. The commonest cause of such apparent discrepancies is the inclusion of a hamlet in, or its exclusion from, the figures of a parent village. The mauza of the Revenue Department, which is the unit of a census, is an arbitrary tract. It may contain several hamlets or none at all; and it would have been impossible for Captain Pitcher to tell whether a given collection of houses a little way off was a separate village or a hamlet attached to the village he was counting without a reference to the revenue records. That this is the real explanation of these discrepancies seems probable from the fact that the total population as counted by Captain Pitcher agrees so closely with that of the census; and he is evidently in error in the assertion quoted above from his 15th paragraph, seeing that his enumeration (26,097) is not in excess of that of 1872 (27,640), but slightly below it.

7. Next, as to the mortuary registration, Captain Pitcher is positive that he verified all the deaths that actually occurred, and that the excess reported is mainly due to the stimulus imposed on the chaukidars, which led them to exaggerate the facts. He holds that<sup>4</sup> "every death in a moderately sized village is, as a rule, well known to, and well remembered by, the rest of the villagers." In this view he is opposed to the experience of Mr. Roberts, who has shown that, as a fact, such deaths are not always remembered, even where memory was easy<sup>5</sup>; and he makes no allusion to the two cases of special difficulty which Mr. Roberts specifies—the deaths of strangers, and the deaths in families which have altogether disappeared. There seems, therefore, to be a strong *prima facie* probability that Captain Pitcher is mistaken in thinking that his verified record contains all the deaths that actually occurred; and a reference to his detailed village notes proves that it does not contain them. In many of these notes he enters a remark as to the number of members of the family who had fled the villages; and in several cases he mentions that so many left and have died on the relief-works or in distant parts. Thus in villages Nos. 16 and 17, 89 have left, a large number of whom are supposed to be dead; in village No. 75, out of 23 emigrants 7 are known to have died; in No. 76, out of 124 several; in No. 77, out of 28, 16 have died. If, as Mr. Benett points out, these are entered both in their own villages and in the place where they died, they will be recorded twice over; but, on the other hand, if they are not entered in their own villages, there is great probability that, wandering through the country, and dying in groves or outhouses, they will not be recorded at all.<sup>6</sup> If, then, Captain Pitcher refused to enter in the village records the names of any who died out of the village, he should necessarily have been very careful to enter any strangers who had died within the village; and when a large portion of the population was in such a state of flux as those figures indicate, it would appear probable that there would be very few villages within whose precincts during these fifteen months no stranger's death should have been recorded.

8. The reverse, however, is the fact. There are very few villages against which the death of any stranger is recorded, and, what is more extraordinary, even when they are recorded, these deaths have generally not been counted in. In the case of villages Nos. 28 and 29, 4 strangers died in each, and their deaths have been added to the total; but in No. 33, 2 are noted as having died within the village, and yet are not included in Captain Pitcher's total of deaths. In No. 49, 4 such deaths occurred, but are not included; in No. 54, 3; in No. 64, 2. In Nos. 90, 92, 93, 110, the same omission occurs. And in the great majority of villages no allusion is made to the subject. Now, it is admitted by all observers,—and Captain Pitcher confirms<sup>7</sup> the fact,—that "there

<sup>1</sup> Paragraph 16.

<sup>2</sup> Paragraph 36.

<sup>3</sup> Paragraph 15.

<sup>4</sup> Paragraph 8.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. paragraph 7; the case where the deaths of Ahir infants, though recorded in the infanticide registers, were not entered in the death returns, nor remembered by the people. Mr. Benett, however (paragraph 3), found that in the case of relatives the memory of the survivors was good.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Mr. Roberts' paragraph 55 as to the omission to report deaths of wanderers.

<sup>7</sup> Paragraph 84.

" was far greater mortality in proportion among those who left their homes, whether for " poor-houses, for relief-works, or to wander in search of friends or work," than among those who stayed at home. If, then, Captain Pitcher's figures show almost exclusively the mortality among those who remained at home, it follows that they cannot be accepted as a complete record of the entire mortality. And the probable conclusion is, that the reported deaths, as they fell short of the true numbers in the other two tracts inspected, so in Rohilkhand also they erred by default and not by excess.

9. The general conclusion on this head appears, then, to be, that the mortuary registration was below the truth. But all three officers are agreed that the work of registration was much more carefully performed than usual. On the other hand, they have not perhaps made sufficient allowance for the fact that the difficulties in the way of accuracy were so much greater than usual. A *chaukidar* may be expected to report the deaths of people whom he knows; but when a large mass of population is in movement, and people are dying along every road and in out-of-the-way places, it is almost impossible that all such deaths should be recorded. In other provinces it has been held that the registration was worse in famine than in ordinary times. Dr. Cornish writes:<sup>1</sup> " Death registration in ordinary seasons fails to take note of more than two-thirds of the " actual mortality. In famine seasons, with the disorganisation of village life and communal " administration, it is probable that not one-half of the actual deaths, especially in the early " months, were ever recorded." It has been shown that considerable improvement in the system of reporting was effected; but it required considerable improvement in order that the Province should not fall back and the registration become worse under the increased difficulties. It is possible to contend that the same ratio existed in 1878 as in other years between the registered and actual mortality—hardly that a closer relation existed. Where one officer finds that 10 per cent. of the *known* deaths and another that 22 per cent. were not recorded, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the *unknown* deaths of wanderers must have raised the actuals to at least 30 per cent. above the recorded numbers.

10. Several improvements in the system of registration (such as the preservation of the record, and the entry of the name of the deceased, without which verification is hardly possible) have been suggested in these reports; and it has been shown that great errors exist in the supposed population of certain registration circles—errors due apparently either to original mistakes of addition, or to subsequent transfers of villages from one jurisdiction to another without a corresponding alteration of the totals. These points will no doubt be attended to by the Local Government, and need not be further referred to here.

11. *Causes of death.*—Mr. Benett finds<sup>2</sup> that the 3,380 deaths registered by him can be assigned to the following causes :

	Deaths.	Per Cent.
Hunger - - - - -	1,723	51
Small-pox - - - - -	686	20
Fever - - - - -	443	13
Other causes - - - - -	528	16

12. Mr. Roberts classifies as follows,<sup>3</sup> separating the mortality into two periods :

	November.—June.		July.—December.	
	Deaths.	Ratio.	Deaths.	Ratio.
Hunger - - - - -	221	18·4	57	5·4
Bowel-complaints - - -	110	9·3	175	15·8
Small-pox - - - - -	276	23	34	3
Fever - - - - -	476	39·1	708	64·4
Other causes - - - - -	112	9·5	128	11·4

<sup>1</sup> " Influence of Famine on Growth of Population," page 17.

<sup>2</sup> p. 19, Abstract of Form I.

<sup>3</sup> Statement 3.

13. Captain Pitcher gives<sup>1</sup> the following figures for 27 villages of Shahjahanpur and for the rest of the districts inspected by him, with a population of 37,176 :

	Deaths.	Ratio.
Want - - - - -	1,549	56·5
Small-pox - - - - -	339	12·4
Other causes - - - - -	856	31·1
Total deaths - - - - -	2,744	100

the general death-rate on the population being 76·5 per mille.

14. *Small-pox*.—All officers agree in stating that they find no connection between the prevalence of small-pox and the acuteness of famine. Mr. Benett shows<sup>2</sup> that it was severest when famine mortality was lightest, and vice versa: “So invariably is it the case that in places which have been decimated by famine there is hardly a trace of small-pox, and vice versa, that a hasty reasoner might be inclined to regard famine as a prophylactic against the disease.”<sup>3</sup> But he holds it possible that the same disorganisation of the seasons which produced the famine may have rendered the human body unusually susceptible to epidemics. Mr. Roberts says<sup>4</sup>: “I am not disposed to think that the mortality due to small-pox was in any appreciable degree influenced by privation due to scarcity.” And he goes on to mention a village where twice as many Brahmins died as Chamars; the former being free from any distress, and the latter suffering severely from privation. “Many villages escaped the small-pox altogether, and when it entered a village, it spread among the well-to-do quite as much as among the poor.” Captain Pitcher, too, speaks<sup>5</sup> of small-pox as occurring in the houses of those well to do, rather than those who might be supposed to be in straitened circumstances.

15. *Starvation*.—Mr. Benett reckons<sup>6</sup> that in the tract inspected by him, out of a population of 45,000 souls, 1,521 died from famine, or at the rate of 33·8, and that these deaths occurred at the following periods: from November to February, 20; from March to June, 6·5; from July to December, 7·5 per mille. Applying this ratio to the population (partly modified by local circumstances) of the whole of the famine tract, he finds<sup>7</sup> that, out of a population of 715,000, the deaths from starvation amounted to 18,850. He believes that the mortality began in November and December, and was most acute from the middle of January (after the fall of rain, which destroyed field labour at the wells) till the middle of February (when the fields began to yield some sustenance), being at the rate of 15 per mille for that period. After the harvest-time there was no more famine; but distress began to reappear in May, and continued till the rains were well established.

16. Mr. Roberts believes<sup>8</sup> that the number of deaths from starvation was considerably underrated, both from failure to record such deaths at all in the case of wanderers and from unwillingness to attribute this as the cause, especially in the case of the higher castes, among whom there was a feeling of shame in acknowledging such deaths. He divides his record into two periods—from November to June, and from July to December. And with reference to the number of deaths recorded in the second period (57), he observes<sup>9</sup> that they were due, not to want of food, but to breakdown of the constitution owing to privations endured during the scarcity; many of the deaths occurring among returned emigrants. The returns of the Agra Poor-house are quoted to show that, while there were 1,481 deaths in the first period, there were 1,232 in the second; many of the latter however being due to the fever epidemic which raged in Agra in the autumn of 1878.

17. Captain Pitcher considers<sup>10</sup> that no starvation deaths occurred after the cutting of the rabi; but he speaks of many deaths from eating new grain, which probably is only an indirect form of death by starvation. His village notes show that he believed many

<sup>1</sup> Statements 3 and 4.

<sup>2</sup> Paragraph 44.

<sup>3</sup> This is probably true in a sense which Mr. Benett did not intend. Those who have died of famine cannot die again of small-pox.

<sup>4</sup> Paragraph 47.

<sup>5</sup> Paragraphs 51, 57.

<sup>6</sup> Paragraph 42.

<sup>7</sup> Paragraph 46.

<sup>8</sup> Paragraph 53.

<sup>9</sup> Paragraphs 57 and 58.

<sup>10</sup> Paragraph 26.

of the deaths to be wrongly attributed to starvation, and to be really due to small-pox. The grounds for this presumption are not stated.

18. *The classes that suffered.* (1) *Sexes.*—On this subject much useful information has been collected. First, as to sexes. Mr. Benett's returns show the deaths of 583 adult men against only 263 adult women, or 19·20 and 8·5 respectively of the numbers he recorded. Mr. Roberts, out of 126 classified cases, finds deaths of 42 adult males and only 8 adult females.

Captain Pitcher records 570 adult males and 213 adult females as dead, or 2·67 adult males to every adult female.

19. The explanations given are—

- (1) that the woman keeps the household stores and helps herself;
- (2) that she has ornaments, which she sells on her own behalf;
- (3) that women's work, like sweeping the houses of the rich and grinding, continued when field labour was stopped;
- (4) that a husband will rather starve himself than see his wife starve;
- (5) that the brunt of the struggle falls on the men wandering in search of employment, watching crops at night in the extreme cold, &c., from which the women are free;
- (6) that women are less ashamed to beg and importune for help than men;
- (7) that there are more men than women in the general population.

20. Mr. Roberts (paragraph 59) thinks there was some disinclination on the part of the men to ascribe their women's deaths to starvation; but Mr. Benett strongly rejects this (paragraph 28). It will be remembered that the same phenomenon of an excess of male over female deaths is seen in the returns of the two Southern Presidencies and Mysore.

21. (2) *Castes.*—Mr. Benett took great pains to classify the deaths specially recorded as famine deaths according to castes, and to work out their ratio to the total population involved. Mr. Roberts did not compile any such statistics, thinking that caste is not a complete indication of a man's position in life. Captain Pitcher records with great fulness the statistics of all his "verified" famine deaths by castes. The results are shown on the margin. It is admitted by every one that the weavers suffered very severely. In Bareilly both the cotton crops were lost, so that they were deprived of their supply, and also the market for their cloths, if they wove any, was dead. In Rai Bareli, however, the Koris, though weavers by caste, are mainly employed in ordinary years on field labour. As to the Kahars, Captain Pitcher (paragraph 34) makes some interesting remarks showing how they have suffered from the progress of civilisation as well as from the hardness of the times.

22. (3) *Occupations.*—A more important classification is that by occupation. Mr. Benett shows that<sup>1</sup> in his tract the mortality was almost entirely among the labourers. He divides the population thus—

	Per-centage of population.	Per-centage of total number of deaths.
Cultivators of more than 5 bighas	25	10
" less "	30	22
Labourers	20	68
Non-agriculturists	25	—

Here the 68 per cent. of deaths attributed to labourers includes a few, but not many, rural artizans, such as washermen, potters, tailors, &c. It was these rural labourers who suffered far more severely than any class; and as most of the cultivators holding less than 5 bighas (or 3 acres) live more by field-labour than by the profits of cultivation, Mr. Benett attributes about 80 per cent. of the deaths to the labouring classes. Of the cultivators proper, he says<sup>4</sup> that they suffered severely, especially from the loss of cattle,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Benett's paragraph 28.

<sup>3</sup> Paragraph 26.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Pitcher's paragraph 29.

<sup>4</sup> Paragraph 37.

but that few died of starvation. The landowners<sup>1</sup> were never near the point of famine. Mr. Roberts observes<sup>2</sup> that "it was the poor who starved, mostly field-labourers. Cultivators and zemindars did not, as a rule, want for food, as they had resources in the sale of their property and in borrowing." Captain Pitcher finds<sup>3</sup> that "the mortality affected chiefly the very old and the very young among the labouring classes, both in the villages and towns." "The sufferers were chiefly aged people and young children among tenants with small holdings, agricultural labourers, and village artisans. Beggars in the villages do not appear to have suffered heavily."<sup>4</sup> In his classified list of castes (Statement 4) he distinguishes in 15 cases those who are cultivators from those who are labourers, with the following results:—

	Total population.	Total deaths from all causes.	Ratio per mille.
Cultivators - - -	17,546	329	19
Labourers - - -	3,722	290	78

All of these are apparently field-labourers, as the list includes no such castes as weavers, potters, &c., who are often both artisans and agriculturists, and the mortality among them is nearly four times as great as among the cultivating classes proper. It is to be regretted that neither Mr. Roberts nor Captain Pitcher have given any information bearing on the question whether tenants with occupancy rights were found at all better able to resist the effects of the drought than tenants-at-will.

23. *Special local causes of excessive mortality.*—Mr. Benett shows<sup>5</sup> that in the districts which he visited the tract where famine was acute was a low rice-producing tract, in which the failure of the crop was complete. On each side of it, as the ground rises and other kharif crops are grown which did not suffer so much, the death-rate becomes less. Mr. Roberts dwells on the influence of the severe epidemics of small-pox and fever on the death-rate. Putting them aside, and looking at starvation-deaths, which he distributes thus<sup>6</sup>—

Agra - - -	6.1 per mille.
Etah - - -	7.8 "
Mainpuri - - -	3.4 "

he offers the following explanations. The constitution of the resident population has to be considered. Taking four registration circles in Agra, he finds that two of them, Hatkant and Bah, are inhabited by poor and low-caste people; two, Batesar and Kachaura, by well-to-do Brahmins. And the figures are —<sup>7</sup>

Hatkant - - -	35 per cent. of the mortality due to famine.
Bah - - -	21 "
Batesar - - -	12 "
Kachaura - - -	9 "

Also the emigration from the dry tracts and to the irrigated tracts disturbed the population and lowered the recorded mortality of the dry tracts unduly.

24. Captain Pitcher found<sup>8</sup> that the mortality was greatest in the valleys of the Ramganga and other rivers and in tracts where rice is chiefly grown; and this he attributes to the insanitary condition of these villages, though it seems possible that Mr. Benett's explanation may be the true one here also, viz., that rice was the crop that failed most signally. He also reports that the mortality depended a good deal on the character of the village population and their mutual relations. The mortality was lowest where the people were homogeneous<sup>9</sup> and mostly of one caste and ready to help each other; where the relations of zemindar and tenant were not strained, but friendly<sup>10</sup>; where rents were paid in kind, not in cash;<sup>11</sup> where rents were not rigorously exacted.<sup>12</sup> These conclusions would be of higher importance if Captain Pitcher had possessed any previous acquaintance with the locality, or had been able to devote a longer time to the inquiry so as to ensure a thorough acquaintance with the local peculiarities of these villages. He does indeed state (paragraph 91) that "it can be shown that the difference in adjoining circles and adjoining villages is due to the assistance given by zemindars and head cultivators to their dependents;" but he has omitted to show it. Neither his report nor his village notes contain the data on which these generalisations are built up.

<sup>1</sup> Paragraph 38.

<sup>3</sup> Paragraph 23.

<sup>4</sup> Paragraph 96.

<sup>2</sup> Paragraph 81.

<sup>5</sup> Paragraph 47.

<sup>6</sup> Paragraph 66.

<sup>7</sup> Paragraph 78.

<sup>8</sup> Paragraph 24;

paragraph 32 (b) and (c).

<sup>9</sup> Paragraph 32 (a).

<sup>10</sup> Paragraph 42.

<sup>11</sup> Paragraph 75.

<sup>12</sup> Paragraph 77.

25. *Effect of relief measures on the mortality.*—We come next to a very important branch of the enquiry,—what influence on the mortality was produced by the remedial measures adopted by the Government? In the parts inspected by Mr. Benett there seem to have been only three poor-houses, relieving on an average less than 500 people between them, while private relief-houses supported about 1,000. It was impossible, therefore, that much benefit could be traced to these operations. Besides which, his evidence as to the popular aversion from this mode of relief is extremely strong, and contrasts singularly with the experience of 1861 and 1869, when no such violent dislike was recorded; but, as Colonel Baird Smith states, every Native Relief Committee unanimously agreed that the system of giving cooked food ought to be rigidly adhered to. The relief-works were on a more extended scale, and Mr. Benett believes<sup>1</sup> that they had a most unmistakable effect in keeping down mortality. His figures may be tabulated as follows:

		Number of distressed Population.	Average Number re- lieved in February 1878.	Relief per cent. of Population.	Rate of Famine Mortality per mille.
Drigbijaiganj	- -	250,000	13,500	5.4	18.87
Haidargarh	- -	50,000	1,280	2.56	47
Mohanlalganj	- -	140,000	720	.71	66

The severity of famine was nearly equal all over this tract,<sup>2</sup> though perhaps most severe<sup>3</sup> in Mohanlalganj; and the difference in the death-rate is attributable, in Mr. Benett's opinion, to the extent to which employment was given on relief-works.

26. Mr. Roberts considers<sup>4</sup> that the relief-works must have been very efficacious in preventing starvation; but the labourers not being local, but brought often from a distance, the effect cannot be traced in the death-rates of particular localities. He observes, however, that in Etah the expenditure relatively to population was twice as great as in Agra, and thinks this may account for the lower famine mortality in Etah. But this argument is partly vitiated by the fact that there were no special relief-works at all in Etah. Mr. Roberts probably alludes to ordinary works carried on in the district, which no doubt gave assistance to many impoverished labourers; though not specially organised for relief purposes. As to poor-houses,<sup>5</sup> he only remarks on their unpopularity, and the fact that they were mostly tenanted by wanderers in the last stage of exhaustion brought in by the police. They can hardly have acted, therefore, as measures of local relief.

27. Captain Pitcher found that little or no good was done by relief-works. They were mostly roads, the work on which moved on rapidly; and villagers would go to them as long as the work was going on near their homes,<sup>6</sup> but left when it passed on to a distance. Poor-houses, he thinks,<sup>7</sup> were too much hated and dreaded to do much good. To be useful at all, there should be completely separate enclosures for the lowest castes; but he deprecates any reliance on them for the purposes of famine relief.

28. *Suspension of revenue; advances to landlords; and assistance given by landlords to tenants.*—Mr. Benett admits<sup>8</sup> that suspension of revenue cannot reach the labourers, who are the real sufferers, but he yet thinks it a more important measure even than relief-works, since it is more important to keep cultivators from debt and ruin than labourers from death by starvation; and it may enable a small proprietor to employ hired labour. Many landowners in Drigbijaiganj tahsil opened relief-works, and some, but not all, took advances from Government for this purpose. Some gave loans to their tenants,<sup>9</sup> and more stood security for them with the money-lenders. From quarter to half the rent remained in arrears, it being impossible<sup>10</sup> by the exercise of any severity to collect it.

29. Mr. Roberts states<sup>11</sup> that, though the revenue was suspended in the autumn, it was collected afterwards in full out of a poor rabi; but he finds that the exaction of the

<sup>1</sup> Paragraph 56.

<sup>4</sup> Paragraphs 91 to 93.

<sup>7</sup> Paragraphs 72, 84.

<sup>10</sup> Paragraph 38.

X 906.

<sup>2</sup> Paragraph 47.

<sup>5</sup> Paragraph 94.

<sup>8</sup> Paragraph 52.

<sup>11</sup> Paragraph 95.

<sup>3</sup> Paragraph 49.

<sup>6</sup> Paragraph 73.

<sup>9</sup> Paragraph 50.

revenue did not influence the mortality in any appreciable degree; and the fact that it could be collected with little more than the ordinary pressure shows that the demand did not exhaust the credit of the zemindars. It did, however, compel a good deal of borrowing. In both Etah and Agra about Rs. 15,000 were advanced as takavi, and these advances did great good, and are spoken of with gratitude. Zemindars could not do much to help their tenants, but where they did, the deaths from starvation were less. The great number of labourers who wandered from their homes shows, however, that but little was done in this way.

30. Captain Pitcher hardly touches on the subject. He says<sup>1</sup> towards the end of his report that, "if the revenue is suspended liberally, and the zemindars are told that "illiberal behaviour to their villagers will be taken notice of," no other relief measures would be needed in the case of only one harvest failing; but he does not show how the relief would reach the labouring classes, nor does he give any facts leading up to his conclusion.

31. There are sundry other interesting points brought out in these reports which have not escaped the notice of the Famine Commission; but they are not alluded to here, as the object of this note is to deal only with the question of mortality.

32. To sum up; these reports have given some useful information as to the points mentioned in the close of the Famine Commission's letter of the 27th December 1878. It has been shown, and may be accepted as generally correct, that the effect of relief-works, where they were large and numerous attended, is traceable, though not very clearly, in a diminished mortality; that in one tahsil in Oudh, where the landowners behaved with remarkable liberality, their exertions, coupled with the Government relief measures, went a long way to enable the people to resist the losses by drought; that most of the numerical discrepancies in the death-rates of adjoining circles were due to errors in recording the total population of those circles, and not to differences in the condition of adjacent and similar tracts; that the classes who suffered most were the field-labourers and rural artisans; after them the town artisans; while the cultivators escaped with little, and the landlords with no loss of life.

33. With regard to the remaining question asked in the above quoted letter, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor has, in Mr. Robertson's letter of 17th March, stated the order in which he would place the districts according to the severity of their sufferings from famine—an order which, as there remarked, agrees to some extent, though not closely, with the order in which they stand in paragraph 14 of Dr. Cunningham's letter, and in one case disagrees signally, since Azamgarh, a district in which the death-rate was very low, and in which there were hardly any relief measures taken, is considered to be one of the districts that should stand high in the list.

2nd May 1879.

C. A. E.

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NOTE BY THE HONOURABLE SYED AHMED KHAN BAHADUR, C.S.I.,  
ON THE CAUSES OF THE UNPOPULARITY OF THE POOR-  
HOUSES IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH  
DURING THE FAMINE OF 1878.

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In the reports by Messrs. Benett and Roberts and Captain Pitcher, deputed by his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to enquire into the causes of mortality in North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the following passages occur, regarding the feeling entertained towards the poor-houses.

Mr. Benett writes as follows:—

*Para. 54. Native feeling about cooks.*—"It is almost unnecessary to say that the explanation lies in the reluctance to take food prepared under Government auspices. We think it sufficient to provide a Brahman cook, but this is a great mistake. Brahmans of one family will not eat food cooked by Brahmans of another. Thakurs will not eat food cooked by a Brahman at all, unless they know that he is a man of good family and of good moral character. I do not think that any of the respectable classes would eat food cooked by a Brahman of notoriously bad livelihood. Some castes, the Gwalbans Ahirs, for instance, will not touch food cooked by a Brahman, and Gararias throw away food cooked by

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<sup>1</sup> Paragraph 86.

themselves if a Brahman has come into contact with it. Most of these difficulties might be overcome in the case of a relief kitchen kept open by a wealthy Hindu. The character, at least, of the cook can be depended upon, and that the food has been prepared with a proper regard to the ordinances of religion. This can never be the case with a Government kitchen; in addition to the ever-wakeful apprehension of attempts on their caste, the Hindus feel that they have no security that any low scoundrel may not have been selected to cook, or even that he is a Brahman at all. When the Bachrawan relief-work poor-house was removed to Dirgbijaiganj, where cooked rations were distributed, all the poor of the smallest pretence to respectability declined to follow it, though they had been drawing three pice per diem with the greatest thankfulness. The tehsildar of Dirgbijaiganj sent out a chaprasi to bring in a colony of 14 Ahirs and Lodhs whom he knew to be starving at a village a few miles off. They said they would rather die than lose their caste, and a week later two miserable old Ahirs crawled in saying that all the rest had died, and that being left alone they had no longer the spirit to resist the food that was so near them."

*Para. 55. Use of distribution of cooked rations.*—"The objections to the distribution of cooked rations are, then, that it does no appreciable good, and that, while it saves an infinitesimally small portion of the dregs of society, it leaves good men to die."

Mr. Roberts says—

*Para. 94. Poor-houses.*—"There was the greatest objection among all classes of the people to avail themselves of this form of relief. In no villages that I visited did any of the higher castes, however poor, admit that they entered one; even among the lowest classes, loss of caste seems to have been occasionally the result of it. The poor-houses were largely recruited by starving wanderers whom the police compelled to come in; as a great number of these were in the last stage of starvation, the mortality in the poor-houses was excessive. In Agra poor-house and hospital, the deaths from the opening of the poor-houses to their closure in October 1878 were 2,674: all these may be put down to starvation. In view of the reluctance of the people to enter them, it may be fairly alleged that nearly all the recipients of poor-house relief, who did not die there or then, or shortly after leaving, but for the poor-house would have perished. I have not been able to ascertain to my satisfaction all the grounds of this reluctance, but there may be added to the sentiment which makes the work-house detestable to the poor in England a special prejudice arising from caste. A person who leaves his village and seeks alms may be supposed not to be particular as to the caste of the giver of food to him, and he is judged, therefore, to have become impure in his caste. In the poor-house his food may have been distributed by a Brahman, but he begged; did he receive food from Brahmans only?"

• Captain Pitcher reports that—

• *Para. 72.* "Everywhere I found in the villages the practice of excommunication from caste resorted to by all castes, except sweepers and 'Chammar Chamars,' against those people who went to the poor-houses. Instances may be seen in my diary of families found by me as living out of caste among the following:—Ahirs, Kurmis, Jolahas, Koris, Kahars, and even 'Jatya' Chammar; while, for the most part, the people who had returned had done nothing but beg ever since, and a very large proportion had died since their return. I found many instances of people who had gone to the poor-house, and after staying there some time returning of their own election to die at home. I am sure that inspection of the returns, when fairly out, will convince any one that the poor-houses had very little effect in mitigating the mortality of the rural classes."

*Para. 84.* "Poor-houses will never be more popular than they are now until Chamars and Bhangis are relegated to separated enclosures. In the villages the Chamars have a perfectly separate quarter, and the sweeper a perfectly separate house, for the Chamar holds himself superior to the sweeper. No one who has not been on foot through many villages can appreciate the utter loathing and dislike entertained by the rest of the village towards the Chamars. I found Muslims sharing this feeling as well as Hindus, and I often found all the people who could do so slink off when I came to enumerate the Chamar families. At the same time, having seen the demoralization of those who have been to poor-houses, I am convinced that to render the poor-houses more popular is simply to increase pauperism, and that all measures should be tried which would keep people at their homes. There was far greater mortality in proportion amongst those who left their homes, whether for poor-houses, for relief-works, or to wander in search of friends or work. More than once people remarked—'Those who died of hunger were those who left their villages, while those who remained quietly at home survived.'"

As the Honourable Syed Ahmed Khan was the officer who (under Sir J. Strachey, then Magistrate and Collector at Moradabad) established and managed the famine poor-house at Moradabad in 1861, which has ever since been held to be the model for such institutions, and as neither in the history of the famine of 1861, nor in that of 1868, is there any record of such hostility being felt towards poor-house relief as is now reported, I drew his attention to the above quoted passages, and asked if he could suggest any explanation of this change in the popular feeling. In reply, he has favoured me with the following valuable memorandum.

10-6-79.

C. A. E.

1. I have perused the reports made by Messrs. Benett and Roberts, and Captain Pitcher, on the last famine. There cannot be given any decided opinion in regard to the unpopularity of those poor-houses in which cooked food is distributed, until it is known how they were managed. But these reports do not describe the character of the management.

2. The management of poor-houses is of course a difficult task, and their popularity or unpopularity depends, I think, to a great extent, on the character of such management.

At the time when Sir John Strachey was the Magistrate and Collector of Moradabad, the management of the poor-house at that station, which contained a large number of persons of every caste and sect, devolved on me. I am now going to enumerate the principles on which that institution was established. A comparison of those principles with the above-named reports, which dwell on the unpopularity of the poor-houses, will throw some light on the discovery of the real causes of that unpopularity.

3. The poor-house at Moradabad was established on the following principles:—

- (1.) A committee was formed which consisted of respectable Hindu and Muhammadan members who used to select every morning and afternoon persons fit to be admitted into the poor-house, as well as those to be sent to the relief-works,<sup>1</sup> out of the lot that assembled every day. Persons selected for the poor-house were each given a ticket marked with a number, and ordered to sit in a separate quarter. Those appointed for the relief-works were given similar tickets and sent to work. Persons employed in the relief-works also received cooked food. As no arrangement could conveniently be made with regard to caste system at such relief-works, therefore those persons only who did not mind caste restrictions, and who were somewhat strong and healthy, were ordered to such works.
- (2.) Persons selected for admission into the poor-house had to present themselves immediately before the said Committee to undergo a sub-division with regard to the variety of castes. (I.) The *Bhangis* (sweepers), for instance, who are hated and disliked by persons of all other castes, were enrolled in a separate register; (II.) the *Chamars* and their cognate class, the *Chamar Kolis*, were entered in another; while (III.) the *Musalmans*, and those of the *Hindus* who declared that they had sought alms and received food from every person without regard to caste, and that they no longer observed the caste system, were put in a third register, though these latter would have no objection at all had they been placed into the company of the *Chamars* even. (IV.) Those *Hindus* who were particular about caste were enrolled in a fourth register.
- (3.) The poor-house which was established in a spacious garden was divided into two separate enclosures. The larger of these enclosures was assigned to the first three classes named above, and the smaller one to the fourth and last class.
- (4.) The former of these enclosures contained a number of smaller areas enclosed by bamboos, spacious enough to receive 1,000 persons (or 500, the exact number I do not remember) sitting in four rows, one on each side, to take their food.
- (5.) Separate areas were assigned to different classes and castes; as for instance, the area assigned to the *Bhangis* contained none but the *Bhangis*, that assigned to the *Chamars* contained none but the *Chamars* or *Chamar Kolis*, and that assigned to the *Muhammadans* contained none but the *Muhammadans* or those of the *Hindus* who had already renounced their caste. A separate register was kept for each area, and a clerk stood at the door, at the time when food was to be distributed, to let in those persons only whose names were enrolled in the register. These persons had become so accustomed as to seat themselves in their proper places with regard to numbers. There was only one kitchen for all these castes, and the bread, which was of a definite weight, was baked in ovens by Muhammadan cooks, and the number of breads allotted to each individual was marked in the register kept by the clerk. Proper arrangements were also made to have the bread and *dal* (or any other thing to eat with bread) distributed to persons in each area.
- (6.) The second enclosure, which was assigned to the *Hindus* who observed the distinctions of caste, had a long barrack or kitchen built into it. The management of this kitchen and the distribution of food belonged to those members of the committee who were respectable *Hindus*. Some of these members were Government servants, such as *Munsiffs* and *Sadar Amins*, and others were some of the respectable Hindu residents of the city. These members used to enquire about the caste of the persons taken into the enclosure, and could do this very easily. Arrangements made within this enclosure are as follows:—
  - (a.) This enclosure contained a well, and proper arrangements were made for those *Hindus* who used to bathe before taking their food, according to their religious custom.

<sup>1</sup> By relief-works I mean those works (on roads) which were opened at a very short distance from the city of Moradabad, on the banks of the Ram-Gunga, with the mere object of supporting the paupers.

(b.) Separate *Chaukas* (dining grounds) were provided for each class of those people who had no objection against taking their food in the same *Chauka* with other members of that class or caste. This *Chauka* was so made as to be contiguous to the place where their food was cooked, and was very easily prepared, simply by sprinkling water over the ground, and then drawing four lines, one on each side.

(c.) These Hindus almost wholly consisted of persons who had no objection as to taking food cooked by the Brahmans who were appointed by the Hindu members. They received their food cooked by these Brahmans within the precincts of their *Chaukas*, which were wide enough not to render the food impure on the score of its happening to come out of the *Chauka*, conformably to their religious ordinances.

(d.) There were some persons, though very few indeed, who objected to take food cooked by any other person but one of their own caste. Such persons were separated from the rest, and permitted to prepare their food themselves jointly in a separate *Chauka* within the same enclosure. Their shares of flour, dal, and fuel were of course given to them.

(e.) There were, moreover, persons (though rare) who were so prejudiced and superstitious as not to touch food cooked by any other person but by their own hands. Such persons were each allotted a separate quarter for making their *Chaukas* within the same enclosure.

4. These were the only arrangements connected with their food. There does not seem any necessity for mentioning those relating to their living and their employment in the poor-house, their medical treatment, their bathing, and the change of their clothes. Such a management can never be expected to give birth to complaints mentioned in the above-named reports.

5. There is no doubt that the class of persons who have already been ex-communicated before they set their foot into the poor-house will never regain their caste after leaving the poor-house. When I was sent to take charge of the poor-houses at Goruckpore and Basti, I found that almost all the Hindus then attending the poor-houses had been previously excommunicated, and that they did not mind the restrictions of caste, and had no objection against food, by whomsoever it might have been prepared, although the food they received in the poor-houses was cooked by Brahmans. The reports do not make any mention as to the fact whether the persons said to have lost their caste had been excommunicated previous to their entering the poor-house or not.

6. I am now going to take a glance at the reports. The difficulties arising from the caste distinctions of which Mr. Benett speaks in paragraph 54 of his report might well be removed by a management similar to that at Moradabad, described above.

7. The statement made by Captain Pitcher in paragraph 72 of his report, regarding the excommunication of persons admitted into the poor-houses, does not show whether their caste had remained unsullied at the moment they had entered the poor-houses, and whether the poor-houses were managed according to the caste system adopted at Moradabad. From paragraph 84 of the same report it appears that this was not the case, as he states there that "poor-houses will never be more popular than they are now until Chamars and Bhangis are relegated to separate enclosures," which shows undoubtedly that they were not made to sit separately.

8. I cannot understand that "to render the poor-houses more popular is to increase pauperism," nor do I see any other way of helping people which may prevent pauperism. The suggestion that persons should not be drawn out from their homes, and that succour be given to them at their homes, is pleasing to the ears, but I do not think it possible to bring it practically into effect, nor can relief-works be opened everywhere near the homes of the villagers.

9. With reference to paragraph 94 of Mr. Roberts' report, about the reluctance on the part of the people to avail themselves of the poor-houses for fear of the loss of caste, I would make the same remark as I have done in the case of Captain Pitcher, with the addition that the statement made by Mr. Roberts that "the poor-houses were largely recruited by starving wanderers whom the police compelled to come in," gives much reason to believe that the inmates of the poor-houses were for the most part those persons who had already lost their caste by begging in from door to door.

10. No measure whatever that may be adopted for giving relief to people in a famine is free from its attendant defects, notwithstanding its manifold benefits, and a manager is necessarily inclined to weigh those defects and benefits, and adopt the one in which the latter prevail. On this principle I must own that the establishment of the poor-houses is not faultless just as any other measure is not so.

11. The evil which results from the distribution of money or of raw materials of food to the paupers is, that they often choose to lay it by and live on a very bad and unwholesome sort of food, which increases disease and mortality. I have myself occasionally found out persons in a poor-house who had got pice, cowries, flour, and corn with them. They might have collected these things by begging, but they would not spend them, and chose to live on very revolting things which they picked up from the earth rather than part with their stores. The food which they received in the poor-house was good, and it could not produce such bad effects. Another difficulty in distributing money (supposing that they will spend it in feeding themselves) is that they will not sufficiently be able to make arrangements for their food separately, as separate arrangements require greater expense. There are, moreover, many persons who are in some way or other incapable of making arrangements for their food themselves, and the supply of cooked food to them is considered to be the greatest boon.

12. Arrangements were also made at Moradabad for washing the persons of the paupers and for changing their corrupt and noisome clothes, which was indeed considered as a precaution against the spread of disease.

13. Poor-houses do certainly check or rather put a stop to that practice of embezzlement and fraud which attends the distribution of cash money, even when given to labourers on the relief-works. While at Goruckpore, I came to the knowledge of everything connected with the relief-works where thousands of paupers were employed on a road near a celebrated bridge and on a tank. After trying every means I could not see how to put a stop to such malpractices. I once happened to meet a man who was distributing wages to his party, and asked him how he knew that all these persons belonged to his party, and that he distributed the money justly, and gave every one the exact amount due to him. He replied that I could not understand such things until I performed the work myself. Giving the lowest value to my estimate, I can, with confidence, say that one-fourth of the amount is embezzled in the distribution of cash money, whether in relief-works or anywhere else.

14. There were, however, various kinds of work performed at the poor-house at Moradabad, such as the spinning of cotton, the weaving of cloth, *durries*, and blankets, and the twisting of ropes, &c. These articles, when prepared, were sold to defray a portion of the expenditure incurred in supporting the paupers. A third part probably (I do not recollect the exact amount) of the whole expenditure was thus repaid, and was, from time to time, added to the relief fund, so that we were thus able to support four thousand persons (for instance) by a fund which was originally capable of supporting three thousand persons. Quite contrary was the case of cash distribution by which we should have hardly been able to support three thousand persons by a fund which would have well sufficed for the support of four thousand persons.

15. There is no doubt that the poor-houses are liable to some defects, such as—

- (1.) Defects in management. As I have often heard of mismanagement in most of the poor-houses that were opened during the last famine, I am inclined to conclude that a poor-house and mismanagement are closely connected with one another.
- (2.) It is undoubtedly a fact that the higher classes of people, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, and particularly the women who have the slightest claim to respectability, consider it a great disgrace to go to a poor-house, and it is not strange that some might have preferred starvation to that disgrace. If I am not mistaken, the same feelings may have been entertained in Europe with regard to the poor-houses. But this does not incline us to regard the poor-houses as defective, but to make some other arrangement for this sort of people.

At Moradabad two plans were adopted to meet this difficulty. In the first place, a certain quantity of cotton was every week sent to the women at their houses with an amount of money sufficient to maintain them during that week. They had to spin the cotton and then send it back to the managers of the poor-houses. Although the persons charged with the distribution of these things were selected

from among trustworthy persons, yet I doubt not that some irregularities occurred in the matter. In the second place, men who felt a shame in entering the poor-house like other paupers were nominally taken into employ on small salaries in the poor-house or relief-works, though there was in reality no need of their services. This measure did not, however, prove thoroughly effective. The abundance of the servants had of course the effect of ensuring a satisfactory management of the poor-house and the relief-works.

- (3.) The people certainly do not like to leave their homes for poor-houses as long as they can support themselves in some way or other. It was, in my opinion, one of the foremost principles we had in view in the management of the poor-houses (whether I was right or wrong I do not know) that those persons should only be admitted into a poor-house who could not support themselves in any other way. Hence the failure of those persons to join the poor-house, who could in any way support themselves at their homes, was considered by us as the attainment of one of the best principles.

16. In conclusion, I beg to state that I never heard that persons of the fourth class above mentioned, who had got a separate enclosure for taking their food in the poor-house at Moradabad, were ever excommunicated. The state of management of a poor-house is soon rumoured abroad, and the effect which the good or bad state of its management has had on the continuance of a person in, or his exclusion from, his caste may thus have been known to the people.

SYED AHMED.

9th June 1879.

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## MYSORE.

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This sketch is compiled (by Mr. C. Campbell of the India Office) from Mr. C. A. Elliott's Report on the Mysore Famine.

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*Causes of Famine.*—In 1875 the rainfall was extremely scanty. The early rains were light, and the autumn rains entirely failed, the result being a very short crop of the autumn dry grains, and an entire failure of the winter rice. The country, however, was in so prosperous a condition at the time that, though much anxiety was felt and preparations for relief were made, no real distress ensued. The rainfall of 1876, however, was even more deficient than that of 1875. The S.W. Monsoon was very light, whilst the N.E. monsoon failed entirely. The dry crops came to nothing, and the tanks and wells being exhausted through the drought, the late rice crop also was a total failure.

The effect on prices of these bad seasons was that ragi, the staple food grain of the province, had risen by November 1875 to  $22\frac{1}{2}$  seers per rupee, or more than double the usual price, to 18 in August 1876, and to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in December.

*History of the Famine.*—As soon as it was clear that the failure of the rain had been general and must produce a wide-spread loss of food, preparations were made to open relief-works, and at the close of October<sup>1</sup> the Chief Commissioner laid down the system on which he proposed to administer relief measures. This system embraced the digging of wells and the encouragement of irrigation by lowering the rates of assessment, strengthening the police and the district establishments by closing the civil courts and utilising their staff; but he demurred to the proposal to supply famine labour on the railway to Mysore, or on any large works, as well as to any scheme for buying grain or interfering with trade. The Government of India approved these instructions and accorded their emphatic approval<sup>2</sup> to the system of carrying on minor works at numerous places, instead of concentrating large bodies of labourers on works at a distance from their homes. However, with regard to gratuitous relief, the old principle was adhered to, that it was mainly the duty of the community to assist those who were unable to work, and on the 2nd November<sup>3</sup> the Chief Commissioner called a public meeting at Bangalore, at which subscriptions were invited, an equal sum being promised by Government, and a Central Committee for administering this relief was appointed.

<sup>1</sup> R., p. 24-5.

<sup>2</sup> R., p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> R., p. 26.

This Committee continued its functions in the town of Bangalore till the end of September 1877. Similar measures were adopted in other large towns, and where private charity failed Government stepped in. Early in February<sup>1</sup> Sir R. Temple, the famine delegate from the Government of India, visited Mysore. His report on the general condition of the people at the time was not unfavourable. He did not observe many cases of emaciation or any of starvation; it was known that there was some increase in the death rate, but the increase was attributed to cholera. He approved of the system under which "good useful work on irrigation tanks is being done at piece-work rates," and thought it unnecessary to begin any large work till the numbers of applicants increased. He considered that the economy with which relief operations were conducted in Mysore contrasted very favourably with Madras. The reform he chiefly urged was the introduction of a system of village inspection and house to house visitation, and a strengthening of the existing staff where necessary; and some subordinate officers were detailed to this work, but it was neither efficiently carried out by them, nor effectively supervised by the superior staff.<sup>2</sup> Towards the end of February cholera in a severe form broke out and continued to rage with great violence till June. The mortality was very great in the relief kitchens, where the sick and infirm had no chance of escape; when it broke out in the works it had the effect of dispersing the gangs.

In the beginning of April<sup>3</sup> Sir R. Temple revisited Mysore. He still continued to take an optimist view of the situation, and considered that the results of the relief administration still compared favourably with the neighbouring districts of Madras, even after all the economy and reduction which had been introduced into those districts, and that the labourers on relief-works were in fair condition. At the end of March through want of proper arrangement and system the numbers on civil relief-works fell from 55,687 in the last week of March<sup>4</sup> to 32,000 in the first week of April, and never recovered; the numbers in receipt of gratuitous relief simultaneously rising gradually from a monthly average of 43,600 in March to a maximum of 227,067 in August.

This period was one of extreme depression and of gloomy forebodings that the monsoon would fail again. After a cyclonic fall of rain in May the rainfall was extremely light through June, July, and August, and it was during these months that the distress and mortality reached their climax. The loss of cattle, too, owing to the want of pasture, was very great. On the 1st September agriculture was at a standstill and all field labour was stopped; the starving people, finding that the relief-work did not provide them a sufficient or a certain subsistence, crowded into the large towns, and especially to Bangalore, in such numbers as to swamp the machinery for distributing gratuitous relief, and died in large numbers in holes and corners of the town. Rain began to fall and continued throughout the month. On the 6th the Viceroy arrived at Bangalore, and on the 8th he addressed a letter to the Chief Commissioner in which a scheme for reorganising the whole system of famine management was delineated, a chief feature of which was the appointment of a Famine Department presided over by Mr. C. A. Elliott as Famine Commissioner, with Mr. Wingate as Famine Secretary. As it was further considered necessary to make a radical change in the system of relief-works, Col. Sankey was relieved of his post as Chief Engineer, and Major Moncrieff appointed in his place. Under the new central authority a Famine Code was drawn up and uniformity introduced into the relief arrangements; gratuitous food was confined to those who were altogether unable to labour, and was given for the most part subject to the condition of residence in a poor-house; while everyone who was able to do any work, however little, was employed on relief-works. These were almost without exception large works of permanent utility, and were placed under officers of the Public Works Department. The establishment employed in administering famine relief was largely increased, and an active system of house to house inspection of the villages was set on foot, with a view to relieving at home those who were infirm and feeble, and to stimulating all others if in distress to seek employment by work. The numbers on relief-works at once rose, the monthly average in November being 75,850. The intensity of the distress was now however past, for the rain gave fresh life to agricultural occupations, and the spontaneous produce of grasses and weeds was collected with avidity by those who could not get work. The harvest in December 1877 and January 1878 had the effect of still further decreasing the numbers to be relieved. In February and March they increased again, but in May the rice harvest dispersed the gangs, who were encouraged by the seasonable weather to plough and sow their fields. Simultaneously with the increase on relief-works the numbers in receipt of gratuitous relief decreased, so that at the beginning of 1878 the relief camps were little more than hospitals. By

<sup>1</sup> R., p. 36.<sup>2</sup> R., p. 40.<sup>3</sup> R., p. 60.<sup>4</sup> R., p. 74-5.

the end of May all danger was past, and the famine establishments were at once reduced.

3. *Relief-work.*—During the earlier period of the famine the system of relief-works pursued was, with few exceptions, that of carrying out numerous small works such as repairs to tanks and metalling of roads, which were conducted under the orders of the district officers. The undoubted utility of these works secured at first the sanction of the Government of India, and the system was also approved by Sir R. Temple, on the understanding that large works were ready, should the necessity for them arise. The works were of a kind which were ordinarily conducted by the district officers, and as such were well suited for their purpose. The method, however, under which they were planned was cumbrous and the system of granting money uncertain. Certain sums were allotted to a district, and distributed to the taluqs according to their needs.<sup>1</sup> None of the money could, however, be touched till it had been definitely appropriated to a particular work, estimates drawn up, and sanction obtained from the Commissioner or Chief Commissioner according to the amount. The district officers in practice had no time to comply with all these forms, and the work was badly carried on through lack of supervision, money ran short for want of the necessary sanction having been obtained, and works had to be closed, and reopened capriciously. The people were thus discouraged and prevented from coming to work. But the final cause of the collapse of the system was an oversight which arose out of the routine observed in all the earlier famine procedure. A rule of the Public Works Department had been adopted to the effect that all grants not fully utilised before the close of the financial year should lapse. No arrangements were made to withdraw it, when it was seen that the necessity for relief-works would continue. Consequently the works were closed, and the district officers, with no power to assist, were surrounded by starving wretches howling for employment, who were thrown out of work by the sudden cessation of funds. Though measures were at once taken to remedy the mistake, the people were thoroughly disgusted with the fitful nature of their employment, and the works were never again put on a proper footing till the new arrangement ordered by the Viceroy came into force in September 1877. The consequence was an immediate falling off in the numbers on relief-works from 55,687 in the last week of March to 32,000 in the first week of April, and from thenceforth they oscillated from that figure to 25,000.

The unsteadiness of the attendance at the Civil Relief Works, owing to the above-mentioned reasons, may be best seen by the following table :—

Month.	Average No. on Civil Relief Works.
January	20,870
February	37,830
March	41,730
April	29,730
May	30,010
June	28,060
July	26,300
August	26,000
September	29,970

The Public Works Department were also enjoined to co-operate with the district officers, but co-operation was never hearty. Their system was not altered to suit the altered circumstances. The work was done by petty contract and the labourers paid on the piece-work system at ordinary rates, which were insufficient to enable those unaccustomed to work, especially when emaciated by famine and illness, to earn a living. Again in many cases the labourers were only paid once in 15 days. Consequently the works conducted by the Public Works Department did but little towards relieving the famine.

An attempt was made in the latter end of July to put matters on a better footing, and proposals were made with the view of establishing a system of large relief-works and placing them under the control of the Public Works Department, and relieving the over-worked district officers of this portion of their duties. It was also suggested that, whereas a larger sum of money was being spent on gratuitous relief than on relief-works, the reverse ought to be the case. These views made a great impression on the Chief Commissioner; but as they were opposed by the Chief Engineer, and as in a conference summoned to consider them the divergence of opinion was so great that no decision could be come to, a proposal which might have saved much suffering to the starving people fell to the ground.

<sup>1</sup> R., p. 45, 50.

On the visit of the Viceroy in September 1877, the system which had proved so successful in Bombay was substituted. The main outlines of the system were that all relief-works should be large works of permanent utility and should be conducted under officers of the Public Works Department: and that all applicants for employment should be received on them. The labourers were classified according to their strength and ability to work and suitable tasks allotted to them; the wage was so arranged as to leave a slight margin for comforts over and above actual subsistence, and this margin, but no more, might be deducted as a penalty for idleness: the wage was paid daily at first and afterwards twice a week, under the supervision of competent officers. It was laid down that work should not be given to any near their homes, but in most cases this test was not enforced, as the severity of the famine did away with its necessity. The Public Works Budget was entirely revised and no work was undertaken which was not suitable for relief purposes.

The following statement gives the average numbers on relief-works, as far as the provincial returns contain the information each month from December 1876 to July 1878, the average monthly attendance for the whole period, and the total cost of relief-works:—

Year.	Month.	Civil Relief.	P.W.D. Works.
1876	December - -	15,000	20,000
1877	January - -	20,870	20,000
	February - -	37,830	28,780
	March - -	41,730	30,950
	April - -	29,730	31,500
	May - -	30,010	32,500
	June - -	28,060	26,800
	July - -	26,300	20,750
	August - -	26,000	22,600
	September - -	29,970	25,800
	October - -	30,200	44,000
	November - -	75,550	
	December - -	55,273	
1878	January - -	45,197	
	February - -	46,834	
	March - -	55,742	
	April - -	54,369	
	May - -	45,890	
	June - -	37,630	
	July - -	33,425	
	Total - -	1,069,290	
	Average monthly attendance for 20 months - -	53,470	
	Total cost -	Rs. 29,50,000	

4. *Relief wages.*—The first attempt at establishing a uniform scale of wages was made on the 15th November. A circular was issued, suggesting that the rate should not exceed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  annas for a male adult, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  for a female. No positive orders were, however, passed on the subject till the 28th February. At that date a rate of grain-wage was fixed, in case grain payments were made, “which for the present should not “be done unless under exceptional circumstances.” The rate was—

For a man $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of ragi <sup>1</sup>	-	-	-	6	pies	condiments.
For a woman $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of ragi <sup>2</sup>	-	-	-	3	”	”
For a child under 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of ragi <sup>3</sup>	-	-	-	3	”	”

At the then price of grain these wages were equal respectively to 2,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , and 1 anna respectively. If prices grew dearer, wages were to rise proportionally. The rate of piece-work was at the same time laid down for relief-works at 1 anna 6 pies per cubic yard. The efficiency of these rules, however, was seriously impaired by their being only permissive, and they were not generally adopted in the Public Works Department works. On July 21st, however, the chief engineer issued a circular, authorising the

<sup>1</sup> R., p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> R., p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> R., p. 105.

reduction of tasks by 25 per cent. in special cases, sanctioning a sliding scale of wages on the basis of  $\frac{2}{3}$  seer of rice, with an extra allowance for condiments, for working men;  $\frac{2}{3}$  rds of this amount for women, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  for children, and daily payments under certain conditions not stated. The instructions contained in the circular were not, however, uniformly carried out.

In the Civil Works, a similar sliding scale was introduced by a circular dated 8th August. But in neither of these orders was any explanation given how this principle of a daily wage could be reconciled with the prevailing system of piece-work. The Famine Code for the first time put the question on a uniform and practical basis. Definite rules were laid down regarding the classing of the labourers, and the amount of work, never exceeding 75 per cent. of an ordinary task, to be required from each class; also regarding the payments, the existing rate of wage being generally accepted, as fixed by the circulars of 21st July and 8th August.

5. *Piece-work*.—The question of piece-work versus task-work is one which occupied a prominent place in the re-arrangement of affairs consequent on the appointment of the Famine Department.<sup>1</sup> The theoretic objections to piece-work for famine-relief purposes are, (1) a skilful labourer may earn more than a bare subsistence, and thus the work prove too attractive, (2) coolies may be stimulated to work with too great vigour and thus the work may be completed before the famine is over, (3) if a piece of work is paid for in the lump it is impossible to ensure a fair distribution of the pay among those who shared in the work, (4) the strength and skill of famine coolies vary so much that it is impossible to apportion the rate so as to bear an equal relation in all cases to their ability to work.

The system had proved a failure under the earlier régime, when the rules of the Public Works Department were not sufficiently elastic to allow of special modifications, but it was tried on the State railway with unaltered rates of pay, and the practical conclusion drawn from the facts and experience gained was, that on all large works there should be a piece-work gang, to which all the able-bodied should be drafted, and as many others as might wish it; that the system should only be tried in places where the quantity of work can be easily estimated by the labourers themselves, and the rate remain unaltered for a long period; but that the attempt to carry on famine relief solely on a system of piece-work payments must necessarily result in failure.

6. *Gratuitous relief*.—The principle on which gratuitous relief was administered during the famine was that of co-operation between the public and the Government, the primary responsibility, both for raising the funds and for managing their distribution, being vested in the public. The idea of distributing cooked food to starving people was not an unfamiliar one in Southern India, and private endowed charities of this nature already existed in the Province. These were naturally utilised when the want began to be severely felt, but as the distress increased, these sources of charity were soon dried up. Grants had then to be made by Government in certain cases, and in others, as at Bangalore, the Government supplemented private subscriptions by an equivalent grant. Towards the end of January, however, private charity was almost exhausted, except at Bangalore itself, and the Government had to undertake the whole cost of the work. At Bangalore the administration of this relief was left entirely in the hands of the Central Relief Committee till they applied for Government supervision, a measure which proved very effectual in producing economy. One evil which attended this form of relief was the want of uniformity in the rations of food, and towards the end of March the Chief Commissioner prescribed a scale,<sup>2</sup> viz., for an adult 45 tolas (1½ lb.) of ragi flour or 40 tolas (1 lb.) of rice, with 3 pies worth of condiments, and for a child under 10, half that amount. Additional measures were taken in May for enforcing this regulation.

Those paupers, however, who did some slight work were allowed a larger, but undefined ration; a modification which caused great confusion, and gave great openings for fraud. The number of kitchens was a fluctuating one, but tended gradually to increase, and at the highest time there were as many as 151<sup>2</sup> of these institutions, a number which in default of any increase to the ordinary district establishment, proved fatal to all effectual supervision. In January the numbers who received food at these kitchens were estimated at about 15,000, but by the end of March they had risen to about 58,000, and from that time they went on constantly increasing. In August, owing to the increasing emaciation of the paupers in Bangalore, a higher scale of ration was introduced which had the effect of increasing the attraction of the paupers from a distance to that

<sup>1</sup> R., p. 140, 156-159.

<sup>2</sup> R., p. 59.

city. The returns for the whole province give the numbers at this date in receipt of gratuitous relief as 227,000. After the visit of the Viceroy in September, the necessity for using the machinery of a voluntary committee in distributing relief in Bangalore no longer existed, and the whole system was centralised under the Famine Department, and the necessary reforms were at once taken in hand. In the new Famine Code distinct instructions were given for administering this form of relief, and separate duties were assigned to separate officers. The Medical Department was strengthened and regular rules issued to provide against undue harshness in the operation of the tests and to secure the proper working of the relief measures. A uniform scale of 1 lb. of ragi with pulse and condiments for adult non-workers, half as much for a child under 12, and  $1\frac{1}{3}$  lbs. for a working man was adopted. The open kitchens were reduced in number and converted into enclosed relief camps. The able-bodied were drafted to the relief works, and the infirm and sick to the relief camps.

The following statement gives the monthly average numbers in receipt of gratuitous relief from December 1876 to July 1878, the average numbers for the first 11 and last 9 months and the total cost of this form of relief:—

1876.	December	-	-	-	-	15,000
1877.	January	-	-	-	-	20,000
	February	-	-	-	-	25,000
	March	-	-	-	-	43,600
	April	-	-	-	-	69,570
	May	-	-	-	-	103,400
	June	-	-	-	-	114,100
	July	-	-	-	-	145,000
	August	-	-	-	-	199,300
	September	-	-	-	-	179,490
	October	-	-	-	-	81,870
	Average for 11 months	-	-	-	-	90,575
	November	-	-	-	-	33,200
	December	-	-	-	-	15,000
1878.	January	-	-	-	-	7,000
	February	-	-	-	-	3,700
	March	-	-	-	-	5,400
	April	-	-	-	-	10,200
	May	-	-	-	-	10,900
	June	-	-	-	-	12,200
	July	-	-	-	-	13,000
	Average for 9 months	-	-	-	-	12,300
Total cost						Rs. 31,25,000.

7. *Emigration and wandering.*—Closely connected with the subjects of relief-works and gratuitous relief are the questions of emigration and wandering. In the earlier months there was a great influx from Mysore into the adjoining Madras districts of Bellary and Cuddapah on the N. and N.E. and the Nilgiris on the S.W.; and a considerable controversy arose between the two administrations as to the method of dealing with the question. The Madras Government demanded from Mysore a contribution towards the relief of the immigrants, which the Mysore Administration refused on the ground that the migration was caused not by any deficiency of relief in Mysore, but by the high rate of wages given in Madras, which tempted away persons who were not in need of relief; and this contention received confirmation from the fact that on the assimilation of the rate of wages in Madras to that in Mysore the stream of emigration was almost entirely checked. In the meantime, however, a system of forcible deportation was adopted, which led to great confusion and trouble.

The ordinary immigration of coolies into the coffee districts of the Wynad also very much increased in 1877, and the planters, while they complained of the influx of weak and sickly people, dreaded lest any order prohibiting immigration should deprive them of their ordinary supply of labour. The district officers attempted to check it by selecting those who seemed sickly or feeble and relegating them to their homes in carts; but this was very unsuccessful. After the Viceroy's visit it was decided not to

prevent migration, but to provide relief at the places, where it was needed by opening relief-works and hospitals: and this was done in Courg and the Wynad with fairly good results. Wandering villagers also throughout the period of distress constantly found their way to the large district towns, partly impelled by a natural instinct to resort to the district centres, and partly attracted by the prospect of a gratuitous distribution of food. In order to check this evil a system of relegating them back to their homes was arranged in March 1877. Roadside stations were established which were intended to intercept the villagers, and to be depôts to which they might be sent from the large towns, and from which they might be forwarded to their homes, after receiving an allowance of uncooked food. In practice, however, the system was a failure. It was impossible to force the villagers to go home against their will, or, if they did go home, to stay there. The people were very loth to go and escaped from their escorts on all sides.

Under the reformed system, all attempts at "relegation" were abandoned, the rule being laid down that all persons in need of relief should be treated in the same way, from whatever country they might have come.

*Charitable relief.*—The sum of Rs. 16,53,900 was apportioned to Mysore by the Madras Government out of the subscriptions received from England and the Colonies for the relief of famine in the South of India. The money was administered by the Central Committee, who distributed it according to the best information they could get regarding the relative necessities of the various taluqs. It was at first expended partly in hospital necessaries, and partly in clothes, but this latter form of relief fell into disrepute and was discontinued. However, the experience of a month established the principle, that the main use to which the money should be put was to restore the people to their ante-famine condition by providing them with implements and bullocks. The money was not to be frittered away in small gifts, but each man was to receive sufficient to give him a new start in life. Another use to which part of the subscriptions was applied was to establish orphanages and other charitable institutions, and the amount of good done to the people by these means is almost incalculable.

8. *Crime.*—A very serious feature of the famine times was the increase of crime. The average number of crimes (dacoity, robbery, burglary, and theft) before the famine was only about 25 per month. The increase during the famine months may be seen from the following table:—

DISTRICT.	Average monthly Number.				Average monthly Number of Arrests.					
	Jan. to Aug. 1876.	Sept. to Dec. 1876.	Jan. to March 1877.	April to Aug. 1877.	Sept. to Dec. 1877.	Jan. to Aug. 1876.	Sept. to Dec. 1876.	Jan. to March 1877.	April to Aug. 1877.	Sept. to Dec. 1877.
Bangalore - - -	20·25	105·50	173·00	264·2	203·00	21·60	104·50	222·0	425·4	365·00
Kolar - - -	38·75	84·00	204·00	365·2	214·20	52·60	307·00	348·0	602·0	327·00
Tumkur - - -	14·50	65·50	73·00	113·2	94·50	15·50	157·50	196·0	292·0	277·00
Mysore - - -	50·00	64·50	54·30	135·2	193·00	39·00	41·25	45·0	166·8	275·00
Hassan - - -	22·10	33·50	97·30	162·4	164·75	31·10	98·75	138·3	174·0	212·25
Kadur - - -	23·00	28·00	22·30	66·4	87·00	53·10	116·25	58·3	122·2	180·25
Shimoga - - -	30·60	34·75	38·60	98·4	54·75	41·00	35·00	47·3	178·2	109·00
Chitaldrug - - -	18·10	40·25	105·00	212·2	97·75	57·10	135·20	212·6	396·8	180·75
Total - - -	217·60	456·00	767·50	1416·2	1105·2	311·00	995·00	1267·	2357·	1926·

During the height of the famine, lawlessness and insecurity of life prevailed to such an extent that whole hamlets were deserted, and the inhabitants flocked into the larger villages for security. The waste which resulted was terrible. Flocks of sheep were killed, and the greater part of the meat wasted. Ragi pits were plundered, and the greater part of the valuable stock scattered on the ground. The roads, however, were patrolled by the police, and were never rendered impassible.

9. *Area, Population, and Extent of Distress.*—The area of the 38 taluqs most severely affected by famine was 15,249 square miles, with a population according to the Census of 1871 of 2,673,198. In addition to these the distress was severe, though not intense, in 13 taluqs, the acre of which amounted to 3,840 square miles, and the population to

1,184,288. The western hill districts, moreover, though not directly affected by the drought, suffered considerably not only from the rise in prices, but from the influx of starving people from the eastern districts. Thus, the whole area of the Province (27,078 square miles) with its population of 5,055,412 souls was to a greater or less extent involved in the calamity. The following is the official estimate of the extent of the distress :—

		Talugs in which the Produce was as compared with an average Crop.			
		$\frac{1}{2}$ and over.	$\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{8}$ to Nil.
Bangalore	- - -	—	1	7	1
Kolar	- - -	—	3	7	—
Tumkur	- - -	—	—	4	4
Mysore	- - -	7	3	1	—
Hassan	- - -	3	3	3	—
Kadur	- - -	3	1	2	—
Shimoga	- - -	5	1	2	—
Chitaldrug	- - -	—	1	5	2
Total	- - -	18	13	31	7

The conclusion drawn from these figures is that, assuming that half the average harvest would be sufficient to avert famine, the food-crop this year was only sufficient to feed  $3\frac{1}{4}$  out of the five millions of the population. Out of the remaining  $1\frac{3}{4}$  millions, a quarter of a million may be taken as representing the number who emigrated to the coffee districts; there would therefore remain to be provided for, either by imports or by the existing food stocks in the country, no less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million people.

The following table gives the average rainfall for each month for the 30 years, and the registered average rainfall in the Province in the years 1876 and 1877 :—

		Average for 30 Years.	1876.	1877.
March	- - - -	0·65	1·12	—
April	- - - -	1·48	1·17	1·80
May	- - - -	5·06	2·98	8·19
June	- - - -	3·21	2·44	3·84
July	- - - -	3·71	4·17	1·75
August	- - - -	6·11	2·97	1·22
September	- - - -	6·33	1·86	6·56
October	- - - -	5·81	0·59	—
November	- - - -	1·67	0·36	—
December	- - - -	0·81	0·0	—

10. *Trade*.—The stores of grain at the commencement of the famine had been much depleted, and very little from this source was thrown on the market, being for the most part reserved by the wealthier ryots for their own consumption, and hidden to save it from plunder. Consequently, the main dependence of the Government to supply the deficit in the stock of food was on trade; and the local merchants from the commencement of the scarcity showed great energy in carrying their grain wherever the demand indicated a likelihood of profit. The prices of ragi were 18 seers per rupee in August 1876,  $14\frac{3}{4}$  in September, 10 to 11 in October, 8 to 9 in November, and 7 to 8 in December. Those of rice were 10 seers in August, 9 in September, 8 in October, 7 in November, and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in December. After this period a slight fall in prices set in till the middle of May, 1871, when they rapidly rose. In September they began gradually to fall, and with some fluctuations maintained their downward tendency to the end. Meanwhile, the railway imported a steadily increasing amount of grain till the end of March. It slightly fell off during April, and rose again rapidly till August, with the exception of a slight falling off in June, owing to the deficiency in carrying power of the railway, and to the difficulty experienced by the smaller merchants in procuring transport, the larger merchants having obtained a practical monopoly of the railway waggons. This was to some extent remedied in July, with the result of a considerable expansion of trade. From September the imports gradually sank, as the prospects of the coming season

improved, and were only again stimulated in January by the rise in prices consequent on the revulsion of feeling which resulted from the failure of the ragi crop.

The total importations of grain by rail were as follows :—

Year.	Month.	Tons.	Daily Average.
			Tons.
1876	November	9,943	331½
	December	11,562	373
1877	January	11,259	363
	February	13,130	469
	March	15,282	493
	April	13,025	465
	May	14,542	519
	June	17,637	504
	July	19,151	684
	August	22,261	636
	September	17,093	610
	October	11,876	424
1878	November	17,189	491
	December	4,267	152
	January	5,719	204
	February	5,902	211
	March	8,848	253
	April	4,035	144
	May	5,473	156
	June	3,806	136
	July	5,179	185
	Total	237,179	—
	Monthly average	11,294½	—
	Daily average	371½	—

11. *Mortality.*—The mortuary returns of the Province are extremely incomplete, the average number of deaths returned scarcely ever exceeding 10 per mille in the four years from 1872 to 1875. In 1876 it rose to 10·7 per mille, and in 1877 it showed an immense increase to about 44 per mille. In 1878 the average fell again to about 14 per mille, the excess mortality in 1877 and 1878 as compared with the two preceding years being returned as 191,500.

The following statement shows the registered deaths by districts :—

Districts.	Population.	Number of Deaths.			Ratio per Mille.		
		1876.	1877.	1878.	1876.	1877.	1878.
Bangalore	828,354	8,958	47,468	10,624	10·8	57·3	12·8
Kolar	618,954	7,445	44,296	9,901	12·	71·5	15·9
Tumkur	632,239	5,367	35,322	8,264	8·4	55·8	13·
Mysore	943,187	7,019	27,212	10,957	7·4	28·3	11·6
Hassan	639,877	6,164	21,086	8,953	9·6	32·9	13·9
Shimoga	498,976	8,515	12,788	11,233	17·	25·6	22·5
Kadur	362,465	4,144	12,366	6,492	11·4	34·1	17·9
Chitaldrug	531,360	6,653	22,494	7,346	12·5	42·3	13·8
Total	5,055,412	54,265	223,033	73,770	Average 10·7	Average 44·1	Average 14·5

The true mortality, however, in ordinary years was probably about 35 per mille, and assuming that the rate of error in the returns was constant, the excess mortality in 1877–8 probably amounted to about 675,000. It is probable, however, that the returns for the famine years are even more erroneous than those for ordinary years, owing to disorganisation of the country and the circumstances of the returning officers. In the interval between the preliminary and final test census, in January 1878, it was shown that the rate of deaths amongst the stationary population (not including the wanderers) was 127·8 per mille, whereas the returns show a rate of only 44.

The most fatal month was August 1877, after which the mortality gradually declined from 25,965 to 5,551 in April 1878. From that point it rose again till it reached its second period of maximum in July 1878, when the registered deaths amounted to 6,921. After July it again declined till December, by which time it stood at about the level of the months before the famine.

The following statement shows the number of deaths, with the causes to which they were assigned :—

Causes.				1876.	1877.	1878.
Cholera	-	-	-	12,087	58,648	723
Small pox	-	-	-	1,059	5,922	971
Fevers	-	-	-	23,934	55,934	46,462
Bowel complaints	-	-	-	4,752	33,781	9,287
All other causes	-	-	-	12,433	68,748	16,327
Total	-	-	-	54,265	223,033	73,770

The most noticeable points in this connection are the great outbreak of cholera in 1877 and that of fever in October and November of the same year, both of which are believed to be largely attributable to the famine.

On the whole it is impossible to conclude that the excess mortality in the two years was less than 675,000, though the defectiveness of the returns makes any conclusions drawn from them somewhat doubtful.

12. *Test census.*—With a view to arrive at a clearer knowledge of the matter, a test census was taken on the night of 19th January, 1878, in a small division, of about 30 villages, in each of the talukas which had suffered most severely from famine. The work was done entirely by the superior officers, in order to insure accuracy. It was preceded by a preliminary census, and tested in every possible way, and was probably the most accurate ever taken in India. It was taken in 51 out of the 68 taluqs, and in 1454 villages. The total population discovered in these villages numbered 294,126. At the general census of 1871 they numbered 412,934—in other words the decrease was at the rate of 28·77 per cent.—which if applied to the whole province would give a total decrease, as compared with 1871, of 1,454,442, or assuming a normal rate of increase of population of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum, 1,603,779. The test census of 1878 was, however, taken in all the worst taluqs, not in all the best; consequently, allowing for a better state of things in these taluqs, and for the absence of emigrants from their homes, who might be expected to return, the decrease may be reduced to about 1,300,000. There are, however, various other considerations which make an exact solution of the problem difficult, and an allowance of 5 per cent. should probably be made for possible error. One million one hundred thousand may then be safely taken as the minimum decrease of population, of which 50,000 may be due to diminished births, leaving a remainder of 1,050,000 as the actual number of deaths.



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