

**THE GREAT FAMINE AND ITS
CAUSES**

THE GREAT FAMINE

AND

Rare section

ITS CAUSES

BY

VAUGHAN NASH

*WITH EIGHT PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE AUTHOR,
AND A MAP OF INDIA SHOWING
THE FAMINE AREA*

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PREFACE

THE letters published in this volume appeared originally in the *Manchester Guardian*. I have made a few additions and alterations, but none of any moment. No account of so vast a catastrophe, written by any one observer, can pretend to be more than a fragmentary record of impressions; and though I suppose I saw more of the superficial extent of the famine during the eleven weeks which I spent in India than any other person, the great panorama of suffering that unrolled itself day by day was, in relation to the whole, the merest riband. May I add that the most generous help was given to me by all classes to whom I appealed, and that the advice and assistance of the British and Native members of the Civil Service—often given, I fear, at great personal inconvenience—

lightened my task enormously. If my conclusions as to the economic situation are not accepted by all whom it was my privilege to meet, I must console myself by expressing my deep obligations for the information and material which enabled me to arrive at any conclusions at all. The photographs in the present volume scarcely touch the ghastlier aspects of the famine.

V. N.

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APPENDIX

OFFICIAL REPORTS ON THE FAMINE

A FIVE-HUNDRED-PAGE report of the famine in British districts has been presented to Parliament. It gives a mass of detail as to famine administration, and shows at once the unprecedented severity of the famine, and the exhausting drain on the resources, both personal and financial, of the Government. It is unfortunate, however, that Parliament will look in vain for information on some of the most material facts. The papers consist for the most part of correspondence and returns that have passed between the local Governments and the Government of India; and they only bring the story of the famine up to the end of the winter. This may have been inevitable, but it is a pity that the mortality statistics carry us no further than February, and the absence of any mention

of the work of the medical service, which for some reason or other seems to be regarded as a trifling affair, is also to be regretted. Again, with regard to fodder, there are reports of large schemes for cutting and transport; but the breaking down of the transport department seems to have escaped attention. These are some of the points which appear on a first glance at the pages of the Blue-book. And for the rest, the form in which the material is dealt with, makes it difficult to get anything like a connected view of what has been happening.

The "General Idea" pervading the Blue-book is twofold—first, that the famine is the most severe that has ever taxed the resources of Government; next, that the conditions of relief should be made more stringent than ever before. How far the one proposition follows from the other, the reader is left to gather for himself from the Government circular of 27th December:—

"The Government perceive with some anxiety that the numbers on relief in British India and Native States are rapidly increasing, and that they already exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of persons, although relief operations are in most provinces still in a preliminary

stage. If the present rate of progression is long maintained, the crowds on relief will far exceed the record of any previous famine, and will strain not only the finances, but also the administrative resources of the Government. These considerations impel the Governor General in Council to invite the local Governments to seriously consider, with him, whether the principles or practice of famine relief have in any particular, or particulars, been imperceptibly relaxed, and whether the extreme readiness which the people have evinced to throw themselves upon the charity of the State, and to avail themselves of every form of relief, does not require a corresponding strictness on the part of those charged with the duty of administering it."

Here we have what seems to be a suggestion of general pauperisation, unsubstantiated, it may be added, by any evidence of a conclusive character. In fact, the very next words almost supply the refutation of such a charge :—

"The fact is not overlooked that the circumstances of the present drought are in some ways unprecedented. Since famine began to be administered on a methodical system, there has been no instance of a province being twice smitten by extreme drought in so short a space of time as three years, nor is there any previous instance of such widespread mortality of cattle as has this year occurred, carrying with it the ruin of classes superior to those from which the relief workers are ordinarily drawn. And there has

rarely been a drought which unmistakably declared itself so early in the year, or necessitated so early a resort to relief."

However, the conclusion of the matter was, that the conditions of relief were to be stiffened ; large works were to be preferred to small, because of the " discipline and incommodities " which they offered, and gratuitous relief was to be cut down to the lowest possible limits. The Blue-book shows how far the gospel of deterrents was carried. Before the issue of this circular the Bombay Government, in some districts, tried a system of piecework without any minimum, with the result that " large numbers of people, who presumably did not begin work till their strength was low, earned less and less, until they got a pittance of two annas (2*d.*), or less, in a week, that many accordingly left the works, and others were deterred from coming to them." This is from the report of Mr. Monteath, the secretary to the Bombay Government ; and to clinch the matter he adds that " for some time a large measure of gratuitous relief will be needed to restore to strength people who have fallen into a state of emaciation." In other words, the so-called relief was for many

simply a method of starvation. Matters were only a degree better where a penal minimum was fixed. This course was decided on, so we learn from Mr. Monteath, because there was "reason to believe that the want of sufficient establishment has made it impossible to apply proper tests in Khandesh and Sholapur, and probably also in Broach." The people, in fact, did not work because the work was not laid out for them, and supervision and often tools were wanting. And, as I wrote from Bombay, the penal minimum was adopted in the hope that it would supply a cheap and automatic substitute for a well-considered organisation. The code minimum in the places mentioned, and in other districts, was accordingly cut down 25 per cent., and the result was—What? The Blue-book does not say. And yet it would surely be fair to Parliament, confronted as it is with a terrible breakdown in the machinery for preserving life, to vouchsafe some information as to the effect of the experiment. I can only repeat that, to the best of my belief, this so-called penalty for the contumacious tended, through want of organisation, to become the general standard of relief—a

standard described by the Government of India as "not a safe subsistence standard, in ordinary circumstances, for the masses." On the other hand, the Central Provinces seem to have turned a deaf ear to the suggestions of the Government circular. They continued their small works, and secured a sufficient organisation to keep them running, and enable the people to earn a subsistence wage. True, the summer has found them with two million people on relief out of an affected population of ten millions. But against this may be set the fact—which is surely the true test of the measures adopted—that starvation is practically non-existent, that the death-rate, but for the cholera, is normal, and that when the cholera came they were able to grapple with it. In Bombay the monthly death-rates of the worst districts given had by February increased from the normal of 2·48 in Kaira to 7·90, from 1·86 in Panch Mahals to 12·58, from 2·15 in Khandesh to 5·95, and from 1·81 in Ahmednagar to 4·09. These terrible figures cannot be put down to any one defect. They simply represent the consequences of want of preparation, lack of organisation, and deterrents of the barbed-wire

order. When the cholera came, we know what happened.

The fearful strain on the *personnel* of the famine administration is shown by the following announcement, made in the Legislative Council on the 19th of January: "The Government of India have done all that lay in their power to provide engineer officers and subordinates for the provinces most requiring them, and have also lent the services of a large number of Staff Corps officers as relief superintendents. It is no longer possible for them to give any further assistance in these directions; and the Governor-General in Council is reluctantly obliged to advise the local Governments that they must do the best they can with their present establishments, supplementing them, so far as is practicable, by temporary local engagements." This statement did not put a stop to demands for help, and on the 3rd of February the suggestion was made that resort should be had to "unofficial European agency, obtained through the medium of indigo concerns" in Bengal. More hopeful, perhaps, was the announcement that non-commissioned officers and privates of the

British army were available for famine service—a source of help which was largely drawn upon by the Government of the Central Provinces, with, as I was assured, excellent results. The greatest credit is due to those districts which managed to make up a fair complement of officers, often out of very unpromising material. But when we hear of the deficiency of Government resources, it is as well to remember that in point of qualified men, they were long since exhausted. The lack of men can only increase the misgivings with which a study of the repeated efforts of the Government of India to stiffen the methods of relief will fill the reader. There is some painful reading in the answers of the Government of the Punjab, and of the authorities responsible for administration in Berar and in Ajmere-Merwara, and the devices for shortening rations and increasing the task which appear to have been universally applied, though nowhere with such stringency as in Bombay, alternate with disclosures of the people's extremity, and the unprecedented scale and stress of the famine. The effect of this on the mind is anything but pleasant. "Yes, your need is

great," the authorities say in effect; "never, indeed, was it greater; but there are really so many of you, that we shall be bound to deal with you on the assumption that you are tricking us, and we must therefore see what is the very barest minimum on which you will try the experiment of keeping body and soul together." Would it not have been better at the outset to admit that the financial strain made adequate help impossible, and frankly to appeal for a grant from the Imperial exchequer? There is neither candour nor kindness in trying to fight a famine on the cheap, under the pretence that the people of India are paupers at heart, and must be treated to a *régime* of Bumbledom. The matter is not one of retrospective interest merely, for the numbers on relief are going up every week,¹ and it is only too certain that, what with the lack of cattle, and the failure of adequate help to replace the people on their farms, there will be another famine next year.

The Blue-book gives us a rough estimate of the suspensions of land revenue entailed by the

¹ They reached their maximum of upwards of 6,300,000 during the second week in August.

famine, but nothing is said about remissions. It is worth noting that in the northern division of Bombay, where the people are literally at the last gasp, the original estimates of suspensions have been cut down by a million and a quarter rupees, on the ground that such estimates were excessive. The Commissioner asked for powers to suspend about half of the land tax; he is only permitted to suspend a third. In the central division, where famine is general and severe, but not so overwhelming, the estimate has been increased by nearly a million. This procedure seems to call for explanation. His Excellency in Council is of opinion that "it is not expedient that people who have resources should be relieved of the punctual payment of their dues." Nobody disputes that; but, on the other hand, there is no machinery for sorting out the resourceless from the rest, and, this being so, the collection of any revenue at all in the worst districts is an intolerable hardship on the people. Some alleviation, no doubt, has been introduced by the lavish distribution of Government advances for well-sinking, and the like. But while the Government of India grants the money, the

local Government, I am assured on testimony which I cannot doubt, does not hesitate on occasion to dip its hand into the fund, scooping out the cultivator's revenue before it lets him have the money. For purposes of comparison, I give the suspensions for Bombay, four districts of the Central Provinces—the only ones given,—and the worst-hit districts of the Punjaub:—

			Land revenue demand.	Suspensions.
			Rs.	Rs.
Bombay	...	...	39,224,330	7,146,000
Central Provinces (first instalment)	...	...	3,845,000	2,528,000
Punjaub—				
Hissar	...	...	600,881	520,438
Rohtale	...	...	528,174	330,725
Gurgaon	...	...	614,570	278,088
Gujrat	...	...	361,566	258,000

The Secretary for India may be able to explain the disparity between the first set of suspensions and the second and third. It wants explaining.

INDIAN TERMS AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS

<i>Bunya</i>	...	...	Trader and money-lender.
<i>Mamlotdar</i>	...	...	Native district magistrate.
<i>Taluka</i>	...	...	Official district.
<i>Jowar</i>	...	...	A kind of millet.
<i>Zemindar</i>	...	...	Landowner.
<i>Mauud</i>	...	...	82 $\frac{2}{7}$ lbs.
<i>Rupee</i>	...	...	1s. 4d.
<i>Lakh</i>	100,000.
<i>Anna</i>	A penny.
<i>Pice</i>	One-fourth of an anna.
<i>Pie</i>	One-twelfth of an anna.

THE END

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