

Revenue (1898) Department.

MISCELLANEOUS SERIES.

G.O., No. 4093.

DATED 13 Oct. 98

[Despatch Abstract.]

Recording ^{Q. M.} ~~Letter~~ from the Secy: to the
Asst. Secy: (R.S. L.R. & A.) Subj: to govt: R.D.
three copies of Mr. W. J. H. de Jansin's replies
to the questions on the famine Commission.

BACK PAPERS.

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

FURTHER PAPERS.

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

Revenue (189⁸) Department.

CURRENT No. 3130

From Mr. R. V. Linnocier and, Rev. Board
Secretary to
The Board of Revenue,
Rev. L. L. Rao, & Co.
Madras.

Order mis

Recorded

RS
11-10-98

To u.s.

this may go to the record

now ?

RS
11-10-98

No. —
Dated 26th April 1898.
Received 24th n
Registered 24th n
Enclosures 3 copies.
Spare copies

SUBJECT.

Submitting to Government, Revenue
Department, three copies of Mr. W. J. H
LeFanu's replies to the questions
of the Famine Commission.

BACK PAPERS.

G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.

FURTHER PAPERS.

G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.

MADRAS, 5th April 1898.

From

RAO BAHADUR R. V. SRINIVASIAH AVARGAL, B.A.,
SECY. TO THE BOARD OF REV. (REV. SETT., L. RDS. & AGR.),
Madras,

To

H. J. MACINTOSH, Esq.,
SECRETARY TO THE FAMINE COMMISSION,
Calcutta.

SIR,

I am directed by the Acting Third Member of the Board, Mr. W. J. H. LeFanu, formerly Famine Commissioner, to send you six copies of his replies to the questions circulated with your letter to the Secretary to the Government of Madras, No. 90, dated 19th January 1898.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

R. V. SRINIVASIAH,
Secretary.

PAPERS.

Department.	Date.

ERS.

Date.

Replies to Queries by the Famine Commission, by H. LeFanu, Esq., Acting Third Member of the Board of Revenue, and formerly Famine Commissioner.

Note.—I was not one of the officers to whom these questions were sent for reply; but, as the Commission wished to have my answers, I undertook to send them. I had no idea at the time what a task this would be, and having lost ten days in January owing to the Famine Conference at Waltair, fifteen days in January and February owing to my famine tour in Nellore, nine days in February in attendance on the Famine Commission at Madras and Bellary, and having had, in addition to the usual work of my office, the completion of the Famine report, and the writing of the Conferences report on my hands, this additional task has pressed heavily on me. It has not, therefore, been possible for me to answer these questions as fully as I would wish, or otherwise than colloquially, as I would have answered them, had they been put to me *vis à vis*. I request that this may be borne in mind in perusing my replies. To have written an essay in reply to each of the 345 questions would have been a labour of months.

1. The area and population affected in the Madras Presidency are shown in the subjoined statement :—

Districts.	Area.		Population.	
	Total.	Affected.	Total.	Affected.
	SQ. MILES.	SQ. MILES.		
Ganjām	8,369	5,800	1,897,000	1,684,000
Vizagapatam	17,242	4,819	2,803,000	1,943,000
Godāvari (Bhadrachalam)	911	911	42,000	42,000
Kurnool	7,514	4,019	818,000	512,000
Bellary	5,975	3,963	900,000	518,000
Anantapur	4,886	4,617	709,000	584,000
Cuddapah	8,731	2,214	1,272,000	391,000
Total	53,628	26,073	8,441,000	5,674,000

2. Both.

3. (a) In Ganjām and Vizagapatam the South-West monsoon of 1896 was up to the normal, but the succeeding North-East monsoon was an absolute failure, less than half an inch being registered against a normal fall of 7 to 13 inches. In the Deccan districts both the South-West and North-East monsoons were deficient, the fall in the former being only about two-thirds, and in the latter from one-third to one-half of the normal. The outturn of crops in the above districts was also far below the average. More than one-third of the sowings resulted in absolute failure, while an even larger area gave a nominal crop of As. 4 or less. The outturn of the bulk of the remaining area was only middling.

(b) Prices passed the scarcity rates in the Deccan in November 1896, in Ganjām in January 1897, and in Vizagapatam in June 1897. At the height of the famine in Deccan and Ganjām the staple dry grains were available only at about three times the normal prices. In Ganjām, the high prices not only of 1888-89 but also of 1876-78 were surpassed during several months, while in Vizagapatam the prices of 1876-78 were approached in May and June and exceeded in July. In the Deccan districts, the prices of 1891-92 were far exceeded, and those of 1876-78 were approached.

4. The Deccan districts lie within the famine zone and have periodically suffered from severe drought and famine. Ganjām, too, has periodically suffered but Vizagapatam has been practically immune. Since 1892 the season in these districts has, on the whole, been favourable.

5. Under normal circumstances, the economic condition of the people of Ganjām and Vizagapatam may be said to be fair. In the Deccan, the condition of the ryots and labourers is generally precarious owing, mainly, to the extreme poverty of the greater portion of the soil. About 70 per cent. of the population belongs to this class.

6. Yes.

7. The majority of the people in the affected districts have no great resources to fall back upon. Vizagapatam might be able to pull through in the event of failure of one or two consecutive harvests but not more, provided the prices do not run up so abnormally high as in last year. Ganjām cannot stand more than one bad season ordinarily. In the Deccan the majority have no resources at all, and a single failure of the harvests tells upon them. The classes of people having no resources are the petty ryots, the artisans and the agricultural and other labourers. These form about two-thirds of the population of the Deccan. The failure of a single harvest would not necessitate relief if the distress were limited, but, where large tracts are involved, prices are forced up higher than the local failure of a single harvest would justify, and so relief is necessary.

8. In Ganjām and Vizagapatam the late distress was more extensive and severe than any previous famine. The Deccan has passed through the severest ordeal it has experienced since 1876-78. The strain of the past year was not, however, so intense as in the Great Famine, mainly because of better communications which tended to keep down prices and better organisation of famine relief than in 1876-78.

9. The failure of crops and amount of distress was underestimated by the permanent Collector of Cuddapah from January on, but this scarcely affected the amount of relief given, as the Board knew the position of the district. The degree of distress in Vizagapatam was not overestimated, but it was not, and could not have been, foreseen. This did not affect the relief given, but it led to the necessity for it not being so readily recognised by authorities not on the spot.

10. The Famine Commission of 1878 must have been referring to very large areas, and the percentage quoted seems to relate, not to any particular months, but to the whole period of distress. I object to any such hard and fast rule being laid down from which to draw comparisons. If we go down to the village unit, it is quite possible that a rural village of Panchamas and Madigas might require relief for the whole of its population. If we take a whole taluk it is possible that relief might be required for 50 per cent. of the population. This figure would be nothing wonderful in the Alūr taluk of Bellary, and was exceeded in the recent famine, but, in connection with this, it must be noted that the Nizam's Dominions and adjoining taluks of Bellary contributed large numbers to the workers in Alūr. Going up still further, and taking whole districts as units, there were 50.99 per cent. of the whole district of Bellary on relief in August 1877. A percentage of people on relief for a whole province, or for half of it, would be very misleading when used to form comparisons with districts or taluks.

11. Taking the affected tracts as a whole, the highest percentage reached was 14.2 in July. Taking individual districts it was 42.4 in Kurnool in the same month. The high rates in Kurnool are explained in B.P., No. 681, dated 21st October 1897.

12. To the first question, no; to the second question, yes. This latter answer must be considered under two heads—(a) the people who really needed no help at all and (b) those who had some small resources.

As to (a) these were few and may be neglected. Such persons never obtained relief except on works, and then complied with the requirements of the Code. It would depend very much on the idiosyncrasy of the officer reporting as to the numbers of such persons who might be considered to be present. It is quite possible that respectable persons, who might be supposed to be above want, would require relief, e.g., it might be shown that a man had debts due to him outstanding, and a zealous officer would dub him a sowcar. It is quite possible that these debts were irrecoverable and that his whole capital was lost. It might be that he had so many dependents that, though he could provide for them in good, he could not do so in bad, seasons, when the price of grain had risen by 250 per cent., and he had no harvest, and no instalments of interest coming in from those to whom he had lent money.

As to (b) there were no doubt many who were not "skinned to the bone" when they came on relief, and they were right to come, and rightly admitted. If Government requires a villager to eat the last measure of seed-corn, to sell his wife's "Thāli," or to sell all his cattle before giving him relief, the result would be that, at the close of the famine, all the poorer pattadars would be absolutely pauperised, and a heavy fall in revenue would follow. By admitting such persons to relief we hand them over to their normal avocations, at the close of distress, in the same condition in which we found them, and the body politic does not suffer; the revenue remains steady and normal prosperity is at once restored. It must be remembered that, during a period of distress, cattle practically have no value; fodder is so scanty that no one will buy except at nominal rates. The "skin them to the bone" policy was tried in 1877, under the auspices of Sir Richard Temple, with well-known results. The new school, which does not know 1877, would fain revert to Sir Richard Temple's policy. It will be an evil day for the country, and the Government, if this penurious policy is even allowed to crop up again.

13. Yes. In Ganjām the people at first refused to accept relief of any kind other than money doles until they were too far reduced for work, and the women of several castes, in spite of all their trials, never came near the works. In the Deccan, the relief given in the beginning was inadequate owing, partly, to the disinclination of the people to accept Government relief until all their resources were exhausted, and partly to the wage offered, calculated on the price of ragi, a grain not ordinarily used by the people, and coupled with unlimited fining, if the high tasks originally laid down were not worked up to, being inadequate. The grain portion of the ration was also, in the beginning, taken as unhusked grain instead of flour. There was also, in places, delay in sanctioning and starting relief, and a want of proper tools and organisation.

There was unsatisfactory delay in starting relief in the Polavaram division of the Gōdāvari Agency. The native officer on the spot gave due warning, but steps were not taken in time to meet the distress. The result was that the wild men were led to commit dacoity; villages were looted; some of the looters were shot, and hundreds arrested, and brought in a very precarious condition of health to the Central Jail.

14. The cause of this disaster was avoidable, but it is hardly possible to fix blame anywhere. The Agency tracts are so inaccessible that the Collector could not be everywhere; the Special Assistant for the Agency was a feeble youth who was knocked up and had to go on leave. It seems that there was difficulty in filling up his place. In fact it would be a rare man who, newly sent to the Gōdāvari agency, could grapple with and realise facts at once. The division was temporarily placed in charge of the Sub-Collector, who lives at Rajahmundry, but that officer had quite enough of his own work to do. I have recommended to Government that it would be better to send a picked Deputy Collector to this Agency and pay him well. Such a man would stay there and know the people and work as Mr. Ward of the Forest does. Promotion in the junior ranks of the Civil Service is now so rapid that an officer sent to the Agency would be transferred just as he was becoming really efficient. As to the suffering caused in the earlier stages of the famine in the Kurnool and Cuddapah districts by the excessive fining, this might have been avoided if the Commissioner's opinion, since confirmed by Mr. Higham, that the Code task Schedule was impossible, had been accepted. It is not likely that the future task Schedules will be so carelessly framed. The Conferences have recommended that a picked committee be appointed to sit and elaborate a suitable task table.

15. The relief given has been successful in its object generally. It will probably be found, on analysing figures, that it has not been quite as successful in Cuddapah as elsewhere. The infant mortality might have been much mitigated if nursing mothers and pregnant women had been treated here as in Bombay. They got all that the Code allowed them, but the Code is illiberal as to these classes. The total excess mortality is small. It must be remembered, also, that, owing to high prices, stinting was necessary amongst classes which did not come to relief, and probably some of the excess mortality was amongst these persons. When a large proportion of the population is on short commons for 12 months, this must tell on the very young and the very old, and it did tell. This could not be helped. There was, certainly, undue delay in recognising the needs of the Ramallakot taluk. The permanent Collector had not diagnosed the position, and the new Collector, who came in January 1897, naturally

gave his best attention to the tracts then recognised as affected. I would here mention, in reference to some queries put by the Famine Commission, what I omitted to mention at the time, in reference to the preponderance of females on relief. It is a very curious fact that polygamy is very common in the Ramallakot taluk. It is a no time to work out the cause. It may be that the population has borrowed something from the Musalman inhabitants of the adjoining Nizam's territory. The Kurnool district, itself, has, probably, a larger proportion of Muhammadans in its population than any other district—Malabar excepted—of this Presidency. The polygamous tendencies, however, alluded to obtain amongst the Hindu population. In the same connection may be mentioned a peculiar custom in parts of Bellary, according to which the eldest daughter in each family becomes a prostitute. The word here brings no reproach, for it is from some religious idea that this custom arises. In one village, Narayanadevekeri, there was as many as 500 such girls. Many came on the works because, they said, they could not get a living in those hard times, by their profession. There were, too, a large number of wives, whose husbands had gone for work, or with cattle, to Mysore.

16. To a certain extent "Yes" but *post hoc* not *propter hoc*. The numbers on relief generally followed prices, not measures. Measures, no doubt, had indirectly some-thing to do with the increase and fall of numbers on relief, in so far as they made relief available in a proper form to those who wanted it, or, at a later stage, ceased to be attractive to those who could otherwise maintain themselves.

17. The death-rate followed prices not measures.

18. Yes. Except in the earlier stages of the famine, when, owing to fining, &c., the conditions on which relief was offered were unduly deterrent.

19. Yes; and I say this, bearing in mind the concessions known as the distance allowance. Generally speaking, the people who were relieved on works did a reasonable amount of work. Mr. Higham made some calculation on this subject, and fell into an unfortunate error—*vide* note on page 52 of the Report on the Famine Conferences—which has led to unjust conclusions as to the amount of work done in Madras. Mr. Higham considered that on a particular work the outturn cost more than five times the normal cost. It was really considerably less than four times the normal. It is not likely that the Public Works Department officers would understate what is one of their strong points in reference to this *Vexata Quæstio*.

The returns received from the Public Works Department and the Collectors show that the actual expenditure, as compared with the estimated value of outturn, works out as follows:—

Ganjém	...	...	...	...	3.6 : 1
Vizagapatam	...	...	...	...	2.9 : 1
Górávari	...	...	...	...	1.7 : 1
Kurnool	...	...	...	...	3.5 : 1
Bellary	...	...	...	...	3.2 : 1
Anantapur	...	...	...	...	2.8 : 1
Cuddapah	...	...	...	...	3.6 : 1

and the average of these figures is as 3 : 1. This, however, is an unfair average, as the amounts of expenditure in the several districts vary largely. The sum fairly worked out is 3.3 : 1. The excess over the normal cost is not what Mr. Higham expected, and, considering that, for the reasons given, the Madras works, as shown in paragraph 30 of the report on the Conferences, received as workers considerable numbers who should have been on gratuitous relief, the result is as satisfactory as could be expected. There will always be a shortage of outturn for value paid on famine-relief works, and, considering the rise in prices, which was in many places as 2½ : 1, the ratio of actual to normal cost attained in this Presidency would not seem unreasonable. In the famine report of the North-West Provinces, the ratio for those provinces is shown as only 1.7 : 1, but these figures are obtained, firstly, by calculating the normal cost at rates higher than the ordinary Public Works rates, in consideration of the fact that large quantities of work cannot be carried out throughout the hot weather at the usual Public Works rates, and, secondly, by omitting from the actual cost the amount of wages paid for non-working days. Data for calculating the normal cost at ordinary Public Works rates in the North-West Provinces are not available; but judging from the report of Mr. C. G. Palmer, the Superintending Engineer of the Additional Third Circle, the normal cost would, at ordinary rates, work up to only half the amount

adopted for the purposes of the report. If this be so, and if the wages given on the rest and other non-working days are included in the actual cost, as has been done in this Presidency, the ratio works out to 3.7 : 1. And this, notwithstanding the apparently greater efficiency of the relief workers in the North-West Provinces, where 44 per cent. of the number of the total units relieved were on gratuitous relief, while, in this Presidency, only 23 per cent. were gratuitously relieved. There are further doubts which would lead me to question whether the comparison made above is not unfair to Madras; for, as stated elsewhere (page 52 of the Conference Report), it is very doubtful whether the Public Works Department, in valuing outturn of work, has really allowed for all work done. As time passes, and *personnel* changes, it would be difficult to do this, *e.g.*, in Prodattur broken metal was carried to the road-side for a mile or more. In estimating its cost, the cost should be for breaking at quarry and carrying, not for breaking at road-side. I doubt whether this and similar cases have been allowed for.

20. Yes.

21. The percentage of numbers relieved otherwise than through the operation of a labour test on the total affected population was 0.1 in November 1896: it rose to 3.8 in July and August 1897. As compared with the number of workers the percentage was 6 in November 1896 and 37 in July 1897.

22. I consider that this question may be answered in the affirmative. The tasks generally were full tasks with reference to the working capacity of each person in the months in which relief was given. No one who has not actually spent days on the works, and seen the workers at all hours of the day, on their way to and from work, and in the excuses for shelter—often only the ditch at the side of the road—in which they cooked their meals; the straits to which they were put for fuel and the distances they had to go for it; often having to buy it and often to spend the whole day of rest collecting fuel for the week in distant jungles; no one who, with a fair mind, has witnessed all this can have any doubt that attendance on works was a stringent test of necessity, and the suggestion that they were attractive is simply absurd. If the people did not want help, nothing would induce them to come to our works. In fact, the difficulty is to get them to come in time. As to the latter part of the question, the B wage is more than a "subsistence" wage, but the word subsistence wage should be limited to the wage for non-workers. The B wage is not more than a bare "working" wage, and this, allowing for the fact that it is open to several members of a family to obtain separate relief. Two and two make four, and, under no circumstances do they make five. A wage which is just a bare working wage for A, B and C; when not related to each other, becomes in no way distended by the fact that B is A's wife, and C their child.

23. In this question, the word "sub-division" is assumed to be equivalent to a division of a taluk. Taluks vary in size. The average taluk in this Presidency would be about 600 square miles. Some run up to 1,100. It is plain, from the latter part of section 128, that the Famine Commission was not aiming at a distance test, and the section must be read as a whole. Take a taluk of 600 square miles. Supposing the taluk to be an exact square, and the work exactly in the centre of it, the maximum distance to be travelled would be nearly 17½ miles; but taluks are not square and it is improbable that the work would be always in the centre. It is quite possible that the distance to be travelled might run up to 40 or 50 or 60 miles. The Hosur taluk, for instance, is 54 miles from end to end. It may be presumed, therefore, that the Famine Commission had a sub-division of a taluk in mind. The greatest distance, on the average, to be travelled in this case would be perhaps 8 to 10 miles, but the distance in many cases might be much more. Relief works have been somewhat more numerous than as supposed in this question. Workers have not, as a rule, resided on the works. Many did, but many went to and fro between their homes and the works.

Residence upon a relief work is disliked by the people: it would constitute an ineffective, and a most unfair, test of necessity: ineffective, because it would practically exclude many deserving cases from relief, and would lead to the idea that distress was less severe than it was in reality, and unfair because it is contrary to the instincts of the people, and would require their most cherished prejudices and affections to be sacrificed before it would be complied with.

24. Taking the affected tracts as a whole, the highest percentage reached was 9.8 in July; taking districts individually, it was 33 per cent. on the *affected population* in Kurnool.

25. In the famine of 1876-78, the highest percentage on *total population* was 9.05 for the whole Presidency and 35.5 for Kurnool. If the population, during the Great Famine, of the affected tracts were separately known, the percentages calculated on them would be much higher.

26. This is not my experience.

27. Mainly by cooked food in kitchens and by doles.

28. The gratuitous relief in villages was, *as a rule*, carefully given, and confined to the classes specified in the Code. There were exceptions. This would have been avoided if Taluk Relief officers had been appointed at an earlier date.

29. No.

30. The gross cost of direct famine relief was Rs. 97,52,580. Number of units relieved was 93,718,542. Cost of relief per unit As. 1-8.

Statistics not available for comparison with cost of previous famines.

Relief has been, on the whole, economically administered during the last famine.

31. Loans granted, Rs. 18,15,337. Remissions of land revenue, Rs. 23,61,000. Suspensions, Rs. 10,69,000.

32. The last famine will leave few permanent traces behind it. Relief measures were more timely and adequate than in previous famines, and the petty ryots have been set up again by the grants from the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund.

33. The case of jungle tribes should be specially provided for. The cast-iron rules of the Code won't do for them. The case of pregnant women, nursing mothers and their children calls for special measures, more favourable than the Code allows.

34. Sufficient. They can only be improved by improving the status and emoluments of the Village and Taluk officers. For the special purpose concerned they are good enough.

36. They may be very fairly relied on.

37. Yes.

38. Yes.

39. The measures of State relief were—

- (a) the employment of persons willing to work on relief works where a limited wage was given for a limited task;
- (b) the gratuitous distribution of cooked food in kitchens to children and infirm persons;
- (c) the gratuitous distribution of grain and money doles to persons unable to work and gosha women;
- (d) the establishment of a poor-house on a small scale in Cocanada town for the immigrants from the Vizagapatam district;
- (e) the employment of weavers in their own trade, the Government advancing materials and paying wages for the cloths woven and delivered;
- (f) remission and postponement of collection of land assessment;
- (g) the grant of advances for digging irrigation wells and for other agricultural improvements, for the purchase of fodder, cattle and seed-grain, and for the subsistence of the agriculturists;
- (h) the opening of forest reserves for free grazing;
- (i) importation of grain and selling it at normal rates to the hill tribes of Bhadrachalam.

The Indian Famine Charitable Relief Committee also carried on its operations during the scarcity.

40. I was Famine Commissioner for the Presidency.

41. All measures of State relief, except the sale of grain imported by Government at normal rates, were authorised by the Famine Code.

42. None.

43. The reduction of task was necessary (a) because the Code Schedule task was too high; (b) because the people began to show signs of falling off in condition in some places; and (c) on account of the hot weather. The distance allowance I consider to be proper and necessary. It is possible for the human machinery to do only a certain amount of work without being injured.

Moreover, the amount of work done has important relations to the amount of diet allowed, in that waste must be fully replaced, if malnutrition is to be arrested. This is recognised in the Code by the fixing of certain tasks for workers on certain diets. When, however, to the tasks prescribed by the Code additional labour of an uncertain amount, as an effect of marching to the work, is added, it is obvious that care must be exercised, in the interests of ultimate economy, to prevent malnutrition and consequent sickness, which can be combated only by heavy expenditure, and, to do this, it is necessary to prevent the relation to each other of the two factors, the diet given and the work demanded, from becoming disproportionate. Physiologists hold that a moderate day's work is equivalent to an expenditure of power equal to the lifting of 300 tons one foot high. This is the measure of the power expended by a European weighing 150 lbs. Taking the average weight of the Deccan adult man at 111 lbs., a moderate day's task would be equivalent to the lifting of 222 tons one foot high. It is held that in walking at three miles an hour on a flat surface, the power expended at each step is equivalent to that necessary for raising one-twentieth the weight of the body through the distance walked. The use of the following formula, therefore, will give a fair idea of the amount of work exacted by requiring marching to and from works, irrespective of the task to be fulfilled:—

$$\frac{(W+W')D}{20 \times 2240} = \text{work fulfilled in tons lifted one foot}$$

where W=weight of the person. W'=weight carried. $\frac{1}{20}$ =coefficient of traction; 2,240=feet per minute.

From the above formula, the following table has been compiled:—

Kind of exercise.	Work done in tons lifted one foot.	The remaining capacity of men who have traveled the distances noted against them, the full task being 222 foot-tons.	Proportion of total task of 222 foot-tons fulfilled by the distance walked, the full task being taken as 1.
Walking 1 mile and carrying 16 lbs.	14.97	207.03	0.067
Do. 2 do. do.	29.95	192.05	0.135
Do. 3 do. do.	44.89	177.11	0.202
Do. 4 do. do.	59.87	162.13	0.270
Do. 5 do. do.	74.82	147.18	0.337
Do. 6 do. do.	89.81	132.19	0.405
Do. 7 do. do.	104.78	117.22	0.471
Do. 8 do. do.	119.74	102.26	0.539
Do. 9 do. do.	134.71	87.29	0.607
Do. 10 do. do.	149.68	72.32	0.674
Do. 11 do. do.	164.64	57.36	0.742
Do. 12 do. do.	179.61	42.39	0.809
Do. 13 do. do.	194.58	27.42	0.876
Do. 14 do. do.	209.55	12.45	0.944
Do. 15 do. do.	224.52	— 2.52	1.011
Do. 16 do. do.	239.49	— 17.49	1.079
Do. 17 do. do.	254.45	— 32.45	1.146
Do. 18 do. do.	269.42	— 47.42	1.214
Do. 19 do. do.	284.39	— 62.39	1.281
Do. 20 do. do.	299.36	— 77.36	1.348

From this, it will be seen that a man carrying a weight 16 lbs. and walking upon level ground (not, as was often actually the case, crossing and re-crossing hills to proceed to work) who traversed four miles in going to and four miles in returning from his work, really completed, solely in walking, more than one half of a moderate day's work. It is universally admitted by sanitarians that it is as much as can be reasonably

demand of the well-fed British soldier, in a good climate, that he should perform twelve miles per day, carrying a total weight, in accoutrements, rifle and clothes, of 60 lbs. But this could not be expected without giving him a periodical rest of one complete week, during which time he would receive his usual full diet. If the marches are increased for a longer period, prolonged rest for recovery is necessary. Hence it is evident that the "distance allowance" was based upon principles which could not be ignored with safety. The task, which would be a fair task for a worker who lives on, or near, the work, is impossible for the worker who spends four to seven hours of the day in going to and returning from the work. Hutting, as I have shown elsewhere, is difficult to provide and its cost in many places prohibitive.

I consider that the concessions given were sufficient. I have sometimes said—as a compromise—that from the distance allowance might be deducted the first 3 miles (3×2) travelled each way. This is only as a compromise, for it is just as true of the human, as of any other, engine, that it can only do a certain amount of work, and, if overdriven, breaks down.

The abolition of the C and D ration for workers of any kind I consider to have been right; but it is a question for experts. The B wage was sufficient for workers but whether, if distress had continued much longer, it would have sufficed is a question for experts.

44 to 47. I have served throughout the famines of 1876-78, 1891-92 and 1896-97; I remember the famine of 1865-66, and, strange to say, I was employed, of Ireland in 1848. The fact that my brother-in-law (the Hon'ble W. E. Hearn, late Vice-Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, Author of "Plutology," and other standard works on Political Economy) was employed to write the history of the efforts for relief in that famine, drew my special attention to famine matters from my earliest years. I have seen all the ordinary measures, used in famine relief, in operation at one time or another, including the distance test and the "skin them to the bone" policy. It would be impossible for me to answer question 44 in full, and I have, in the Report on the Famine Conferences, given my own views on the most important matters in dispute. I am against the distance test and piece-work. I consider that gratuitous relief ought to be given from the first, and that a generous resort to it may considerably postpone the necessity for works. I consider that liberality in relief is true economy. I consider that task work would be the best form of relief, and not extravagant, if only the Public Works officers would consent to work with the Civil officers, instead of continually fretting for independence. I have elsewhere said that every one who can do a task ought to do it. I think this may be pushed too far. The very old and feeble and halt and maimed, no doubt, can do something, but it is absurd to require them to do it. They *ought* to get gratuitous relief; but what if the only relief offered to them is cooked food? The prejudice against this form of relief is very general, and I think that a free hand should be given to district officers to substitute doles for cooked food wherever necessary. On the other hand, my experience is that, in relief administration, there is a continual see-saw between parsimony and liberality. The former does its work and the latter follows: then arises the cry that the latter is overdone and the former is reverted to. I have never seen relief given without these preliminary or contemporary skirmishings, and I despair of ever seeing it. I have elsewhere accepted piece-work—supplemented by village works—on works of real value, whose completion is desirable on their own merits. The districts of this Presidency vary much, and hutting and piece-work and distance test would be less injurious and costly in some than in others, but they will always be more or less objectionable. The ideal system of relief would be administered by an officer with a free hand, who was not continually "lifting his eyes unto the mountains". Even he could not make piece-work and distance test alone meet the call for relief. No one system will anywhere suffice. A combination of all would be best.

48. Task work and village doles are most approved by classes A and B.

49. It is not expedient to enter on this subject.

52. This is for experts. I would observe that it is often impossible to make roads in famine times, owing specially to the want of water, and that, if collection of metal is to be limited to a reserve supply for five years, it would be impossible to find work for those who want it. I could point out places where both gravel and metal collected in 1876-78 is still lying unused.

53. If by "constructed" is meant "finished," all the roads, or bits of roads, constructed will be of use as long as they are passable; but the resources of Local Fund Boards are only barely equal to the maintenance, in a not very satisfactory fashion, of existing roads. Famine roads are not, as a rule, maintained. When they go through red soil or laterite country they last a long time, and can be maintained from comparatively small allotments. In black cotton soils they simply disappear. Famine roads do not include bridging and are often useless for this reason. I could name famine roads of 1876-78, and at least one of 1865-66, which, with the best of good will on the part of the district authorities, have not yet been completed.

54. The fact is that most of the Madras districts have already all the mileage that they are ever likely to be able to maintain. Except as a means of preventing the people from being pauperised by relief, the construction of new roads is of very little use. No doubt village communications are sometimes improved, but, on the whole, new roads are not permanent improvements. I have always been clear on this point, and this expenditure is most regrettable, but I cannot admit that it is *wasteful*. I have some hope that, if the Public Works Department really, and conscientiously put their shoulders to the wheel, future famines might find larger irrigation programmes available. Theoretically speaking, we cannot be said to have done our duty, or our best, as long as a single drop of water runs, without paying toll, to the sea.

55. This is answered under 54.

56. Yes, in many places.

57. By village tanks is meant irrigation reservoirs (not petty pools for watering cattle, &c.). Where possible, they are an excellent means of employing relief labour, and, in a sense, permanently benefit the villages. In time they must all get out of repair and silt up.

59. As to the latter part of this question, the "strict supervision" required would cost more money than is likely to be available, and without this establishment the village officers would reap a harvest. I think, however, that a very fair measure of success might be obtained in the way of reserving such works for the deserving only, but perfect success I should not hope for. It might be possible to keep, say, the stronger men off such works, but I am by no means sure that they would not send their weaker relatives and live on their earnings. The power of discriminating between those who deserve relief and those who do not should not be given to underlings. Many superior officers are quite unfit to be entrusted with it. The "skin them to the bone" school is well represented, and here and there will be found representatives of what may be called "the Legree school." The Revenue officers and the Taluk Relief officers and Circle Inspectors—supposing the latter two to be appointed in time, which I do not at any time anticipate—would be able to do much towards keeping the undeserving from such petty works, but that the ordinary staff and village officers alone could do so is not to be expected. I think, however, that the undeserving would not go four miles and more for relief works, and such a small distance test would not be unreasonable. If all those suspected of being undeserving were referred to a work 7 to 10 miles off, they would not, if really undeserving, go to it.

60. As a fact, owing to there being comparatively few tanks in the Deccan districts, and to much of the Circars being zemindaris, there was little tank work done in the recent famine, and, should famine again attack the same districts, the case would be the same, unless the Public Works Department can discover a number of new irrigation projects. If, however, the red-soil districts should be attacked, there would be any number of irrigation works to go to work on; but even there the opening for employing famine labour, unless the removal of silt should be resorted to, would be less than would be expected, as, in the last fifteen to twenty years, the maintenance of irrigation works has been very systematically attended to. This

remark applies equally to the Minor Irrigation Works which have been under the care of Collectors. It would hardly be proposed that these should be systematically neglected in order to have employment for famine labour available.

61. This is a very large question. On a large scale, the Rushikulya in Ganjam, the Gódávári and Kistna anikats, the Sangam Project in Nellore, the Cumbum tank and Kurnool canal in Kurnool, the Tungabhadra channels in Bellary, the Barur and Marandanahalli projects in Salem, the Poini, Palar and Cheyar anikats in North Arcot, the Vellár channels in South Arcot, the Cauvery and Coleroon works in Tanjore, the Periyár in Madura, and the Támbraparni Project in Tinnevely are the chief, to which may be added the Bhaváni channels in Coimbatore and the Cauvery channels in Salem and Trichinopoly. These too are but the larger projects. Of the smaller anikats there are hundreds.* If tanks are considered, the lists would be endless. A table is, however, appended:—

Districts.	† Anikats.	River channels.	Spring channels.	Tanks.	Ayakat wells.	Total.
Ganjam	..	28	279	2,701	176	3,184
Vizagapatam	..	129	84	1,519	..	1,732
Gódávári	..	829	34	1,518	1,149	3,530
Kistna	21	564	1,458	478	4,580	7,099
Nellore	6	134	173	783	13,375	14,471
Cuddapah	1	640	928	4,494	35,900	41,863
Anantapur	1	195	1,742	971	12,893	15,802
Bellary	26	63	203	462	7,607	8,351
Kurnool	18	31	260	545	7,248	8,102
Madras	..	..	..	8	..	8
Chingleput	3	156	329	2,568	14,021	17,077
North Arcot	5	533	701	3,156	55,625	60,020
South Arcot	101	688	175	3,443	48,835	53,242
Tanjore	2	1,723	37	703	24,698	27,163
Trichinopoly	11	161	35	1,754	24,697	26,658
Madura	43	181	350	5,268	27,413	33,255
Tinnevely	2	155	50	2,322	43,030	45,559
Coimbatore	..	87	60	158	70,840	71,145
Salem	326	202	644	2,295	45,844	49,311
Total ..	566	6,389	7,540	35,146	437,931	487,572

† Only anikats under which there is direct irrigation are shown under this head. Where the irrigation is from channels taken off from an anikat, it is shown under river channels. Petty bunds, which are really anikats, exist by thousands.

62. Undoubtedly. The figures for the Kurnool canal for 1877 and 1897 are very interesting in this connection—

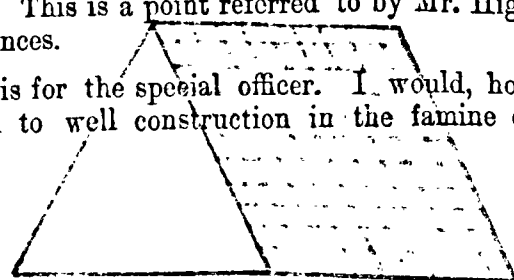
STATEMENT showing the area irrigated under the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal in 1896-97 compared with 1876-77 and with normal years.

District.	Normal years.		1876-77.	1896-97.
	1878-79.	1895-96.		
Kurnool	ACS. 8,352	ACS. 15,563	ACS. 75,105	ACS. 65,618
Cuddapah	10,009	17,340	15,180	21,608
Total ..	18,361	32,903	90,285	87,226

Still, when trouble comes, these works only first enrich the cultivators under them, and then tend to reduce prices everywhere. They do not generally help the agricultural labourers, or those who have to buy grain. It is very desirable that their number should be increased.

63. Yes. This is a point referred to by Mr. Higham and endorsed unanimously by the conferences.

64. This is for the special officer. I would, however, here refer to the great impulse given to well construction in the famine of 1891-92. Too much stress,



however, must not be laid on wells, as they often fail in a long drought. They failed in many places in 1891-92. When, however, they tap the valley of a great river, like the Palar, the wells even at a considerable distance—some miles—from the river very often hold out. A good deal of borrowed money was spent on wells in the recent famine.

67. Yes. There are several such in the famine programmes, notably the Vaniar Project in Salem. The Public Works Department is given to throw cold water on them, because they would not yield the required percentage on cost of construction, or would be liable to silt up (as if all irrigation works were not so liable) &c.

69. This is for the special officer. I need only say that, side by side with such works, petty works will always be necessary if relief is to be effective.

70. The provisions are contained in paras 4-11 of the Famine Code. The Code requirements are always observed in the letter: to observe them in the spirit would require a special department always at work investigating proposals for such programmes. I think, having regard to the cost of famines, that it would be true economy to keep such a department always going, but the officers engaged should be, to a certain extent, enthusiasts, for they would be working for a comparatively remote future. Plans and estimates were not always ready when the recent famine began, partly for want of the special department just alluded to. If a work is to be carried out on its intrinsic merits, as a paying work, it is likely to be carried out before the famine comes, and so the programmes must necessarily be of a shifting nature. Collectors are at their wits' ends to maintain the semblance of a compliance with the letter of the Code. Of course, the usual estimate for collections of road metal can always be ready to hand.

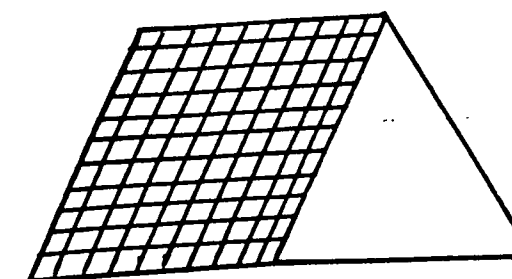
71. (a) I have known them to come and work from morn to night from a distance of 12 miles, and as many as 70 persons from a single village. It is a mere sum in arithmetic to calculate how soon such persons must be physically worn out.

(b) Some will come 20 or 30 miles or more. I must insist on the distinction, which I have drawn elsewhere, that only some will come. That others will not come is no proof that they are not distressed. As an old experienced officer, I must distinctly protest against the distance test. For the majority it is a specious offer of bread and giving of a stone.

72. Practicable—yes. Many things are practicable—or lawful—but not expedient: Cruel and injudicious, also yes.

73. Conveyance by steamer is not in the area of practical politics for this Presidency. Such labourers as were willing to go might be carried by rail, but it would be a refusal of relief to the majority in need to make acceptance of relief on such terms a *sine quâ non*.

74. It has not been the rule, but many—though a small percentage of the whole—did live as near to the works as they could. The number who actually lived—in huts—on the works was very small. No doubt more would have done so had the huts been forthcoming. It is not right to commence to erect huts after the workers have come. They may be exposed for days before the huts are erected. The huts, too, should be a decent habitable shelter, proof against wind and rain, and such as the workers can put up in without degrading exposure. I do not call three tatties—like three playing cards—proper hutting. The hutting in Bellary was like this:—



A man could only stand upright in the centre. When the wind blew they were generally uninhabitable.

75. No. When people did live on, or near, the works, it was because they could not go to and fro between their homes and the work. There were many who left their homes and stayed on a work. In their villages they had left many starving behind. These latter could not, for one reason or another, leave their villages, and fell off seriously in condition. The workers who left the village did not share their earnings with those left behind.

76. I am not in favour of making residence obligatory, or of indirectly inducing it by concentrating the works.

It is true that, failing such test, some, very few persons, not requiring relief are attracted to the work. These are so few that they may be left out of consideration. There were many who were not actually "skinned to the bone." Such persons were rightly admitted. They came from prudential reasons, knowing that if they did not do so they would be utterly ruined at the end of the distress, or, had it lasted six months longer, long before the end. Why, I would ask, were there hundreds of béchirák (depopulated) villages, some of them not re-occupied to date, after the great famine, if it was not that Sir Richard Temple and his school refused relief until the people were "skinned to the bone"? By the grant of relief before people were so stripped in the last famine the state of the people at the end of it was not irretrievably worse than it was at the beginning. This point did not escape the Famine Commission of 1878. They classed the "smallest proprietors or occupiers" with the "actually landless class who live on the wages of labour" (page 109, part I); they held that the official machinery was inadequate to accurately test the individual necessities of large numbers (page 110), and held (page 111) that "the only test which in their opinion it is ordinarily desirable to enforce is the demand of labour commensurate in each case with the labourers' powers, in return for a wage sufficient for the purpose of maintenance but not more." In the Deccan districts the number of pattadars paying Rs. 10 and less is 339,355. If the Government demand at all approaches to 50 per cent. of the net profits of agriculture these persons, multiplied by four to allow for their families, are practically destitute, and should be treated as such.

I consider that a high task and a low rate of wage are in themselves sufficient tests, and, in this connection, by a high task I mean a fair task. I can most positively state from an intimate knowledge of the people, their ways of life and thought and language, such as few officials possess, that they are generally loath to accept of Government relief, and will only do so when actually driven to it. Here I do not mean "gratuitous relief in the form of doles" though many would be too proud to accept this if they did not want it.

77. Residence on works is so distasteful to the people that many of them—certainly more than half of those who need relief—will undergo extreme privation before they submit to it. I cannot quote the instances required, as residence was nowhere enforced, but I can quote instances where people starved at home rather than go unreasonable distances to reside on or near a work. The case of Kocheru mentioned by the Sanitary Commissioner—*vide* Government Proceedings, No. 969, dated 17th November 1897, is an instance. The prejudice will not pass away. As before admitted, some will comply with such tests.

78. Yes, if the whole of India was not involved. The area involved in the last famine was very wide, and yet we did wonders in this direction. I do not think it likely that a larger area will ever be involved at any one time. When distress is confined to only one province, or even to two, the resources in the way of establishment over all India could be indented on, as was the case in the later months of 1877.

79. Yes. G.O., No. 216, dated 30th March 1897. I need not enter into details. Hutting was, with few exceptions, nowhere provided for reasons given elsewhere. The district officers did their best to prevent the distance allowance being abused in such cases, or when people from distant, took up their abode in adjacent, villages. I do not mean to say that no cases escaped detection.

80 and 81. It is said to have been Rs. 1-2 in Bellary and Ganjam. The hutting in Bellary was of the three playing card type and unworthy of the name. I have no doubt that there was much suffering from cold and discomfort on the works. It may

seem strange to speak of cold, but, after the South-West monsoon has broken, the winds in the Deccan are violent, and at night and morning chill. The people are thinly clad, the mothers being often exposed and infants absolutely naked. The wind blowing on their bodies did cause suffering, and, among the infants, mortality. A cold wind blowing on the exposed body, or on cotton garments drenched with perspiration, is bound to produce fever and other illnesses.

82. No.

83. I cannot say, not having noted figures: I would expect the contrary, for, the more accessible the works are, the more likely dependents are to come to them.

84. We had, practically, no piece-work.

85. No.

86. Yes. If there is a good earthwork which, on its merits, is worth doing, piece-work would be good, *provided that* gratuitous relief goes on also, and there are small works easily accessible for those who cannot go to the piece-work. I have discussed this in the report on the Famine Conferences.

87. The more I see of piece-work for relief purposes the less I like it.

88. They should be separately ganged and tasked—if you are going to have piece-work at all. One of the strongest objections to piece-work is that, if it is to be honestly worked as a form of relief, it will require an extravagant establishment to do this. If, however, piece-work is intended to be a mere specious offer of relief which it is really intended to refuse, then it is as economical as the worst enemy of the people could desire. By this I do not mean that every one who swears by piece-work is averse from giving reasonable relief, but such persons are mentally astigmatic, and they are not likely ever to see straight. They may be, and often are, very kind hearted and well intentioned.

89. Yes. I would not allow any one person to earn more than will support himself and five other persons, of whom two may be children.

90. This is technical; but, if the piece-work system is to be fairly worked, the workers must be allowed to form their own gangs, and each gang must be paid separately, however many there may be.

91. Yes. When the people form their own gangs: not when the officials form them.

92. If piece-work is to be worked honestly, as a real form of relief, and not as a specious refusal of it, I look for a considerable increase of establishment as compared with the task-work system.

93. There will always be difficulty.

94. The Code system is best for classification. I do not accept the C and D wages.

95. The Code wages for A and B classes might stand. The A wage would, and should, rarely be given. I think that the B wage should be given to class C, even though they perform a smaller task, and the D wage I would abolish altogether for tasked labour. Properly the people who belong to the D class should do no work at all which could be tasked. For a subsistence wage perhaps the C wage would suffice for them. It is no use to give these wages in chataks as they are already in the Code in ounces.

96. This is a very troublesome system. I would propose to add a pie or two to the B wage and have no computation of the component parts. For firewood some addition to the B wage is desirable. Possibly one pie would, all round, be enough, but I would prefer two pies.

96-A. Yes. The men and women should be tasked separately.

97. The Conference has made a fair proposal about this.

98. Generally *seven*. It often happens that bright, active children below seven want to work, and I would allow them to do so, for the child's wage, when at all capable. In view of the general dislike for kitchens, the line was not always sternly drawn at seven years in the last famine. Such children often, as carriers or breakers,

do very fair work. Their presence enlivens the works and adds to the comfort of the parents. Drawing the line generally at seven, I would leave it open to let in younger children in exceptional cases.

99. Section 106 of the Famine Code is all that is needed.

100. Yes. If workers are neither malingering nor contumacious, they should not be fined below the minimum.

101. Yes. There was a good deal of this in the beginning of the famine. As promiscuous fining and an impossible task was imposed, it would not be clear whether the people actually deteriorated on the D wage, for they very often did not get it. The Sanitary Commissioner has reported on this. See also Board's Proceedings, No. 144, dated 18th February 1897. The C and D rations were afterwards abolished, and not brought into force again until the end of July, and were too short a time in force to allow of inferences being drawn from them.

102. I think the words "Question 12" in this question must be a mistake. I don't think in famine times it is at all desirable that people should earn more than the Code A and B wages.

103. I would give the Sunday wage to any one who had attended for four out of the preceding seven days. It is most unfair, when a person has been absent—probably for some good cause, illness or other—and lost a working day's wage to deprive him of the Sunday wage also.

104. *Vide* Conference report.

105. Technical.

106. Do.

107. Any one above the rank of overseer *ought* to be able to grasp this, but I do not believe that all would grasp it. Some overseers are very intelligent and could grasp it: some never would.

108. The gang of one hundred works well in practice. If the task is *fair* there would be no objection to fining those who fell short of it. An intelligent subordinate ought to be able to detect individual "malingerers," and fines might generally be limited to them.

112. Ganjam—

Up to May	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2
In and after June	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 3
Vizagapatam—							
Up to June	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 4
July and August	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 3
September	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2½
Kurnool—							
April	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 3
May	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2½
June to September	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2
October	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2½
Bellary and Anantapur—							
Up to June	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 3
July and August	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2½
September	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 3
Cuddapah—							
Throughout	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2½

113. It is always the case that women and children predominate. This was markedly so in the beginning of the 1877 famine. The men will not come at the early stages. I have referred to this elsewhere. Suppose the men do find private employment at wages in excess of the famine wage, the rise of prices leaves their earnings still no more than they can consume themselves. No man would be content with the famine ration who could buy more. Even when the men did not come in equal proportions it was necessary for the State to support the wives and children.

114. Only petty village work, village roads, deepening wells and such like works should be carried out by the Civil officers.

115. I agree generally with the recommendations of the Conferences on this point. I consider that the Divisional-officers have been hardly dealt with, but, if a *modus vivendi* is to be arrived at, I fear they must be thrown overboard.

116. See Conference report.

117. Do.

118. I understand the question to refer to Civil officers. The Conference has touched on this point, see pages 33-39 of the report.

119. See Conference report, paragraph 20.

120. No. *Imprimis* the word "camp" should be used only for a large piece-work assemblage of labourers. It would not refer to task works on which residence was not compulsory. If there is a Civil officer, he can look after these matters. If not, the medical officer should look after sanitary arrangements after the Public Works officers had once constructed latrines; the paymaster may be under the Collector on small works and under the Executive Engineer, as proposed by the Conference, for large works. The Tahsildar can look after bazaar arrangements if there is no Civil officer.

121. No. The Magistrate and the policeman should be conspicuous by their absence on all relief works.

122. No. In such rare exceptions, in which the Civil—by which I mean the Revenue—officers looked after works, they were conducted under the Code rules.

123. As far as possible, all works should be carried out by the Public Works Department. There were no works carried out by the Civil Department which should have been transferred to the Public Works Department except the one case where an Executive Engineer threw up all charge of a work, and the Assistant Collector had to keep it going until the Executive Engineer reconsidered himself.

124. In both cases daily at first, and afterwards once in three days.

125. Pay to the nearest *pie*.

126. The payments should be made by the paymasters. We don't know what Muharrirs mean, but in no case should the head cooly of the gang make disbursements. This does not apply to petty gangs made up by the villagers themselves on the piece-work system.

127. No. I consider that it would be a most undesirable practice.

128. (i) Yes, when the Revenue and Public Works officers were dealing with them. Their own missionary, the Rev. Mr. Cain, had no difficulty in getting them to attend and work steadily. It is a pity that all the works started were not under him. The Forest-officer, Mr. Ward, could have got good work out of the hill people if he could have employed them on strictly forest work; but it is a fact that they did tank work for their missionary. It is to be regretted that their old Civilian officer, Mr. Spencer, was not there, for he, probably, could have got good work out of them. It is absurd to send an ordinary Public Works officer up to Bhadrachalam and expect him to conduct relief works.

(ii) Yes, under their missionary. It is not to be understood that the workers were Christians. They were ordinary Kois; but Mr. Cain has lived among them, with his wife, for a quarter of a century and they know and trust him. We change our Civilian officer about once in two years. I think that an endeavour should be made to get, for our hill tracts, men who would find it worth their while to stay in them, to know and be known by, and to win the confidence of, the wild tribes. There are always men of the Outram stamp to be found. What he did with the Bheels could be done among the Khonds and Kois. Occasionally a police officer makes a long stay in these tracts. A Civilian rarely, as promotion is absurdly rapid in the junior ranks of the Civil Service, and has been for years. Young military officers could easily be found for such posts. In the one case where a Civilian stayed for a long time in these tracts he obtained such a knowledge of the language and of the people, and so won their confidence both in the cutcherry and in the jungles, that he could lead them at will. I refer to Mr. Douglas Taylor, who was for years in charge of the Jeypore Estate.

129. It depends very much on how they are spread out. I don't think one man could well look after more than five thousand labourers. As to the minimum, on professional works it might be fixed at 300. In that case only an overseer would have charge.

130. No. We may press the outcaste children into our kitchens, and a very few of the lower class Hindus and generally the poor Muhammadans, but, with caste workers generally, to offer kitchen relief is to refuse all relief, and throw them on their parents' wage for maintenance. Any experienced officer can tell where the objection to kitchen relief is, by the mode of thought of the people, justifiable, and in such cases dole should be given.

131. The ratio depends so much on the increase in the price of grain on which wages are based, and the amount of inefficient labour that comes on the work, that it is not possible to give a ratio which will hold good in all cases of distress. When, as in the last famine, the prices rose by more than 200 per cent. and the inefficient hands on works were from two to three times the number of efficient hands, it would not be unreasonable if the payment in wages amounted to three times, and the total cost of work, including relief to dependants, and incidental charges, four times the normal value of work done. In this Presidency the cost of relief of dependants was not debited to works, and was not shown in the accounts separately from the cost of the gratuitous relief of other persons. But the actual cost of the works including the cost of work establishments and contingencies was 3.3 times the normal value calculated at ordinary rates.

132. No. The former is matter for experts. The latter can be considered when the Code is amended. I could not go into it here.

133. I have separately reported about this—*vide* Board's Proceedings, No. 553, dated 5th August 1897.

134. See above. Generally they were unfounded or unreasonable.

135. Such employers offered only the normal wage. There were cases in which employers tried to whittle their normal wage down to the level of the famine wage.

136. The employers don't want whole families; they want to pick their employes and, of course, when this is done, the employed could eat all that they earned. I regret to say, to my knowledge, some such employes were paid a liberal—though the normal—wage, and drank the surplus. They always do. I refer to the Adoni cotton press. The families are left very much to fend for themselves. Even in good times much of the man's wage goes in drink and the family fares badly. This was partly the cause of bad condition at Adoni. When drink comes in family affections are sacrificed to it. We, unfortunately, have thousands of instances of this nearer home.

137. I would do, as I did in this famine, *i.e.*, do our best to meet the wishes of private employers. I would even shift a work farther away, if necessary—provided always that the wage offered was sufficient. If, however, the private employer wants men only, the excess of women and children on works will be still larger and call for remarks.

138. I don't think there was any such help by private employers except such as was given by the Rajah of Bobbili and the Zamindar of Parlakimedi, and this was to people who would have ordinarily gone to earth-work or stone-breaking. There was, of course, much employment given to coolies by ryots who were digging wells or exterminating *nuth* grass (*Ischaemum pilosum*). The persons employed by them were not "professional earth-workers"—only "Wudders" are properly so called. The Rajah of Bobbili and the Zamindar of Parlakimedi would not have got the work done had it not been for the distress. The ryots would always be glad to dig wells and exterminate *nuth* grass if they could afford it. No doubt, when they get loans for such purposes they eat part of the loan, and so it may be said that in ordinary years they would not generally do this kind of work—certainly not on so large a scale.

139. No. Such of our Rajahs and Zamindars as are not in pecuniary difficulty will generally, from one motive or another, do something in this line, but beyond this I do not expect much. Should, however, famine touch any district where one of our great firms has interests, manufacturing, mining or forest, I think that such firms would gladly strain a point to help, but they would do this on mercantile, not philanthropic, lines, and would expect the value of their money. The sum scattered in the

cotton districts by the large firms is very great. I know one firm which expends as much as 20 lakhs in a year, but this goes mostly to the cultivator, who spends some of it in wages. Some goes to the employes in spinning mills and cotton presses.

148. Four per cent.

149. Yes.

150. Generally yes. There were minor exceptions, *e.g.*, when one person, who perhaps could work, was put on relief because he or she had to look after a sick or crippled relation. By "resources of any kind" if it is meant that the women sold their *Thalis* or amulets and petty jewellery, the answer is no. In the humane and commonsense meaning of the term the recipients of this relief were destitutes. Possibly some of them had a calf or a goat, or a couple of fowls or a pig. They were not required to sell these or the roof, poor as it was, over their heads, and I hope that they never will.

151. In ordinary years their relations support them, and the beggars get charity. I need not say that it is often a very poor support which such people get. In famine times charity begins at home.

152. Eighty to 90 per cent. were women and children. The *parda nashin* women were very few. In the agricultural tracts they are always few except in the Circars, where the Hindus are day by day making their women more and more *parda nashin*. The Coast Sudras of the better class from Kistna up to Ganjam affect to treat their females as *gosha*. The Kshatriya women are mostly *gosha*. It is a fact that many respectable Panchamas in the towns affect to keep their females within walls. In the towns, in the affected tracts, the *parda nashin* women were generally on the Indian Famine Relief Fund.

153. The numbers would vary so much, according to the system on which the gratuitous relief was being given, and the personal equation of the Government and officers giving it, that I would hesitate to state any figure which could be regarded as a standard, seeing especially the use which has been made of the Indian Famine Commission statement that 15 per cent. would be the maximum expected to come on relief in any tract—*vide* question 10 *supra* and my reply to it. If I am asked to name what I would consider the maximum which, under duly administered relief, should come on *gratuitous* relief during the worst of an acute famine, I would take the figures on gratuitous relief for August 1877. These are (Salem) 165.737 or 8.4 per cent. of the population of 1871, and (Bellary) 140.408 or 15 per cent. on the population of 1871. The mean of the two percentages is 11.7 per cent. I should think that this would be a fair estimate of the percentage which should come on gratuitous relief in an acute famine. I choose the figures for August rather than those for September or October, because practically our organization fell to pieces about that time, until we were stiffened by new hands from other Provinces. The disaster was so great that we could not shroff applicants for relief, and had to let all who claimed it in, pending enquiries. The numbers would vary with the tract and with the severity and stage of the distress.

154. No. On the contrary, there are conditions conceivable under which small numbers on relief might be synchronous with a large demand for gratuitous relief. Piece-work and distance test, or task work with absurd task, or inhumane supervision might produce this result. In my opinion we always start gratuitous relief too late in this Presidency. I think that it would be true economy to begin with it, and, if we provided for the "useless mouths", the others might be able to make a better fight for it without works, at least for a time. No one who has not actually gone among the poorer classes, into their houses, and watched them at cooking and meal times, talked with them under the village tree, and in the shikar camp, can have any idea of the amount of absolute misery which may exist before officialdom recognises that the time for relief has come. In my opinion, year by year our officers are getting to know less of the people, and to be more and more out of sympathy and touch with them. Government itself is removed from contact with the people for six months of the year. It is not from the educated natives who have their own purposes to serve, or from addresses presented by Municipalities and Local Boards, or even by District

Associations, which are merely the quintessence of Vakildom, that the governing minority can get at the minds of the masses; for the masses have minds and thoughts and wants, though they are not apt at shaping them into words. The Dravidian languages are always a bar between the people and their rulers. The old type of civilian was a much better linguist than his successor. I remember, more than thirty years ago, when the Huzur Sheristadar of Madura did not know a word of English, that the then Collector, the Hon'ble D. Arbuthnot, did all his work with him in Telugu. The Hon'ble Mr. L. Forbes, when Judge of Bellary, once charged a jury for three hours in Telugu. The Telugu text-books of the day are the work of a Civilian long dead and gone, and so was one of the best Telugu dictionaries up to a short period back. It is more and more necessary that we should insist on a full working knowledge of the vernaculars in the ranks of the Civil Service. The only case in recent years in which I have known a young Civilian to be a good linguist was the case of a gentleman who had been born in the country.

155. No. I think that gratuitous relief should begin earlier, and that such people should be relieved in their villages.

156. It would depend on circumstances. If the able-bodied relation was earning a wage elsewhere, and that wage did not cover the keep of his relatives, why not admit the incapable person to relief? To refuse, and drive—if you do succeed in driving—the able-bodied relation on the work is to make Government relieve two persons instead of one. There are other causes which might keep able-bodied persons from going to relief works.

157. Yes. No doubt many who do not want doles would accept them if given, but there has been no such promiscuous dole-giving.

158. Yes, as regards the Circle Relief officers, except in some cases in the Circars. The Taluk Relief officers were appointed rather late, and there were cases in the Circars in which undeserving persons had been admitted, but they were soon shroffed out. Of the two I should say that the danger of refusing relief to the deserving was the more likely failure to expect from Village Circle Inspectors.

It is not necessary to go into the details about the precautions taken. The usual inquiries would be made of the village officers and the more well-to-do villagers. The interior of houses would be searched for grain, &c.

159. It is not easy to make the comparison. Thus we often would have only one Taluk Relief officer for a taluk in which there might be an Executive Engineer and two or three Supervisors or Assistant Engineers and some Overseers. I should say, if a liberal provision of work is made, that the demand for supervision in the Public Works Department would be greater than that in gratuitous relief. The latter is supervised by Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars or by Divisional officers as well as by Taluk Relief officers. It might happen that as many as four Taluk Relief officers would be required for a single taluk. I would say that, as a rule, gratuitous relief would not require so strong a staff of the higher officers as relief on works, properly given, would require.

160. The acceptance of doles does not entail any particular stigma. To accept kitchen relief is considered generally degrading, except among the outcastes, and even they, sometimes, ape the caste sentiments on the subject.

161. No. No form of charity dries up which would not otherwise dry up. On the contrary, the Government example is largely followed by private persons, who recognise that famine time is a time for doing *dharmam* and acquiring merit. Much charity is therefore given which would not be given in ordinary times.

162. I think this question may be practically answered in the negative. Our relief works, as I have shown elsewhere, received large numbers who ought to have been on gratuitous relief. If the question is pushed to an extreme it is possible that some of the recipients might have done some work, say, gathering leaves, &c. I do not think that the question is asked in this sense. It is a fair answer to give that gratuitous relief was not given to persons who ought to have done a task of any kind.

163. No. And this question clearly shows that question 162 referred to some genuine form of work.

164. I have answered this already *ad nauseam*. Kitchen relief should—as I have said that all gratuitous relief should—be started in the early stage of distress, but it only appeals to certain classes, and no offer of it will tempt those whose caste prejudices forbid them to receive it. This prejudice dates from 1877. I must add that there was a much greater readiness to accept cooked food among the Sudras in 1877 than there is now. It is probably because they suffered socially for having done so that they refuse now. The other prejudice, that those who entered the kitchens in 1877 died, has its influence in keeping people out. I might add that this is an unfair prejudice. The people mix up camps and kitchens. There was enormous mortality in the camps in 1877, but not to any serious extent in the kitchens, but it would be useless to try and explain the difference.

165. See above. To offer kitchen relief alone would be to refuse relief altogether to many classes of persons.

166. No. Even one kitchen for every five miles diameter would be a large strain, and this is a very awkward arrangement. Supposing a district to be divided in five miles squares. These would contain 25 square miles. Even if the kitchen were exactly in the centre it would be a walk of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the corners and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the sides. This doubled, supposing the kitchen to be in a corner, would be a fatiguing journey for weak adults and out of the question for small children. Practically a kitchen helps the people beyond half a mile from it very little. It would be quite impossible to establish and manage as many kitchens as would be required.

167. In grain. The matter is discussed in paragraph 17 of the Conferences report.

168. They generally had to come to a central place for it. In the case of very respectable families it would be sent to them. This would be rare. The Indian Charitable Relief Fund generally took up such cases.

169. No, to both the questions. There were cases in which village officers choused recipients out of part of their grants from the Indian Charitable Relief Fund.

170. The Revenue Inspectors were generally Circle Inspectors. The village servants would always be consulted in such matters. The number of Circle Inspectors appointed was as follows:—

								No.
Ganjám	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50
Vizagapatam	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	68
Kurnool	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26
Bellary	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13
Anantapur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21
Cuddapah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8

The village officers were consulted. If "home relief" means bringing and giving the dole to such recipients at his or her home, this was not done, unless the Indian Charitable Relief Fund did it. The respectable inhabitants in the larger villages helped in the latter.

171. Official relief went through official channels only. The Indian Charitable Relief Fund employed unofficial agency largely.

172. We had practically no poor houses—see page 35 of the Conference report. In my opinion there should never be any poor houses if relief is properly given.

182. I would deprecate legislation to this end. No doubt it would solve difficulties, but it is very doubtful how such legislation would be regarded by the people.

184. In the great famine escapes were constantly taking place. No fencing will keep in those—and often weakly persons—who are determined to get out. Besides the love of freedom they tried to go and beg in the big towns.

185. Doles were generally given in central villages—not in every village. The machinery is not equal to providing a separate dole centre in every village, e.g., there might be no grain shop in a village, etc.

186. The doles were—as a rule—only for persons properly entitled to gratuitous relief under section 62, and from such persons it would be improper to require work. Doles are also admissible to gosha women and respectable persons under sections 135 and 137 of the Code. From the former some kind of work, such as grinding corn, is at times demanded.

187. No—to both queries.

188. The “relief centres” were the “village relief” and not a substitute for it. The distance was never more than the recipients of relief could reasonably walk. When they were numerous, some villagers would have one day, and others another, on which to receive their doles. Perhaps these relief centres really correspond with what the Famine Commission seem to understand by “village relief.”

189. I consider that gratuitous relief ought to start *with* works, if not before them. If given in time, the opening of works might be somewhat postponed, but then there would always be the cry that the demand for relief had not been “tested”. I consider that the existence of scarcity rates is sufficient test to justify the commencement of gratuitous relief.

190. I think it is plain that our relief centres are what the Commission means by village relief.

192. No, except when relief was given from the Indian Charitable Relief Fund.

193. To provide for the children of workers mainly, and for such persons, qualified under section 62, as may be found in the adjoining villages.

194. They are required both for works and for gratuitous relief under section 62. The theory is that no one should get doles who ought to take food in a kitchen, supposing that there is a kitchen within a reasonable distance.

195. The substitution would have the effect of reducing numbers (a) because the distance would be too great for some, and (b) because many will refuse to enter the kitchens under any circumstances whatever.

196. Only to persons furnished with tickets.

197. The Revenue officers supervised the kitchens, and the Circle Inspectors and village officers helped. Respectable ryots used to take an interest in them. Often they would subscribe for, or supply, vegetables to be added to the ration.

There was no waste or misapplication of the food worth mentioning. Attendance was not always regular, and occasionally some rations would lie over. These would be kept for the next meal. The kitchens were ordinarily in charge of officials; but, in big towns, respectable townsmen used to interest themselves in them and inspect them. The Adóni kitchen was under a committee on which were non-officials as well as officials.

198. When there is not a genuine objection, it is better to have the children fed in kitchens, and this may generally be applied to Panchamas, Chamars, Native Christians not likely to misappropriate the child's wage; but there would be danger of a father sending his children to the work, staying at home himself and consuming most of the children's wage or dole. In Ganjám the parents are often not to be trusted.

199. See pages 30 and 31 of the Famine Report.

200. Yes. No doubt, when a ryot takes a loan of Rs. 200 for digging a well, he eats some of the loan. This is fair and expected. He supervises the work and pays himself for doing it. His family probably eat up some more. The Government is secure, and this does not signify.

201. Yes, to both questions. The grant of such loans is a trouble to the Revenue officers, and many are lacking in zeal on this point.

202. *Periods of repayment—*

Ordinary Rules (L.I. Loans Act).

				Maximum period.
				YRS.
For loans from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500	...	...	...	10
Do. 500 to „ 1,000	...	...	...	15
Do. 1,000 and upwards	...	...	...	20

Special Well Rules.—All loans must be repaid within *thirty* years at the latest.

Agriculturists' Loans Act.—

A loan for the purchase of seed must be repaid within *one* year.

A loan for the purchase of cattle, or for any other purpose within the meaning of the Act and the Rules, shall be repaid within *two* years, or such further period *not exceeding ten* years, as the Collector, with the sanction of the Board of Revenue, may see fit to declare.

203. Yes, in Bellary only. The amount was limited to Rs. 20 each, at Rs. 5 per mensem for four months.

204. No. It means indebtedness. Better make them work and start them free of debt.

205. It depends on how you look at it. Of course it is more economical to lend and recover the money lent than to give work and wages and get no money return; this is one way of looking at it. My opinion is that it is a low and short-sighted way of looking at it. The agricultural classes are indebted enough. Debt debases the debtor. He is not a free, or his own, man; it cramps his efforts; it is against the interest of the whole body politic that debt should increase. It tests a man's grit more to offer him work and wage than to lend him money.

206. A large number would, if it was likely that they would get the loans; but, as a fact, the authorities could not deal with a whole population. I have answered the rest of the question above.

207. See paragraph 30 of Famine Report.

208. The tenant generally will get the benefit of these concessions. The kists in such cases have never been collected, and therefore *remission* does not mean *refunding*. The remission is made when the annual settlement comes to be made. The village officers may sometimes get something from the ryots. This cannot be helped. There is no *law* to secure that remissions reach the ryots, nor is any law necessary.

209. Of much advantage, yes. It would be difficult to say how much ryots were thereby kept from relief works, but it may be generally accepted that most of those profiting by the remission would have been ruined if they had not got it.

210. All revenue suspended will be eventually recovered, and that, generally, without severe pressure on the ryots *if seasons are good*. As a fact the last season is a very middling one, and there will, especially in Cuddapah, be some suffering in consequence of these recoveries.

211. No. Such suspensions will be collected in the current year.

212. (a) If the rent payable to landholders by their tenants is meant, the practice varies. The land revenue payable to Government and suspended in bad seasons does not carry interest.

212. (b) I think not, for more than one reason.

213. I do not know any estate absolutely free of some charge, peshkash, quit-rent or such like. Government can give relief to such by suspending collections. Such relief was given to the zamindar of Punganur in 1891, to the amount of Rupees 50,000, and the sum was collected in four years. The words “rent” and “revenue” in this chapter seem not to be used as we generally use them. Revenue is what is paid to the State; rent is what the tenant pays to the landholder. Taking rent in this sense Government has no power to direct that rent due to a zamindar should be suspended, and no such power is necessary.

214. Yes, but I respectfully demur to the idea that a four-anna crop will feed and clothe the owners and their dependants and cattle (to say nothing of paying the kists).

215. See paragraph 43 of the Famine Report.

216. *Vide* paragraph 32 of Famine Report. The people generally had no access for the collection of edible fruits, roots, &c. I am not, however, certain of this. In "high forest" all persons are excluded. I do not believe that there would be any difficulty in people entering the ordinary forests for this purpose. As a fact, however, the affected tracts contained no forest worth the name, except the Nallamalais, which are deadly feverish, and left generally to the wild Chentsus. Bhadrachalam is jungly, and the Kois can go and come there as they like. The jungle tribes would utilise edible fruits, roots, &c., when not rented out.

217. Yes. I proposed that the forests should be thrown open to free grazing in December 1896. Permission was then refused and not granted until May 1897. It was too late then to be of much use. Cattle cannot march to the forests in a season when there is not a blade of grass, or a leaf, or a drop of water, on the route. The cattle, too, were too much exhausted to make a march of any kind.

218. No. This was tried in 1891-92, and the people were unwilling to *pay* for the grass collected, though ready enough to take it when given for nothing. This is a matter which will develop in time. If the people would only cut and store in the proper season there would be large stocks of fodder available, but they are too lazy and wanting in foresight to do this, as a rule. Though the departmental operations were not resumed, large quantities of grass were removed from the forests and carried to places even 40 and 50 miles off. This, however, only taps the fringe of the distress, for the distant villages are practically debarred from benefiting in this way.

The cost of labour and carting is no small item. Except the Nallamalais there are no forests worthy of the name in the affected parts of the Deccan. The Sandur hills produce a kind of grass, but it is really only fit for thatching or bedding, though large quantities were removed for cattle. The grass on the Cuddapah hills is also poor stuff. It would be no great exaggeration to say that in Anantapur the so-called forest reserves have no grass fit to be mentioned. This is all the more reason why the Nallamalais should be thrown open at an early period of the distress, when a bite can be picked up *en route*, and the cattle have strength to walk.

219. Those who understand where to find them get some roots. There are also some berries and leaves, notably the *Devaduri* (*Erythroxylon Monogynum*) leaves, which help the people to eke out a living. In the Agency tract of Bhadrachalam, the roots are not obtainable in the hot weather, as, even if they exist, the ground is so hard that the people cannot dig them up.

220. The Code rules are sufficient. With proper administration there should be no famine orphans. There were a few orphans, but there will be such in all years. Famine orphans proper should never be found. In 1877-78 many orphans were made over to asylums, one of which was in Madras and supported by charity. A large number were made over to the French Missionaries at Dharmapuri in Salem—some 200 or more. The priest in charge got at the time a grant of some five to seven hundred rupees, which went for medicine, &c. These orphans were entirely brought up, and put out in the world, by the missionaries (being converted of course). When there is absolutely no one to claim them, there does not seem to be any objection to this course. When I visited their village (Dharmapuri-Koilur) 19 years afterwards, I could only find one of the orphans, a married woman, who seemed to be very happy. The rest had scattered, setting up for themselves, aided by the priest, who seemed to be idolised by his village and evidently deserved their affection. At an early stage of the recent famine the Jesuits of Trichinopoly put in an application for famine orphans. The Dharmapuri Mission is not under the Jesuit Order.

221. There will be no need for such aid. Private charity will always meet the want to any reasonable extent. A small grant from the Famine Charitable Relief Fund would be sufficient to keep the children till they can fend for themselves.

222. Yes. The objects are enumerated in paragraph 40 of the Famine Report. I object distinctly to Object 1. The subsistence ration, and the hospital ration, either are or are not adequate. If adequate, they should not be supplemented by private charity. If inadequate, they should be increased at Government cost. The use of the fund money has largely tended to obscure the question of the sufficiency of the C and D wages. I also object, as long as sections 134 and 137 of the Famine Code survive on the record, to Object 3. Government either means, or does not mean,

what it says in the Code, the theory of which is all that the highest benevolence could require: when, however, it comes to the spending of money, *i.e.*, to the translating of the Code theory into practice, there is apt to be an outcry that money is being spent, and the officers who take Government *au grand sérieux* run the risk of being taken to task for their action. My objection to Object 1 does not extend to the grant of clothing, which in this Presidency may fairly be left to private charity. In a colder climate, failing such charity, Government might have to act.

The fourth object enumerated is partly met by our loan laws, but I do not object to the expenditure from the fund, as loans from Government must stop somewhere, and Government could never afford to rehabilitate a large section of its population. Further, help given should be a gift, not a loan. I have heard that the Famine Charitable Relief Fund money has in some places been lent, not given. I entirely disapprove of this, and I consider that such action is contrary to the intention of the donors.

223. See answer to last question.

224. In a properly-administered famine there should be, as I have said before, no orphans, *i.e.*, no orphans whose status as such is directly attributable to famine. If, however, there are any such, I think that their maintenance from the Famine Charitable Fund would be in strict accordance with the wishes of majority of the donors.

225. I would not call this "restricted." I do not see what more could reasonably be expected.

226. We cannot always be sure that there will be a Famine Charitable Relief Fund. This being so, I do not see how the Code can be modified. It certainly does not go too far at present. Whenever such a fund exists, it may be taken as a moral certainty that any relief of the kind specified under "thirdly" will be given from the fund. When no such fund exists, the only relief possible will be that given under the Code, sections 134 to 137, and it will depend entirely on the personal equation of the Government of the day, and of its officers, whether that relief will be given or not.

227. This was done in Bhadrachalam, but not with the purpose of relieving those only who are specified in this question. The fact was that grain was scarcely purchasable, certainly not at reasonable rates, and the ordinary working population would have starved had not these shops been established. The conditions of Bhadrachalam have been explained in the Famine Report.

228. Such shops would interfere with private trade *if there was any*. In Bhadrachalam practically there was not. When the shops are for the benefit of those persons only who are contemplated by question 227, sales should be on tickets only.

229. No local experience of the kind here. In parts of Ganjam the Collector considered that Government depôts should have been started for providing grain for doles, not for sale.

230. Yes, if the state of the season admits of cultivation. When, however, on the arrival of the cultivation season the rains hold off it would not be wise to give such help, as the temptation to consume the grant to meet present wants would be irresistible.

231. Roughly speaking, the pattadars paying Rs. 10 and under.

232. Yes. A gift is always better than a loan; besides, in a period of distress, the demand for *takkavi* is enormous and would be larger than it seems on paper were it not that idle and unscrupulous officials discourage the people in applying for loans. As a fact the demand, with the best of intentions, is so great that the ordinary staff, even when reinforced, would find it difficult to grapple with it. Much depends on the personnel of the district. All the officers, or the native officers at least, take their cue from the Collector.

233. Yes.

234. Undoubtedly, except where they trenched on what is Government work, pure and simple, *i.e.*, when they were used to eke out the Government wage on works

and ration in gratuitous relief. This was not done in this Presidency. In every other respect the operations of the fund were of the greatest use, and the only regret is that more money was not given *in time*.

235. See paragraph 40 of the Famine Report.

236. Head I 24,108; Head II 867; Head III 234,339 and Head IV 161,952.

237. It would be hard to say; the gratitude of the women and girls for cloths, and the blessing which the gift of flannel squares to emaciated babies proved, could not well be exaggerated.

238. I cannot answer this.

239. Yes. If these people are to be effectually helped, a gift, not a loan, is needed. If we keep the cooly alive and strong, he and his family are not much worse off at the end of a famine than at the beginning. The petty cultivator is in danger of falling in the social scale, and it is very difficult for him, once fallen, to retrieve his original status. His prosperity also means employment for the coolies. At the same time the question suggests itself whether a system under which the mass of the cultivators are on the verge between the agricultural labourer and the ryot class is one which does not admit of amelioration in some way. It is a very difficult question, not peculiar to India. I think emigration is the remedy. The native is slow to move, and crowds on the poorer soils rather than up stakes and track.

240. Undoubtedly.

241. About 550,000 acres.

242. None, except in Cocanada—see page 18 of Conference report.

243. The wandering was not to a great extent; it was partly due to a scare and partly to the Collector being shorthanded and, to some extent, sitting on a rail, as side by side with the scare, were calls to explain numbers on relief.

As to the jungle people, the missionaries and the Forest-officer working together, with a free hand, which means that they have the confidence and backing of Government, could wholly prevent their wandering. As to people who wander at certain seasons of the year, it would be a question to be decided on the merits in each case whether their wandering is objectionable or not. If they can wander to an area where cooly labour is scarce and harvest operations large, I would not prevent them.

244. See the article on Vital Statistics in the Famine Report.

245. Some wanderers came from the Nizam's territory and from the Central Provinces (Sironcha I think) to Bhadrachalam; the Bellary and Kurnool districts must have received in all from 10,000 to 12,000 wanderers from the Nizam's Dominions. There was some petty wandering from Banaganapalle to the Government taluks of Kurnool. In all cases the cause was because relief had not reached the tracts from which they came, or had not been effectual. In the Nizam's Dominions there was no timely relief, and in Banaganapalle it was inadequate.

246. No.

247. I would relieve them without distinction. I think, however, that, in case of a great disaster, a Native State like the Nizam's should be awakened through its Resident to a sense of its duty. Mysore was on the watch from the beginning. The Dewan kept count of immigrants from British territory, but these found employment without coming on the State for relief.

248. to 250. All that is really worth having and available on this subject is contained in the chapter on "Vital Statistics" in the Famine Report.

251. Yes to both questions; to the latter question especially. The freedom from fever mortality has distinctly obscured the effect of famine.

252. Some of the cholera mortality was probably due to this cause.

253. See Report on Vital Statistics in the Famine Report, and the tables appended.

254. This is a question for experts. The Sanitary Commissioner's views are before the Famine Commission. So far as a very experienced Famine officer, who is not an expert, may speak on such topics, I am at one with the Sanitary Commissioner in his views as to the C and D rations.

255. See Famine Report "Vital Statistics." It was only in Ganjam that parents neglected their children. They did not abandon them.

256. There are no recorded deaths from starvation. I would not affirm that there were absolutely none. Dhone Subba Rao, who was a witness before the Commission at Bellary, assures me that there were some, in Ramallakot taluk of Kurnool. He purposely did not mention the matter, as he was conscious that Mr. Elwin, the Collector, had been urgent in relief matters, and that the delay to recognise the distress in Ramallakot was due to others, not to him. When distress was fully diagnosed, relief was freely given, mostly gratuitously, in this taluk. The numbers on relief called for remarks, but were not under the circumstances excessive. It can hardly be said that, elsewhere, there were any deaths actually due to starvation. Much of the mortality in Bhadrachalam in June and following months was due, directly or indirectly, to innutrition or malnutrition. The tract was a very difficult one to deal with. Cholera comes in very handily when famine mortality is in question. Whether the mortality be due to cholera proper, or to famine diarrhoea, it is certain that cholera is the handmaid of famine, and that famine conditions favour the development and spread of cholera.

257. There was on the whole no mortality which was not inevitable in a famine year, when the whole population, not merely those on relief, feels straitened. Some of the small excess mortality was amongst people who did not, and probably never would, come on relief. I do not think any mortality was due to insanitary conditions connected with relief. "Every practicable precaution" is a very broad phrase. We did not provide Pasteur Filters; but I can truly say that continual care was everywhere exercised to provide pure water in connection with relief.

258. No. The supply of officers was inadequate. Those who were employed had generally such medicines and comforts as are ordinarily forthcoming in a small mofussil dispensary.

259. The population of 1891 was 12.53 per cent. more than that of 1871. Later figures are not available.

261. The annual rate of growth between 1871 and 1891 was 6.14 per mille. This, however, covers the period of the great famine.

262. The only "other causes" of which I can think would be immigration. There is no immigration into the Madras Presidency.

263. It would be hard to over-estimate the effect of the causes enumerated. Whole districts would be practically depopulated by an inroad of Haidar's or of the Mahrattas. Famine unchecked might easily carry away half a population. God has sent into this world as his angels, for certain purposes, battle and disease. It cannot be for the good of any nation to be steeped, as South India is, in eternal peace. If there were no humane considerations to guide our actions, I would say that it would be well for the survivors if plague, pestilence and famine, battle, murder and sudden death could have a free hand once in a generation. The time must some day come—unless some miracle is wrought by science and chemistry—when the resources of the State will be unequal to fighting famine.

264. The increase in area under food-grains between 1871 and 1891 was only 9 per cent. Much has been done to improve irrigation: much remains to be done. I am not sanguine about methods of cultivation being improved, except by manuring, and the people ~~know~~ much of their natural manure.

265. This is not a question to be answered off-hand. There has been a steady rise of prices, but it would not be easy to prove that the increased demand of the extra number of mouths was the cause of it. Improved communications do much to equalise prices, and so when the surplus can find a market, prices will rise. I think that the producing powers of the soil have not been developed in proportion to the increase of population.

266. No reliable information is available.

267. It is not easy to answer this question. It is very far-reaching. Possibly prices might rise and population increase and wages might remain low owing to there being more persons seeking employment.

As to the latter part of the question—

Distress would not reach intensity so soon amongst a population which had a high standard of living. Such persons have something to cut down. When people have no luxuries to part with, and have in all years a battle for the necessities of life, scarcity would develop rapidly amongst them into famine. When, however, food is dearer and there are no wages at all to be earned, the position would be still more accentuated. Such is the condition of the mass of the agricultural workers in this province in time of trouble.

268. The result would be as premised in the question, but this result has not yet been reached in the Kistna and Gódvári Deltas. I do not know Tanjore well enough to hazard an opinion about it. It is an admitted axiom that the tendency is for population to overtake and pass the means of subsistence.

269. Any remedy which could be suggested would be only for a time. It would be as hopeless to look for a permanent remedy as to seek to suspend the law of gravitation.

270. Solved. Yes, for a time only. Much could be done in this direction in India. The missionaries are everywhere crying out for land. Why not give them a chance? Their agency costs nothing. Each year in India increases my admiration for their single-hearted work.

271. "The millions," no. It is a fact that the educated classes are beginning to adopt the remedies generally associated with the name of Doctor Allbutt. Exeter missionaries be expected to do so. I think it is possible that assisted private enterprise might do something.

272. Malaria is not always allied with the irrigation. Very much the reverse. Some of our best irrigated tracts are remarkably free from malaria, and some of the driest tracts swept by it. If the question means that the spread of irrigation might, by favouring malaria, lessen the fecundity of the people, I should say that no result of the kind is to be hoped, or wished for: I say "wished for" because, however desirable it may be that the rate of increase in population should diminish, it could not be at all for the good of the body politic that large numbers of the population should be malaria-stricken. Such persons should not be permitted to propagate.

273. Rice and ragi in Ganjám, and ragi or cholam in the other districts.

274. Where they can get it, three meals a day are eaten. The evening meal will always be a hot meal. The other meals are what is left from the evening. When they can get it, they will always eat until a feeling of repletion follows. It may be said that 80 tolas of grain will be the average consumption of an adult, apart from chatnis and vegetables. The upper classes, Brahmans especially, eat rice. Some dhol will also be eaten. The richer classes will add ghee. I can give an interesting result of a practical experiment, made under European management, in a technical school where the boys are boarded. Different rations were tried, and the boys found to fall off in condition. The rations given below were found necessary to keep them in working condition, the work being, besides study, athletics and active trade employments, such as carpentering, blacksmith's work, &c. :—

Adult—Boys of 17 years and upwards—

Morning—A gruel consisting of 5 (five) oz. of ragi and 1 (one) oz. of rice.

Noon—A thick porridge made of 10 (ten) oz. of ragi and 2 (two) oz. of rice.

Night—13 (thirteen) oz. of rice.

Boys of 9 years to 14—

Morning—Gruel made of $3\frac{1}{2}$ (three and a half) oz. of ragi and 1 (one) oz. of rice.

Noon—Porridge made of 7 (seven) oz. of ragi and 2 (two) oz. of rice.

Night— $8\frac{1}{2}$ (eight and a half) oz. of rice.

Besides this they got—

Vegetables—at 1 (one) pie each.

Meat—at 2 (two) pies each, and

Dhol—1 (one) oz. each, in addition to curry stuff consisting of chillies, onions, spices and tamarind, + $1\frac{1}{4}$ (one and a quarter) oz. of salt each. When vegetables are not available, each boy gets 4 (four) oz. of dhol daily. The diet is not, perhaps, in the exact scientific proportions necessary; but it is a fair diet, and found to be absolutely necessary to keep growing, working, boys in health.

275, 276, 277. They may substitute thenai (*Setaria Italica*), sámái (*Panicum miliare*), kambu (*Pennisetum typhoidum*), and horsegram (*Dolichos biflorus*). Green-gram (*Phaseolus mungo*) and black-gram (*Phaseolus mungo* var *radiatus*) are not used as sole constituents of diets. I should say that, amongst grains to which they are not accustomed, ragi (*Eleusine Coracana*) is the one most commonly objected to, and naturally, for its preparation is an art. The excuses to the use of unusual grains are various, but may be all summed up in the phrase "it does not agree with my body." The objection to ragi, among those not accustomed to it, is one not to be despised, for it took our Jail departments years to grasp the peculiarities of this grain, and the need for careful preparation. There is a general longing for rice, and all will eat it, more or less, when they can get it. When the prices of dry grains approximate at all to that of rice, the workers are likely to resort to the latter: it is easily prepared—no small matter after a hard day's work—and a smaller quantity will produce a feeling of repletion.

278. The ration usually given was cholam or ragi. Weak cases got rice, under medical officer's orders.

279. Two meals a day. Each meal was supposed to be half the day's ration.

280. There were no complaints generally against the ration under section 122. The sickly people always ask for rice. When the D ration was substituted for that under section 122, there were complaints that it was insufficient. It could not be argued from this that the ration under section 122 was sufficient. I do not say that it was insufficient; but, as the recipients of relief in kitchens were generally the waifs and strays of rural society, they were generally satisfied with the quantity given, as they were not—as a rule—equal to eating a larger ration.

281. See diagram III appended to the article on vital statistics in the Famine Report.

282. The high prices were due to legitimate trade operations, which are—especially when extended over so large an area of country—a barometer on which Government may infallibly rely. Here and there there may be some holding up, but, generally speaking, the merchants buy to sell. I wish to point out that the merchant and the ryot are not on an equal footing as to holding up of stocks. The ryot has his granaries and underground pits, where grain—or some grains—will keep for years. The merchant gets his grain in sacks, and, what between weevils and rats, he does not hold it up longer than what a fair trade speculation would justify. I do not think that all parts of the country had stocks, and, had the rains of November 1896 not fallen, and had, thereby, six to eight more districts been distressed, I believe that we would have had to depend on Burmah and Calcutta as in 1877. It is notorious that the Deccan, as a whole, does not grow grain enough for its own consumption.

283. I don't think that the fall of silver has had anything to do with spasmodic variations in prices, but I think it must have a general tendency to cause a rise in prices. I think 20 years is too short a period to consider. There has been a sensible rise in the general level of prices since the triennium, 1881—83; and it is unlikely that prices will again go back to the 1881—83 rates, as the rise was in part due to the general levelling up of prices owing to improved communications.

283-A. Prices in the adjoining non-affected districts were from 30 to 50 per cent. cheaper than in the affected districts.

284. Yes. In some places there was a want of activity in the grain trade, which baffled enquiry, but, generally speaking, the market met the demand fairly and fully, except in Ganjám. This is a backward tract, and it was specially in ragi that the stock ran out. The railway has only recently come to that district, and the merchants

had not got accustomed to new means of communications. They would have to get their supplies partly from the Bengal side, and, prior to the railway, their communications with that side had been necessarily few. Trade relations had, in fact, not been fully established, and this, I think, is partly the cause why the merchants were behindhand; on the other hand the people of Ganjam are backward and "casual." They are likely to progress rapidly in future.

285. Generally speaking, yes. There would always be some variation between prices in different villages even of the same taluk, but the variation would not be likely to be more than a measure in the rupee. No rates were quoted for condiments, &c., and practically everything rose in price. The following extract from my report on prices in Jammalamadugu in June 1897 will be interesting:—

"It is not only fodder and food-grains which have risen in value, but all articles of consumption, except salt. Prices in Jammalamadugu have risen as follows:—

Dholl from 12 to 4½ local measures per rupee.
Green-gram from 12 to 4 local measures per rupee.
Bengal-gram from 12 to 4 " "
Wheat from 12 to 4 local measures per rupee.
Horse-gram from 16 to 8 local measures per rupee.
Ulundu from 8 to 4 local measures per rupee.
Coriander from 32 to 4 local measures per rupee.
Castor-oil from 16 seers of 20 tolas to 7 seers per rupee.
Gingelly-oil from 8 seers of 20 tolas to 3½ seers per rupee.
Tamarind from As. 8 to Rs. 1-6-0 for one maund of 48 seers of 20 tolas.
Chillies from Rs. 1-2-0 to Rs. 4-8-0 for one maund of 48 seers of 20 tolas.
Ghee from 6½ seers to 4½ seers per rupee.
Jaggery from Re 1 to Rs. 1-14-0 per maund.
Cotton-seed from As. 8 to As. 12-9 per maund.
Cholam-fodder from Rs. 3 to Rs. 20 per bandy-load."

286. Yes.

287. Yes and No. From the actual distressed tracts, there would be little export that was not through export; *i.e.*, brought first from, say, Mysore, and then sent on. Export to other places never took place owing to want of local capital. The Famine Report, paragraph 13, touches on this point.

288. Money was made and lost. There had, no doubt, been purchases for a rise, especially in and before November, but the rains of November upset all the calculations. One dealer committed suicide in consequence of his losses. After the November rains there was a marked absence of what might be properly termed speculative buying. Of course all buying is, in a sense, speculative; but the buying after November was a genuine trade operation. The classes who made and lost money were the regular native grain dealers. The European firms had no share in these transactions.

289. I cannot answer this fully. The grain dealers keep their grain in bags, not in pits. They had reasonable stocks, as justified by the demand, throughout. There was no actual depletion, nor could it be said that any of their stores were unopened, for, though bags may be kept in a godown, their godowns would be resorted to daily for daily transactions.

290. Yes. Many had such stocks, but the many were, compared with the mass of the cultivators, few. Their stores may be regarded as non-existent for purposes of trade and for meeting famine demand. The large ryots shut up at once when famine comes, as there is no foreseeing how long it will last, and, in the recent famine, the general impression was that famine had set in, and would last up to, the end of the century. Ryots were not tempted by prices treble the normal rates, but those who refused to sell at 10 measures opened their stores when prices fell to near 20 measures per rupee. This for the Deccan. The same is true of the Circars. As to Bhadrachalam, the agency tract there is inhabited by Telagas and Reddies, who are to an extent intruders from the plains, and cling to the river banks. The interior is inhabited by the Ko's mostly. The Riparian villagers are comparatively well-to-do, and had good stocks of grain, and, except the Panchamas amongst them, did not suffer. They, however, absolutely refused to put their stocks on the market, and, had it not been for the courage of the Collector, who imported without orders, there

would have been a catastrophe. Practically no one but the Collector could, at the time, have imported, as grain could be thrown in by steamers only, and the Rajahmundry merchants could not command them. Some mistakes and shortcomings there were in relief administration in Gódvári, but I cannot withhold my tribute of admiration for the courage shown by the Collector in taking the bull by the horns, and importing grain in defiance of all precedent. He could not have certainly counted on his action being supported, as it was. It is not every officer who would have faced the responsibility.

291. The cultivators were not selling. Of course those who did sell would have to allow for the difference between the sellers' and the buyers' prices, but this, owing to competition, would not be an unreasonable margin. Nothing is more remarkable than the network of trade between the different tracts of India. Railways and Telegraphs, and the English language, have brought all India into one basket. How the dealers of Madura and Tinnevely and Mysore came to know the dealers of Agra and Dehli, as well as of Sholapur and Bijapur, is a mystery which would be worth study. All India now suffers, or prospers, as a single being. The last twenty years have completely knit up the previously severed parts. This is a change which may have very grave and important results in another direction.

292. There is no reason to believe that they were not. Allowance would have to be made for railway transit charges over great distances. The Board published information on this subject at regular intervals, showing exactly at what prices export to different foreign places was possible, and trade no doubt profited by the information.

293. Professional grain dealers do not store grain in pits. Ryots do so, but it is doubted whether they hold up stocks to the same extent as formerly—*vide* paragraph 43 of the famine report. High prices and the facilities of modern transport tend to produce this result.

294. Yes—to both queries.

295. It would not be possible to answer this question fully. None of the larger landholders came on relief. Many petty holders did so. The Revenue Settlement is supposed to take nearly half of the net produce of the land. It does not really take so much, but, for the present purpose, let us suppose that it does. The 5 and 10 rupees pattadars are numbered by tens of thousands. If therefore a man's whole net share of the produce is only Rs. 5 or 10 for a year, and, if in a famine year, he has not even got back his seed-corn, would it not be wonderful if many of such ryots did not come on relief? It would be a very bad policy which would prevent them from coming on relief, or strip them to the bone before so allowing them; and yet, this policy is not without its supporters. There are few officials who know the gradual struggles by which the agricultural labourer emerges into the ryot class. There is a universal thirst to own some, if it be only a little land. Perhaps as payment for grazing the cattle of richer ryots, or by saving or by borrowing, the poor labourer gets a little calf. This is at once a little god in the family. The women pet it, the children play with it, all stint for it. They give it some high-sounding name, such as Chengalráyan. Little tots, of eighteen months, play the grown up, and shout at it and drive it with tiny twigs for goads. The household go to great lengths to get food for it, and, as it grows, its training takes up much time. If the labourer has two of them, they will be linked together by a figure-of-eight rope, and taught to walk side by side. Anthrax, rinderpest, red water and many other cattle complaints often come, and upset the calculation of years. Supposing the cattle to grow to working years, there is the difficulty of getting a piece of land. All the good land is occupied. All kinds of difficulties beset the would-be ryot, especially if he be a Panchama, the higher castes uniting to keep him in slavery. Perhaps he can only get land as an under-tenant, on the *wáram*, or sharing system. This is not promising from the outset. Then he borrows a plough, and his seed-corn, and works, and watches and waits, night and day for months. His crop is probably already mortgaged to the village Chetty, or to his landlord. Then come bad seasons one, or more, and the poorer lands feel them most. The crop yields nothing; credit is exhausted; cattle are not saleable, except at nominal prices. The owner will spend whole days in distant jungles to

gather some burnt up sour thatching grass to keep life in the poor beasts. He cannot maintain his family, and the ryots want no labour. He sends his family to the relief works, or perhaps he goes himself. Then comes the "skin them to the bone" official, and either drives them from the work, or girds at them as not destitute, and so the parrot-cry goes round that ryots, who are not destitute, are on relief. If self-help, and self-denial, and the ambition to rise in the social scale, are virtues to be cherished, then the policy which would make such persons sell their little all, before permitting them to earn the scanty famine wage, is a policy which cannot be too severely condemned.

296. To the agricultural labouring class, the Panchamas, Madigas (Chamars) and poor Musalmans.

297. To want of money? In the affected tracts—of the Deccan especially—non-agricultural employment of labour is so small an item that it may be neglected. Even this, however, did fall off, e.g., the cotton presses would require less labour when the cotton crop itself was more or less a failure.

298. No. Except the wage of domestic servants, who can always put the screw on their masters. The reason is simple as any of the laws of political economy. The demand for employment was greater than usual, and the demand for labour less. The employers are men of business, not philanthropists, and regulate wages by the market price of labour. The great standard of price for labour would, in such times, be the price which Government paid for it, and the tendency amongst outside employers of labour would be to get labour as cheaply as possible.

299. I have made no observation on the subject, and I am not sure that I understand the question.

300. I can make the comparison, but I cannot draw any valuable conclusion. I would say that the resisting power of the people is very much what it was 20 years ago. The recent famine was less severe than that of 1876—78, and much more severe than that of 1891—92. A very important factor in resisting famine, or rather in resisting panic, is the belief, now rightly or wrongly engrained in the people, that Government will always come to their help.

301. They are decidedly more averse from going to kitchens than in 1876—78. I have touched on this before. They are no more, or less, ready to go to relief works than before.

302. No. We did not drive them to this. There was, however, a considerable amount of sale of gold ornaments in Ganjam, so much so that the price of gold fell in considerable extent at what may be called nominal prices. Cattle were sold to a considerable extent at what may be called nominal prices. More could not be sold, as made the people reluctant to sell silver jewellery. There is very little of this in the Deccan. There was a fair amount of gold jewellery in Vizagapatam, and more still in saleable. As for the mass of people on relief, they had, practically, nothing which was

303. No. Trade needed no stimulus except in Ganjam and in Bhadrachalam. In the latter the dealer could not import owing to the natural features of the place.

304. Our relief system was, with a trifling exception in Ganjam, conducted solely on the dry grains.

305. I made enquiries, with special reference to ragi, on this point early in the famine, and leading European merchants were even unable to name any other country from which it could be imported. It seemed, strange to say, that the grain was known in Germany, which I can hardly believe as I know Germany itself better than England; and it was suggested that Turkey might supply, but, as a fact, no one knew anything definite.

For the north of India, wheat could come from America, Russia, Argentina or Australia. I doubt if the American maize is the same as our staples. Indian corn is certainly not our Deccan cholam. I have no idea how our dry grain-eaters would take to the Indian maize of America. I remember distributing the latter myself in the famine of 1848 in Ireland. The people did not like it, and said that they did not

know what to do with it, or how to cook it. I can hardly conceive it being ever necessary to import from such distant countries, and, if a catastrophe which, to that end, must involve all India, were to come, I feel sure that the European firms would be equal to meeting it, though, possibly, they might want some stimulus, or even some guarantee, from Government at the beginning. The arguments for and against Government direct action in the matter of importing grain are arguments which I need not recapitulate.

[These questions are intended for Chamber of Commerce Experts. I only give a few notes regarding them.]

306. Figures of sea-borne trade for the year just past are not yet to hand.

307. I do not know what "other commodities" are referred to.

308. Import of food-grains was stimulated.

309. In this Presidency the prices have, on the whole, risen of late years and the periodical recurrence of distress prevents the prices from going down to their old level. The rise in prices of late years was as follows:—

Average of five years ending	Rice.	Cholam.	Ragi.	Cumbu.
1874	16.1	28.4	31.1	28.6
1877-83	14.9	27.4	29.1	26.4
1896-97	12.0	20.7	22.9	21.2

310. The influence suggested is probable, but as yet it is obscure. It would be bound to be felt in time.

311. I should say not. Really, except rice for manufacturing purposes, I do not think that this Presidency makes any food-grain export. The wheat-exports of the north-west may tell in the direction suggested.

312. In ordinary years the imports by sea are small, about 150,000 tons, and more than this quantity is generally exported.

313. I should say that, year by year, the trade falls more and more into native hands.

314. Imports are chiefly rice from Burma. The recent famine was fought almost entirely on the dry grains. The only district exclusively depending on wet grain imports is Malabar.

316. There were good stocks in Mysore, and in the southern Tamil districts. There was no general impression on the subject, but, had the South-West monsoon completely failed, I think that the stocks remaining would have given out or, so far as the ryots have them, been held up, and we would have been thrown on rice only, as in 1877-78.

317. I have answered this under question 238 *supra*.

318 to 345. These questions are evidently intended for Calcutta experts only.

MADRAS, 5th April 1898.

From

RAO BAHADUR R. V. SRINIVASIAH AVARGAL, B.A.,
SECY. TO THE BOARD OF REV. (REV. SETT., L. RDS. & AGRI.),
Madras,

To

H. J. MACINTOSH, Esq.,
SECRETARY TO THE FAMINE COMMISSION,
Calcutta.

SIR,

I am directed by the Acting Third Member of the Board, Mr. W. J. H. LeFanu, formerly Famine Commissioner, to send you six copies of his replies to the questions circulated with your letter to the Secretary to the Government of Madras, No. 90, dated 19th January 1898.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. V. SRINIVASIAH,
Secretary.

5. Under normal circumstances, the economic condition of the people of Ganjám and Vizagapatam may be said to be fair. In the Deccan, the condition of the ryots and labourers is generally precarious owing, mainly, to the extreme poverty of the greater portion of the soil. About 70 per cent. of the population belongs to this class.

6. Yes.

7. The majority of the people in the affected districts have no great resources to fall back upon. Vizagapatam might be able to pull through in the event of failure of one or two consecutive harvests but not more, provided the prices do not run up so abnormally high as in last year. Ganjám cannot stand more than one bad season ordinarily. In the Deccan the majority have no resources at all, and a single failure of the harvests tells upon them. The classes of people having no resources are the petty thirds of the population of the Deccan. The failure of a single harvest would not necessitate relief if the distress were limited, but, where large tracts are involved, prices are forced up higher than the local failure of a single harvest would justify, and so relief is necessary.

8. In Ganjám and Vizagapatam the late distress was more extensive and severe than any previous famine. The Deccan has passed through the severest ordeal it has experienced since 1876-78. The strain of the past year was not, however, so intense as in the Great Famine, mainly because of better communications which tended to keep down prices and better organisation of famine relief than in 1876-78.

9. The failure of crops and amount of distress was underestimated by the permanent Collector of Cuddapah from January on, but this scarcely affected the amount of relief given, as the Board knew the position of the district. The degree of distress in Vizagapatam was not overestimated, but it was not, and could not have been, foreseen. This did not affect the relief given, but it led to the necessity for it not being so readily recognised by authorities not on the spot.

10. The Famine Commission of 1878 must have been referring to very large areas, and the percentage quoted seems to relate, not to any particular months, but to the whole period of distress. I object to any such hard and fast rule being laid down from which to draw comparisons. If we go down to the village unit, it is quite possible that a rural village of Panchamas and Madigas might require relief for the whole of its population. If we take a whole taluk it is possible that relief might be required for 50 per cent. of the population. This figure would be nothing wonderful in the Alúr taluk of Bellary, and was exceeded in the recent famine, but, in connection with this, it must be noted that the Nizam's Dominions and adjoining taluks of Bellary contributed large numbers to the workers in Alúr. Going up still further, and taking whole districts as units, there were 50.99 per cent. of the whole district of Bellary on relief in August 1877. A percentage of people on relief for a whole province, or for half of it, would be very misleading when used to form comparisons with districts or taluks.

11. Taking the affected tracts as a whole, the highest percentage reached was 14.2 in July. Taking individual districts it was 42.4 in Kurnool in the same month. The high rates in Kurnool are explained in B.P., No. 681, dated 21st October 1897.

12. To the first question, no; to the second question, yes. This latter answer must be considered under two heads—(a) the people who really needed no help at all and (b) those who had some small resources.

As to (a) these were few and may be neglected. Such persons never obtained relief except on works, and then complied with the requirements of the Code. It would depend very much on the idiosyncrasy of the officer reporting as to the numbers of such persons who might be considered to be present. It is quite possible that of such persons who might be supposed to be above want, would require relief, e.g., it might be shown that a man had debts due to him outstanding, and a zealous officer would dub him a sowcar. It is quite possible that these debts were irrecoverable and that his whole capital was lost. It might be that he had so many dependents that, though he could provide for them in good, he could not do so in bad seasons, when the price of grain had risen by 250 per cent., and he had no harvest, and no instalments of interest coming in from those to whom he had lent money.

As to (b) there were no doubt many who were not "skinned to the bone" when they came on relief, and they were right to come, and rightly admitted. If Government requires a villager to eat the last measure of seed-corn, to sell his wife's "Tháli," or to sell all his cattle before giving him relief, the result would be that, at the close of the famine, all the poorer pattadars would be absolutely pauperised, and a heavy fall in revenue would follow. By admitting such persons to relief we hand them over to their normal avocations, at the close of distress, in the same condition in which we found them, and the body politic does not suffer; the revenue remains steady and normal prosperity is at once restored. It must be remembered that, during a period of distress, cattle practically have no value; fodder is so scanty that no one will buy except at nominal rates. The "skin them to the bone" policy was tried in 1877, under the auspices of Sir Richard Temple, with well-known results. The new school, which does not know 1877, would fain revert to Sir Richard Temple's policy. It will be an evil day for the country, and the Government, if this penurious policy is even allowed to crop up again.

13. Yes. In Ganjám the people at first refused to accept relief of any kind other than money doles until they were too far reduced for work, and the women of several castes, in spite of all their trials, never came near the works. In the Deccan, the relief given in the beginning was inadequate owing, partly, to the disinclination of the people to accept Government relief until all their resources were exhausted, and partly to the wage offered, calculated on the price of ragi, a grain not ordinarily used by the people, and coupled with unlimited fining, if the high tasks originally laid down were not worked up to, being inadequate. The grain portion of the ration was also, in the beginning, taken as unhusked grain instead of flour. There was also, in places, delay in sanctioning and starting relief, and a want of proper tools and organisation.

There was unsatisfactory delay in starting relief in the Polavaram division of the Gódvári Agency. The native officer on the spot gave due warning, but steps were not taken in time to meet the distress. The result was that the wild men were led to commit dacoity; villages were looted; some of the looters were shot, and hundreds arrested, and brought in a very precarious condition of health to the Central Jail.

14. The cause of this disaster was avoidable, but it is hardly possible to fix blame anywhere. The Agency tracts are so inaccessible that the Collector could not be everywhere; the Special Assistant for the Agency was a feeble youth who was knocked up and had to go on leave. It seems that there was difficulty in filling up his place. In fact it would be a rare man who, newly sent to the Gódvári agency, could grapple with and realise facts at once. The division was temporarily placed in charge of the Sub-Collector, who lives at Rajahmundry, but that officer had quite enough of his own work to do. I have recommended to Government that it would be better to send a picked Deputy Collector to this Agency and pay him well. Such a man would stay there and know the people and work as Mr. Ward of the Forest does. Promotion in the junior ranks of the Civil Service is now so rapid that an officer sent to the Agency would be transferred just as he was becoming really efficient. As to the suffering caused in the earlier stages of the famine in the Kurnool and Cuddapah districts by the excessive fining, this might have been avoided if the Commissioner's opinion, since confirmed by Mr. Higham, that the Code task Schedule was impossible, had been accepted. It is not likely that the future task Schedules will be so carelessly framed. The Conferences have recommended that a picked committee be appointed to sit and elaborate a suitable task table.

15. The relief given has been successful in its object generally. It will probably be found, on analysing figures, that it has not been quite as successful in Cuddapah as elsewhere. The infant mortality might have been much mitigated if nursing mothers and pregnant women had been treated here as in Bombay. They got all that the Code allowed them, but the Code is illiberal as to these classes. The total excess mortality is small. It must be remembered, also, that, owing to high prices, stinting was necessary amongst classes which did not come to relief, and probably some of the excess mortality was amongst these persons. When a large proportion of the population is on short commons for 12 months, this must tell on the very young and the very old, and it did tell. This could not be helped. There was, certainly, undue delay in recognising the needs of the Ramallakot taluk. The permanent Collector had not diagnosed the position, and the new Collector, who came in January 1897, naturally

gave his best attention to the tracts then recognised as affected. I would here mention, in reference to some queries put by the Famine Commission, what I omitted to mention at the time, in reference to the preponderance of females on relief. It is a very curious fact that polygamy is very common in the Ramallakot taluk. It is a no time to work out the cause. It may be that the population has borrowed something from the Musalman inhabitants of the adjoining Nizam's territory. The Kurnool district, itself, has, probably, a larger proportion of Muhammadans in its population than any other district—Malabar excepted—of this Presidency. The polygamous tendencies, however, alluded to obtain amongst the Hindu population. In the same connection may be mentioned a peculiar custom in parts of Bellary, according to which the eldest daughter in each family becomes a prostitute. The word here brings no reproach, for it is from some religious idea that this custom arises. In one village, Narayanadevekeri, there was as many as 500 such girls. Many came on the works because, they said, they could not get a living in those hard times, by their profession. There were, too, a large number of wives, whose husbands had gone for work, or with cattle, to Mysore.

16. To a certain extent "Yes" but *post hoc* not *propter hoc*. The numbers on relief generally followed prices, not measures. Measures, no doubt, had indirectly something to do with the increase and fall of numbers on relief, in so far as they made relief available in a proper form to those who wanted it, or, at a later stage, ceased to be attractive to those who could otherwise maintain themselves.

17. The death-rate followed prices not measures.

18. Yes. Except in the earlier stages of the famine, when, owing to fining, &c., the conditions on which relief was offered were unduly deterrent.

19. Yes; and I say this, bearing in mind the concessions known as the distance allowance. Generally speaking, the people who were relieved on works did a reasonable amount of work. Mr. Higham made some calculation on this subject, and fell into an unfortunate error—*vide* note on page 52 of the Report on the Famine Conference—which has led to unjust conclusions as to the amount of work done in Madras. Mr. Higham considered that on a particular work the outturn cost more than five times the normal cost. It was really considerably less than four times the normal. It is not likely that the Public Works Department officers would understate what is one of their strong points in reference to this *Vexata Quæstio*.

The returns received from the Public Works Department and the Collectors show that the actual expenditure, as compared with the estimated value of outturn, works out as follows:—

Ganjém	...	...	...	...	...	3.6 : 1
Vizagapatam	...	...	...	...	...	2.9 : 1
Górávari	...	...	...	...	...	1.7 : 1
Kurnool	...	...	...	...	...	3.5 : 1
Bellary	...	...	...	...	...	3.2 : 1
Anantapur	...	...	...	...	...	2.8 : 1
Cuddapah	...	...	...	...	...	3.6 : 1

and the average of these figures is as 3 : 1. This, however, is an unfair average, as the amounts of expenditure in the several districts vary largely. The sum fairly worked out is 3.3 : 1. The excess over the normal cost is not what Mr. Higham expected, and, considering that, for the reasons given, the Madras works, as shown in paragraph 30 of the report on the Conferences, received as workers considerable numbers who should have been on gratuitous relief, the result is as satisfactory as could be expected. There will always be a shortage of outturn for value paid on famine-relief works, and, considering the rise in prices, which was in many places as 2½ : 1, the ratio of actual to normal cost attained in this Presidency would not seem unreasonable. In the famine report of the North-West Provinces, the ratio for those provinces is shown as only 1.7 : 1, but these figures are obtained, firstly, by calculating the normal cost at rates higher than the ordinary Public Works rates, in consideration of the fact that large quantities of work cannot be carried out throughout the hot weather at the usual Public Works rates, and, secondly, by omitting from the actual cost the amount of wages paid for non-working days. Data for calculating the normal cost at ordinary Public Works rates in the North-West Provinces are not available; but judging from the report of Mr. C. G. Palmer, the Superintending Engineer of the Additional Third Circle, the normal cost would, at ordinary rates, work up to only half the amount

adopted for the purposes of the report. If this be so, and if the wages given on the rest and other non-working days are included in the actual cost, as has been done in this Presidency, the ratio works out to 3.7 : 1. And this, notwithstanding the apparently greater efficiency of the relief workers in the North-West Provinces, where 44 per cent. of the number of the total units relieved were on gratuitous relief, while, in this Presidency, only 23 per cent. were gratuitously relieved. There are further doubts which would lead me to question whether the comparison made above is not unfair to Madras; for, as stated elsewhere (page 52 of the Conference Report), it is very doubtful whether the Public Works Department, in valuing outturn of work, has really allowed for all work done. As time passes, and *personnel* changes, it would be difficult to do this, *e.g.*, in Prodattur broken metal was carried to the road-side for a mile or more. In estimating its cost, the cost should be for breaking at quarry and carrying, not for breaking at road-side. I doubt whether this and similar cases have been allowed for.

20. Yes.

21. The percentage of numbers relieved otherwise than through the operation of a labour test on the total affected population was 0.1 in November 1896: it rose to 3.8 in July and August 1897. As compared with the number of workers the percentage was 6 in November 1896 and 37 in July 1897.

22. I consider that this question may be answered in the affirmative. The tasks generally were full tasks with reference to the working capacity of each person *in the months in which relief was given*. No one who has not actually spent days on the works, and seen the workers at all hours of the day, on their way to and from work, and in the excuses for shelter—often only the ditch at the side of the road—in which they cooked their meals; the straits to which they were put for fuel and the distances they had to go for it; often having to buy it and often to spend the whole day of rest collecting fuel for the week in distant jungles; no one who, with a fair mind, has witnessed all this can have any doubt that attendance on works was a stringent test of necessity, and the suggestion that they were attractive is simply absurd. If the people did not want help, nothing would induce them to come to our works. In fact, the difficulty is to get them to come in time. As to the latter part of the question, the B wage is more than a "subsistence" wage, but the word subsistence wage should be limited to the wage for non-workers. The B wage is not more than a bare "working" wage, and this, allowing for the fact that it is open to several members of a family to obtain separate relief. Two and two make four, and, under no circumstances do they make five. A wage which is just a bare working wage for A, B and C, when not related to each other, becomes in no way distended by the fact that B is A's wife, and C their child.

23. In this question, the word "sub-division" is assumed to be equivalent to a division of a taluk. Taluks vary in size. The average taluk in this Presidency would be about 600 square miles. Some run up to 1,100. It is plain, from the latter part of section 128, that the Famine Commission was not aiming at a distance test, and the section must be read as a whole. Take a taluk of 600 square miles. Supposing the taluk to be an exact square, and the work exactly in the centre of it, the maximum distance to be travelled would be nearly 17½ miles; but taluks are not square and it is improbable that the work would be always in the centre. It is quite possible that the distance to be travelled might run up to 40 or 50 or 60 miles. The Hosúr taluk, for instance, is 54 miles from end to end. It may be presumed, therefore, that the Famine Commission had a sub-division of a taluk in mind. The greatest distance, on the *average*, to be travelled in this case would be perhaps 8 to 10 miles, but the distance in many cases might be much more. Relief works have been somewhat more numerous than as supposed in this question. Workers have not, as a rule, resided on the works. Many did, but many went to and fro between their homes and the works.

Residence upon a relief work is disliked by the people: it would constitute an ineffective, and a most unfair, test of necessity: ineffective, because it would practically exclude many deserving cases from relief, and would lead to the idea that distress was less severe than it was in reality, and unfair because it is contrary to the instincts of the people, and would require their most cherished prejudices and affections to be sacrificed before it would be complied with.

24. Taking the affected tracts as a whole, the highest percentage reached was 9·8 in July; taking districts individually, it was 33 per cent. on the *affected population* in Kurnool.

25. In the famine of 1876-78, the highest percentage on *total population* was 9·05 for the whole Presidency and 35·5 for Kurnool. If the population, during the Great Famine, of the affected tracts were separately known, the percentages calculated on them would be much higher.

26. This is not my experience.

27. Mainly by cooked food in kitchens and by doles.

28. The gratuitous relief in villages was, *as a rule*, carefully given, and confined to the classes specified in the Code. There were exceptions. This would have been avoided if Taluk Relief officers had been appointed at an earlier date.

29. No.

30. The gross cost of direct famine relief was Rs. 97,52,580. Number of units relieved was 93,718,542. Cost of relief per unit As. 1-8.

Statistics not available for comparison with cost of previous famines.

Relief has been, on the whole, economically administered during the last famine.

31. Loans granted, Rs. 18,15,337. Remissions of land revenue, Rs. 23,61,000. Suspensions, Rs. 10,09,000.

32. The last famine will leave few permanent traces behind it. Relief measures were more timely and adequate than in previous famines, and the petty ryots have been set up again by the grants from the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund.

33. The case of jungle tribes should be specially provided for. The cast-iron rules of the Code won't do for them. The case of pregnant women, nursing mothers and their children calls for special measures, more favourable than the Code allows.

34. Sufficient. They can only be improved by improving the status and emoluments of the Village and Taluk officers. For the special purpose concerned they are good enough.

36. They may be very fairly relied on.

37. Yes.

38. Yes.

39. The measures of State relief were—

- (a) the employment of persons willing to work on relief works where a limited wage was given for a limited task;
- (b) the gratuitous distribution of cooked food in kitchens to children and infirm persons;
- (c) the gratuitous distribution of grain and money doles to persons unable to work and gosha women;
- (d) the establishment of a poor-house on a small scale in Cocanada town for the immigrants from the Vizagapatam district;
- (e) the employment of weavers in their own trade, the Government advancing materials and paying wages for the cloths woven and delivered;
- (f) remission and postponement of collection of land assessment;
- (g) the grant of advances for digging irrigation wells and for other agricultural improvements, for the purchase of fodder, cattle and seed-grain, and for the subsistence of the agriculturists;
- (h) the opening of forest reserves for free grazing;
- (i) importation of grain and selling it at normal rates to the hill tribes of Bhadrachalam.

The Indian Famine Charitable Relief Committee also carried on its operations during the scarcity.

40. I was Famine Commissioner for the Presidency.

41. All measures of State relief, except the sale of grain imported by Government at normal rates, were authorised by the Famine Code.

42. None.

43. The reduction of task was necessary (a) because the Code Schedule task was too high; (b) because the people began to show signs of falling off in condition in some places; and (c) on account of the hot weather. The distance allowance I consider to be proper and necessary. It is possible for the human machinery to do only a certain amount of work without being injured.

Moreover, the amount of work done has important relations to the amount of diet allowed, in that waste must be fully replaced, if malnutrition is to be arrested. This is recognised in the Code by the fixing of certain tasks for workers on certain diets. When, however, to the tasks prescribed by the Code additional labour of an uncertain amount, as an effect of marching to the work, is added, it is obvious that care must be exercised, in the interests of ultimate economy, to prevent malnutrition and consequent sickness, which can be combated only by heavy expenditure, and, to do this, it is necessary to prevent the relation to each other of the two factors, the diet given and the work demanded, from becoming disproportionate. Physiologists hold that a moderate day's work is equivalent to an expenditure of power equal to the lifting of 300 tons one foot high. This is the measure of the power expended by a European weighing 150 lbs. Taking the average weight of the Deccan adult man at 111 lbs., a moderate day's task would be equivalent to the lifting of 222 tons one foot high. It is held that in walking at three miles an hour on a flat surface, the power expended at each step is equivalent to that necessary for raising one-twentieth the weight of the body through the distance walked. The use of the following formula, therefore, will give a fair idea of the amount of work exacted by requiring marching to and from works, irrespective of the task to be fulfilled:—

$$\frac{(W+W')D}{20 \times 2240} = \text{work fulfilled in tons lifted one foot}$$

where W=weight of the person. W'=weight carried. $\frac{1}{20}$ =coefficient of traction; 2,240=feet per minute.

From the above formula, the following table has been compiled:—

Kind of exercise.	Work done in tons lifted one foot.	The remaining working capacity of men who have travelled the distances noted against them, the full task being 222 foot-tons.	Proportion of total task of 222 foot-tons fulfilled by the distance walked, the full task being taken as 1.
Walking 1 mile and carrying 16 lbs.	14·97	207·03	0·067
Do. 2 do. do.	29·95	192·05	0·135
Do. 3 do. do.	44·89	177·11	0·202
Do. 4 do. do.	59·87	162·13	0·270
Do. 5 do. do.	74·82	147·18	0·337
Do. 6 do. do.	89·81	132·19	0·405
Do. 7 do. do.	104·78	117·22	0·471
Do. 8 do. do.	119·74	102·26	0·539
Do. 9 do. do.	134·71	87·29	0·607
Do. 10 do. do.	149·68	72·32	0·674
Do. 11 do. do.	164·64	57·36	0·742
Do. 12 do. do.	179·61	42·39	0·809
Do. 13 do. do.	194·58	27·42	0·876
Do. 14 do. do.	209·55	12·45	0·944
Do. 15 do. do.	224·52	— 2·52	1·011
Do. 16 do. do.	239·49	— 17·49	1·079
Do. 17 do. do.	254·45	— 32·45	1·146
Do. 18 do. do.	269·42	— 47·42	1·214
Do. 19 do. do.	284·39	— 62·39	1·281
Do. 20 do. do.	299·36	— 77·36	1·348

From this, it will be seen that a man carrying a weight 16 lbs. and walking upon level ground (not, as was often actually the case, crossing and re-crossing hills to proceed to work) who traversed four miles in going to and four miles in returning from his work, really completed, solely in walking, more than one half of a moderate day's work. It is universally admitted by sanitarians that it is as much as can be reasonably

demand of the well-fed British soldier, in a good climate, that he should perform twelve miles per day, carrying a total weight, in accoutrements, rifle and clothes, of 60 lbs. But this could not be expected without giving him a periodical rest of one complete week, during which time he would receive his usual full diet. If the marches are increased for a longer period, prolonged rest for recovery is necessary. Hence it is evident that the "distance allowance" was based upon principles which could not be ignored with safety. The task, which would be a fair task for a worker who lives on, or near, the work, is impossible for the worker who spends four to seven hours of the day in going to and returning from the work. Putting, as I have shown elsewhere, is difficult to provide and its cost in many places prohibitive.

I consider that the concessions given were sufficient. I have sometimes said—as a compromise—that from the distance allowance might be deducted the first 3 miles (3×2) travelled each way. This is only as a compromise, for it is just as true of the human, as of any other, engine, that it can only do a certain amount of work, and, if overdriven, breaks down.

The abolition of the C and D ration for workers of any kind I consider to have been right; but it is a question for experts. The B wage was sufficient for workers but whether, if distress had continued much longer, it would have sufficed is a question for experts.

44 to 47. I have served throughout the famines of 1876–78, 1891–92 and 1896–97; I remember the famine of 1865–66, and, strange to say, I was employed, no doubt, in a very humble and amateur way, on gratuitous relief in the famine of Ireland in 1848. The fact that my brother-in-law (the Hon'ble W. E. Hearn, late Vice-Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, Author of "Plutology," and other standard works on Political Economy) was employed to write the history of my earliest years. I have seen all the ordinary measures, used in famine relief, in operation at one time or another, including the distance test and the "skin them to the bone" policy. It would be impossible for me to answer question 44 in full, and I have, in the Report on the Famine Conferences, given my own views on the most important matters in dispute. I am against the distance test and piece-work. I consider that gratuitous relief ought to be given from the first, and that a generous resort to it may be true economy. I consider that task work would be the best form of relief, and not officers, instead of continually fretting for independence. I have elsewhere said that every one who can do a task ought to do it. I think this may be pushed too far. The very old and feeble and halt and maimed, no doubt, can do something, but it is absurd to require them to do it. They ought to get gratuitous relief; but what if the only relief offered to them is cooked food? The prejudice against this form of relief is very general, and I think that a free hand should be given to district officers to substitute doles for cooked food wherever necessary. On the other hand, my experience is that, in relief administration, there is a continual see-saw between parsimony and liberality. The former does its work and the latter follows: then arises the cry that the latter is overdone and the former is reverted to. I have never seen relief given without these preliminary or contemporary skirmishings, and I despair of ever seeing it. I have elsewhere accepted piece-work—supplemented by village works—on works of real value, whose completion is desirable on their own merits. The districts of this Presidency vary much, and putting and piece-work and distance test would be less injurious and costly in some than in others, but they will always be more or less objectionable. The ideal system of relief would be administered by an officer with a free hand, who was not continually "lifting his eyes unto the mountains". Even he could not make piece-work and distance test alone meet the call for relief. No one system will anywhere suffice. A combination of all would be best.

48. Task work and village doles are most approved by classes A and B.

49. It is not expedient to enter on this subject.

52. This is for experts. I would observe that it is often impossible to make roads in famine times, owing specially to the want of water, and that, if collection of metal is to be limited to a reserve supply for five years, it would be impossible to find work for those who want it. I could point out places where both gravel and metal collected in 1876–78 is still lying unused.

53. If by "constructed" is meant "finished," all the roads, or bits of roads, constructed will be of use as long as they are passable; but the resources of Local Fund Boards are only barely equal to the maintenance, in a not very satisfactory fashion, of existing roads. Famine roads are not, as a rule, maintained. When they go through red soil or laterite country they last a long time, and can be maintained from comparatively small allotments. In black cotton soils they simply disappear. Famine roads do not include bridging and are often useless for this reason. I could name famine roads of 1876–78, and at least one of 1865–66, which, with the best of good will on the part of the district authorities, have not yet been completed.

54. The fact is that most of the Madras districts have already all the mileage that they are ever likely to be able to maintain. Except as a means of preventing the people from being pauperised by relief, the construction of new roads is of very little use. No doubt village communications are sometimes improved, but, on the whole, new roads are not permanent improvements. I have always been clear on this point, and this expenditure is most regrettable, but I cannot admit that it is *wasteful*. I have some hope that, if the Public Works Department really and conscientiously put their shoulders to the wheel, future famines might find larger irrigation programmes available. Theoretically speaking, we cannot be said to have done our duty, or our best, as long as a single drop of water runs, without paying toll, to the sea.

55. This is answered under 54.

56. Yes, in many places.

57. By village tanks is meant irrigation reservoirs (not petty pools for watering cattle, &c.). Where possible, they are an excellent means of employing relief labour, and, in a sense, permanently benefit the villages. In time they must all get out of repair and silt up.

59. As to the latter part of this question, the "strict supervision" required would cost more money than is likely to be available, and without this establishment the village officers would reap a harvest. I think, however, that a very fair measure of success might be obtained in the way of reserving such works for the deserving only, but perfect success I should not hope for. It might be possible to keep, say, the stronger men off such works, but I am by no means sure that they would not send their weaker relatives and live on their earnings. The power of discriminating between those who deserve relief and those who do not should not be given to underlings. Many superior officers are quite unfit to be entrusted with it. The "skin them to the bone" school is well represented, and here and there will be found representatives of what may be called "the Legree school." The Revenue officers and the Taluk Relief officers and Circle Inspectors—supposing the latter two to be appointed in time, which I do not at any time anticipate—would be able to do much towards keeping the undeserving from such petty works, but that the ordinary staff and village officers alone could do so is not to be expected. I think, however, that the undeserving would not go four miles and more for relief works, and such a small distance test would not be unreasonable. If all those suspected of being undeserving were referred to a work 7 to 10 miles off, they would not, if really undeserving, go to it.

60. As a fact, owing to there being comparatively few tanks in the Deccan districts, and to much of the Circars being zemindaris, there was little tank work done in the recent famine, and, should famine again attack the same districts, the case would be the same, unless the Public Works Department can discover a number of new irrigation projects. If, however, the red-soil districts should be attacked, there would be any number of irrigation works to go to work on; but even there the opening for employing famine labour, unless the removal of silt should be resorted to, would be less than would be expected, as, in the last fifteen to twenty years, the maintenance of irrigation works has been very systematically attended to. This

remark applies equally to the Minor Irrigation Works which have been under the care of Collectors. It would hardly be proposed that these should be systematically neglected in order to have employment for famine labour available.

61. This is a very large question. On a large scale, the Rushikulya in Ganjám, the Gódávári and Kistna anikats, the Sangam Project in Nellore, the Cumbum tank and Kurnool canal in Kurnool, the Tungabhadra channels in Bellary, the Barur and Marandanahalli projects in Salem, the Poini, Palar and Cheyar anikats in North Arcot, the Vellár channels in South Arcot, the Cauvery and Coleroon works in Tanjore, the Periyár in Madura, and the Támbraparni Project in Tinnevely are the chief, to which may be added the Bhaváni channels in Coimbatore and the Cauvery channels in Salem and Trichinopoly. These too are but the larger projects. Of the smaller anikats there are hundreds.* If tanks are considered, the lists would be endless. A table is, however, appended:—

Districts.	† Anikats.	River channels.	Spring channels.	Tanks.	Ayskat wells.	Total.
Ganjám	..	28	279	2,701	176	3,184
Vizagapatam	..	129	84	1,519	..	1,732
Gódávári	..	829	34	1,518	..	3,530
Kistna	21	564	1,456	478	1,149	7,099
Nellore	6	134	173	783	13,375	14,471
Cuddapah	1	540	928	4,494	35,900	41,863
Anantapur	1	195	1,742	971	12,893	15,802
Bellary	26	53	203	462	7,607	8,351
Kurnool	18	31	280	545	7,248	8,102
Madras	..	..	..	8	..	8
Chingleput	3	156	329	2,568	14,021	17,077
North Arcot	5	533	701	3,156	55,625	60,020
South Arcot	101	683	175	3,443	48,835	53,242
Tanjore	2	1,723	37	703	24,698	27,163
Trichinopoly	11	161	35	1,754	24,697	26,658
Madura	43	181	350	5,268	27,413	33,255
Tinnevely	2	155	60	2,322	43,030	45,559
Coimbatore	..	87	60	158	70,840	71,145
Salem	326	202	644	2,295	45,844	49,311
Total ..	566	6,389	7,540	35,146	437,931	487,572

† Only anikats under which there is direct irrigation are shown under this head. Where the irrigation is from channels taken off from an anikat, it is shown under river channels. Petty bands, which are really anikats, exist by thousands.

62. Undoubtedly. The figures for the Kurnool canal for 1877 and 1897 are very interesting in this connection—

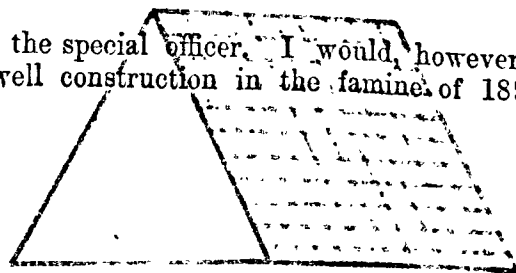
STATEMENT showing the area irrigated under the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal in 1896-97 compared with 1876-77 and with normal years.

District.	Normal years.		1876-77.	1896-97.
	1878-79.	1895-96.		
Kurnool	ACS. 8,352	ACS. 15,563	ACS. 75,105	ACS. 65,618
Cuddapah	10,009	17,340	15,180	21,608
Total ..	18,361	32,903	90,285	87,226

Still, when trouble comes, these works only first enrich the cultivators under them, and then tend to reduce prices everywhere. They do not generally help the agricultural labourers, or those who have to buy grain. It is very desirable that their number should be increased.

63. Yes. This is a point referred to by Mr. Higham and endorsed unanimously by the conferences.

64. This is for the special officer. I would, however, here refer to the great impulse given to well construction in the famine of 1891-92. Too much stress,



however, must not be laid on wells, as they often fail in a long drought. They failed in many places in 1891-92. When, however, they tap the valley of a great river, like the Palar, the wells even at a considerable distance—some miles—from the river very often hold out. A good deal of borrowed money was spent on wells in the recent famine.

67. Yes. There are several such in the famine programmes, notably the Vaniar Project in Salem. The Public Works Department is given to throw cold water on them, because they would not yield the required percentage on cost of construction, or would be liable to silt up (as if all irrigation works were not so liable) &c.

69. This is for the special officer. I need only say that, side by side with such works, petty works will always be necessary if relief is to be effective.

70. The provisions are contained in paras 4-11 of the Famine Code. The Code requirements are always observed in the letter: to observe them in the spirit would require a special department always at work investigating proposals for such programmes. I think, having regard to the cost of famines, that it would be true economy to keep such a department always going, but the officers engaged should be, to a certain extent, enthusiasts, for they would be working for a comparatively remote future. Plans and estimates were not always ready when the recent famine began, partly for want of the special department just alluded to. If a work is to be carried out on its intrinsic merits, as a paying work, it is likely to be carried out before the famine comes, and so the programmes must necessarily be of a shifting nature. Collectors are at their wits' ends to maintain the semblance of a compliance with the letter of the Code. Of course, the usual estimate for collections of road metal can always be ready to hand.

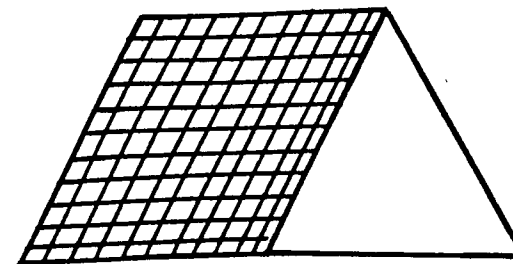
71. (a) I have known them to come and work from morn to night from a distance of 12 miles, and as many as 70 persons from a single village. It is a mere sum in arithmetic to calculate how soon such persons must be physically worn out.

(b) Some will come 20 or 30 miles or more. I must insist on the distinction, which I have drawn elsewhere, that only some will come. That others will not come is no proof that they are not distressed. As an old experienced officer, I must distinctly protest against the distance test. For the majority it is a specious offer of bread and giving of a stone.

72. Practicable—yes. Many things are practicable—or lawful—but not expedient: Cruel and injudicious, also yes.

73. Conveyance by steamer is not in the area of practical politics for this Presidency. Such labourers as were willing to go might be carried by rail, but it would be a refusal of relief to the majority in need to make acceptance of relief on such terms a *sine quâ non*.

74. It has not been the rule, but many—though a small percentage of the whole—did live as near to the works as they could. The number who actually lived—in huts—on the works was very small. No doubt more would have done so had the huts been forthcoming. It is not right to commence to erect huts after the workers have come. They may be exposed for days before the huts are erected. The huts, too, should be a decent habitable shelter, proof against wind and rain, and such as the workers can put up in without degrading exposure. I do not call three tatties—like three playing cards—proper hutting. The hutting in Bellary was like this:—



A man could only stand upright in the centre. When the wind blew they were generally uninhabitable.

75. No. When people did live on, or near, the works, it was because they could not go to and fro between their homes and the work. There were many who left their homes and stayed on a work. In their villages they had left many starving behind. These latter could not, for one reason or another, leave their villages, and fell off seriously in condition. The workers who left the village did not share their earnings with those left behind.

76. I am not in favour of making residence obligatory, or of indirectly inducing it by concentrating the works.

It is true that, failing such test, some, very few persons, not requiring relief are attracted to the work. These are so few that they may be left out of consideration. There were many who were not actually "skinned to the bone." Such persons were rightly admitted. They came from prudential reasons, knowing that if they did not do so they would be utterly ruined at the end of the distress, or, had it lasted six months longer, long before the end. Why, I would ask, were there hundreds of bécirák (depopulated) villages, some of them not re-occupied to date, after the great famine, if it was not that Sir Richard Temple and his school refused relief until the people were "skinned to the bone"? By the grant of relief before people were so stripped in the last famine the state of the people at the end of it was not irretrievably worse than it was at the beginning. This point did not escape the Famine Commission of 1878. They classed the "smallest proprietors or occupiers" with the "actually landless class who live on the wages of labour" (page 109, part I); they held that the official machinery was inadequate to accurately test the individual necessities of opinion it is ordinarily desirable to enforce is the demand of labour commensurate in each case with the labourers' powers, in return for a wage sufficient for the purpose of maintenance but not more." In the Deccan districts the number of pattadars paying Rs. 10 and less is 339,355. If the Government demand at all approaches to 50 per cent. of the net profits of agriculture these persons, multiplied by four to allow for their families, are practically destitute, and should be treated as such.

I consider that a high task and a low rate of wage are in themselves sufficient tests, and, in this connection, by a high task I mean a fair task. I can most positively state from an intimate knowledge of the people, their ways of life and thought and language, such as few officials possess, that they are generally loath to accept of Government relief, and will only do so when actually driven to it. Here I do not mean "gratuitous relief in the form of doles" though many would be too proud to accept this if they did not want it.

77. Residence on works is so distasteful to the people that many of them—certainly more than half of those who need relief—will undergo extreme privation before they submit to it. I cannot quote the instances required, as residence was nowhere enforced, but I can quote instances where people starved at home rather than go unreasonable distances to reside on or near a work. The case of Kocheru mentioned by the Sanitary Commissioner—*vide* Government Proceedings, No. 969, dated 17th November 1897, is an instance. The prejudice will not pass away. As before admitted, some will comply with such tests.

78. Yes, if the whole of India was not involved. The area involved in the last famine was very wide, and yet we did wonders in this direction. I do not think it likely that a larger area will ever be involved at any one time. When distress is confined to only one province, or even to two, the resources in the way of establishment over all India could be indented on, as was the case in the later months of 1877.

79. Yes. G.O., No. 216, dated 30th March 1897. I need not enter into details. Hutting was, with few exceptions, nowhere provided for reasons given elsewhere. The district officers did their best to prevent the distance allowance being abused in such cases, or when people from distant, took up their abode in adjacent, villages. I do not mean to say that no cases escaped detection.

80 and 81. It is said to have been Rs. 1-2 in Bellary and Ganjam. The hutting in Bellary was of the three playing card type and unworthy of the name. I have no doubt that there was much suffering from cold and discomfort on the works. It may

seem strange to speak of cold, but, after the South-West monsoon has broken, the winds in the Deccan are violent, and at night and morning chill. The people are thinly clad, the mothers being often exposed and infants absolutely naked. The wind blowing on their bodies did cause suffering, and, among the infants, mortality. A cold wind blowing on the exposed body, or on cotton garments drenched with perspiration, is bound to produce fever and other illnesses.

82. No.

83. I cannot say, not having noted figures: I would expect the contrary, for, the more accessible the works are, the more likely dependents are to come to them.

84. We had, practically, no piece-work.

85. No.

86. Yes. If there is a good earthwork which, on its merits, is worth doing, piece-work would be good, *provided that* gratuitous relief goes on also, and there are small works easily accessible for those who cannot go to the piece-work. I have discussed this in the report on the Famine Conferences.

87. The more I see of piece-work for relief purposes the less I like it.

88. They should be separately ganged and tasked—if you are going to have piece-work at all. One of the strongest objections to piece-work is that, if it is to be honestly worked as a form of relief, it will require an extravagant establishment to do this. If, however, piece-work is intended to be a mere specious offer of relief which it is really intended to refuse, then it is as economical as the worst enemy of the people could desire. By this I do not mean that every one who swears by piece-work is averse from giving reasonable relief, but such persons are mentally astigmatic, and they are not likely ever to see straight. They may be, and often are, very kind hearted and well intentioned.

89. Yes. I would not allow any one person to earn more than will support himself and five other persons, of whom two may be children.

90. This is technical; but, if the piece-work system is to be fairly worked, the workers must be allowed to form their own gangs, and each gang must be paid separately, however many there may be.

91. Yes. When the people form their own gangs: not when the officials form them.

92. If piece-work is to be worked honestly, as a real form of relief, and not as a specious refusal of it, I look for a considerable increase of establishment as compared with the task-work system.

93. There will always be difficulty.

94. The Code system is best for classification. I do not accept the C and D wages.

95. The Code wages for A and B classes might stand. The A wage would, and should, rarely be given. I think that the B wage should be given to class C, even though they perform a smaller task, and the D wage I would abolish altogether for tasked labour. Properly the people who belong to the D class should do no work at all which could be tasked. For a subsistence wage perhaps the C wage would suffice for them. It is no use to give these wages in chataks as they are already in the Code in ounces.

96. This is a very troublesome system. I would propose to add a pie or two to the B wage and have no computation of the component parts. For firewood some addition to the B wage is desirable. Possibly one pie would, all round, be enough, but I would prefer two pies.

96-A. Yes. The men and women should be tasked separately.

97. The Conference has made a fair proposal about this.

98. Generally *seven*. It often happens that bright, active children below seven want to work, and I would allow them to do so, for the child's wage, when at all capable. In view of the general dislike for kitchens, the line was not always sternly drawn at seven years in the last famine. Such children often, as carriers or breakers,

do very fair work. Their presence enlivens the works and adds to the comfort of the parents. Drawing the line generally at seven, I would leave it open to let in younger children in exceptional cases.

99. Section 106 of the Famine Code is all that is needed.

100. Yes. If workers are neither malingering nor contumacious, they should not be fined below the minimum.

101. Yes. There was a good deal of this in the beginning of the famine. As promiscuous fining and an impossible task was imposed, it would not be clear whether the people actually deteriorated on the D wage, for they very often did not get it. The Sanitary Commissioner has reported on this. See also Board's Proceedings, No. 144, dated 18th February 1897. The C and D rations were afterwards abolished, and not brought into force again until the end of July, and were too short a time in force to allow of inferences being drawn from them.

102. I think the words "Question 12" in this question must be a mistake. I don't think in famine times it is at all desirable that people should earn more than the Code A and B wages.

103. I would give the Sunday wage to any one who had attended for four out of the preceding seven days. It is most unfair, when a person has been absent—probably for some good cause, illness or other—and lost a working day's wage to deprive him of the Sunday wage also.

104. *Vide* Conference report.

105. Technical.

106. Do.

107. Any one above the rank of overseer *ought* to be able to grasp this, but I do not believe that all would grasp it. Some overseers are very intelligent and could grasp it: some never would.

108. The gang of one hundred works well in practice. If the task is *fair* there would be no objection to fining those who fell short of it. An intelligent subordinate ought to be able to detect individual "malingerers," and fines might generally be limited to them.

112. Ganjam—

Up to May	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2
In and after June	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 3
Vizagapatam—							
Up to June	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 4
July and August	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 3
September	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2½
Kurnool—							
April	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 3
May	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2½
June to September	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2
October	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2½
Bellary and Anantapur—							
Up to June	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 3
July and August	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2½
September	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 3
Cuddapah—							
Throughout	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 : 2½

113. It is always the case that women and children predominate. This was markedly so in the beginning of the 1877 famine. The men will not come at the early stages. I have referred to this elsewhere. Suppose the men do find private employment at wages in excess of the famine wage, the rise of prices leaves their earnings still no more than they can consume themselves. No man would be content with the famine ration who could buy more. Even when the men did not come in equal proportions it was necessary for the State to support the wives and children.

114. Only petty village work, village roads, deepening wells and such like works should be carried out by the Civil officers.

115. I agree generally with the recommendations of the Conferences on this point. I consider that the Divisional-officers have been hardly dealt with, but, if a *modus vivendi* is to be arrived at, I fear they must be thrown overboard.

116. See Conference report.

117. Do.

118. I understand the question to refer to Civil officers. The Conference has touched on this point, see pages 33-39 of the report.

119. See Conference report, paragraph 20.

120. No. *Imprimis* the word "camp" should be used only for a large piece-work assemblage of labourers. It would not refer to task works on which residence was not compulsory. If there is a Civil officer, he can look after these matters. If not, the medical officer should look after sanitary arrangements after the Public Works officers had once constructed latrines; the paymaster may be under the Collector on small works and under the Executive Engineer, as proposed by the Conference, for large works. The Tahsildar can look after bazaar arrangements if there is no Civil officer.

121. No. The Magistrate and the policeman should be conspicuous by their absence on all relief works.

122. No. In such rare exceptions, in which the Civil—by which I mean the Revenue—officers looked after works, they were conducted under the Code rules.

123. As far as possible, all works should be carried out by the Public Works Department. There were no works carried out by the Civil Department which should have been transferred to the Public Works Department except the one case where an Executive Engineer threw up all charge of a work, and the Assistant Collector had to keep it going until the Executive Engineer reconsidered himself.

124. In both cases daily at first, and afterwards once in three days.

125. Pay to the nearest *pie*.

126. The payments should be made by the paymasters. We don't know what Muharrirs mean, but in no case should the head cooly of the gang make disbursements. This does not apply to petty gangs made up by the villagers themselves on the piece-work system.

127. No. I consider that it would be a most undesirable practice.

128. (i) Yes, when the Revenue and Public Works officers were dealing with them. Their own missionary, the Rev. Mr. Cain, had no difficulty in getting them to attend and work steadily. It is a pity that all the works started were not under him. The Forest-officer, Mr. Ward, could have got good work out of the hill people if he could have employed them on strictly forest work; but it is a fact that they did tank work for their missionary. It is to be regretted that their old Civilian officer, Mr. Spencer, was not there, for he, probably, could have got good work out of them. It is absurd to send an ordinary Public Works officer up to Bhadrachalam and expect him to conduct relief works.

(ii) Yes, under their missionary. It is not to be understood that the workers were Christians. They were ordinary Kois; but Mr. Cain has lived among them, with his wife, for a quarter of a century and they know and trust him. We change our Civilian officer about once in two years. I think that an endeavour should be made to get, for our hill tracts, men who would find it worth their while to stay in them, to know and be known by, and to win the confidence of, the wild tribes. There are always men of the Outram stamp to be found. What he did with the Bheels could be done among the Khonds and Kois. Occasionally a police officer makes a long stay among these tracts. A Civilian rarely, as promotion is absurdly rapid in the junior ranks in these tracts. Young military officers could easily be of the Civil Service, and has been for years. Young military officers could easily be found for such posts. In the one case where a Civilian stayed for a long time in these tracts he obtained such a knowledge of the language and of the people, and so won their confidence both in the catchery and in the jungles, that he could lead them at will. I refer to Mr. Douglas Taylor, who was for years in charge of the Jeypore Estate.

129. It depends very much on how they are spread out. I don't think one man could well look after more than five thousand labourers. As to the minimum, on professional works it might be fixed at 300. In that case only an overseer would have charge.

130. No. We may press the outcaste children into our kitchens, and a very few of the lower class Hindus and generally the poor Muhammadans, but, with caste workers generally, to offer kitchen relief is to refuse all relief, and throw them on their parents' wage for maintenance. Any experienced officer can tell where the objection to kitchen relief is, by the mode of thought of the people, justifiable, and in such cases dole should be given.

131. The ratio depends so much on the increase in the price of grain on which wages are based, and the amount of inefficient labour that comes on the work, that it is not possible to give a ratio which will hold good in all cases of distress. When, as in the last famine, the prices rose by more than 200 per cent. and the inefficient hands on works were from two to three times the number of efficient hands, it would not be unreasonable if the payment in wages amounted to three times, and the total cost of work, including relief to dependants, and incidental charges, four times the normal value of work done. In this Presidency the cost of relief of dependants was not debited to works, and was not shown in the accounts separately from the cost of the gratuitous relief of other persons. But the actual cost of the works including the cost of work establishments and contingencies was 3.3 times the normal value calculated at ordinary rates.

132. No. The former is matter for experts. The latter can be considered when the Code is amended. I could not go into it here.

133. I have separately reported about this—*vide* Board's Proceedings, No. 553, dated 5th August 1897.

134. See above. Generally they were unfounded or unreasonable.

135. Such employers offered only the normal wage. There were cases in which employers tried to whittle their normal wage down to the level of the famine wage.

136. The employers don't want whole families; they want to pick their employes and, of course, when this is done, the employed could eat all that they earned. I regret to say, to my knowledge, some such employes were paid a liberal—though the normal—wage, and drank the surplus. They always do. I refer to the Adoni cotton press. The families are left very much to fend for themselves. Even in good times much of the man's wage goes in drink and the family fares badly. This was partly the cause of bad condition at Adoni. When drink comes in family affections are sacrificed to it. We, unfortunately, have thousands of instances of this nearer home.

137. I would do, as I did in this famine, *i.e.*, do our best to meet the wishes of private employers. I would even shift a work farther away, if necessary—provided always that the wage offered was sufficient. If, however, the private employer wants men only, the excess of women and children on works will be still larger and call for remarks.

138. I don't think there was any such help by private employers except such as was given by the Rajah of Bobbili and the Zamindar of Parlakimedi, and this was to people who would have ordinarily gone to earth-work or stone-breaking. There was, of course, much employment given to coolies by ryots who were digging wells or exterminating *nuth* grass (*Ischaemum pilosum*). The persons employed by them were not "professional earth-workers"—only "Wudders" are properly so called. The Rajah of Bobbili and the Zamindar of Parlakimedi would not have got the work done had it not been for the distress. The ryots would always be glad to dig wells and exterminate *nuth* grass if they could afford it. No doubt, when they get loans for such purposes they eat part of the loan, and so it may be said that in ordinary years they would not generally do this kind of work—certainly not on so large a scale.

139. No. Such of our Rajahs and Zamindars as are not in pecuniary difficulty will generally, from one motive or another, do something in this line, but beyond this I do not expect much. Should, however, famine touch any district where one of our great firms has interests, manufacturing, mining or forest, I think that such firms would gladly strain a point to help, but they would do this on mercantile, not philanthropic, lines, and would expect the value of their money. The sum scattered in the

cotton districts by the large firms is very great. I know one firm which expends as much as 20 lakhs in a year, but this goes mostly to the cultivator, who spends some of it in wages. Some goes to the employes in spinning mills and cotton presses.

148. Four per cent.

149. Yes.

150. Generally yes. There were minor exceptions, *e.g.*, when one person, who perhaps could work, was put on relief because he or she had to look after a sick or crippled relation. By "resources of any kind" if it is meant that the women sold their *Thalis* or amulets and petty jewellery, the answer is no. In the humane and commonsense meaning of the term the recipients of this relief were destitutes. Possibly some of them had a calf or a goat, or a couple of fowls or a pig. They were not required to sell these or the roof, poor as it was, over their heads, and I hope that they never will.

151. In ordinary years their relations support them, and the beggars get charity. I need not say that it is often a very poor support which such people get. In famine times charity begins at home.

152. Eighty to 90 per cent. were women and children. The *parda nashin* women were very few. In the agricultural tracts they are always few except in the Circars, where the Hindus are day by day making their women more and more *parda nashin*. The Coast Sudras of the better class from Kistna up to Ganjam affect to treat their females as *gosha*. The Kshatriya women are mostly *gosha*. It is a fact that many respectable Panchamas in the towns affect to keep their females within walls. In the towns, in the affected tracts, the *parda nashin* women were generally on the Indian Famine Relief Fund.

153. The numbers would vary so much, according to the system on which the gratuitous relief was being given, and the personal equation of the Government and officers giving it, that I would hesitate to state any figure which could be regarded as a standard, seeing especially the use which has been made of the Indian Famine Commission statement that 15 per cent. would be the maximum expected to come on relief in any tract—*vide* question 10 *supra* and my reply to it. If I am asked to name what I would consider the maximum which, under duly administered relief, should come on *gratuitous* relief during the worst of an acute famine, I would take the figures on gratuitous relief for August 1877. These are (Salem) 165.737 or 8.4 per cent. of the population of 1871, and (Bellary) 140.408 or 15 per cent. on the population of 1871. The mean of the two percentages is 11.7 per cent. I should think that this would be a fair estimate of the percentage which should come on gratuitous relief in an acute famine. I choose the figures for August rather than those for September or October, because practically our organization fell to pieces about that time, until we were stiffened by new hands from other Provinces. The disaster was so great that we could not shroff applicants for relief, and had to let all who claimed it in, pending enquiries. The numbers would vary with the tract and with the severity and stage of the distress.

154. No. On the contrary, there are conditions conceivable under which small numbers on relief might be synchronous with a large demand for gratuitous relief. Piece-work and distance test, or task work with absurd task, or inhumane supervision might produce this result. In my opinion we always start gratuitous relief too late in this Presidency. I think that it would be true economy to begin with it, and, if we provided for the "useless mouths", the others might be able to make a better fight for it without works, at least for a time. No one who has not actually gone among the poorer classes, into their houses, and watched them at cooking and meal times, talked with them under the village tree, and in the shikar camp, can have any idea of the amount of absolute misery which may exist before officialdom recognises that the time for relief has come. In my opinion, year by year our officers are getting to know less of the people, and to be more and more out of sympathy and touch with them. Government itself is removed from contact with the people for six months of the year. It is not from the educated natives who have their own purposes to serve, or from addresses presented by Municipalities and Local Boards, or even by District

Associations, which are merely the quintessence of Vakildom, that the governing minority can get at the minds of the masses; for the masses have minds and thoughts and wants, though they are not apt at shaping them into words. The Dravidian languages are always a bar between the people and their rulers. The old type of civilian was a much better linguist than his successor. I remember, more than thirty years ago, when the Huzur Sheristadar of Madura did not know a word of English, that the then Collector, the Hon'ble D. Arbuthnot, did all his work with him in Telugu. The Hon'ble Mr. L. Forbes, when Judge of Bellary, once charged a jury for three hours in Telugu. The Telugu text-books of the day are the work of a Civilian long dead and gone, and so was one of the best Telugu dictionaries up to a short period back. It is more and more necessary that we should insist on a full working knowledge of the vernaculars in the ranks of the Civil Service. The only case in recent years in which I have known a young Civilian to be a good linguist was the case of a gentleman who had been born in the country.

155. No. I think that gratuitous relief should begin earlier, and that such people should be relieved in their villages.

156. It would depend on circumstances. If the able-bodied relation was earning a wage elsewhere, and that wage did not cover the keep of his relatives, why not admit the incapable person to relief? To refuse, and drive—if you do succeed in driving—the able-bodied relation on the work is to make Government relieve two persons instead of one. There are other causes which might keep able-bodied persons from going to relief works.

157. Yes. No doubt many who do not want doles would accept them if given, but there has been no such promiscuous dole-giving.

158. Yes, as regards the Circle Relief officers, except in some cases in the Circars. The Taluk Relief officers were appointed rather late, and there were cases in the Circars in which undeserving persons had been admitted, but they were soon shroffed out. Of the two I should say that the danger of refusing relief to the deserving was the more likely failure to expect from Village Circle Inspectors.

It is not necessary to go into the details about the precautions taken. The usual inquiries would be made of the village officers and the more well-to-do villagers. The interior of houses would be searched for grain, &c.

159. It is not easy to make the comparison. Thus we often would have only one Taluk Relief officer for a taluk in which there might be an Executive Engineer and two or three Supervisors or Assistant Engineers and some Overseers. I should say, if a liberal provision of work is made, that the demand for supervision in the Public Works Department would be greater than that in gratuitous relief. The latter is supervised by Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars or by Divisional officers as well as by Taluk Relief officers. It might happen that as many as four Taluk Relief officers would be required for a single taluk. I would say that, as a rule, gratuitous relief would not require so strong a staff of the higher officers as relief on works, properly given, would require.

160. The acceptance of doles does not entail any particular stigma. To accept kitchen relief is considered generally degrading, except among the outcastes, and even they, sometimes, are the caste sentiments on the subject.

161. No. No form of charity dries up which would not otherwise dry up. On the contrary, the Government example is largely followed by private persons, who recognise that famine time is a time for doing *dharma* and acquiring merit. Much charity is therefore given which would not be given in ordinary times.

162. I think this question may be practically answered in the negative. Our relief works, as I have shown elsewhere, received large numbers who ought to have been on gratuitous relief. If the question is pushed to an extreme it is possible that some of the recipients might have done some work, say, gathering leaves, &c. I do not think that the question is asked in this sense. It is a fair answer to give that gratuitous relief was not given to persons who ought to have done a task of any kind.

163. No. And this question clearly shows that question 162 referred to some genuine form of work.

164. I have answered this already *ad nauseam*. Kitchen relief should—as I have said that all gratuitous relief should—be started in the early stage of distress, but it only appeals to certain classes, and no offer of it will tempt those whose caste prejudices forbid them to receive it. This prejudice dates from 1877. I must add that there was a much greater readiness to accept cooked food among the Sudras in 1877 than there is now. It is probably because they suffered socially for having done so that they refuse now. The other prejudice, that those who entered the kitchens in 1877 died, has its influence in keeping people out. I might add that this is an unfair prejudice. The people mix up camps and kitchens. There was enormous mortality in the camps in 1877, but not to any serious extent in the kitchens, but it would be useless to try and explain the difference.

165. See above. To offer kitchen relief alone would be to refuse relief altogether to many classes of persons.

166. No. Even one kitchen for every five miles diameter would be a large strain, and this is a very awkward arrangement. Supposing a district to be divided in five miles squares. These would contain 25 square miles. Even if the kitchen were exactly in the centre it would be a walk of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the corners and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the sides. This doubled, supposing the kitchen to be in a corner, would be a fatiguing journey for weak adults and out of the question for small children. Practically a kitchen helps the people beyond half a mile from it very little. It would be quite impossible to establish and manage as many kitchens as would be required.

167. In grain. The matter is discussed in paragraph 17 of the Conference report.

168. They generally had to come to a central place for it. In the case of very respectable families it would be sent to them. This would be rare. The Indian Charitable Relief Fund generally took up such cases.

169. No, to both the questions. There were cases in which village officers choused recipients out of part of their grants from the Indian Charitable Relief Fund.

170. The Revenue Inspectors were generally Circle Inspectors. The village servants would always be consulted in such matters. The number of Circle Inspectors appointed was as follows:—

	no.
Ganjám	50
Vizagapatam	68
Kurnool	26
Bellary	13
Anantapur	21
Cuddapah	8

The village officers were consulted. If "home relief" means bringing and giving the dole to such recipients at his or her home, this was not done, unless the Indian Charitable Relief Fund did it. The respectable inhabitants in the larger villages helped in the latter.

171. Official relief went through official channels only. The Indian Charitable Relief Fund employed unofficial agency largely.

172. We had practically no poor houses—see page 35 of the Conference report. In my opinion there should never be any poor houses if relief is properly given.

182. I would deprecate legislation to this end. No doubt it would solve difficulties, but it is very doubtful how such legislation would be regarded by the people.

184. In the great famine escapes were constantly taking place. No fencing will keep in those—and often weakly persons—who are determined to get out. Besides the love of freedom they tried to go and beg in the big towns.

185. Doles were generally given in central villages—not in every village. The machinery is not equal to providing a separate dole centre in every village, e.g., there might be no grain shop in a village, etc.

186. The doles were—as a rule—only for persons properly entitled to gratuitous relief under section 62, and from such persons it would be improper to require work. Doles are also admissible to gosha women and respectable persons under sections 135 and 137 of the Code. From the former some kind of work, such as grinding corn, is at times demanded.

187. No—to both queries.

188. The “relief centres” were the “village relief” and not a substitute for it. The distance was never more than the recipients of relief could reasonably walk. When they were numerous, some villagers would have one day, and others another, on which to receive their doles. Perhaps these relief centres really correspond with what the Famine Commission seem to understand by “village relief.”

189. I consider that gratuitous relief ought to start *with* works, if not before them. If given in time, the opening of works might be somewhat postponed, but then there would always be the cry that the demand for relief had not been “tested”. I consider that the existence of scarcity rates is sufficient test to justify the commencement of gratuitous relief.

190. I think it is plain that our relief centres are what the Commission means by village relief.

192. No, except when relief was given from the Indian Charitable Relief Fund.

193. To provide for the children of workers mainly, and for such persons, qualified under section 62, as may be found in the adjoining villages.

194. They are required both for works and for gratuitous relief under section 62. The theory is that no one should get doles who ought to take food in a kitchen, supposing that there is a kitchen within a reasonable distance.

195. The substitution would have the effect of reducing numbers (a) because the distance would be too great for some, and (b) because many will refuse to enter the kitchens under any circumstances whatever.

196. Only to persons furnished with tickets.

197. The Revenue officers supervised the kitchens, and the Circle Inspectors and village officers helped. Respectable ryots used to take an interest in them. Often they would subscribe for, or supply, vegetables to be added to the ration.

There was no waste or misapplication of the food worth mentioning. Attendance was not always regular, and occasionally some rations would lie over. These would be kept for the next meal. The kitchens were ordinarily in charge of officials; but, in big towns, respectable townsmen used to interest themselves in them and inspect as officials. The Adóni kitchen was under a committee on which were non-officials as well as officials.

198. When there is not a genuine objection, it is better to have the children fed in kitchens, and this may generally be applied to Panchamas, Chamars, Native Christians of the poorer classes, and the poorer Muhammadans. When the parents work they are not likely to misappropriate the child's wage; but there would be danger of a father sending his children to the work, staying at home himself and consuming most of the children's wage or dole. In Ganjam the parents are often not to be trusted.

199. See pages 30 and 31 of the Famine Report.

200. Yes. No doubt, when a ryot takes a loan of Rs. 200 for digging a well, he eats some of the loan. This is fair and expected. He supervises the work and pays himself for doing it. His family probably eat up some more. The Government is secure, and this does not signify.

201. Yes, to both questions. The grant of such loans is a trouble to the Revenue officers, and many are lacking in zeal on this point.

202. *Periods of repayment—*

Ordinary Rules (L.I. Loans Act).

							Maximum period.
							YRS.
For loans from Rs.	100	to Rs.	500	...	...	...	10
Do.	500	to „	1,000	...	...	...	15
Do.	1,000	and upwards	...	...	...	...	20

Special Well Rules.—All loans must be repaid within *thirty* years at the latest.

Agriculturists' Loans Act.—

A loan for the purchase of seed must be repaid within *one* year.

A loan for the purchase of cattle, or for any other purpose within the meaning of the Act and the Rules, shall be repaid within *two* years, or such further period *not exceeding ten* years, as the Collector, with the sanction of the Board of Revenue, may see fit to declare.

203. Yes, in Bellary only. The amount was limited to Rs. 20 each, at Rs. 5 per mensem for four months.

204. No. It means indebtedness. Better make them work and start them free of debt.

205. It depends on how you look at it. Of course it is more economical to lend and recover the money lent than to give work and wages and get no money return; this is one way of looking at it. My opinion is that it is a low and short-sighted way of looking at it. The agricultural classes are indebted enough. Debt debases the debtor. He is not a free, or his own, man; it cramps his efforts; it is against the interest of the whole body politic that debt should increase. It tests a man's grit more to offer him work and wage than to lend him money.

206. A large number would, if it was likely that they would get the loans; but, as a fact, the authorities could not deal with a whole population. I have answered the rest of the question above.

207. See paragraph 30 of Famine Report.

208. The tenant generally will get the benefit of these concessions. The kists in such cases have never been collected, and therefore *remission* does not mean *refunding*. The remission is made when the annual settlement comes to be made. The village officers may sometimes get something from the ryots. This cannot be helped. There is no *law* to secure that remissions reach the ryots, nor is any law necessary.

209. Of much advantage, yes. It would be difficult to say how much ryots were thereby kept from relief works, but it may be generally accepted that most of those profiting by the remission would have been ruined if they had not got it.

210. All revenue suspended will be eventually recovered, and that, generally, without severe pressure on the ryots *if seasons are good*. As a fact the last season is a very middling one, and there will, especially in Cuddapah, be some suffering in consequence of these recoveries.

211. No. Such suspensions will be collected in the current year.

212. (a) If the rent payable to landholders by their tenants is meant, the practice varies. The land revenue payable to Government and suspended in bad seasons does not carry interest.

212. (b) I think not, for more than one reason.

213. I do not know any estate absolutely free of some charge, peshkash, quit-rent or such like. Government can give relief to such by suspending collections. Such relief was given to the zamindar of Punganur in 1891, to the amount of Rupees 50,000, and the sum was collected in four years. The words “rent” and “revenue” in this chapter seem not to be used as we generally use them. Revenue is what is paid to the State; rent is what the tenant pays to the landholder. Taking rent in this sense Government has no power to direct that rent due to a zamindar should be suspended, and no such power is necessary.

214. Yes, but I respectfully demur to the idea that a four-anna crop will feed and clothe the owners and their dependants and cattle (to say nothing of paying the kists).

215. See paragraph 43 of the Famine Report.

216. *Vide* paragraph 32 of Famine Report. The people generally had no access for the collection of edible fruits, roots, &c. I am not, however, certain of this. In "high forest" all persons are excluded. I do not believe that there would be any difficulty in people entering the ordinary forests for this purpose. As a fact, however, the affected tracts contained no forest worth the name, except the Nallamalais, which are deadly feverish, and left generally to the wild Chentsus. Bhadrachalam is jungly, and the Kois can go and come there as they like. The jungle tribes would utilise edible fruits, roots, &c., when not rented out.

217. Yes. I proposed that the forests should be thrown open to free grazing in December 1896. Permission was then refused and not granted until May 1897. It was too late then to be of much use. Cattle cannot march to the forests in a season when there is not a blade of grass, or a leaf, or a drop of water, on the route. The cattle, too, were too much exhausted to make a march of any kind.

218. No. This was tried in 1891-92, and the people were unwilling to *pay for* the grass collected, though ready enough to take it when given for nothing. This is a matter which will develop in time. If the people would only cut and store in the proper season there would be large stocks of fodder available, but they are too lazy and wanting in foresight to do this, as a rule. Though the departmental operations were not resumed, large quantities of grass were removed from the forests and carried to places even 40 and 50 miles off. This, however, only taps the fringe of the distress, for the distant villages are practically debarred from benefiting in this way.

The cost of labour and carting is no small item. Except the Nallamalais there are no forests worthy of the name in the affected parts of the Deccan. The Sandur hills produce a kind of grass, but it is really only fit for thatching or bedding, though large quantities were removed for cattle. The grass on the Cuddapah hills is also poor stuff. It would be no great exaggeration to say that in Anantapur the so-called forest reserves have no grass fit to be mentioned. This is all the more reason why the Nallamalais should be thrown open at an early period of the distress, when a bite can be picked up *en route*, and the cattle have strength to walk.

219. Those who understand where to find them get some roots. There are also some berries and leaves, notably the *Devulari* (*Erythroxylon Monogynum*) leaves, which help the people to eke out a living. In the Agency tract of Bhadrachalam, the roots are not obtainable in the hot weather, as, even if they exist, the ground is so hard that the people cannot dig them up.

220. The Code rules are sufficient. With proper administration there should be no famine orphans. There were a few orphans, but there will be such in all years. Famine orphans proper should never be found. In 1877-78 many orphans were made over to asylums, one of which was in Madras and supported by charity. A large number were made over to the French Missionaries at Dharmapuri in Salem—some 200 or more. The priest in charge got at the time a grant of some five to seven hundred rupees, which went for medicine, &c. These orphans were entirely brought up, and put out in the world, by the missionaries (being converted of course). When there is absolutely no one to claim them, there does not seem to be any objection to this course. When I visited their village (Dharmapuri-Koilur) 19 years afterwards, I could only find one of the orphans, a married woman, who seemed to be very happy. The rest had scattered, setting up for themselves, aided by the priest, who seemed to be idolised by his village and evidently deserved their affection. At an early stage of the recent famine the Jesuits of Trichinopoly put in an application for famine orphans. The Dharmapuri Mission is not under the Jesuit Order.

221. There will be no need for such aid. Private charity will always meet the want to any reasonable extent. A small grant from the Famine Charitable Relief Fund would be sufficient to keep the children till they can fend for themselves.

222. Yes. The objects are enumerated in paragraph 40 of the Famine Report. I object distinctly to Object 1. The subsistence ration, and the hospital ration, either are or are not adequate. If adequate, they should not be supplemented by private charity. If inadequate, they should be increased at Government cost. The use of the fund money has largely tended to obscure the question of the sufficiency of the C and D wages. I also object, as long as sections 134 and 137 of the Famine Code survive on the record, to Object 3. Government either means, or does not mean,

what it says in the Code, the theory of which is all that the highest benevolence could require: when, however, it comes to the spending of money, *i.e.*, to the translating of the Code theory into practice, there is apt to be an outcry that money is being spent, and the officers who take Government *au grand sérieux* run the risk of being taken to task for their action. My objection to Object 1 does not extend to the grant of clothing, which in this Presidency may fairly be left to private charity. In a colder climate, failing such charity, Government might have to act.

The fourth object enumerated is partly met by our loan laws, but I do not object to the expenditure from the fund, as loans from Government must stop somewhere, and Government could never afford to rehabilitate a large section of its population. Further, help given should be a gift, not a loan. I have heard that the Famine Charitable Relief Fund money has in some places been lent, not given. I entirely disapprove of this, and I consider that such action is contrary to the intention of the donors.

223. See answer to last question.

224. In a properly-administered famine there should be, as I have said before, no orphans, *i.e.*, no orphans whose status as such is directly attributable to famine. If, however, there are any such, I think that their maintenance from the Famine Charitable Fund would be in strict accordance with the wishes of majority of the donors.

225. I would not call this "restricted." I do not see what more could reasonably be expected.

226. We cannot always be sure that there will be a Famine Charitable Relief Fund. This being so, I do not see how the Code can be modified. It certainly does not go too far at present. Whenever such a fund exists, it may be taken as a moral certainty that any relief of the kind specified under "thirdly" will be given from the fund. When no such fund exists, the only relief possible will be that given under the Code, sections 134 to 137, and it will depend entirely on the personal equation of the Government of the day, and of its officers, whether that relief will be given or not.

227. This was done in Bhadrachalam, but not with the purpose of relieving those only who are specified in this question. The fact was that grain was scarcely purchasable, certainly not at reasonable rates, and the ordinary working population would have starved had not these shops been established. The conditions of Bhadrachalam have been explained in the Famine Report.

228. Such shops would interfere with private trade *if there was any*. In Bhadrachalam practically there was not. When the shops are for the benefit of those persons only who are contemplated by question 227, sales should be on tickets only.

229. No local experience of the kind here. In parts of Ganjam the Collector considered that Government depôts should have been started for providing grain for doles, not for sale.

230. Yes, if the state of the season admits of cultivation. When, however, on the arrival of the cultivation season the rains hold off it would not be wise to give such help, as the temptation to consume the grant to meet present wants would be irresistible.

231. Roughly speaking, the pattadars paying Rs. 10 and under.

232. Yes. A gift is always better than a loan; besides, in a period of distress, the demand for *takkavi* is enormous and would be larger than it seems on paper were it not that idle and unscrupulous officials discourage the people in applying for loans. As a fact the demand, with the best of intentions, is so great that the ordinary staff, even when reinforced, would find it difficult to grapple with it. Much depends on the personnel of the district. All the officers, or the native officers at least, take their cue from the Collector.

233. Yes.

234. Undoubtedly, except where they trenched on what is Government work, pure and simple, *i.e.*, when they were used to eke out the Government wage on works

and ration in gratuitous relief. This was not done in this Presidency. In every other respect the operations of the fund were of the greatest use, and the only regret is that more money was not given *in time*.

235. See paragraph 40 of the Famine Report.

236. Head I 24,108; Head II 867; Head III 234,339 and Head IV 161,952.

237. It would be hard to say; the gratitude of the women and girls for cloths, and the blessing which the gift of flannel squares to emaciated babies proved, could not well be exaggerated.

238. I cannot answer this.

239. Yes. If these people are to be effectually helped, a gift, not a loan, is needed. If we keep the cooly alive and strong, he and his family are not much worse off at the end of a famine than at the beginning. The petty cultivator is in danger of falling in the social scale, and it is very difficult for him, once fallen, to retrieve his original status. His prosperity also means employment for the coolies. At the same time the question suggests itself whether a system under which the mass of the cultivators are on the verge between the agricultural labourer and the ryot class is one which does not admit of amelioration in some way. It is a very difficult question, not peculiar to India. I think emigration is the remedy. The native is slow to move, and crowds on the poorer soils rather than up stakes and track.

240. Undoubtedly.

241. About 550,000 acres.

242. None, except in Cocanada—see page 18 of Conference report.

243. The wandering was not to a great extent; it was partly due to a scare and partly to the Collector being shorthanded and, to some extent, sitting on a rail, as side by side with the scare, were calls to explain numbers on relief.

As to the jungle people, the missionaries and the Forest-officer working together, with a free hand, which means that they have the confidence and backing of Government, could wholly prevent their wandering. As to people who wander at certain seasons of the year, it would be a question to be decided on the merits in each case whether their wandering is objectionable or not. If they can wander to an area where cooly labour is scarce and harvest operations large, I would not prevent them.

244. See the article on Vital Statistics in the Famine Report.

245. Some wanderers came from the Nizam's territory and from the Central Provinces (Sironcha I think) to Bhadrachalam; the Bellary and Kurnool districts must have received in all from 10,000 to 12,000 wanderers from the Nizam's Dominions. There was some petty wandering from Banaganapalle to the Government taluks of Kurnool. In all cases the cause was because relief had not reached the tracts from which they came, or had not been effectual. In the Nizam's Dominions there was no timely relief, and in Banaganapalle it was inadequate.

246. No.

247. I would relieve them without distinction. I think, however, that, in case of a great disaster, a Native State like the Nizam's should be awakened through its Resident to a sense of its duty. Mysore was on the watch from the beginning. The Dewan kept count of immigrants from British territory, but these found employment without coming on the State for relief.

248. to 250. All that is really worth having and available on this subject is contained in the chapter on "Vital Statistics" in the Famine Report.

251. Yes to both questions; to the latter question especially. The freedom from fever mortality has distinctly obscured the effect of famine.

252. Some of the cholera mortality was probably due to this cause.

253. See Report on Vital Statistics in the Famine Report, and the tables appended.

254. This is a question for experts. The Sanitary Commissioner's views are before the Famine Commission. So far as a very experienced Famine officer, who is not an expert, may speak on such topics, I am at one with the Sanitary Commissioner in his views as to the C and D rations.

255. See Famine Report "Vital Statistics." It was only in Ganjam that parents neglected their children. They did not abandon them.

256. There are no recorded deaths from starvation. I would not affirm that there were absolutely none. Dhone Subba Rao, who was a witness before the Commission at Bellary, assures me that there were some, in Ramallakot taluk of Kurnool. He purposely did not mention the matter, as he was conscious that Mr. Elwin, the Collector, had been urgent in relief matters, and that the delay to recognise the distress in Ramallakot was due to others, not to him. When distress was fully diagnosed, relief was freely given, mostly gratuitously, in this taluk. The numbers on relief called for remarks, but were not under the circumstances excessive. It can hardly be said that, elsewhere, there were any deaths actually due to starvation. Much of the mortality in Bhadrachalam in June and following months was due, directly or indirectly, to innutrition or malnutrition. The tract was a very difficult one to deal with. Cholera comes in very handily when famine mortality is in question. Whether the mortality be due to cholera proper, or to famine diarrhoea, it is certain that cholera is the handmaid of famine, and that famine conditions favour the development and spread of cholera.

257. There was on the whole no mortality which was not inevitable in a famine year, when the whole population, not merely those on relief, feels straitened. Some of the small excess mortality was amongst people who did not, and probably never would, come on relief. I do not think any mortality was due to insanitary conditions connected with relief. "Every practicable precaution" is a very broad phrase. We did not provide Pasteur Filters; but I can truly say that continual care was everywhere exercised to provide pure water in connection with relief.

258. No. The supply of officers was inadequate. Those who were employed had generally such medicines and comforts as are ordinarily forthcoming in a small mofussil dispensary.

259. The population of 1891 was 12.53 per cent. more than that of 1871. Later figures are not available.

261. The annual rate of growth between 1871 and 1891 was 6.14 per mille. This, however, covers the period of the great famine.

262. The only "other causes" of which I can think would be immigration. There is no immigration into the Madras Presidency.

263. It would be hard to over-estimate the effect of the causes enumerated. Whole districts would be practically depopulated by an inroad of Haidar's or of the Mahrattas. Famine unchecked might easily carry away half a population. God has sent into this world as his angels, for certain purposes, battle and disease. It cannot be for the good of any nation to be steeped, as South India is, in eternal peace. If there were no humane considerations to guide our actions, I would say that it would be well for the survivors if plague, pestilence and famine, battle, murder and sudden death could have a free hand once in a generation. The time must some day come—unless some miracle is wrought by science and chemistry—when the resources of the State will be unequal to fighting famine.

264. The increase in area under food-grains between 1871 and 1891 was only 9 per cent. Much has been done to improve irrigation: much remains to be done. I am not sanguine about methods of cultivation being improved, except by manuring, and the people ^{know} much of their natural manure.

265. This is not a question to be answered off-hand. There has been a steady rise of prices, but it would not be easy to prove that the increased demand of the extra number of mouths was the cause of it. Improved communications do much to equalise prices, and so when the surplus can find a market, prices will rise. I think that the producing powers of the soil have not been developed in proportion to the increase of population.

266. No reliable information is available.

267. It is not easy to answer this question. It is very far-reaching. Possibly prices might rise and population increase and wages might remain low owing to there being more persons seeking employment.

As to the latter part of the question—

Distress would not reach intensity so soon amongst a population which had a high standard of living. Such persons have something to cut down. When people have no luxuries to part with, and have in all years a battle for the necessities of life, scarcity would develop rapidly amongst them into famine. When, however, food is dearer and there are no wages at all to be earned, the position would be still more accentuated. Such is the condition of the mass of the agricultural workers in this province in time of trouble.

268. The result would be as premised in the question, but this result has not yet been reached in the Kistna and Godavari Deltas. I do not know Tanjore well enough to hazard an opinion about it. It is an admitted axiom that the tendency is for population to overtake and pass the means of subsistence.

269. Any remedy which could be suggested would be only for a time. It would be as hopeless to look for a permanent remedy as to seek to suspend the law of gravitation.

270. Solved. Yes, for a time only. Much could be done in this direction in India. The missionaries are everywhere crying out for land. Why not give them a chance? Their agency costs nothing. Each year in India increases my admiration for their single-hearted work.

271. "The millions," no. It is a fact that the educated classes are beginning to adopt the remedies generally associated with the name of Doctor Allbutt. Exeter missionaries be expected to do so. I think it is possible that assisted private enterprise might do something.

272. Malaria is not always allied with the irrigation. Very much the reverse. Some of our best irrigated tracts are remarkably free from malaria, and some of the driest tracts swept by it. If the question means that the spread of irrigation might, by favouring malaria, lessen the fecundity of the people, I should say that no result of the kind is to be hoped, or wished for: I say "wished for" because, however desirable it may be that the rate of increase in population should diminish, it could not be at all for the good of the body politic that large numbers of the population should be malaria-stricken. Such persons should not be permitted to propagate.

273. Rice and ragi in Ganjam, and ragi or cholam in the other districts.

274. Where they can get it, three meals a day are eaten. The evening meal will always be a hot meal. The other meals are what is left from the evening. When they can get it, they will always eat until a feeling of repletion follows. It may be said that 80 tolas of grain will be the average consumption of an adult, apart from chatnis and vegetables. The upper classes, Brahmans especially, eat rice. Some dhol will also be eaten. The richer classes will add ghee. I can give an interesting result of a practical experiment, made under European management, in a technical school where the boys are boarded. Different rations were tried, and the boys found to fall off in condition, the work being, besides study, athletics and active trade employments, such as carpentering, blacksmith's work, &c. :—

Adult—Boys of 17 years and upwards—

Morning—A gruel consisting of 5 (five) oz. of ragi and 1 (one) oz. of rice.

Noon—A thick porridge made of 10 (ten) oz. of ragi and 2 (two) oz. of rice.

Night—13 (thirteen) oz. of rice.

Boys of 9 years to 14—

Morning—Gruel made of $3\frac{1}{2}$ (three and a half) oz. of ragi and 1 (one) oz. of rice.

Noon—Porridge made of 7 (seven) oz. of ragi and 2 (two) oz. of rice.

Night— $8\frac{1}{2}$ (eight and a half) oz. of rice.

Besides this they got—

Vegetables—at 1 (one) pie each.

Meat—at 2 (two) pies each, and

Dhol—1 (one) oz. each, in addition to curry stuff consisting of chillies, onions, spices and tamarind, + $1\frac{1}{4}$ (one and a quarter) oz. of salt each. When vegetables are not available, each boy gets 4 (four) oz. of dhol daily. The diet is not, perhaps, in the exact scientific proportions necessary; but it is a fair diet, and found to be absolutely necessary to keep growing, working, boys in health.

275, 276, 277. They may substitute thenai (*Setaria Italica*), samai (*Panicum miliare*), kambu (*Pennisetum typhoides*), and horsegram (*Dolichos biflorus*). Green-gram (*Phaseolus mungo*) and black-gram (*Phaseolus mungo* var *radiatus*) are not used as sole constituents of diets. I should say that, amongst grains to which they are not accustomed, ragi (*Eleusine Coracana*) is the one most commonly objected to, and naturally, for its preparation is an art. The excuses to the use of unusual grains are various, but may be all summed up in the phrase "it does not agree with my body." The objection to ragi, among those not accustomed to it, is one not to be despised, for it took our Jail departments years to grasp the peculiarities of this grain, and the need for careful preparation. There is a general longing for rice, and all will eat it, more or less, when they can get it. When the prices of dry grains approximate at all to that of rice, the workers are likely to resort to the latter: it is easily prepared—no small matter after a hard day's work—and a smaller quantity will produce a feeling of repletion.

278. The ration usually given was cholam or ragi. Weak cases got rice, under medical officer's orders.

279. Two meals a day. Each meal was supposed to be half the day's ration.

280. There were no complaints generally against the ration under section 122. The sickly people always ask for rice. When the D ration was substituted for that under section 122, there were complaints that it was insufficient. It could not be argued from this that the ration under section 122 was sufficient. I do not say that it was insufficient; but, as the recipients of relief in kitchens were generally the waifs and strays of rural society, they were generally satisfied with the quantity given, as they were not—as a rule—equal to eating a larger ration.

281. See diagram III appended to the article on vital statistics in the Famine Report.

282. The high prices were due to legitimate trade operations, which are—especially when extended over so large an area of country—a barometer on which Government may infallibly rely. Here and there there may be some holding up, but, generally speaking, the merchants buy to sell. I wish to point out that the merchant and the ryot are not on an equal footing as to holding up of stocks. The ryot has his granaries and underground pits, where grain—or some grains—will keep for years. The merchant gets his grain in sacks, and, what between weevils and rats, he does not hold it up longer than what a fair trade speculation would justify. I do not think that all parts of the country had stocks, and, had the rains of November 1896 not fallen, and had, thereby, six to eight more districts been distressed, I believe that we would have had to depend on Burmah and Calcutta as in 1877. It is notorious that the Deccan, as a whole, does not grow grain enough for its own consumption.

283. I don't think that the fall of silver has had anything to do with spasmodic variations in prices, but I think it must have a general tendency to cause a rise in prices. I think 20 years is too short a period to consider. There has been a sensible rise in the general level of prices since the triennium, 1881—83; and it is unlikely that prices will again go back to the 1881—83 rates, as the rise was in part due to the general levelling up of prices owing to improved communications.

283-A. Prices in the adjoining non-affected districts were from 30 to 50 per cent. cheaper than in the affected districts.

284. Yes. In some places there was a want of activity in the grain trade, which baffled enquiry, but, generally speaking, the market met the demand fairly and fully, except in Ganjam. This is a backward tract, and it was specially in ragi that the stock ran out. The railway has only recently come to that district, and the merchants

had not got accustomed to new means of communications. They would have to get their supplies partly from the Bengal side, and, prior to the railway, their communications with that side had been necessarily few. Trade relations had, in fact, not been fully established, and this, I think, is partly the cause why the merchants were behindhand; on the other hand the people of Ganjam are backward and "casual." They are likely to progress rapidly in future.

285. Generally speaking, yes. There would always be some variation between prices in different villages even of the same taluk, but the variation would not be likely to be more than a measure in the rupee. No rates were quoted for condiments, &c., and practically everything rose in price. The following extract from my report on prices in Jammalamadugu in June 1897 will be interesting:—

"It is not only fodder and food-grains which have risen in value, but all articles of consumption, except salt. Prices in Jammalamadugu have risen as follows:—

Dhol from 12 to 4½ local measures per rupee.
Green-gram from 12 to 4 local measures per rupee.
Bengal-gram from 12 to 4
Wheat from 12 to 4 local measures per rupee.
Horse-gram from 16 to 8 local measures per rupee.
Ulundu from 8 to 4 local measures per rupee.
Coriander from 32 to 4 local measures per rupee.
Castor-oil from 16 seers of 20 tolas to 7 seers per rupee.
Gingelly-oil from 8 seers of 20 tolas to 3½ seers per rupee.
Tamarind from As. 8 to Rs. 1-6-0 for one maund of 48 seers of 20 tolas.
Chillies from Rs. 1-2-0 to Rs. 4-8-0 for one maund of 48 seers of 20 tolas.
Ghee from 6½ seers to 4½ seers per rupee.
Jaggery from Rs. 1 to Rs. 1-14-0 per maund.
Cotton-seed from As. 8 to As. 12-9 per maund.
Cholam-fodder from Rs. 3 to Rs. 20 per bandy-load."

286. Yes.

287. Yes and No. From the actual distressed tracts, there would be little export that was not through export; *i.e.*, brought first from, say, Mysore, and then sent on. Export to other places never took place owing to want of local capital. The Famine Report, paragraph 13, touches on this point.

288. Money was made and lost. There had, no doubt, been purchases for a rise, especially in and before November, but the rains of November upset all the calculations. One dealer committed suicide in consequence of his losses. After the November rains there was a marked absence of what might be properly termed speculative buying. Of course all buying is, in a sense, speculative; but the buying after November was a genuine trade operation. The classes who made and lost money were the regular native grain dealers. The European firms had no share in these transactions.

289. I cannot answer this fully. The grain dealers keep their grain in bags, not in pits. They had reasonable stocks, as justified by the demand, throughout. There was no actual depletion, nor could it be said that any of their stores were unopened, for, though bags may be kept in a godown, their godowns would be resorted to daily for daily transactions.

290. Yes. Many had such stocks, but the many were, compared with the mass of the cultivators, few. Their stores may be regarded as non-existent for purposes of trade and for meeting famine demand. The large ryots shut up at once when famine comes, as there is no foreseeing how long it will last, and, in the recent famine, the general impression was that famine had set in, and would last up to, the end of the century. Ryots were not tempted by prices treble the normal rates, but those who refused to sell at 10 measures opened their stores when prices fell to near 20 measures per rupee. This for the Deccan. The same is true of the Circars. As to Bhadrachalam, the agency tract there is inhabited by Telagas and Reddies, who are to an extent intruders from the plains, and cling to the river banks. The interior is inhabited by the Kois mostly. The Riparian villagers are comparatively well-to-do, and had good stocks of grain, and, except the Panchamas amongst them, did not suffer. They, however, absolutely refused to put their stocks on the market, and, had it not been for the courage of the Collector, who imported without orders, there

would have been a catastrophe. Practically no one but the Collector could, at the time, have imported, as grain could be thrown in by steamers only, and the Rajahmundry merchants could not command them. Some mistakes and shortcomings there were in relief administration in Gódvári, but I cannot withhold my tribute of admiration for the courage shown by the Collector in taking the bull by the horns, and importing grain in defiance of all precedent. He could not have certainly counted on his action being supported, as it was. It is not every officer who would have faced the responsibility.

291. The cultivators were not selling. Of course those who did sell would have to allow for the difference between the sellers' and the buyers' prices, but this, owing to competition, would not be an unreasonable margin. Nothing is more remarkable than the network of trade between the different tracts of India. Railways and Telegraphs, and the English language, have brought all India into one basket. How the dealers of Madura and Tinnevely and Mysore came to know the dealers of Agra and Delhi, as well as of Sholapur and Bijapur, is a mystery which would be worth study. All India now suffers, or prospers, as a single being. The last twenty years have completely knit up the previously severed parts. This is a change which may have very grave and important results in another direction.

292. There is no reason to believe that they were not. Allowance would have to be made for railway transit charges over great distances. The Board published information on this subject at regular intervals, showing exactly at what prices export to different foreign places was possible, and trade no doubt profited by the information.

293. Professional grain dealers do not store grain in pits. Ryots do so, but it is doubted whether they hold up stocks to the same extent as formerly—*vide* paragraph 43 of the famine report. High prices and the facilities of modern transport tend to produce this result.

294. Yes—to both queries.

295. It would not be possible to answer this question fully. None of the larger landholders came on relief. Many petty holders did so. The Revenue Settlement is supposed to take nearly half of the net produce of the land. It does not really take so much, but, for the present purpose, let us suppose that it does. The 5 and 10 rupees pattadars are numbered by tens of thousands. If therefore a man's whole net share of the produce is only Rs. 5 or 10 for a year, and, if in a famine year, he has not even got back his seed-corn, would it not be wonderful if many of such ryots did not come on relief? It would be a very bad policy which would prevent them from coming on relief, or strip them to the bone before so allowing them; and yet, this policy is not without its supporters. There are few officials who know the gradual struggles by which the agricultural labourer emerges into the ryot class. There is a universal thirst to own some, if it be only a little land. Perhaps as payment for grazing the cattle of richer ryots, or by saving or by borrowing, the poor labourer gets a little calf. This is at once a little god in the family. The women pet it, the children play with it, all stint for it. They give it some high-sounding name, such as Chengalráyan. Little tots, of eighteen months, play the grown up, and shout at it and drive it with tiny twigs for goads. The household go to great lengths to get food for it, and, as it grows, its training takes up much time. If the labourer has two of them, they will be linked together by a figure-of-eight rope, and taught to walk side by side. Anthrax, rinderpest, red water and many other cattle complaints often come, and upset the calculation of years. Supposing the cattle to grow to working years, there is the difficulty of getting a piece of land. All the good land is occupied. All kinds of difficulties beset the would-be ryot, especially if he be a Panchama, the higher castes uniting to keep him in slavery. Perhaps he can only get land as an under-tenant, on the *wáram*, or sharing system. This is not promising from the outset. Then he borrows a plough, and his seed-corn, and works, and watches and waits, night and day for months. His crop is probably already mortgaged to the village Chetty, or to his landlord. Then come bad seasons one, or more, and the poorer lands feel them most. The crop yields nothing; credit is exhausted; cattle are not saleable, except at nominal prices. The owner will spend whole days in distant jungles to

gather some burnt up sour thatching grass to keep life in the poor beasts. He cannot maintain his family, and the ryots want no labour. He sends his family to bone" official, and either drives them from the work, or girds at them as not destitute, and so the parrot-cry goes round that ryots, who are not destitute, are on relief. If self-help, and self-denial, and the ambition to rise in the social scale, are virtues to be cherished, then the policy which would make such persons sell their little all, before permitting them to earn the scanty famine wage, is a policy which cannot be too severely condemned.

296. To the agricultural labouring class; the Panchamas, Madigas (Chamars) and poor Musalmans.

297. To want of money? In the affected tracts—of the Deccan especially—non-agricultural employment of labour is so small an item that it may be neglected. Even this, however, did fall off, *e.g.*, the cotton presses would require less labour when the cotton crop itself was more or less a failure.

298. No. Except the wage of domestic servants, who can always put the screw on their masters. The reason is simple as any of the laws of political economy. The demand for employment was greater than usual, and the demand for labour less. The employers are men of business, not philanthropists, and regulate wages by the market price of labour. The great standard of price for labour would, in such times, be the price which Government paid for it, and the tendency amongst outside employers of labour would be to get labour as cheaply as possible.

299. I have made no observation on the subject, and I am not sure that I understand the question.

300. I can make the comparison, but I cannot draw any valuable conclusion. I would say that the resisting power of the people is very much what it was 20 years ago. The recent famine was less severe than that of 1876—78, and much more severe than that of 1891—92. A very important factor in resisting famine, or rather in resisting panic, is the belief, now rightly or wrongly engrained in the people, that Government will always come to their help.

301. They are decidedly more averse from going to kitchens than in 1876—78. I have touched on this before. They are no more, or less, ready to go to relief works than before.

302. No. We did not drive them to this. There was, however, a considerable amount of sale of gold ornaments in Ganjam, so much so that the price of gold fell in considerable extent at what may be called nominal prices. Cattle were sold to a comparatively small extent. More could not be sold, as made the people reluctant to sell silver jewellery. There is very little of this in the Deccan. There was a fair amount of gold jewellery in Vizagapatam, and more still in Ganjam. As for the mass of people on relief, they had, practically, nothing which was saleable.

303. No. Trade needed no stimulus except in Ganjam and in Bhadrachalam. In the latter the dealer could not import owing to the natural features of the place.

304. Our relief system was, with a trifling exception in Ganjam, conducted solely on the dry grains.

305. I made enquiries, with special reference to ragi, on this point early in the famine, and leading European merchants were even unable to name any other country from which it could be imported. It seemed, strange to say, that the grain was known in Germany, which I can hardly believe as I know Germany itself better than England; and it was suggested that Turkey might supply, but, as a fact, no one knew anything definite.

For the north of India, wheat could come from America, Russia, Argentina or Australia. I doubt if the American maize is the same as our staples. Indian corn is certainly not our Deccan cholam. I have no idea how our dry grain-eaters would take to the Indian maize of America. I remember distributing the latter myself in the famine of 1848 in Ireland. The people did not like it, and said that they did not

know what to do with it, or how to cook it. I can hardly conceive it being ever necessary to import from such distant countries, and, if a catastrophe which, to that end, must involve all India, were to come, I feel sure that the European firms would be equal to meeting it, though, possibly, they might want some stimulus, or even some guarantee, from Government at the beginning. The arguments for and against Government direct action in the matter of importing grain are arguments which I need not recapitulate.

[These questions are intended for Chamber of Commerce Experts. I only give a few notes regarding them.]

306. Figures of sea-borne trade for the year just past are not yet to hand.

307. I do not know what "other commodities" are referred to.

308. Import of food-grains was stimulated.

309. In this Presidency the prices have, on the whole, risen of late years and the periodical recurrence of distress prevents the prices from going down to their old level. The rise in prices of late years was as follows:—

Average of five years ending	Rice.	Cholam.	Ragi.	Cumbu.
1874	16.1	28.4	31.1	28.6
1877-88	14.9	27.4	29.1	26.4
1896-97	12.0	20.7	22.9	21.2

310. The influence suggested is probable, but as yet it is obscure. It would be bound to be felt in time.

311. I should say not. Really, except rice for manufacturing purposes, I do not think that this Presidency makes any food-grain export. The wheat-exports of the north-west may tell in the direction suggested.

312. In ordinary years the imports by sea are small, about 150,000 tons, and more than this quantity is generally exported.

313. I should say that, year by year, the trade falls more and more into native hands.

314. Imports are chiefly rice from Burma. The recent famine was fought almost entirely on the dry grains. The only district exclusively depending on wet grain imports is Malabar.

316. There were good stocks in Mysore, and in the southern Tamil districts. There was no general impression on the subject, but, had the South-West monsoon completely failed, I think that the stocks remaining would have given out or, so far as the ryots have them, been held up, and we would have been thrown on rice only, as in 1877-78.

317. I have answered this under question 288 *supra*.

318 to 345. These questions are evidently intended for Calcutta experts only.

Madras, dated 26th April 1898.

OFFICIAL MEMORANDUM.

Under instructions from Mr. W. J. H. LeFanu, three copies of his replies to the Famine Commission's questions are herewith submitted to Government.

R. V. Srinivasan
Secretary.

Rev. Sett. L. Rds. and Agri.

To.

The Secretary to Government,

Revenue Department.

*8044
26/4/98*