

Revenue (1897) Department.

PRESS SERIES.

G.O., No. 616

DATED 24th July 1897

[Despatch Abstract.]

Famine Relief.

Passing orders in supersession of the directions issued in G.O., No. 216, Revenue, dt. 30th March 1897, on the subject matter of famine wages, restriction on fining for theft and gratuitous relief ration.

BACK PAPERS.

G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.	G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.

FURTHER PAPERS.

G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.	G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.



Rev. Dept. *current number*
1897.
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE AND AGRICULTURE.

FAMINE.

File No. 116 of 1897.

Serial No. 5.

5211

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

S.

Register Reference Sharp
No. $\frac{2266}{116-5}$ -F.

ps
23-6-97

Dated Simla, the 14th June 1897.

Recd. 23.6.97
Regd. 23.6.97.

SUBJECT.

Communicates remarks on the sufficiency of the famine wages prescribed by the Government of India.

No. $\frac{2266}{116-5}$ -F.

FROM

T. W. HOLDERNESS, Esq.,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,

TO

THE SECRETARY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

Dept. of Rev. & Agri.
Famine.

Simla, the 14th June 1897.

SIR,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 296, dated the 4th May 1897, and enclosures, communicating the views of the Government of Madras on the sufficiency of the wages prescribed by the Government of India for relief-workers, which are embodied in Article 120 of the Madras Famine Code.

2. His Excellency the Governor in Council doubts whether the present scale of wages is sufficient to maintain a distressed population in such a state of health and strength as will enable its members on the cessation of distress to resume their usual avocations without any material impairment of vitality, and considers that in the Madras Presidency at least the scale has been found to fall considerably short of this standard. His Excellency in Council accordingly recommends that the scale should be modified by the abolition of the D wage and by re-arranging the labourers in three classes* only, the present wages of these classes being also raised so as to give a margin for a sufficient

** Present classification.*

- A.—Professional labourers.
- B.—Labourers, not professional.
- C.—Able-bodied, but not labourers.
- D.—Weakly.

Proposed classification.

- A.—Professional labourers.
- B.—Able-bodied persons.
- C.—Weakly.

quantity of vegetables, and for fuel in the case of town dwellers. If, however, the Government of India should decide to retain the present classification, His Excellency in Council recommends (1) that Collectors should be authorised to make an allowance for fuel where necessary, (2) that the C and D workers should be allowed at least as much grain as was stated by the Famine Commissioners to be necessary for persons doing light work, and (3) that in fixing the grain equivalents an allowance should be made for loss in husking and pounding.

3. The Government of India have given most careful consideration to these recommendations and to the arguments by which they are supported. It is correctly stated in paragraph 9 of your letter that no complaint as to the insufficiency of the wage-scale has reached the Government of India from any other province. On the contrary, the Government of India have abundant

evidence from all other provinces that the present wage-scale is sufficient to maintain relief-workers in health in all cases in which the supplementary measures designed to accompany the wages for actual workers are fully carried out. Such supplementary measures include the relief on the works or in their homes of dependants of relief-workers, the restriction of fines within narrow limits, the proper classification of the workers, and the careful adjustment of the task to the worker's capacities. The evidence before the Government of India is that working under such conditions large bodies of relief-workers have greatly improved in condition on the Code wages, even in cases where the majority of the workers have received the D wage only. It is suggested in your letter that this may be due to the greater nutritive value of the grains consumed by the labouring classes in Upper India. But the staple food of the relief-workers in the Bombay Dekkan is precisely the same as that of the relief-workers in the Madras Dekkan, yet no complaints as to the insufficiency of the wage-scale have been received from Bombay. A considerable proportion of the workers there are on the D wage and a still larger proportion on the C wage. The condition of the gangs has repeatedly been reported to be good. The Government of India will ascertain from the Government of Bombay whether recent experience has satisfied it as to the sufficiency of the D and C wages as expressed in grain "equivalents." Meanwhile it is reasonable to assume that they are there found to be sufficient.

4. It is of course essential that the wages paid to relief-workers shall be such as will enable them in given conditions to maintain their health. But it is equally essential that the wages should not do more than this, that they should not be attractive in themselves, and that they should not operate to withdraw to the relief works persons in private employ or who are engaged in their customary vocations. Any proposal to raise the wage-scale, which, in other provinces has been found to satisfy these requirements, requires to be supported by very strong evidence, not only that relief-workers have deteriorated under the wage-scale, but that the deterioration is directly due to an insufficient wage-scale and to no other cause. The Government of India doubt whether this has been established in Madras.

5. The objections taken by the Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of Madras to the dietary constituents of the ration on which the wage of each class of relief-workers is based appear to the Government of India to be based too exclusively upon theoretical considerations, and to overlook the practical question whether the relief-worker in receipt of the prescribed wage is not in point of fact, all things considered, living as well as he ordinarily does when not supported by the State. Comparison of the rations which the Code wages are supposed to buy with the dietary scales of the Jail Department is open to question. The relief-worker is not, as the prisoner, excluded from every other source of subsistence. He has his home to go to, and in many cases he is not absolutely destitute. His family frequently come with him on the work, and the united earnings of the family together with the doles granted to non-working members are large, even after allowance is made for the present high price of food. It has been ascertained in other provinces that money is frequently saved by families working under these conditions. The important question therefore is whether the labourers on relief works in the Madras Presidency have actually deteriorated in condition since they came on the works, and whether that deterioration has been caused by the insufficiency of the wage-scale. On this point the papers accompanying your letter give little

③ The prisoner has his dole etc. he himself is not like the worker employed on the work, as often happens, with the non-working members of his family.

information. The Sanitary Commissioner reports the result of his examination of certain gangs, but, as the result of one examination only is reported, this does not establish that their condition was becoming worse. The worst gangs which were inspected by the Sanitary Commissioner were in a tract where according to him the opening of works had been delayed too long. It is not stated in the papers that the Collectors of the distressed districts and the District Health Officers share the views of the Sanitary Commissioner as to the insufficiency of the famine wage-scale, or as to the deteriorating condition of the relief-workers. There is this further defect in the evidence that at the time of the Sanitary Commissioner's inspection other causes were at work which were quite as likely to injure the health of the relief-workers as any insufficiency in the wage-scale. These causes are summarised in paragraphs 3 to 5 of the Madras Government Order No. 216, dated 30th March 1897, which has amply provided for their removal. The instructions therein contained as to the adjustment of the task to the capacity of the workers, the restriction of fining to clear cases of malingering or insubordination, and the better relief of the children and other dependants of relief-workers, must have very materially tended to ameliorate the position and to improve the health of the labourers.

6. In paragraph 6 of your letter special objection is taken to the ration prescribed for class D workers, on the ground that it contains less grain than the ration prescribed by Article 122 of the Madras Code for persons in receipt of gratuitous relief. The gratuitous relief ration of the Madras Code escaped notice when the Code was under revision. The ration which the Government of India approve is that described in paragraph 107 of the Bombay Code, which provides the "1 lb. of flour" and the "little pulse" stated by the Famine Commission to be sufficient for an adult male in receipt of gratuitous relief, with the addition of a little salt, *ghi*, and condiments. When the Madras Code is brought in this respect into accordance with the provisions of the Famine Codes of other provinces, the anomaly pointed out by the Sanitary Commissioner will disappear. The minimum or D wage will then not be less than the gratuitous dole, and as the D wage is given only to persons who are very lightly worked, it is considered that the gratuitous dole is sufficient for their support. With regard to the distinction made in the Code between the B and the C wage, the Government of India adhere to their opinion that the wage of each class should be graduated with reference to the amount of the task.

7. In paragraphs 7 and 8 of your letter the method of calculating the wages of the classes by "grain equivalents" is discussed, and the contention is advanced that the present grain equivalents are insufficient even under the most favourable circumstances to procure the rations which they are supposed to represent. In particular it is urged that in fixing the grain equivalents no allowance has been made for loss in husking and pounding the staple dry grains of the country, and that this loss is not covered by the general "margin" assumed to be given in the grain equivalents. The extent of this margin clearly depends on the comparative price of the "grain" and of the "other items" of the ration. When grain is dear and the "other items" cheap, the margin has elsewhere been found to fully cover loss in grinding and other contingencies. When the reverse is the case the margin of course becomes smaller. The Government of India do not think that the difficulty can be met by any other expedient than by allowing as the Famine Codes already do a discretion to the local officers to

calculate the actual cost of each item in the ration in fixing the cash wage, when the grain equivalents method fails to give a satisfactory result.

8. Another objection which has been taken to the present wage-scale is that it does not provide for the cost of fuel required by the workers for cooking their food. It appears that in the neighbourhood of towns only are the relief-workers under the necessity of purchasing fuel. A general allowance for this item is therefore unnecessary, but the Government of India willingly agree to the insertion in the Madras Famine Code of an article authorising the Collector to sanction the issue of fuel gratis to relief-workers when it is difficult or impracticable for them to obtain fuel.*

* Cf. Article 116, Bombay Code. Article 173, Punjab Code. and Appendix C, paragraph 9, Punjab Code.

9. It will be seen from the above remarks that the Government of India do not consider that a case has been made out for revising the present classification of relief-workers and revising the wages-scale. They agree that free fuel should be provided when the workers cannot themselves obtain it. But they are unwilling on the evidence before them to raise the rations of the C and D workers, or to raise the grain equivalents wage of each of the four classes so as to make up for loss in husking and pounding dry grain.

10. In paragraph 11 of your letter sanction is asked to certain instructions issued by the Government of Madras in its G. O. No. 216, dated 30th March 1897, which involve deviations from the provisions of the Famine Code. Of these instructions the Government of India readily assent to those numbered (iii), (iv), and (v). The adaptation of tasks more closely to the capacity of the workers and the restriction of the practice of fining have their entire approval. With regard to (ii), which directs that the untasked and the weakly should be placed in class C instead of in class D, the views of the Government of India have already been stated in paragraph 6 of this letter. The ration allowed by the Madras Code for persons gratuitously relieved exceeds "the 1 lb. of flour and a little pulse" which the Famine Commission state has been found sufficient "to support life in numerous relief-houses, where no work is exacted, all over the country," and it also exceeds the gratuitous-relief ration prescribed in the Codes of other Provinces. Section 122 of the Madras Code should therefore be brought into conformity with the provisions of other Provincial Codes. When this is done, the D ration for weakly persons who are given nominal work will no longer be less than the gratuitous dole. The evidence before the Government of India leads to the conclusion that the D ration, having been tried on a large scale in all parts of India, has proved sufficient to maintain health, and they do not see their way to increasing it. They observe that little actual evidence as to its insufficiency has been obtained in Madras during the present scarcity, since the number of workers in the D class was only 43 in December, 173 in January, 458 in February, 480 in March, and 1,867 in April. In Bombay, where the wage has not been objected to, there are at present over 26,000 adult relief-workers in class D.

11. The Government of India are unable to assent to instruction (1), which authorises local officers to place all able-bodied persons on work in class A or class B, though some of them are unaccustomed to hard manual labour. They consider that persons who are not accustomed to such labour and who are not capable of performing the task of a class B worker should be placed in the C class

in accordance with the provisions of the Code, and encouraged to work up into the B class. If, as is stated, the number of such persons is few, there is the less necessity for deviating in their favour from the carefully considered rules of the Famine Code. The Government of India observe that in the matter of the classification of relief-workers the practice in Madras appears to differ considerably from that of other provinces. The ordinary procedure elsewhere is to first classify the individual relief-workers with reference to their varying capacities, then to form them into gangs, and then to fix the task of the gang with reference to the number of A, B, C, and D workers which it contains. In Madras the gang is the unit of classification, and every person in the gang is an A, B, C, or D worker according to the class of the gang. It seems to the Government of India that the former system is more flexible and at the same time fairer to the individual worker than the Madras system, while it respects the natural grouping by families as much as the latter. The Government of India would suggest that the subject should be examined by the Government of Madras, though possibly it may be too late on this occasion to introduce any radical alteration in the system at present working. It must, the Government of India think, be difficult for the local officers to decide respecting any gang whether it ought to be placed in the B or C class, as it probably contains both B and C workers. Previous to the issue of the Madras Government Order of the 30th March 1897, it probably did not materially matter in many cases whether the gang was placed in the higher class and fined for not performing the task prescribed for that class, or placed in the lower class where it was tasked more lightly and earned the full wage. But the orders of the 30th March have altered this, and a gang can now be overclassified without incurring a penalty. As the system has thus undergone a radical alteration in one respect, it may be found on further examination that the necessary complement to the change is to classify the individual workers and give each worker the wage of his class.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient Servant,

J. M. L. M. S.
Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of India.

of the Hon. Mr. Curzon C. R.
The Hon. Sir H. P. R. C. R.
1,000-7-9-93. Sd. R. The Governor

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

Current No. 5211 of 1897.

From The Govt of India, R & A Dept
Dated 14 th June 1897.

FOR ORDERS.

See letter half of sheet
17 of the R. R.

Jg
20/7/97

A. S. H.
22.7.97

Recommendations and
orders of this Govt.

ent	Proposed	Wage (adult male)
A	= Class A	2 $\frac{5}{8}$ lbs.
s B & C	= Class B	2 $\frac{3}{8}$ lbs.
	= Class C	2 lbs.

The above is the reply of the Govt of India to our letter No, 296^x dated 4th May 1897, in which we pointed out that the present famine ^{code} wages were insufficient to sustain relief-workers in health and strength, and suggested certain changes in the classification and wages of labourers. The Govt of India sanctions some of the minor changes ordered by us in anticipation of its approval, but declines to accept our main conclusions and, what is ~~worse~~ ^{worse}, directs that the gratuitous relief ratio prescribed in section 122 of our code should be reduced ^{and brought} into conformity with the ration ~~and~~ adopted in other provinces.

2. The recommendations made and the orders issued by us are stated in paras 10 and 11 of the letter referred to above, and are :-

A. That the present D wage should be abolished, ~~and~~ that the labourers should be ^{re-}arranged into three classes, and that ~~the~~ the wages of these classes should be ^{them} ~~the same as those prescribed~~ for the ~~ent~~ ^{ent} classes A, B, and C but raised so ^(a margin for) as to give a sufficient quantity of vegetables and for fuel in the case of town dwellers. In case this recommendation

19/7/97

was not acceptable to the Govt of India
it was suggested as an alternative course

FOR ORDERS.

- (a) that allowance should be made -
for fuel where necessary;
- (b) that the grain portion of the -
wage for C & D classes should be
at least $1\frac{1}{4}$ lbs; and
- (c) that in fixing the grain equivalents
allowance should be made for husking
and pounding.

This Govt had also ^{previously} ordered

- 216 Slipped B*
20-1-17
- B. (i) that all able-bodied labourers should
be placed in class A or class B. In -
ordering this, ^{this} Govt was not acting
in anticipation of approval, but claim-
ed that it was merely conforming to the
principles of the Code classification -
and that as no sections of the community
^{of the code} covered by class C had then come on re-
lief works, all able-bodied workers -
should be placed in class A or class B.
- (ii) That weakly persons should be placed in
class C. This was ordered in anticipation
of approval.
- (iii) That tasks should be adapted to the -
capacity of the workers and that fin-
ing should be restricted to clear cases
of malingering and insubordination.
- (iv) That boys of 12 to 16 should be treated as
two or three ~~child~~ child units for work, but
should receive the wage of adults.
- (v) That wages should be calculated at local
prices instead of at cusbah prices.

The Govt of India accepts instructions B (iii),
B (iv) and B (v) above and also agrees to make
allowance for fuel where necessary, but declines

*The evidence for the
conclusions of this Govt*

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Parish of his letter to G.O. 297 Slipped A
11-5-97

Memorandum
Parish of his letter to the above G.O.

Slipped C

Memorandum
Parish of his letter

to accept the other recommendations in A
to approve instructions B (i) ~~and~~ and B (ii)
3. The evidence on which this Govt
-rived at its conclusion as to the inadequacy
- of the ^{relief} ~~fixing~~ wages was :-

- (i) The information gathered by H. E. ~~de~~
-ing his tour in the affected districts.
- (ii) The inspections and investigations
made by the Sanitary Commissioner which
showed: -

(a) that the code rations ^{were} ~~was~~ conside-
ably less than the amounts consumed by
the labourers in ordinary times; ^{These}
Rather the Sanitary Commissioner
~~was~~ determined from 65 experiments
in ~~each~~ each of which he caused women
well accustomed to cooking to select
from a small store.

(b) that the rations compared ^{un-} ~~un-~~ favourably
with the amounts adopted in jails and
those stated ~~by~~ by standard autho-
rities to be necessary for healthy
istence;

(c) that the money value of the gr.
equivalents was insufficient to pro-
the rations. This was ascertained ~~by~~
from trial purchases made by the Sani-
tary Commissioner, and the District of-
ficers; and the correspondence printed
in G.O. 297 dated 4th May 1897, which
was forwarded to the Govt of India
along with this Govt's letter fully
-firms this statement.

(d) that labourers showed signs of ~~of~~
~~deterioration~~ deterioration after being o-
works ^{for only} for two months. ^{In support of}
the Sanitary Commissioner gave
~~the~~ the result of his examine ~~ers~~

the

the labourers at three works: -

Chinnathambalam (Bellary)

Alur-Guntakal (Bellary)

Maddikera (Kurnool).

The arguments used in this Govt's letter are:-

Rations. A class ration. Same as that recommended by the Famine Commission - and Surgeon-General Cornish, but allowance for vegetables ^{is} altogether insufficient, as is also the case with the rations of ~~the~~ classes, B, C, and D.

B class ration. Grain portion (1 1/4 lbs), which was stated by the Famine Commission to be necessary for persons doing light work, is altogether insufficient for persons doing 75 p.c. of the task of professional labourers and for whom 1 1/2 lbs was allowed in the old Madras - Famine Code.

C and D class rations. The grain portion is less than that allowed in section 122 for relief in kitchens. There is no reason why C workers should get less grain than B workers; nor why D workers should get less than kitchen inmates.

Grain equivalents. The Govt of India has computed the cost of the other items at too low rates; and the equivalents, which it professes to ~~have~~ have fixed at a liberal figure, are altogether insufficient to procure even the rations, to say nothing of fuel. The result of this has been that this Govt ^{has} ~~has~~ been compelled to order the calculation of wages on the -

the arguments of this Govt

Para 6 of our letter
g A

Para 7 of our letter

Para 9 of our letter

Criticisms of the Govt of India

Local conditions. Labourers in many parts of

Northern India are better off than those in Madras, as the wages of the former are expressed in wheat, rice or gram, grains which are better priced and some of them more nutritious than the cholam and rag of Madras.

5. As regards our evidence, the Govt of India says that it is altogether insufficient to support our conclusions, but that on the other hand it has received abundant evidence from all other provinces - that the present wage scale is sufficient to maintain the relief workers in health in all cases in which the supplementary measures designed to accompany wages for actual workers are fully carried out. It also remarks:-

- (i) that the Sanitary Commissioner overlooks the practical question whether the relief worker in receipt of the Code wages is not living as well as he ordinarily does when not supported by the State;
- (ii) that the comparison of the Code rations with the jail diet is open to question inasmuch as the relief worker is not like the prisoner excluded from every other source of subsistence and as further, the united earnings of himself and his family together with the doles given to non-working members are large, and that the evidence before ^{it} ~~them~~ goes to show that money is frequently saved by families working under these conditions.

1 the

(iii) that the Sanitary Commissioner reports the result of only one - examination, that this does not - show that the condition of labourers was deteriorating on relief works on account of the insufficiency of the wages and that there is nothing in the papers to show that Collectors and District Medical officers share the views of the Sanitary Commissioner.

(iv) that the deterioration might be - due to the opening of works having been delayed too long (as was the case in Maddikera), to excessive - tasks, fining for short work and the non-provision of relief for dependants, matters which are remedied by the - instructions in paras 3 to 5 of G.O. 216 dated 30th March 1897.

In regard to the arguments summarized in para 4 supra, the Govt of India says :-

Rations.

(i) that the distinction made in the Code between the B & C wage should be maintained;

(ii) that the anomaly of C & D workers getting less grain &c than kitchen - inmates should be removed by reducing the ration of the latter;

Grain equivalents.

(iii) that the extent of the margin - allowed in the grain equivalents - depends upon the comparative price of grain and of the other items of the ration, that where grain is relatively dear this margin has in - other provinces been found to fully

other contingencies, and that where grain is relatively cheap the difficulty cannot be met by any other expedient than by allowing, as the Code does, a discretion to local officers to calculate the actual cost of each item of the ration. The Govt of India has, however, agreed to allow free fuel where necessary, and in view of our strongly expressed opinion as to the unsuitability of C & D wages, has made a reference to the Govt of Bombay as to whether recent experience has satisfied that Govt as to the sufficiency of the grain equivalents of the C & D ration.

(iv) that the staple of the relief workers in the Bombay Deccan is the same as that in the Madras Deccan - and that no complaints as to the insufficiency of the wage scale have been received from that province - though a considerable proportion of the workers there are on the D wage - and a still larger proportion on the C wage.

7. The following remarks are offered on the above criticisms of the Govt of India in order to enable Honourable Members to gauge the exact position we stand in before deciding on the action to be taken now :-

5(i). The Sanitary has not overlooked the practical question referred to by the Govt of India, but as stated above, has endeavoured to estimate the amount of food consumed by three works, and as all the

Observations on the above criticisms

Para 3(i)(a) above

1. you say To say that

...labourers in ordinary times (vide
paras 2 & 3 of his memorandum in -
G.O. 295 d/ 4.5.97). The method -
adopted by him in making women select
from a store may not be the most cor-
rect and may be objected to by the
Govt of India, but it was perhaps
the only one available and the
wonderful agreement among the re-
sults of the various experiments
may be taken as proof that the
result is not far wrong.

5(ii) In the earlier stages of dis-
tress when there is ^{still} some employment
^{available} in the fields and elsewhere, the
relief-workers have, no doubt,
sources from which they can sup-
plement their earnings on works;
but the Govt of India overlooks
the fact that the prisoner has -
his dole all to himself while the
worker has frequently to share his
with his dependants. It may be urg-
ed that this will not be necessary
if the supplementary provisions -
~~for~~ the gratuitous relief of non-
working members be brought into
operation; but the effective en-
forcement of these provisions is
an ideal never fully realized. -
Even supposing that the relief
work is near at hand for all members
to attend without inconvenience -

there must be some one left at
home to mind the cattle &c; fur-
ther, the authorities endeavour to
restrict the gratuitous relief of

*This method is simply
mischievous and obviously
inimicable.*

*Another inference might be drawn
from it.*

*It is not a function of the State
of distress but of its intensity.*

*I think he collects their earnings that
there is an relief.
This is going to be
I think. People are not happy
except if they are not working
what about the thing that at the end of the
famine they are in a condition to work
their ordinary avocation? No*

*Know what finish
them*

*Any one really in
want will eat it.
I doubt this
BS 17.7.17*

*This report has been forwarded
by the Finance Committee & is being separately
circulated.
17.7.17*

...relief dependants was for a
restricted to cooked food at kitchen
taken to
dependants to kitchens, while
but the lowest classes will eat the
cooked food distributed there; and
the dependants have to be supported
out of the earnings of workers, till
the pinch becomes so great that
caste and social prejudices to the
winds, or till the authorities relax
and allow ^{the distribution of} grain or money doles to
prevent a ^{further} deterioration in
the condition of the distressed
population.

With reference to the
Govt of India remark about labour-
ing families saving money on the
works, the Hon Members will remem-
ber that in a recent communication Mr.
Stuart, the Collector of Bellary,
reported that a large amount of
copper and small silver coin which
was distributed as wages in the dis-
trict had been absorbed and did
not get ^{back} into circulation again.
The remark is no doubt true in
many cases, and the fortnightly
narratives ^{received} by the Chief En-
gineer from the P.W. Dept would
seem to confirm it, though these
are often written with the unmis-
takeable object of throwing dis-
credit on the management of the
R.D., and on this account are some-
what unreliable.

5(iii)&(iv) The Sanitary Com-
missioner gives only the results of a single
inspection of the labourers
three works, and as all the

Labourers are now placed in class A or class B, it is impossible to supplement these results by a second inspection so as to show that the labourers deteriorate on C and D wages. In his report embodied in G.O. 215 d/ 29.3.97, ^{the San. Commr} gives the results of his inspections of the workers at Owk and Ramapuram which disclosed a deplorable state of affairs there; but it was considered undesirable to forward the report to the Govt of India as it might weaken our conclusions as to the insufficiency of the wages, inasmuch as it showed that much of the harm done was due to the fault of the local officers. The report embodied in G.O. 2048 d/ 22.4.97. gives the result of his inspections of workers at Yadiki and Puthuru (Anantapur); but the deterioration in the condition of workers at the former is distinctly stated to be due to the opening of the work having been delayed too long. In fact a perusal of his earlier reports as well as of the complaints that have appeared from time to time in the Newspapers leaves on the mind a most distinct impression that the ^{local} ~~sanitary~~ ^{officers} failed, in many cases, to adopt timely measures for the relief of distress, and that the labourers were not able to earn ^{even} the subsistence wages of the Code owing to the indiscriminate enforcement of the

It is well to state that the Sanitary Commissioner's conclusions in all these cases have not been taken into account and were in some denied.

Flagged 2

When the local officers heard. In Andhra & I think in Karnool the Sanitary Commr. has been opposed to the opinions of the local medical officers.

Karnool where fines were enforced it was shown that the people did not work because they were not to work.

There is some thing in regard to it, they do not.

It is relief works from the very beginning. Kitchens have been started in the feeding of dependants.

I doubt this

relief dependants was for a restricted to cooked food at kitchens, and no steps were taken to organise village relief till March or April.

There is ~~nothing~~ ^{nothing} on record to show that the District Medical officers share in the views of the Sanitary Commissioner. But Collectors have occasionally and the Board of Revenue frequently called in question the adequacy of the wages actually earned by the workers; but the criticisms of the former generally referred to the excessive tasks imposed by the P.W.D., while the animadversions of the latter were mainly directed against the orders of Govt directing the enforcement of tasks by fines.

In these circumstances can it be said that the views of the Sanitary Commr are ~~unjust~~ supported by the local officers or that the Code wages supplement as they should be by the subsidiary provisions ^{for the} relief of dependants, have had a fair trial and have been found to fail?

6(i) This is a dictum of the Govt of India unsupported by an argument.

6(ii) The risk of the Govt in directing a reduction in the wages to the sanitary workers is open.

Some form of relief. To say that

ourer... relief ration was foreseen at the time our letter was drafted (vide note at foot of the original of the letter). The point will be referred to at some length later on.

6(iii) The argument of the Govt of India is no doubt theoretically true. But the chief among the other items viz, pulse and oil or ghee are apt to rise in price from the same causes which raise the prices of food-grains, and it is doubtful whether ^{any} grain equivalents which are insufficient to purchase the rations in the earlier stages of distress will become sufficient thereto except in the very acute stages of famine. The Govt of India does not notice our argument that the system of grain equivalents is easier to work and ^{is} less liable to fraud than that of calculating the value of each item of the ration.

6(iv) The fact that our wage-grain is the same as that of Bombay which, ^{in the same} has made no complaints, is the weak point of our position, and is specially referred to in para 9 of our letter. The only possible rejoinder is that Bombay finds a smaller jail ration sufficient, but the necessity for a more costly ^{jail} ration ^{in Madras} is under investigation and the Govt has already disor.

2 Aug 7
G
A reference to para 4 of P.P. 469 8-6-77 will show that pulse & chillies ^{have} quadrupled in price and oil more than doubled, while ^{the price of} food grains is only ^{double} the normal; so that the chief of the other items rise in price much more than food grains do. If this holds throughout the famine the grain equivalents will never be sufficient.

It is to get over this difficulty I suppose that the M.L.A. of Roorkee wants the Jail Ration Comm. to Bombay. It wants to show they are not to have complaints.

Causes of the failure of Relief Works

I can not find any reason to think that relief works have been ^{inadequate} to relieve the distress. 17.7.77.

The subsidiary conditions are dispiriting ^{not just in form} but in fact. The idea of a test work is to make the work unattractive. If people come to it then it is converted into a relief work on which they are much more comfortable. The principle which underlies this is that people who are in want will come while those who are not in want won't do so. The expenditure of the Govt if this principle is forgotten is that which underlies every branch of relief. To say that

decided that ^{little} ~~not much~~ can be done out of this argument.

8. ~~The Government have decided to accept the decision of the Govt of India without protest, and if~~ what are the measures to be taken to work the Code system in the best manner possible. It is ^{agreed} ~~settled~~ that the Code wages ^{must prove} ~~are~~ insufficient unless supplemented ~~by the~~ by the ~~subsidiary~~ provisions of the Code for the relief of dependants. The experience gained during the present distress ^{has shown} that the failure of test works to attract labourers in the earlier stages of distress and the inadequacy of relief works to fully relieve distress are due to the following causes:-

(a) The labourers in many parts dislike the low wages ^{paid} and the discipline ^{enforced} on the works, and fly shy of them as long as possible.

(b) The subsidiary provisions ~~are not generally put in force on test~~ which consequently fail even when there is undoubted distress. Even relief works fail to fill till the distress becomes pronounced or till it is clearly explained to the labourers that separate provision will be made for the maintenance of dependants.

(c) It is not possible always to fully give effect to these provisions owing to the ^{not} ~~inadequacy~~ of open

er of works near the villages
to enable the dependants to attend
at the works.

(d) People in some parts object
to sending their women to works;
in these parts ^{therefore} relief works can
only partially relieve distress till
the pinch becomes severe.

(e) None but the lowest classes
accept cooked food at kitchens;
the dependants belonging to the
better classes are not relieved
till grain or money doles are
authorized.

(f) Apart from the above diffi-
culties, mistakes are often made
in the fixing of tasks; such
mistakes are perhaps unavoidable
till some experience is gained in
the adaptation of tasks to the
capacity of the workers.

A happy solution of the above
difficulties is found in the inter-
mediate scheme of gang piece-work order-
n G.O. 430 d/ 3.6.97. The principle
underlying this scheme is that payment
y results is most advantageous in the
earlier stages of distress when the
population is not prepared to submit
to the Code system and when the State
organization is not sufficiently deve-
oped to give effect to the subsidiary
provisions of the Code. The scheme also
umes that the contract rates of ordi-
ry ^{times} ~~rates~~ will be ruinous from the
an of view of Govt, while the Code
ndisor altogether inadequate

a that work fails to file
when there is undoubted
distress is ~~to~~ ought to be a
contradiction in terms. The
experience of the past few
months proves nothing because
it is an unmistakable fact that people
have indeed to come on
that work which were then
promptly converted into
relief. 11.7.97.

(d) & (e)
The better classes were coming on
that work till famine is severe.
11.7.97.
(f) The fact works broke down especially
high the Intermediate Works
11.7.97.

glorified it
This system is in my opinion
hopelessly bad. If it fails absolutely
to provide work without
from supervision than relief work
any check
to ensure that the money spent
in relief shall reach those needing
it. If the rigid supervision
is provided it is in that respect
more difficult to work than
ordinary relief works. 11.7.97.

from the point of view of law
and that the rates to be allowed
should be intermediate between the
two, so that while the conditions of
employment are deterrent, the workers
are still able to
~~earn~~ (earn something for the support of
their dependants in addition to their
own subsistence; these earnings sup-
plemented from sources of employment
still available will, it is ~~assumed~~
assumed, suffice for the maintenance
of the whole family. The scheme has
not yet been given effect to by the
Famine Commissioner; on the other
hand he considers it altogether im-
practicable, and in a recent D.O. to
the Private Secretary forwarded a
draft B.P. thereon which while pro-
fessing to communicate the above G.O.
to Collectors ~~and to giving them~~ ^{show} ~~xxx~~
instructions to give effect to the
scheme, condemns the latter wholly
and is taken up with arguments to
~~show~~ show how unworkable it is. But
the B.P. and the D.O. clearly show
that the G.O. has been misread in
several important respects by the
Famine Commr and ^{that} ~~the~~ ^{has been} ~~the~~ ^{by him} ~~misunder-~~
stood. The misconceptions in the B.P.
B.P. have been pointed out to the
Private Secretary, and it is hoped
that when the B.P. finally issues it
will correctly state the views of Govt
and contain proper instructions to
Collectors.

10 In places where it is not
considered desirable or necessary to

Supplementary Provisions

employment on the above system
 by results the following measures seem
 to be necessary in order that the test
 and relief works carried out under Code
 conditions may not fail of their object:-

(i) The relief of dependants should
 be allowed even on test works, and the
 fact that a test work fails to at-
 tract labourers should not be tak-
 en as showing that there is no
 distress unless such relief is of-
 fered along with employment for
 efficient workers. ^{Section} 17 of the
 Code, as interpreted by Govt in
 G.O. 1262 d/3.3.97, does not
 authorize the relief of dependants
 on test works; but the Govt does not
 appear to have been consistent in
 its views in this matter, for in
 a previous G.O. (4703 d/ 20.10.96)
 it accepted the instructions is-
 sued by the Board for such relief.

(ii) Further, the relief of depend-
 ants should not be restricted to
 kitchens; grain doles, and even
 money doles at the discretion of
 the Collector, should be sanction-
 ed from the ^{very} commencement. In the
 present year relief of dependants
 was restricted to kitchens till the
 issue of G.O. 216 d/ 30.3.97.

Reference is solicited to -
 the attached statement which I had
 prepared with a view to see to what
 extent the relief of dependants
 has been given effect to in the
 various provinces, but a scrutiny

*This is a contradiction in terms
 and renders the test work useless.
 It is a relief work and not
 to be discontinued.*

*17.7.97
 Slipped J - Also 57 75K
 28.1.97*

*Slipped J.
 This now is erroneous. I am I used
 on the office to verify the B.P. statements.
 They appear to have reported them
 correct and I therefore issued the
 B.P. I am pined down int. as well
 acquainted with the case than
 I am now and the point is not
 me.*

*17.7.97
 May B*

*and had for the absence of
 complaint from other provinces
 might be due to the effective
 relief of dependants;*

Note the numbers are expressed in thousands.

Provinces	January			February			March			April			May			Remarks
	Relief workers	No grati- tious relief	P.C. of no gratuitous relief to Reliquous.	Relief workers	No grati- tious relief	P.C. of R.R. to C.R.	Relief workers	No gra- tuitous relief	P.C. of R.R. to C.R.	Relief workers	No gra- tuitous relief	P.C. of R.R. to C.R.	Relief workers	No gra- tuitous relief	P.C. of R.R. to C.R.	
Madras.	39	3	3	61	5	8	86	15	17	172	21	12	309	22	30	
Bombay	355	11	3	392	21	5	405	24	6	407	29	7	314	36	11	
Bengal	263	76	29	272	138	51	325	204	63	401	278	69	439	394	89	
N. W. P.	971	283	29	1345	310	23	761	290	38	841	332	37	1165	380	32	
Punjab	70	27	39	98	26	27	97	17	19	69	14	20	80	16	20	
Central Provinces	231	49	21	269	83	31	294	110	27	362	143	40	495	202	41	
Burma	27	6	22	22	4	18	19	4	21	15	1	7	15	4	27	
Central India	65	4	6	120	16	13	87	15	17	126	22	17	111	17	15	
Assam	23	2	9	17	3	18	22	7	32	17	7	41	13	7	54	

*This is a most dangerous
and wasteful method of relief*

17.7.97.

992.

of the figures has since ~~been~~ ^{must} ~~that~~ that the comparison ~~should~~ ^{must} be accepted with considerable reserve. In the first place the figures do not relate to the same stages of distress in the different provinces; secondly, the figures for the other provinces include ^{in addition to dependants} the number relieved in villages ~~as well as~~ ^{and} those relieved by the Indian Charitable Relief Fund. The statement may, however, be taken as showing roughly that the relief of the non-working portion of the population was much behindhand in this Presidency till recently.

(iii) And this leads to the consideration whether it is expedient to postpone the organization of village relief to an advanced stage of distress as at present. (vide G.O. ⁷⁶⁰ ~~30-12-96~~) and whether it may not be begun ~~what~~ earlier. The Govt of India says that the supplementary provisions of the Code include the relief on the works or in their homes of the dependants of relief workers; the relief of dependant in their homes cannot be well arranged for except as part of village relief, and the organization of the latter relief would seem to be necessary earlier than is now allowed.

The Hon. Sir H. Bliss

noted that the ~~experience of~~
~~experienced men like~~
~~Myself, according to~~ Sir K.
Sbshadri Aiyar, is that it is
cheaper to feed the distressed
people gratuitously than to em-
ploy them on works on payment
of wages. Without going so far
as this, it may still be held
that in tracts where relief
works cannot be organized with-
out difficulty and inconvenience,
gratuitous relief to non-work-
ing destitutes may well take the
place of works. That such a ~~substitution~~
substitution is desirable, may
be necessary, under certain
circumstances is fully recognised
by the Govt of India and the
Secretary of State as will be
seen from para 4 of the latter's
despatch No. 81 Rev., d/20.5.97;
the same substitution has been
found necessary in Ganjam, where
till recently relief works fail-
ed to fill notwithstanding con-
siderable distress. The general
complaint, (fully confirmed by
the Sanitary Commr's reports)
a few months ago was that works
were not being opened in time;
this failure was due to some ex-
tent to the shortcomings of
district Rev officers, but mainly
to the inability of the P.W.D.
to find subordinates in suffi-
cient numbers to supervise the

in the case of...
S. No 43
19/11
I know nothing of *Li K. Heshu*
Lyer but I know for I am
understanding in Famine in 1877
-78 that *Li W. Robinson's*
administration of the Famine
was to his supervision by the
Govt of India and to the
appointment of *Li K.*
Kennedy to administer famine
in the hands of *Li K.*
17.7.97

also in Bhadrachellam
By whom?
17.7.97

The point is
whether village relief *is* the *best*
is a very difficult *question* and
must depend on circumstances.
It has nothing to do with works.
But let me enquire for
particulars which is best? *Li K.*
It was not opened till April.
but we are now *any* the
way to find *any* *thing*
evidence to show -
17.7.97

works. Such complaints are *avoidable*
avoidable and the failure and
delay must recur in the future;
but if there ~~is~~ is any truth in
the above principle of substituting
the organization of village re-
lief earlier than now would mi-
nimise the evil effects of the
failure and delay. It ~~is~~ *would seem* there-
fore *desirable* necessary to recognise the
principle that village relief -
~~may be organized~~ should
as much not be regarded as a thing not to
be thought of till the later stages
of distress *and till* long after the
opening of works, and that under
some circumstances it may have to
be opened as an alternative, or
supplementary, to works.
(W) ~~It is of the highest importance~~
It is of the *utmost* highest im-
portance that the tasks prescrib-
ed should be neither more nor
less than could be performed by
the workers with due diligence.
The standard tasks of the Code
have in many cases been found to
be excessive, and their rigid

by paying wages in ~~the~~ proportion to the out-turn
proportionate payment led to de-

plorable results in the early months of the year. On the other hand the general complaint now is that the tasks have everywhere become nominal owing to the various deductions prescribed, and that it is not possible to enforce even the nominal tasks owing to the practical abolition of fining.

The relief works now carried on in the six affected districts probably include all possible descriptions of soil and hardness, and the experience gained in connection with them will probably enable P.W. and Rev of ficers to fix with accuracy the full ~~tasks~~ task that can fairly be exacted from non-professional labourers in each kind of soil. It may perhaps be desirable to call for reports on the subject, or to direct district officers

to prescribe suitable task tables for each district for future use. ~~the experience gained in the~~ Past experience has clearly demonstrated that the Code tasks which give the average of the results worked up to in the famine of 1891-92 cannot be adopted indiscriminately in all districts.

Of the deductions from the full task prescribed in G.O.

216 d/ 30.3.97, the most ~~xxxx~~

I do not know what the
deplorable results are. The
~~the same as the results of the~~

17.7.97

This was done after 1891-92 and
the Code tasks were the result.
They are standard tasks but have
been entirely abandoned that
principle.

17/7/97

The task tables in force in each
District were the ~~present~~ ~~present~~
improved in future.

Yes: an average task is necessary
where a below an actual.

75B

important is that allowed distance travelled by the worker to and from the works. This was originally ^{allowed} on too liberal a scale and ~~has been~~ ^{was} ~~the~~ ^{main} cause of the tasks having become nominal. The revised scale sanctioned in G. O. 549 d/ 9-7-97 sets the matter right. This together with the abatements ordered by the Board for workers in fair and ~~bad~~ ^{bad} health seem to meet all the requirements of the case.

If ~~task~~ task tables be prescribed as suggested above and abatements be allowed on the ~~scale~~ ^{scale} now sanctioned for distance and for the health condition of the workers, there would seem to be no risk in enforcing the principle of proportionate payment.

11 If the Government of India decision is to be accepted without protest, we have to cancel certain instructions issued in G.O. 216, dated 30th March 1897. Placing the weakly in class C instead of in class D. The Government of India says that it is not satisfied that the D ration is insufficient and cannot approve this instruction. Is it now to be cancelled?

12 The Government of India does not also approve the instruction to place all able-bodied labourers in class A or class B. And in this connection it offers in the last para of

classification of labourers

its letter some criticism on the Madras method of classifying labourers which require some explanation.

The course adopted in this Presidency in the famine of 1891-92 was to place all non-professional labourers in class C, but to pay B wages to such of them as turned out B tasks; this was in effect to classify them according to their capacity. In 1893

however, the Government of India directed that the principle of classification ~~prescribed in its old~~ Provisional Code should be adopted in this Presidency. This principle

was accordingly incorporated in our Code and is described in sec. 96 of it. It will be seen ^{a perusal of} that the Provisional Code principle is ~~to classify labourers according~~ as they were accustomed

to labour or not by previous occupation, not according to their capacity; and the Government of India has placed the matter beyond doubt by admitting that the classification directed by it requires a knowledge of the previous occupation of the workers. While adopting this classification, however, the late Mr. Ologstoun

introduced ^{scale of} ~~the~~ graduated ~~deductions from the wage~~, (vide para 28 of Appendix Vi) to give effect

to the general rule in section 106 that the pay of each gang ^{should} ~~was~~ be proportional to the work turned out. The effect of this was that the labourers lost by being overclassified

This class follows in any case if they were classed with ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~habit of~~ ^{habit of} doing in ordinary times work of the kind required in ordinary works.

*14/11/94 73 W
+ if the kind required in ordinary works*

x vide p. 93 v.

Vide B.P. 217 30-5-97

(that is, by being placed in class for instance in accordance with their previous occupation while capable of doing only the C task); and on this account it was usual in the earlier months of ~~the year~~ ^{the present distress} to place in class numbers of relief workers who were accustomed to labour and should therefore have been placed in ^{class B} ~~the~~. In March last, the Government decided that all relief workers should be paid at least A or B wage; a general order to this effect would be flying in the face of the Code, but as there were then few men on works coming under class C (except weavers whose relief was to be separately arranged for) it was possible to give effect to the decision of Government without appearing to break the Code by directing strict conformity to the Code classification and restricting fining. Orders were, therefore, issued in G.O. 216, dated 30th March 1897, to place all labourers in class A or class B until further orders, though there might be a few here and there who were unaccustomed to labour.

13 ¹² The effect of this order must be considered in conjunction with that of the order for adapting the tasks to the capacity of the workers, and the instructions issued by the Board for abatements from full tasks on account of fair and bad health. In Kurnool for instance the full task is

4 In the criticisms in the
last para of its letter the Government
of India says that the ordinary proce-
dure in other provinces is ~~(to)~~ ^{first} classi-
fy the individual relief workers with
reference to the varying capacities,
then to form them into gangs and to
fix the task of the gang with refer-
ence to the number of units it con-
tains, while in Madras the gang is the
unit of classification and all per-
sons in a gang belong to the same cla-
ss. It observes that it would be difficult
for the local officers to decide whe-

the The h. P. W. System is that a
superior officer fixes a superior
inferior limit of task. The
officer in charge of the work
plans a new comes on the
inferior limit task and gradually
raises it to the capacity of
the individual ^{Subject to this higher limit} by ~~fixing~~ him.
The system is that the superior
officer fixes a suitable task
which the officer imposes on the
new comers. If he can't or won't
perform it the officer must
reduce ^{the task} to the point of
out turn. For fear the task tho'
not be sufficiently reduced in this
way Eng^l have provided allowances
for condition, distance, and
so on and in order to insure
that the relief workers shall
have a pleasant time of it
have taken away the power
of compelling him to do
anything. Hence we hear of
5000 men being two or three
months making a rail in

17.7.77

It is not, however, clear from the letter whether the appeal alone Court is open to this Govt. The object of the G of I would seem to be that as many as possible should be placed in class C

15

14 If this Government prefers the present system of classifying labourers according to previous occupation which is also the one contemplated by the Code and of regarding the gang as the unit of classification, then the Government of India would prefer the principle of proportionate payment being adopted; if this Government would not agree to adopt this principle but would adhere to the orders in G.O. 216 dated 30th March 97;

Government of India would like that labourers should be classified according to their varying capacities. Which of the above courses is to be adopted? This Government has come to the conclusion that the C wage is altogether inadequate and that tasked labourers should get at least the P wage. ^{At the} Government of India has vetoed the proposal, ~~and~~ the next best thing is to so arrange matters as to enable as large a number as possible of relief workers to earn the higher wage. This is secured by recognizing all persons (with their families of course) accustomed to labour as belonging to class B, prescribing suitable tasks for them ~~with deductions for distance and~~ with abatements within certain limits for their physical condition (fair or bad) ~~as described in para~~ above of this note. Under the system of classifying individual workers those in inferior physical condition must be placed in class C and would receive only the C wage. But this inferior ~~condition~~ physical condition will be only temporary, having ^{been} brought about ~~by~~ in the majority of cases by ~~shinking~~ and by the opening of works having been delayed too long; and it is incorrect to assume that these people would require less food than others during the period in which

they are recovering their lost ^{ally} the position; this has already been pointed out by the Sanitary Commissioner. Further the fortnightly reports now received from the officers of the P. W.D. on the state of relief works show fully that fining is necessary to enforce discipline and to secure that relief workers do not idle away their time. For the above reasons it would seem to be best to adhere to the present system of classification coupled with the principle of proportionate payment, the tasks being so adjusted that willing and diligent workers shall earn the full wage of their class.

16 If the Government adopts this course, it would seem to be necessary to modify the graduated scale in rule 28 of Appendix VI; this scale presses hard upon workers who are overclassed by mistake. For instance, suppose a man who is able to do ^{1/4} 75 per cent of the A task to be placed by mistake in class A instead of in class B; he will get only 7/10 of ^{1/4} 2 ^{5/8} (=1 67/80 lbs.) while if correctly classed he would have got 2 3 lbs. This arises from the circumstance that the ratios of the tasks of the various classes are not the same as the ratios of the wages. The deductions for short work should be so graduated that the pay shall decrease from A wage to B wage and from B wage

The remedy for this is to
alter the class of the pay.

11/7/97.

wage, as the outturn diminishes from A task to B and from B task to C.

14/17 In para 10 of its letter, the Government of India points out that the gratuitous relief ration in sec. 122 of the Madras Code exceeds the amount stated by the Famine Commissioners to be sufficient for persons doing no work as well as the ration prescribed in the Codes of other provinces, and directs that the above section ~~xx~~ should be brought into conformity with the provisions of other Provincial Codes. The ration in sec. 122 was repeated from the old Madras Code and escaped the notice of the Government of India when it reduced the working rations in 1893; a provision was, however, inserted by this Government when issuing the present Code that when gratuitous relief is given in the ~~form of~~ money doles, the doles should not exceed the minimum wage, so that the ~~xx~~ ration now applies only to cooked food and grain doles.

14/18 The possibility of the Government of India rounding on us and directing the reduction of the above ration was foreseen at the time our letter was drafted, but the Government then decided that we should take the risk. The only conceivable argument that we can adduce against the ~~reduction~~ ^{reduction} is that the ration does not regulate money doles, that as money doles are

apt to be misappropriated by the paid officials employed in their distribution, it is desirable to induce people to resort to kitchens as much as possible, and that for this purpose the kitchen ration should be higher than can be procured by means of the money dole. Even if the Government of India should be convinced by this argument, we should still give up the higher grain dole.

19 On G.O. 374 of 22-5-97 His Excellency ~~xxx~~ has directed that "when a revision of the Code takes place, the question of reducing the woman's wage should be considered". As the present note has unavoidably dealt with several points connected with the future revision of the Code, this point may also be noted on here. The direction of His Excellency is based on the Board's remark that the Code wage for woman at the then prices ^{by 1 to 3 pice at different places} was higher than the wage earnable by women in ordinary years; but it must be remembered ^{that} even if the Code wage be reduced it will still become higher than the ordinary wage when the prices reach a higher level than now. The Code wage is the money value of a certain amount of grain which has been declared to be barely sufficient for subsistence, and the fact that this is only about as much as the wage in normal times although prices have more than doubled shows that the rea

Para 4 page 7 of G.O. 374
22-5-97
Hug R!

76/7

remuneration of the woman is considerably less than in ordinary times. The women however look only to the money value and ^{stick} ~~look~~ to the works while the men stay at home because the Code wage is still less than the ordinary wage. If the woman's wage is reduced the result will be that both will stay at home in the earlier stages of distress when prices have not risen very high though other employment is scarce, and will stint themselves. Might not the real explanation of the attractiveness of works to woman referred to by the Collector be that in addition to the illusory advantage of a higher money wage there is the real attraction that whatever is got is got merely for a nominal task ^{and} might not a remedy be found in the enforcement of proper tasks, Mr. Lammie's inspection makes would seem to show that this is partly the explanation. It is also well to bear in mind that in the earlier stages of distress more women go to the works than men.

After having declared definitely that the Code ration is hardly sufficient for subsistence, it will be somewhat inconsistent to go up to the Govt of India with a proposal that the woman's wage should be reduced; this aspect of the matter has also to be considered.

Am afraid that Mr. King's opinion on this matter was too lightly taken. He has always been large by the count. But on the responsible advice of Govt. in such matters it was not easy to throw him over. I think the Government's course of action however was justified Govt. in doing so. 1/17.7.17

It was Mr. King's view all previous authorities and as his experience was limited and his data un sound the Govt of India hesitates to accept his view. 1/17.7.17

I w^d point out that there is no difference between fixing and "the principle of proportionate payment" 1/17.7.17

To recapitulate:-

- (1) The only thing that we have gained by our reference to India is the discretion given to Collectors to make an allowance for fuel where necessary.
- (2) The Govt. of India makes no reference to our contention that on physiological grounds a larger provision should be made for vegetables; it does not admit that the rations of any of the classes are inadequate, and vetoes our proposal that the present grain equivalents should be raised. It has, however, made a reference to the Govt. of Bombay as to whether that Govt. considers the present grain equivalents for the C and D classes sufficient.
- (3) It says that the present four classes of labourers with the present wages should be maintained, that our order directing that weakly labourers should be placed in class C and that able-bodied labourers should in class A class E should be withdrawn.
- (4) It directs that the ration in section 122 which till now regulated grain and kitchen doles should be reduced to the D ration in section 120.
- (5) While approving ^{our} instructions restricting fixing it says that the present system of classifying workers is incompatible with these instructions and that as a necessary complement to them we should classify labourer according to individual capacity. In

...however, need not be introduced on the present occasion. It would also seem that the Govt. of India would not insist on this change if the order about fining be withdrawn and the principle of proportional payment be adopted; the letter is not ^{however} quite clear on the point.

21 The question now is whether the above decisions are to be accepted and acted upon. The letter now under consideration is not peremptory in its tone like the 9 of 3's famine code communications of 1903 and 1904, and one would infer from the language of the letter that the questions dealt with therein were open to further discussion. But in a communication received to-day ^{the 9 of 3} enquires whether the fact that it is opposed to the abolition of the C and D class workers has been communicated to the Board of Revenue; and reading between the lines of the first and last parts of this letter it would seem that it has got an idea that relief is being administered on an unduly liberal scale in this Presidency and is not likely to hinge from its position by any further representations from us. It is for Govt. to decide whether it will make any further representations.

22 If the decision of the Govt. of India on the said question is accepted then it is necessary to take measures to prevent repitition of the mis- ^{made} made in the earlier months of distress.

There was no need of so long a Note. Able as it is, it has caused delay in carrying out orders which reached us nearly a month ago, & which the Secy of I. in a letter of the 9 to Mr. Secy asked as if we have communicated them to the Board of Revenue. This delay may give rise to criticism, & I am afraid that as pointed out in the Note the Secy of I. will be ready to charge us with undue laxity.

Paras 1-7 of Note I don't know how we can refuse to accept the decision of the Secy of I. as only orders. I am sure we shall gain nothing by arguing further as to the efficiency of the wages. Paras 8-10, 12-16, 19 & 22

of Note, which contains paras 2-4 pages. It wd be useless to take these matters into consideration now. They can only be properly considered when the Famine is over & the Code is amended. It wd have saved me a lot of time if the Secy had noted this when he made his marginal comments.

Paras 11, 17, 18, 20, 21 & 22 the addendum written by the Secy in paras 11, i & ii, of our letter to India of the 4th May we told it that we had directed that funding further orders all able bodied workers shd be placed in classes A & B, that subject to approval we had directed that weakly persons shd be

It strikes me that it is here the mistake lies.

17-7-07
17-7-07
I am afraid they will not

The proper course is to open that work with a shuffling brown look of necessity

placed in class C. In the preceding pages we had tried to convince the Secy of I. that the wages of the two classes were insufficient. The Secy of I. has ordered that the four classes of the Code, A, B, C, D, shd be fit aimed with the wages assigned to them in the Code, & that persons who are able bodied but accustomed to labour shd be placed in class C, & that weakly persons shd be placed in class D. He has also said (para 6) that he thinks the Graduated Relief ration shd be reduced so as to include only 16 instead of 20 lbs of grain, & in para 10 that Sec 122 of our Code shd be altered accordingly. These seem to me to be directions which must be carried out at once

relief works becoming practically inoperative on grounds which, according to the fortnightly narrative reports of P.W. officers, they have in many cases become recently. (a) The orders issued in No. 478 dated 18th June 1897 and 548 of 8-7-07 will secure the latter object. (b) To secure the former it seems to be ~~more~~ desirable to open intermediate works in the earlier stages of distress along with, or subsequent to, the expanded ordinary works and the petty village works on the contract system contemplated by section 12 of the Code. This is necessary in the earlier stages in order to prevent people falling into a low condition in their aversion to the wages and the discipline of test and relief works. (c) When these latter are opened it is necessary to give full effect to the supplementary provisions of the Code without which they must necessarily be inadequate for the relief of distress. (d) As regards the classification of labourers, experience has shown that fining is necessary and it would seem to be best to retain the present system supplemented by the system of proportionate payments, task being adapted within certain limits ^{as} at present to suit individual capacity. This will enable us to pay the B wage to the largest possible number of workers.

17-7-07

are also solicited as to suggestion to modify the scale of deductions in rule 28 of appendix VI and (f) The proposal referred to in para. of the note to reduce the wages prescribed in the Code for women.

The second letter from the Govt. of India referred to above is circulated in a separate pad in this box.

RS
15-7-97

17/7/97

In famine matters the Govt of India is in fact much concerned and hence it is a matter in which it is the first duty of Govt to step. The note seems to argue in favour of it and the duty of Govt to winkle out of the order of the Govt of India. I submit there is no objection except when the very food is sent to the famine. The note seems to me to lead to an absurd conclusion because it argues as if the relief was the kind of a comfort in times of famine as in ordinary times and as if it were the duty of Govt to support every one who comes to it and not only those who are in need of support.

to hand on there in Dec 28 of Appendix VI in practice there is much difficulty in calculation & payment. If this matter be carefully kept in mind there is no objection to the modification.

17/7/97

* The 3 of 9. command for our consideration the question whether we should first fix the class of a gang & then count all the workers in that gang as belonging to its class, or first determine the class of each worker & then fix the class of the gang according to the number of workers of different classes in it; but to say that it may be too late to say that it may be too late on this occasion to introduce any radical alteration in the system at present working. This allows us to retain our present system as the classification of gangs & workers during the present famine. When the famine is over & the Code is amended the question above stated must be considered. I do not quite understand it, & should like to talk it over with the C.E. before it is decided. The order we proposed in para II, III, IV & V of the Letter to India about fixing, about the way in which boys should be hired & paid, & about calculating prices wages on the prices that prevail near works are unaltered and wrong from

D. 1,000-20-2-96.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

No.

19

189

FOR ORDERS.

From
approved; & since the Colours are allowed to give food grain in cases where the workers find it impossible or difficult to obtain food.

The Sec. advised that the "works of them" should be kept up in all its parts, but this is somewhat vague, & I do not think we can supply some general restrictions under by and those issued in G.O. 5616 18.6.97 & those with the 3 of 9. have now issued, under in para 4 of G.O. 216 30.2.97 that half the wage should be given for half a day's work. We might ask the Famine Comm. his opinion about this. Any further need to be done by particular order in the case we come to notice before we get time to time.

12/7/97
A. There is some error in this No. - G.O. 473 18.6.97 is the one in which we laid down instructions as to what should be done in the receipt of telegraphic orders, and as of the cancelling of which there was some discussion in the notes which were rendered in C.N. 5616 (18.6.97) - It was ultimately decided in a great part of the proposals in C.N. 5616 as a telegraphic order towards more drastic measures specified in G.O. 473 18.6.97. But I must point out the absence of the original that G.O. 549 9.7.97

With this the more generous view might be taken though it is always open to the my former objection that such action impermissibly the people - but now when the famine is failing and we are face to face with what may be a large calamity - the resources of Govt will be strained to the utmost. Govt must confine itself to what is the need and duty of Govt viz the saving of life (vide para 2 of the Instructions to the Code) That our system of relief is now too lax is the opinion of the Govt of India, the opinion of the public, and the opinion of nearly all our officers. If the famine fails, as above I said we must have a stricter system. If the famine does not fail then we must.

FOR ORDERS

Printed and
bound (17/17)

20/7/97

Dr. 2.
H. 237112.

and while he paid ~~for~~ the
their wages of this class.
laid down in the table.

and again G.O. 21st 3/10. ~~...~~
Order (press) No 616 of 24th July 1897.
In para 2 of the order
again read above, the Govt directed
that all persons seeking employment
on relief works should, until further
orders, be placed in class A or class
F. This direction contained in the
last two lines of the para
of the order that the vast majority of
the labourers should be placed in
one persons should be placed in
the kind required at the work and
that the persons not so requisitioned
were few and will now be cancelled
Relief workers should in future be
classified in accordance with the
provisions of the section 26 of the
Baring Code. The Govt is also of
opinion that the permission given in
the above para to place the weekly
class C may ~~be~~ withdrawn now; these should in future
be paid only the wages. Collectors
will, however, be authorized to make
an allowance for fuel in addition to
the wages and rations prescribed in
section 120 for the four classes of
labourers, wherever they consider
an allowance necessary.

3. The restrictions placed on fining for short work in para 4 of the ^{above} order render it difficult for officers in charge of works to enforce discipline among the workers. As the instructions contained in ^{the previous} ~~para 4~~

are also solicited. In the
and in section 106 of the Code
last amended allow all the concessions
necessary in the case of willing work-
ers, it is unnecessary to maintain the
above restrictions, and para 4 of the
Bar will also be cancelled. Orders
already issued by telegraph to the
Directors of Districts and to
Commissioner giving in-
formation of this decision.

The gratuitous relief ration
described in section 122 of the Code -
replaces the ration in section 120 for
workers. As it is envisaged that persons
working should not less than those re-
ceived gratuitously, the Govt resolved to
cancel the ration in section 122 and
substitute instead the minimum or
ration in section 120.

(List from orders)

*These same late comers will be
dealt with as laid down in
Appendix VI.*

*with allowance for fuel
where necessary*

NOTE FOR THE SECRETARY.

*The draft
order is being typed
meanwhile telegram may
issue*

*Telegram to Board of Revenue
Lahore.*

*"Instructions contained last
draft of
para 2 order 216
dated March 30 cancelled. Workers
should in future be classified
A, B, C or D according to ^{Case} Section 96
and paid corresponding scale
wages. Ration in section
122 also cancelled and mini-
mum ration in section 120
substituted instead. Instruct
collectors by telegram to give
effect above changes immediately"*

24/7/17

To
The Finance Commr
" F.W.L.

*Exceeded
27/7/17
14/5/17*

*RS
24-7-17*

24/7/17

*RS
24-7-17*

Government (1897) of Madras.
REVENUE.

Recd.

Regd.

1897.

Enclosures

Spare copies

G.O., No. 616, 24th July 1897.

JULY.

Famine Relief.

Passing orders in supersession of the directions issued in G.O., No. 216, Revenue, dated 30th March 1897, on the subject-matter of famine wages, restrictions on fining for short work and gratuitous relief ration.