

Colonial Relations in Aid

In faith and hope the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is charity.¹

Introduction: The Viceroy's Earthquake Relief Fund and 'State-Aided' Charity

After having discussed the ways in which political agendas and local, regional and national networks shaped the organisation of relief funds and relief associations, this chapter examines the colonial government's position towards charitable relief and the role of so-called colonial, imperial or state-aided relief funds as a part of the government's relief and rehabilitation response. The colonial government indirectly or directly controlled these funds created with the purpose of providing the main source of funding for charitable relief and managed to collect a large amount by relying on networks surrounding elites, the government administration and emerging institutionalised international cooperation.

The colonial government played a central role in collecting public charity by facilitating collections of the Viceroy's Earthquake Relief Fund (VERF), founded by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India after the earthquake.² It is interesting to note in this context that although Lady Countess of Willingdon first intended to organise a relief fund, it was her husband the Viceroy who became the fund's front figure.³ At the time of the earthquake the couple was about to leave Calcutta from Howrah station and Lady Willingdon remarked 'Well, we left Madras in a cyclone, and now we leave Calcutta during an earthquake.'⁴ In India the VERF received public subscriptions and collections organised by government officials. The Governor of Bihar and Orissa, James Sifton, soon followed the Viceroy's announcement with a speech and appeal for the fund, and diverted the provincial relief fund under him to the VERF.⁵ In London a Mansion House fund collected international subscriptions on behalf of the VERF. In addition to using established networks in order to collect charity, the government managed

to pool funds into the VERF from two other large fund collections—a collection made in an international appeal by the International Relief Union and by the Mayor of Calcutta, Santosh Kumar Basu, for the Mayor's Earthquake Relief Fund, commonly referred to as the Mayor of Calcutta's fund.

While the VERF was closely associated with the government and framed as the earthquake fund for 'India', two supporting urban funds, a Mansion House fund, also known as the Lord Mayor of London's fund or the Indian Earthquake Fund or Lord Mayor's/Mayor fund,⁶ and the Mayor of Calcutta's fund⁷ acted as intermediaries based on their relationship with urban audiences. The Mayor of Calcutta started a fund collection in his city by asking for the support of 'the leading citizens representing the landed aristocracy, trade and commerce, and leaders of public opinion'.⁸ Among the Europeans in Calcutta, a group of Germans and William Arthur Moore, editor of *The Statesman*, had been the first to contribute to the Mayor's fund in an inaugural public meeting.⁹ The director of the Reserve Bank of India for the Calcutta register, Sir Edward Benthall, expressed support with the claim that 'in all national disasters the Europeans had always stood with their fellow citizens and would always do'.¹⁰ The Europeans held a noticeable presence in the meeting where they portrayed themselves as a community of benevolent givers. A group of 'Muslim merchants',¹¹ prominent citizens and industries of the city, for example, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and members of the East India Jute Association, supported the fund or promised donations, as announced in the newspapers.¹² For all funds, public gifting was important to elicit gifting: it attracted subscriptions and positioned them in the spectre of relief. Perhaps this important feature of the funds was even more pronounced in the two 'Mayor funds' as gifting became embedded in a local context where the contributor's social act was on display. In the case of the two Mayor funds, public gifting served as a bond between the audience and the patron of the fund. The identity of the fund, based on the patron and his rhetoric, elicited gifting from the local audiences.

This chapter begins with a discussion on the role of the VERF and charitable relief within the financial plan for aid and reconstruction. Next follows a discussion on how patronage influenced methods for collecting subscriptions and the VERF's public image in comparison with other relief societies and funds. Building upon the inferences drawn, the next section argues that the government's cautious stance towards other large-scale fund collections, and in particular the BCRC's fund and international relief funds, was mainly based on its interest in the VERF as a source of charitable relief controlled by the government. Other

fund collections were seen by the state as challenging its authority as the main source of charitable relief.

Governance of Public Aid

A fund headed by a viceroy was a known concept. Prior to 1934, the Viceroy had opened a relief fund after the Kangra earthquake in 1905¹³ and again, after the Quetta earthquake in 1935, a fund under his patronage was founded.¹⁴ Tirthankar Roy suggests that the history of 'state-aided' charity in the Indian subcontinent goes back to the time when the East India Company administration was socially close to prominent commercial classes of Calcutta, giving the example of relief organised by the Governor-General after a tidal wave in south-eastern Bengal in 1822.¹⁵ Roy notes how a standard response of the state in emergencies during the nineteenth century was revenue remission and charity in the form of a subscribed fund, which he refers to as state-aided charity.¹⁶ The management and structure of VVERF in 1934 bear close resemblance to the two Indian Famine Charitable Relief Funds from 1897 and 1900 in terms of being 'mainly imperial', as Georgina Brewis calls the two famine funds.¹⁷ The Viceroy presided over the inaugural meeting in 1900, the central committee in Calcutta received international funds collected by the Mayor of London, by other mayors around the country, and by governor-generals in the colonies.¹⁸ These two famine funds collected substantial sums in India, Great Britain and from around the empire through fundraising, volunteering and cooperation between relief agencies. The fund of 1897 received 1.7 million pounds, 'the largest amount that ever had been collected anywhere' according to the Lord Mayor of London, and the fund of 1900 received more than 1 million pounds out of which 627,000 pounds were collected in Great Britain.¹⁹ Contrary to the voluntary efforts in the committees and in the local management of the famine funds, as Brewis' article highlights, the government closely controlled the VVERF of 1934 in terms of distribution and collections, even though it claimed the VVERF to be a private fund.²⁰ Very similar to the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Funds, it was managed by committees at central, regional and local levels, with the Viceroy and the fund's central committee in Delhi deciding 'major questions of policy'²¹ and the Governor of Bihar and Orissa directing expenditure in consultation with a local committee of high-ranking officials and 'non-officials' of prominent positions.²² The committees, however, held peripheral roles as advisers as the decision-making power for how the fund was to be distributed rested with

the Viceroy and the Governor. While the government of Bihar and Orissa was excluded from taking decisions regarding allocations, its officers disbursed the fund as gratuitous relief at police stations or other official buildings,²³ in accordance with the promise that the fund would 'remain in the hands of officers of Government'.²⁴ In practice, the high government officials' influence over the fund and the local government's responsibility for distribution made it into a government fund. The fund was promoted by the government and distributed by government officials, yet it was described as one of the private relief funds by the government.

Out of 10 million rupees distributed by charitable funds in earthquake relief, the VERF collected 7 million rupees.²⁵ By the middle of March the VERF had received almost 3.2 million rupees.²⁶ Around the same time the Viceroy estimated that a total of 350,000 pounds, a collection of about 4.5 million rupees in his fund would be 'satisfactory' to cover the needs for charitable relief on behalf of the government.²⁷ According to the press, VERF's committee received 20,000 rupees every day by the end of April 1934.²⁸ The amount seems exaggerated, or the subscriptions declined gradually, as by the end of May 1934 the total collection was almost 3.7 million rupees²⁹ and in July 1934, the VERF had received slightly more than 5.4 million rupees.³⁰ The fund reached the sum of more than 6.1 million rupees by end of October 1934³¹ and amounted to 7 million rupees when it closed in March 1935.³² Almost 4.1 million rupees were contributions from the public to the VERF, an achievement close to the estimate of the needed 4.5 million rupees provided by the Viceroy.³³

The VERF was from the beginning part of the government's plan for collecting charitable relief to cover the 'wide scope for private charity' as the Secretary of State phrased it.³⁴ While discussing the financial plan for reconstruction, Alan A. L. Parsons, Secretary to the Government of India, Finance Department, recommended public charity as a source of funds.³⁵ He advised to withhold the announcement of a contribution by the Government of India towards charitable relief until private charity had 'dried up':

So far as grants are concerned, I think that these should be a charge on the funds raised by private subscription, but that if, as is probable, insufficient money is raised from private charity, the Government of India should consider making a direct grant to His Excellency's fund [the VERF]. It would not of course be desirable to make this grant or announce any intention of doing so until private charity has dried up.³⁶

In effect, he recommended the government to first exhaust public charity as far as possible, before providing a government grant to the relief fund, which in turn would distribute it as charitable relief. His stance was supported by the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, who recommended the central government to withhold an announcement of making a complimentary grant 'to supplement' the relief funds since he feared that such news would adversely affect charitable subscriptions from the public to the VERNACULAR RELIEF FUND.³⁷ According to the political plan for financing relief and reconstruction, publicly subscribed funds would cover reconstruction of private property for 'the poorest classes' and 'if necessary' a grant by the central government would cover the remaining balance.³⁸ The dependence upon public charity for the reconstruction of private property instead of government grants was, however, challenged in a resolution in the Council of State, suggesting the Governor-General donate a million rupees specifically with regard to the large numbers of houses in need of reconstruction.³⁹ From the position of the government, it was important to encourage subscriptions and not to give the impression that the government would be willing to provide funds for charitable relief.

Once the initial hurry to arrange emergency relief had subsided and the scope of the disaster started to sink in, amounts needed for the different heads of disaster relief became a topic of speculation. Compounded, the financial expenditure required to rebuild to a semblance of normality was expected to be huge.⁴⁰ Government officials had provided widely disparate estimates, probably due to inclusion of different heads, ranging from 50 million rupees mentioned by the Secretary of State for India to 300 million rupees by the Governor of Bihar.⁴¹ The unofficial 'very rough estimate' of 50 million rupees was often repeated as the amount of funds needed for relief and reconstruction, out of which 20 million were estimated for urban reconstruction, 10 million for relief in rural areas and 20 million for the reconstruction of Government and Local Board buildings.⁴² The budget for reconstruction announced to the public by the end of February presented a proposed division of costs financed with loans and grants from the central and local governments and with charity collected from the public.⁴³ The central government would cover half the costs of reconstruction and extend a loan to the local government for its share of the cost. Local bodies managed by the District Boards, such as schools, dispensaries, hospitals and so-called aided schools, private institutions run with the support of grants, were regarded as unable to repay loans considering that they had little resources at hand and had lost their main source of income since many houses and roads had been ruined. Therefore the government allocated free grants to

these institutions for 7.5 million rupees, to be taken from a fund created by the surplus of the central revenues. The total of this fund was 12.9 million rupees. The central and local government carried the cost of reconstruction for official buildings and infrastructure up to the estimated cost of 20 million rupees. At this stage, the VERF was promoted as a fund for charitable relief towards reconstruction of private property and to the poorer classes, for all those unable to take loans. While the government used the Provincial Famine Relief Fund to partially cover agricultural charitable relief, the budget for reconstruction counted on the VERF and other publicly subscribed relief funds for 'many of the poorest sufferers'.⁴⁴

In spite of claims that the VERF was a private fund, the Government of India directly worked to secure the substantial contribution of 800,000 rupees from the Indian People's Famine Relief Trust to the fund.⁴⁵ The large amount and relatively fast transfer were indicative of how the government played a decisive role in boosting the VERF. The Indian People's Famine Trust had been created by the Maharaja of Jaipur in 1900 for charitable relief during famines and soon received substantial contributions by wealthy nobilities across the country as well as general public subscriptions.⁴⁶ Although the fund was private in the sense that it collected subscriptions from the public for charitable relief to private individuals, its board's operation depended on the Government of India, making its actual administration no different than state assistance, according to Kokila Dang.⁴⁷ Even though famine relief was the initial purpose of the trust, it provided grants after great calamities and not only famines. An important criterion for grants was the factual occurrence of disaster, for instance, in the 1906 Darbhanga famine the Government of India declined assistance to the Government of Bengal with the argument that the distress was managed by local efforts and neither perceived as 'general' nor widespread enough to qualify for a grant.⁴⁸ Dang notes how the fund served the Government of India's interests in the sense that it made government relief or grants into a supplement while the trust was used as the primary source for gratuitous relief.⁴⁹ The purpose of the VERF resembled the trust in terms of serving as a provider of gratuitous relief according to the Government of India's wishes. However, in 1934 the Government of India arranged a transfer of a grant from the trust to the VERF, although the local Government of Bihar and Orissa featured as the applicant. The initial application at the end of January 1934 requested a grant of 200,000 rupees 'for the special purpose of reconstruction of the houses of impoverished persons'.⁵⁰ Already within a week, a revised application stated the considerably higher sum of 800,000 rupees as 'most urgently' necessary.⁵¹ According to the

board of management of the trust, the local government would receive the amount, provided it would utilise the amount according to the 'general scheme' agreed on with the central government for repairing damages caused by the earthquake.⁵² The local government was thereby relatively free to dictate how the grant would be used, and not necessarily 'for the special purpose of reconstruction of the houses of impoverished persons' as the initial application had stated.⁵³ According to a government communiqué in October 1934, the donation was earmarked for reconstruction of houses in rural areas,⁵⁴ but according to Brett's report, government officials distributed the fund as 'free grants' of 'a few rupees' while on tour in rural areas⁵⁵ which may have paid some consideration to the initial purpose to rebuild houses of 'impoverished persons'. The VERF received the grant from the trust according to its balance sheet,⁵⁶ even though the application and allocation of the grant were between the local government and the trust.⁵⁷ As the grant of 800,000 rupees to the VERF showed, the local and central governments' active involvement gave the VERF a good start. Perhaps the move was a strategy to avoid a prolonged wait for public subscriptions to trickle in, often an issue in the management of publicly subscribed relief funds as John Hutchinson points out in his article on international relief in the interwar period.⁵⁸ The prompt transfer of a large amount from the famine trust to the VERF within two weeks after the earthquake solved the uncertain wait for funds.

The VERF from the very beginning served as a convenient resource for the government until the allocation of grants and government funds had been cleared. The VERF balance sheet contains two large 'reimbursements' received from the central and local governments respectively for expenditure on the sugar cane harvest in north Bihar and costs for sand clearance of agricultural land.⁵⁹ These two heads were subsequently covered by the budget for relief and charged to revenue in due course of time. The VERF initially covered the full cost of sand removal with 355,000 rupees but would in the end only use 100,000 rupees⁶⁰ since the local government provided the amount from the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Famine Relief Fund by June 1934.⁶¹ Both the central and the local governments' ability to rely on the fund for charitable relief, even if only temporarily, underlined that the fund served to support the relief operations by the government. Once reimbursed, the VERF spent the amount on other heads, though the sources omit how this was negotiated. Although the government claimed the fund to be private and support charitable relief for the poor—from the public to the public—it bore large expenses until it figured out how to source the unexpected expenses.

Publicity and Public Gifting

The VERF appealed for contributions from the Indian public, first of all from its most affluent layers, the British administration, as well as an international public mainly based in Great Britain. Industrialists, government officials and local rulers were of special importance in its appeals and subscription lists. In order to attract public attention, the government made considerable efforts by using publicity and propaganda. It was a premeditated strategy by the Home Department in New Delhi to portray the VERF as 'the really substantial fund for the relief of distress'.⁶² Publicity work started with publications and articles based on facts provided in public speeches and appeals by high officials.⁶³ In connection with the inception of the fund, the government deployed its administration throughout India to ensure publicity and collect funds. The government administration was not new to the idea of encouraging fund collections; it had previous records of urging wealthier citizens to donate towards public projects of importance to the government.⁶⁴ The central government requested all local governments to give the appeal by the Governor of Bihar and Orissa⁶⁵ 'wide publicity', and to translate it into the vernaculars in order to raise funds from the public.⁶⁶ The government increased pressure on its local governments to collect funds by requesting active participation in the organisation of subscriptions and list names of donors in order to prompt donations. In Bombay, all government officers were requested to cooperate 'fully' with the public in raising funds and assist those who collected money for the VERF.⁶⁷ Published lists in the newspapers of donors did not only display contributors favourably, they also served to tell who had not contributed. The public display of gifting could have the function to both attract as well as coax givers.

The government's keen pursuit of amassing public charity resulted in collections by government officials towards the VERF from around India. In the district of Burdwan in Bengal, high-ranking officials engaged in setting up and collecting money for the Burdwan Relief Fund and subsequently announced that the whole collection would be given to the VERF.⁶⁸ When the Commissioner of Lucknow division closed the city's fund in support of the VERF, it had collected more than 50,000 rupees with the help of the administration⁶⁹ and in Aden, the Chief Commissioner despatched funds on behalf of the British settlement.⁷⁰ Personal sacrifice and individual gifting by offering a part of one's salary to the fund was another way to gain the approval of superiors among the government officials in Motihari: the deputy magistrates and veterinaries gave 2 to 5 per cent of their salaries for six months, while the magistrate gave a one-time amount of

250 rupees.⁷¹ The Bihar and Orissa Police had collected 7,450 rupees, a sum that earned special attention according to the Relief Commissioner.⁷² The VERF, with the use of government propaganda and under the direct patronage of high government officials, managed to secure subscriptions from the government administration, Indian local rulers, Europeans and industrialists.

Like individual contributions that were often announced in public, the current balances of the fund collections were published in the newspapers almost on a daily basis. As if contending over which fund could amass the largest amount, substantial contributions by important people and the current balances of funds were published side by side.⁷³ The VERF became known as a recipient of donations by government officials and nobilities, while the BCRC represented the common people. As Carl Heath, the British Quaker leader who later got involved in the reconstruction of villages in north Bihar wrote to his friend:

Actually, in India there are two funds, the Viceroy's and a more popular one (...). The only real difference between them is that Maharajas, Nawabs and Nizams will naturally send their money to the Viceroy, whilst the rank and file are afraid, often, of contributing even to a Government fund.⁷⁴

The sharp division between the 'more popular one', the BCRC fund as representing 'the people', and the VERF that held the support of 'the nobilities' was an exaggeration with some truth to it. Many local rulers had contributed to the VERF, yet both funds had the support of the elites. Odd articles in *The Statesman* described donations to the VERF as 'genuine cases of the poor helping the poor'.⁷⁵ Such well-composed stories of the fund as recipient of subscriptions from 'poor' persons, the aged, unemployed and 'villages schools in Bihar' giving 14 rupees appeared unlikely and may have been composed as part of a strategy to attract collections from common people as well. The VERF's close association with the government gave rise to suspicions regarding the fund's intended purpose. When disbursements of grants from the VERF began, an officer reported 'wild rumours' afloat concerning the fund being used for the reconstruction of government buildings, and recommended that the government publish details on the fund's disbursements.⁷⁶ The government subsequently published a communiqué to counter the allegation that the VERF was being used for repairing government buildings instead of housing for 'the poor'.⁷⁷

The public display of gifting in the newspapers served as material for the *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* editorial to criticise government officials' contributions

as they were less than expected.⁷⁸ The publication of relatively modest amounts donated by the King and Queen of England and the lack of contributions by other officials to the VERF served as negative publicity in the hands of the nationalist press. Upon launching the VERF, *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* editorial had applauded the Viceroy for starting a fund and hoped to see contributions from 'officials and non-officials and from our Rajas and Maharajas'.⁷⁹ Soon the newspaper criticised the amount given by the British monarchs and singled out the Secretary of State, Sir Samuel Hoare, for having made 'no personal donation yet', in contrast with the response after the Kanto earthquake in 1923 when the prime minister of Japan had made a private donation and allocated money from the state treasury, while the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon were commended for at least having started the VERF.⁸⁰

The two 'Mayor funds' by the Mayor of Calcutta and the Lord Mayor of London followed similar patterns with foundational meetings where the business communities, prominent persons and wealthier sections of the two metropolises presented donations, fundraising from charity events and smaller amounts collected through subscription lists from the public. An important difference between the funds was, however, the colonial government's direct support in the organisation and publicity on behalf of the Lord Mayor fund.⁸¹ The opening of a Mansion House fund in London, in direct support of the VERF, was motivated by the need for a large collection already a few days after the VERF had been launched. The Viceroy notified the Secretary of State of the situation being far more grave than first expected, quoting damages amounting to 'several' *crores* [one crore is 10,000,000]. The Mansion House fund in England, headed by the Mayor of London, presumably could increase international subscriptions substantially.⁸² According to Hutchinson, the Mansion House fund was the British government's preferred means for collecting emergency relief funds from the public in the 1920s and 1930s.⁸³ The Mayor's funds served as a system of national as well as international fund collections in times of disaster. In 1861, the Mayor of London announced the first international appeal for Indian famine relief.⁸⁴ Similarly, the Titanic Relief Fund 1912–59 served to provide funds, especially for British victims, and offered long-term financial relief in support of survivors and relatives of the deceased,⁸⁵ while a number of relief funds from the Mansion House supported miners' families in Great Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁸⁶ Besides aiding disaster victims within the British Empire, these type of funds collected substantial sums for disaster relief in foreign countries, including 6,600,000 gold francs given to Japan after the 1923 Kanto earthquake.⁸⁷

The India Office was responsible for the organisation of publicity work in order to stimulate especially international contributions to the Lord Mayor Fund.⁸⁸ The India Office kept a close watch on the sums collected and the progress of the fund for weeks after the inaugural meeting.⁸⁹ The meeting at the Mansion House in London presided over by the Secretary of State for India and the High Commissioner for India⁹⁰ was anticipated as a popular event for the financial urban elite where the 'wealthy City people, including the bankers' would prefer to give to their Mayor's fund rather than to the VERF, partly because the meeting provided an opportunity to display their contributions.⁹¹ The public display of gifting in the company of powerful patrons was an essential part of the fund's ability to attract contributions. At the same time contributions by, for instance, the Bank of England, and a string of affluent public figures such as the Lord Chancellor and Lord Archbishop of Canterbury also presented instances of public gifting available to a wider audience via lists published in newspapers.⁹²

The fund continued collecting grants by appealing to churches, universities, schools, local authorities and various organisations and institutions throughout the country, in other words, all institutions expected to amass large funds with the help of their considerable organisational capacities and established networks.⁹³ The Mayors of Sheffield and Manchester pooled their fund collections into the VERF.⁹⁴ Overall, the fund followed a similar organisational pattern in collecting and managing contributions as did other funds such as the Mansion House fund and the Titanic Relief Fund, which also received funds from mayors across the country.⁹⁵ The Mayors and donors, often wealthy private individuals and corporations, were 'rewarded' with the amount and their name publicly announced in the newspapers.⁹⁶ Whether contributing with a smaller sum in a box outside the Mansion House or by a cheque marked 'Indian Earthquake Fund',⁹⁷ subscriptions from the public were performed in public where subscribers received recognition for the act (Image 4.1).

Contrary to the Mayor of London's fund, whose purpose was to solely support the VERF, the Mayor of Calcutta's fund was at first profiled as a supplement to and collaborator with not just the VERF but also a range of established organisations. However, it was restricted to be distributed by 'non-political organisations' engaged in 'purely social work' and 'commended by officials and non-officials alike'.⁹⁸ The Mayor of Calcutta, in spite of the fund's 'non-political' stance, later in January 1934 became a member of the All-India-Committee of BCRC, and was one of its fifty-four 'distinguished leaders and publicmen [*sic*] of India' among whom M. K. Gandhi was listed first.⁹⁹ This was hardly surprising as Mayor Basu himself was perceived as 'a staunch Congressman'.¹⁰⁰ The ambiguous political profiling of the Mayor's fund

politically uncertain stance, at least officially, may have contributed to its popularity among those reluctant to take a political position in public.

Financial support to the BCRC from the Mayor of Calcutta's fund was fractional compared to the amounts provided to the government and the VERF in the reconstruction phase, and even compared to a number of relief organisations based in Calcutta.¹⁰³ The Ramakrishna Mission received an initial grant of 20,000 rupees from the Mayor's Fund, and another 30,000 rupees later, in April or May.¹⁰⁴ The fund financed immediate relief carried out by relief societies operating in the area, while funds given to the government and the VERF were earmarked for reconstruction.¹⁰⁵ According to Brett's report, the Mayor of Calcutta's fund was 'spent in consultation with Government and largely by Government officers'.¹⁰⁶ The Mayor's fund allotted sums for erection of temporary buildings constructed by the local government, sinking tube-wells and middle-class relief.¹⁰⁷ As the Mayor closed the fund at 475,000 rupees, the VERF received the remaining amount and spent it on temporary houses and huts.¹⁰⁸

Collecting International Funds

In the light of a political plan for aid that encouraged public subscriptions for charitable relief, the government's rejection of an appeal for international relief by the International Relief Union (IRU) may at first glance appear contradictory as it encouraged international relief. According to Hutchinson, who has written two in-depth articles on the IRU,¹⁰⁹ the reliance on the Mansion House funds was partly the reason for Great Britain's reluctance towards international cooperation between governments in disaster relief,¹¹⁰ a relatively novel endeavour that took root in the climate of international cooperation in the inter-war period.¹¹¹ Great Britain was one of the strongest opponents of the IRU mainly because of its institutionalisation of private charity.¹¹² The British foreign office showed contempt, ridiculed its idealism and made a point out of not joining a project 'proposed by the Italians'. From Great Britain's perspective, joining the IRU meant introducing 'action by the state' in times of disasters, which would lead to 'the end of action by the individual', according to the British delegate to the League of Nations.¹¹³ Despite such scepticism towards institutionalised disaster relief, the British government had acceded to the IRU's convention in 1929, and the Indian Government ratified the convention in 1931.

The IRU, founded by the League of Nations members for the organisation of international government cooperation in disaster relief,¹¹⁴ did not take part in relief work in Bihar 1934 'in accordance with the wishes of the Indian

Government', as explained by Camille Gorgé, member of the Board of Governors of the Swiss Red Cross and of the Executive Committee of the IRU, in 1938. The Bihar earthquake in 1934 and the Quetta earthquake in 1935 are cited by Gorgé as the two initial attempts to provide coordinated international disaster relief by the IRU; the first was deemed a failure and the latter was regarded as its first successful operation, although modest in scope.¹¹⁵

The rejection of the IRU's international appeal was partly motivated by its competition over funds with the Mayor's Mansion House fund. After the earthquake, the IRU contacted its cooperation partner, the League of Red Cross Societies in Paris, which offered 1,000 pounds to the Indian Red Cross for first-aid expenses,¹¹⁶ as also acknowledged by the Viceroy on 23 January 1934.¹¹⁷ The same day, the IRU launched an international appeal in telegrams to all 26 member states of the IRU. Barely had the telegrams been sent, when the IRU heard from the India Office that India did not wish for a public appeal for funds and the appeal was called off.¹¹⁸ According to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, they had never approved an international appeal. The Secretary of State was particularly disturbed by the international appeal of the IRU since he had just discussed a Mansion House fund aimed at attracting international contributions to the V.E.R.F. The IRU's international appeal had preceded the colonial government's launch of an international fund and posed a possible threat to the V.E.R.F.'s international subscription. An indignant Secretary of State demanded to know who had sent an international appeal without prior consultation. In view of the appeal for funds in Great Britain, he cautioned the Viceroy's office that an international appeal by the IRU 'might prove very embarrassing'.¹¹⁹ The Viceroy's office conducted a small inquiry, which suggested that the League of Red Cross Societies in Paris was 'the origin of the rumour' for the international appeal,¹²⁰ perhaps executed after the Indian Red Cross Society had welcomed assistance.¹²¹

All the funds collected by the IRU were transferred to the Indian Red Cross and subsequently to the V.E.R.F. The union's initial donation of 1,000 pounds to the Indian Red Cross Society, as well as the subsequent Red Cross donations from the international appeal by the IRU, were transferred to the V.E.R.F.,¹²² although secondary literature claims the Red Cross to have benefited from the IRU's appeal. The yearly report by the Indian Red Cross Society mentioned the IRU's appeal to the 26 IRU member states on 23 January 1934 and the IRU's contribution of 1,000 pounds. Even though the IRU's appeal was limited and soon revoked, the initial round of telegrams to member states resulted in donations of substantial amounts which the Indian Red Cross forwarded to the V.E.R.F. As a result of the IRU's appeal, the Indian Red Cross received 74,980 rupees from national

Red Cross Societies. These sums were immediately deposited with the VERF.¹²³ A contribution of 26,450 rupees from the American Red Cross Society arrived within a week of the appeal.¹²⁴ The IRU's contribution did only receive evasive recognition—it was, as Hutchinson noted, not even mentioned in an article about the relief work in the *Bulletin of the League of Red Cross Societies* later in 1934.¹²⁵ Similarly, the Indian Red Cross Society credited the International Red Cross for taking action by appealing to the National Red Cross Societies for funds.¹²⁶

With the transaction of funds from the Indian Red Cross to the VERF, the purpose of the appeal was lost. The IRU had appealed for emergency funds, while VERF, according to its audited accounts, spent the larger part of the collection on reconstruction of various kinds. In the end, the IRU received evasive official recognition for its role in collecting funds for the VERF, and the Secretary of State's push for international contributions to the Mansion House fund was unintentionally accomplished by the IRU's appeal.

Framing Disaster for Local Audiences

As the name of the VERF gave away, the fund appealed for contributions towards 'earthquake relief' under the patronage of the Viceroy.¹²⁷ Although 'India' evaded its name, the VERF appealed for contributions towards a general group of sufferers in the 'Indian earthquake'. The distance from the disaster and the 'distant suffering' of the earthquake victims were articulated in the delocalisation of the earthquake and the homogenisation of victims. Luc Boltanski's book *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics* shows how the framing of victims as local or distant play a role in evoking feelings or relation to victims.¹²⁸ As opposed to a local disaster, where the presence of victims is felt in order to invoke compassion or sympathy, victims of distant disasters are often framed as a general group of unfortunates. In the 'politics of pity' the distant sufferers cannot be questioned and the urgency of action prompts gifting.¹²⁹

The cursory commitment among the public towards contributing to the VERF during the first two months of the aftermath was explained by the frontmen of the fund as the result of a lack of media attention. Already ten days after the Viceroy's initial appeal, the Director of Public Information reviewed subscriptions as 'none too good', in particular contributions from Indian local rulers had been disappointing.¹³⁰ Consequently, a propaganda strategy was devised with the help of the Department of Public Information in order to stimulate contributions. While an initial appeal had stressed the difficulties in giving 'proper appreciation

of the catastrophe', the Director of Public Information asked to have it referred to as one of the 'biggest and most extensive earthquakes in history' with the aim to increase public charity.¹³¹ Conveniently, the Publicity Department's efforts to revive interest in the earthquake preceded the launch of the Mayor's fund in London and appeared as a deliberate move to prompt donations from among the British public. The Director of Public Information had contacted the General Manager of Reuters and the API in India who, like their colleagues at the London office, did not want to publish anything on the earthquake 'unless sensational'.¹³² Less than two weeks after the earthquake, the press saw little news value in the earthquake except as a spectacular and destructive event. The remainders of the spectacle—numbers of deaths, material losses and general stories of suffering—had no appeal as news. When, as expected, the Indian press took a cursory interest in the VERF appeal by the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, the Government of India tried to publish news reports in Great Britain since it was 'very desirable that the Viceroy's Fund should reach a very large figure'.¹³³ The relatively fast fading out of the news of the earthquake in the British press was, according to the government, one reason for the less-than-expected amounts being donated even to the Lord Mayor fund, the other reason being the economic crisis.¹³⁴

The VERF and the Mansion House fund appealed for relief to a homogenised group of sufferers in the 'Indian earthquake', from the general public in England as well as from bankers and nobilities, who were also persons of substantial financial means, high social standing and associated with the British government. The politics of pity partly failed in the sense that the British public did not respond as generously as the government expected, in spite of considerable efforts to enhance publicity and organise collections. As it became apparent that it was difficult to raise the needed funds from the public, Hallett at the Home Ministry in New Delhi even pondered whether it was time for the British government to consider a grant to the VERF for charitable relief as 'a gesture of sympathy which would appeal to the Indian imagination'. A similar act of sympathy which public subscriptions had failed to display could be manifested in a grant from the British government. As a political act, Hallett suggested, such a grant for gratuitous relief would have had 'a very good political effect in India'.¹³⁵ The India Office recognised that the live news of the earthquake had gone but in order to uphold interest in the VERF it encouraged leading newspapers in London to have correspondents in India to telegraph 'a little more freely than perhaps the economic circumstances and interest value justify'.¹³⁶ However, even after the government and officials had pushed the newspapers to step up reporting on the havoc wrought by the earthquake, contributions did not amount to their expectations. Rather than

media exposure, the framing of the unfortunates resulted in a failure to elicit a relationship between the audience of givers and the recipients of relief.

After the newspapers, visual media in the form of public film screenings served to collect funds. In cinemas across India and London, the screening of an earthquake film, a short news film of the devastation, offered spectacular views from the air and walk-through perspectives from the ruined towns in a Calcutta cinema less than two weeks after the earthquake.¹³⁷ A few days later, an earthquake film was included on the newsreel on view in England. The film was made by a cameraman stationed in India who had by aeroplane hurried to the earthquake area. The film had been sent with the Imperial Airways and eight days after leaving India it was included on the newsreel on view in England.¹³⁸ The screening coincided with the opening of the fund by the Lord Mayor of London. Starring himself in the earthquake film,¹³⁹ he used it in an appeal shown all over Great Britain, in a matinee screening attended by the Queen¹⁴⁰ and other publicity events that attracted funds by wealthier sections of society as well as the philanthropic engagement by a committee of ladies from the upper classes.¹⁴¹ As in the news reporting, the destruction caused by the earthquake rather than the suffering of the victims was the theme of the images. Buildings in ruins, material losses and spectacular damages painted scenes of spectacular destruction while individual suffering remained a peripheral topic, if at all addressed.

Notably, the VERF was slow in using visual media in the initial appeals where the images of the Viceroy and the Governor of Bihar and Orissa instead appeared in print alongside the text. By mid-March, two months after the earthquake, the Viceroy issued a film with an appeal for funds in India.¹⁴² The novelty in using the medium of films, not only in the context of a relief appeal, transpires from the Viceroy's excitement: '(...) I have, for the first time in my life, become a Hollywood Star!'¹⁴³ Preceding the launch of the appeals, the businessman H. E. Ormerod, an editor of the *Indian Concrete Journal*, showed photos of the destruction in Monghyr to the Governor of Bihar and Orissa and suggested that images to a far greater extent could be used in order to convey to the public its 'duty' of subscribing to the VERF.¹⁴⁴ For this purpose, he tried to sell his experience in marketing by suggesting a committee for propaganda work with the editors of *The Statesman* and the *Times of India*. He was, the governor remarked, 'no doubt combining business with philanthropy' as he offered his services on such a committee.¹⁴⁵ The managing director of the *Times of India* agreed to the idea of a propaganda committee in order to increase contributions, as he thought that 'so much more could be done to elicit the sympathy of the public'.¹⁴⁶ The Governor declined, partly since

he thought such a committee 'could not be directly connected with the local government',¹⁴⁷ and partly since it was perceived as too late: the government's priority gradually shifted towards publicity work on the progress of relief and reconstruction where images did not have the same effect.¹⁴⁸ Considering the government's efforts to distribute written propaganda, use of images in raising support was surprisingly modest.

The *Times of India* and *The Statesman* subsequently published special illustrated earthquake issues later in March 1934. The monthly journal edited by the businessman Ormerod in Bombay, *The Indian Concrete Journal*, published on behalf of the Cement Marketing Company of India Ltd published a special issue on the earthquake in October 1934;¹⁴⁹ some of the photos in the issue were reused in the local government's official report on the earthquake.¹⁵⁰ The earthquake special issue in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, featured eight pages with photographs by Ormerod and an appeal for the VERF.¹⁵¹ The photographs were arranged according to themes and under the title 'An Appeal to World Humanity', the pages ingeniously linked by headings that formed a poem in what can be seen as an attempt at an emotive as well as a descriptive portrayal of people's suffering:

The World has not yet Realised the terrific Havoc,
The Destruction of Uninsured Homes of the People, and
The Suffering Through Damaged Road and Rail Arteries,
Nor the Human Stories of Fear, Courage, Loyalty
And the Queer Tricks of Fate the Earthquake Played,
The Terrifying Phenomena when Cities Rocked and Fields Gaped:
Now see the Courage of Victims who Still Carry on,
And Realise the Pressing Need for Reconstruction and Relief

Although the poem acknowledged people's suffering, it evaded themes such as individual tragedies or death, by instead focusing on material and economic suffering. 'Uninsured homes' implied that homeowners, the middle classes in towns, were affected and alive to claim insurance money, rather than mentioning the people crushed as the roofs fell in. 'The suffering through damaged roads and rail arteries' turned an eye to the impact the destruction had on trade and commerce, while the last line accentuated the 'pressing need' for rebuilding and assistance. *The Statesman's* special issue, *Record of the Great Indian Earthquake*, contained appeals by the Governor and Viceroy for the VERF and part of the sales proceeds went to the fund.¹⁵² Before it was published in April,¹⁵³ subscriptions to the colonial funds were low and it was apprehended that it

would add only small amounts since the earthquake had lost its news value.¹⁵⁴ It was published rather late and as an afterthought rather than as part of a strategy to raise funds. The issue had first been published by *The Statesman* in Calcutta, and it was printed on art paper and sold in England for one shilling to an intended audience of ‘people who had lived in India or who have relatives or business interests there’.¹⁵⁵ *The Statesman’s* London Manager, while marketing the publication in England, promised ‘amazing pictures of the earthquake’ as ‘a pictorial record of one of the greatest disasters in Indian history’.¹⁵⁶ The earthquake in the form of an event and the spectacular destruction it offered, rather than the suffering of those affected, served to sell numbers and thereby collect funds on behalf of the VERF.

In a few instances, the VERF appeals connected the audience with the victims of the earthquake, but unlike publications that addressed the ‘suffering’ of specifically Bihar and its population, as discussed in Chapter 3, and in the context of the Mayor of Calcutta’s appeal, these appeals relied upon themes and groups of ‘sufferers’ with whom the British audience could identify. An appeal by the Viceroy in *Record of the Great Indian Earthquake* spoke directly to an intended British audience by comparing the destruction in Bihar with that of towns on the West Front in World War I.¹⁵⁷ The material destruction, whether caused by war or earthquake, was known to the audience in Great Britain and created a visualisation shared between the earthquake sufferers and the audience. In order to elicit a commitment to help, the effect of disaster was communicated in a manner which made the suffering familiar to the intended audience. The commitment to help was framed as based on affinity with suffering.¹⁵⁸ Another way of directly invoking help from Great Britain in the special issue on the earthquake was to emphasise the financial troubles of the sugar cane growers, a large European community in north Bihar whose factories had suffered damages.¹⁵⁹ Planters formed a well-known community of Europeans in India, and through descriptions of their hardships as a group they formed a distinct object for sympathy with whom the readers in Great Britain could identify.

With regard to the less-than-expected contributions to the VERF, the Government of India noted that the British public was ‘frequently’ accused of giving more liberally to a foreign country (that is, Japan) than to ‘their own dependency’, India.¹⁶⁰ The government initially expressed high hopes that the earthquake would attract donations comparable to the 1923 Kanto earthquake when Japan had received 25 million rupees (or two million pounds sterling) from the international community.¹⁶¹ After the 1905 Kangra earthquake, which had far less devastating effects compared to the scenario in

Bihar, the VERF received about 20,000 rupees from Japan, and 1.5 million rupees from London as well as donations from Ceylon.¹⁶² Donations from the British public 'in aid of the fellow citizens of the Empire' as *The Statesman* put it,¹⁶³ disappointed those who may have expected more sympathy from the British public than what was displayed through fund contributions. By mentioning the 'dependency' as the receiver, the government had implied a hierarchical relationship between the British public and the subjects in the colony that was expected to elicit gifting.¹⁶⁴ As Boltanski puts it: 'Pre-existing conventions establish a precommitment that only has to be actualized when needed.'¹⁶⁵ Contrary to expectations, the relationship had not elicited more 'pity' transformed into charity than in other disasters. Charity based on a communitarian bond or sense of commitment among the British public towards the dependency did not manifest.

As we move from the VERF and the Mayor of London's fund to the Mayor of Calcutta's fund, the depiction of the sufferers becomes more specific and familiar. Instead of speaking about the 'Indian earthquake', the Mayor's appeal reflected Calcutta's geographical proximity to the earthquake area and close relations with its population by referring to them in a far more affective language. The Mayor referred to Calcutta's 'providential escape' from the earthquake, a statement that probably had resonance considering that the city had felt the earthquake. The Mayor of Calcutta used the geographically close position of Calcutta to the earthquake area as a means to evoke sympathy. Calcutta was described as having been 'spared the calamity that had overtaken the sister province Bihar'¹⁶⁶ and it was a sign 'to fulfil God's great purpose by affording relief to the sufferers in a spirit of absolute unanimity, inspired by one common desire to serve the afflicted'.¹⁶⁷ The definition of the victims depended on the audience: if the earthquake and sufferers had been generalised in appeals by the VERF, the Mayor emphasised the particulars of the disaster to raise subscriptions. Markedly in the Mayor's appeal, altruistic gifting was partly encouraged based on the idea of Calcutta having by chance been saved from the same destiny as Bihar and as a fortunate survivor alive to help its neighbour. Contrary to the VERF and the Mayor of London's earthquake fund, which generalised the target of relief as earthquake sufferers in 'India', the appeal in Calcutta spoke of 'Bihar' and expressed affinity with the victims. The geographical position of Calcutta and its citizens' socio-economic status were in the Mayor's appeal transformed into a commitment to help, which positioned the audience as prospective good Samaritans, to use the example raised by Boltanski.¹⁶⁸ To a certain extent, the audience had already committed

to the cause by attending the foundational meeting; some of them had, in addition, publicly promised or given donations. The opportunity to act as good Samaritans involved further action by committing goods and money, particular strengths of the business people, merchants and public figures present in the meeting.

The bond between Calcutta and the earthquake area was demonstrated in business ties and communal networks of some donors. The Marwari-dominated East India Jute Association¹⁶⁹ earmarked a substantial sum for the Marwari Relief Society,¹⁷⁰ indicating that communal and, or, business ties served to motivate aid. Common business interests and networks sometimes overrode differences, such as the collection by the Indian Jute Mills Association, which although ridden with fractions between European and Indian mills¹⁷¹ included donations by 'non-member' mills as well as two mills excluded from the Association in its collection.¹⁷² Even though corporate fund collections were given ample space for publicity, smaller fund collections based on professional status, nationality, clubs, associations and shops—for instance, students and staff of several colleges, interpreters at the Calcutta High Court, several bar associations, customers of Bengal stores, the Rotary Club, the Young Ladies of Bengal Telephone Corporation¹⁷³—served to make the Mayor's fund representative of the city. Similar to the Mansion House fund in London, the Mayor's fund paid notice to smaller contributions and individual efforts to collect funds in public spaces, such as students giving 25 rupees out of their Saraswati puja fund, 'girl-students' setting up plays, 'charity shows', staging performances and dances,¹⁷⁴ and the Governor of Bengal for setting up a 'benefit show' in aid of the fund.¹⁷⁵ Public fundraising on the streets and door-to-door collections was a domain in which middle-class women of Calcutta participated. The Women's Association in Calcutta collected 10,000 rupees for earthquake relief. Similarly, in Patna the Aghore Nari Samiti (Women Association) mobilised to help earthquake victims.¹⁷⁶ The working committee of the Mayor of Calcutta's fund decided to observe flag-day on Saturday, 28 January 1934 in order to collect funds from the public in aid of the relief fund. Women wearing badges (see Image 4.2) and carrying sealed boxes collected money in public spaces and offices such as banks, railway stations and the New Market area, and the Bengal Stores.¹⁷⁷ The flag-day appeared to have been organised independently of the 'Behar Relief Day' organised by Madan Mohan Malaviya in his country-wide appeal to make house collections on behalf of the BCRC, a call that did not specifically gender the participation in collecting funds.¹⁷⁸ Further afar, members of the participating constituencies

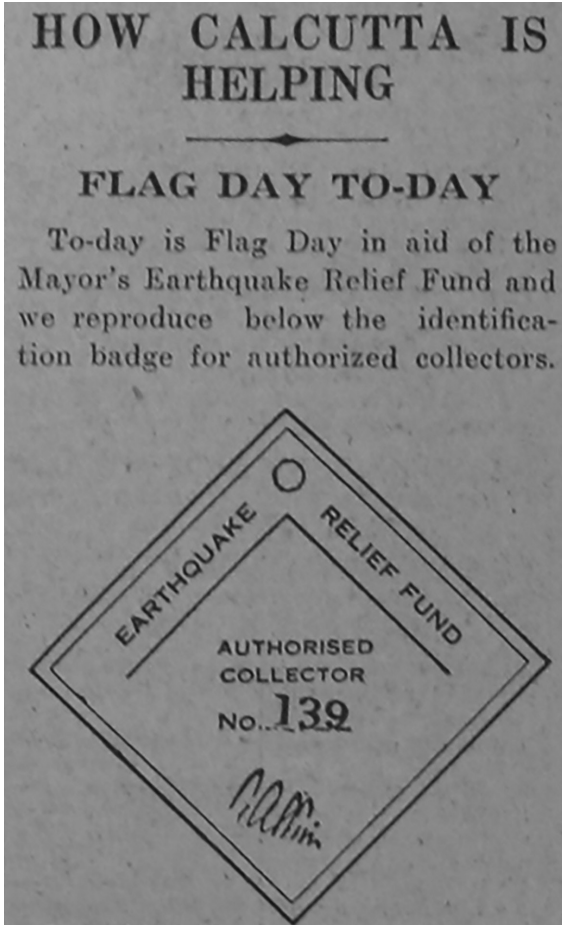


Image 4.2 Identification badge: 'Earthquake Relief Fund: Authorised Collector No. 139'. Reproduction of badge for authorised collectors on the flag-day for the Mayor of Calcutta's Earthquake Relief Fund in *The Statesman* (Calcutta), 28 January 1934.

in the All India Women's Conference in Karachi organised a flag-day at the end of December 1934 and more than 30,000 rupees was raised in total.¹⁷⁹ Women appeared to have had a noticeable presence in fundraising among the public and not only in restricted spaces of performances, schools and workplaces. Even if affluent sections had a prominent role as patrons of the fund, the fund represented above all relief from the city of Calcutta, a place populated by a diverse urban citizenry according to its official profile.

Conclusion: Controlled Charity

Against the backdrop of the larger question regarding the colonial state's involvement in relief in times of disaster, the response in 1934 represented an instance of tightening control over domestic as well as international relief funds.

As this chapter has discussed, the state was directly involved in collecting funds by using publicity campaigns and propaganda, the established networks of the wealthy and publicly known patrons and the government administration in India as well as in the UK in order to maximise public contributions. The public was but one source of donation towards the VEF, considering the importance government patronage played in ensuring the large initial grant by the Indian People's Famine Trust and collections made by the IRU and the international Red Cross societies towards the VEF. International relief cooperation through the IRU was seen by the colonial government as potentially competing with the collections of the VEF. Imperial as well as international subscriptions were effectively pooled into the fund by the colonial administration. These two developments together indicate not so much a growing involvement in disaster relief by the government and the collaborating fundraisers but rather the government's increased control over charitable relief and its preference for centralised funds.

Considering the government officials' involvement in the collection of contributions towards the VEF, the degree to which the government was involved in the fund leaned more towards control of, than in 'aid' of, subscriptions to the fund. Through the VEF, the government shaped the spectre of relief by strengthening its control over publicly subscribed relief. Even though the VEF had a semi-official status by means of its high-ranking patrons, it was explicitly referred to as 'private' by the government.¹⁸⁰ This conundrum of calling it private, when in practice it was thoroughly managed by state officials, can be explained by the government's view of the fund as outside the official budget, that is, it was a fund for donations from private individuals, as well as from non-governmental bodies such as other relief funds towards charitable relief to the public.

The publicity of the disaster and that of the relief funds became intrinsically linked in the collection of subscriptions. Focusing on the funds and subscribers, this chapter highlights the extent to which public display of gifting invoked the earthquake or the victims according to the audiences addressed. As the chapter shows, the publicity surrounding the earthquake appealed to audiences

depending on geographical location and presumed relationship with the affected region. The earthquake was the ‘Indian earthquake’ or the ‘Bihar earthquake’, respectively, in appeals for funds. In the case of Calcutta an imagery of sympathy and the audience’s obligation to offer relief were invoked based on regional bonds which portrayed closeness to the victims and strong feelings of the city having been saved by luck from the earthquake. Framing the local specificities of the earthquake created affinity with victims. In the case of the Mayor of London fund, donating to it offered an opportunity for a local display of gifting in London. As an intermediary, the established networks surrounding the Mayor’s funds appeared to have increased the importance of the local aspect of giving. The sense of closeness or remoteness to the victims hence mattered less in giving to the Lord Mayor of London’s fund, compared to the VVERF, as the Mayor’s fund created an arena to display gifting towards an important patron of the city.

The colonial government supported and participated in collecting charity from the public to the VVERF in order to use it for distributing charitable relief. In terms of allocations and distribution according to needs, the government regarded charitable relief as a domain that needed not only to be controlled by the government, but preferably be under the direct administration of the government. Contrary to methods followed by the Indian Famine Charitable Relief Funds, which extensively relied on ‘un-official’ contacts such as local nobilities and men in high positions outside government service for grant distribution in the provinces and districts, the control over the VVERF remained within the government administration (discussed in Chapter 5). The centralisation of charitable relief at the government’s discretion increased as the government ensured the VVERF’s support by fashioning it as the principal fund for charitable subscriptions towards earthquake relief.

As we move on to the next chapter, the categories of victims, long-term reconstruction and allocation of charitable relief will be discussed.

Notes

1. Alexander Pope (1688–1744) quoted in Sachchidananda Sinha, ‘The Devastation of Behar and the Problem of Reconstruction’, *Hindustan Review* LVX [sic 60], nos. 350–52 (January 1934): 151–57.
2. Lord Willingdon, Major Freeman Freeman-Thomas, 1st Marquess of Willingdon (b. 1866–d. 1941) and Viceroy of India 1931–36. D. A. Low, ‘Thomas, Freeman

- Freeman, first marquess of Willingdon (1866–1941), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ubproxy.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/view/article/33266>, accessed 13 May 2015).
3. 'The Viceroy's Fund', *ABP*, 19 January 1934. 'Government's Relief Fund Measures', *The Statesman*, 19 January 1934.
 4. 'A Shocking Farewell', *The Statesman*, 17 January 1934.
 5. 'Appeals', *ABP*, 23 January 1934. Brett, *A Report on the Bihar Earthquake*, 21.
 6. Also referred to in sources as 'the Lord Mayor fund'. 'Appeal for Help at Mansion House', *News Chronicle*, 31 January 1934; 'Letter to the Editor', *Morning Post*, 1 February 1934; 'Lord Mayor and Indian Earthquake', *Morning Post*, 7 February 1934; 'The Indian Earthquake', *Near East and India*, 8 February 1934.
 7. 'The Mayor's Earthquake Relief Fund', often referred to as 'the Mayor's Fund' (and sometimes confused with 'the Lord Mayor Fund', 'the Mansion House Fund' by the Lord Mayor in London). 'Mayor's Fund; Total Reaches Rs. 1,77,389', *ABP*, 28 January 1934.
 8. 'Scheme for Relief; Mayor to Convene a Public Meeting', *The Statesman*, 18 January 1934; 'Calcutta Fund; Steps for Relief of Sufferers', *The Statesman*, 20 January 1934; 'Mayor's Appeal for Fund' (appeal by Santosh Kumar Basu), 22 January 1933 [*sic* 1934], *ABP*, 24 January 1934; 'Earthquake in Behar: Public Meeting at Town Hall To-Day', *ABP*, 23 January 1934.
 9. 'Government's Relief Fund Measures', *The Statesman*, 19 January 1934.
 10. *Ibid.*; 'Earthquake in Behar: Public Meeting at Town Hall To-Day', *ABP*, 23 January 1934.
 11. 'The Bihar Disaster; Contributions to Mayor's Fund', *Behar Herald*, 20 January 1934.
 12. 'Earthquake Relief; Mayor's Fund over Rs. 2,86,000; Flag Day Success; Rs. 54,140 from Jute Mills Association', *The Statesman*, 31 January 1934. 'National Cataclysm; Bengal's Profound Sympathy for Behar; Mayor's Earthquake Relief Fund; "Service and Sacrifice-The Supreme Need of the Moment"', *ABP*, 24 January 1934.
To mention a few names among the first contributors: Jamnadas Brothers Rs 250, *ABP* Rs 250, J. S. Henderson Rs 200, Mrs. Henderson Rs 100, Mrs. Z. Sinclair Rs 100, Lord Sinha Rs 250, Asutosh Dutt Rs 25, S. C. Mitter, Barrister Rs 50, *The Statesman* Rs 1,000, Rai Bahadur Motilal Chamaria Rs 4,000. 'Earthquake Fund', *ABP*, 20 January 1934.
 13. Roy, 'State, Society and Market', 282n65.
 14. Ch. XIV, 'The Viceroy's Quetta Earthquake Relief Fund', in Louis Alexander Gordon Pinhey, *Report on the Quetta Earthquake on the 31st of May 1935* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1938), 46–50.

15. Roy, 'State, Society and Market', 268.
16. *Ibid.*, 268.
17. Brewis, 'Fill Full the Mouth of Famine', 898–900. *Report of the Central Executive Committee, Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund, 1900, With Complete Accounts and Proceedings, Including the Reports of the Provincial Committees* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1901).
18. *Report of the Central Executive Committee, Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund, 1900*, 4–5.
19. Brewis, 'Fill Full the Mouth of Famine', 899.
20. George Schuster (Finance member), 14 February 1934, in GOI, *Legislative Assembly Debates* (Official report), vol. I, 1934 (24 January–16 February 1934), 830–31.
21. Advisory Committee members H. L. Mitter, Frank Noyce, Shanmukham Chetty, E. [Ernest] Burdon, Alan Parsons [A. A. L. Parsons], M. G. Hallett, B. J. Glancy, H. A. F. Metcalfe, U. N. Sen, E. C. Mieville, Maneckji Byramji Dadabhoy, 'Viceroy's Fund; Advisory Committee Set up in Delhi', *The Statesman*, 26 January 1934.
22. J. T. Whitty, Vice-President, Executive Council and J. A. Hubback, Member Board of Revenue, were the two government officials, and the 'non-officials' were Rajandhari Sinha, President Legislative Council, Kulwant Sahay, retired High Court Judge and Sir S. Sultan Ahmed. 'Articles for press other than Official', note, s.n., s.l., s.a., in BSA RE 484/1934. 'Some Political and Other Aspects of Earthquake Relief in Bihar' (17 pp.), M. G. Hallett, 31 March 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
23. No. 3365 R. D. [Letter], W. B. Brett to Under Sec. to the GOI, Home Dept, Ranchi, 23 August 1934. NAI HP 1/41/1934. 'Progress Report for the Week Ending 1 March 1934', District officer S. L. Marwood to J. E. Scott, Commissioner of Tirhut, Motihari, 2 March 1934, BSA RE 13/1934.
24. Brett, *A Report on the Bihar Earthquake*, 80.
25. Solomon, *Bihar and Orissa in 1934–35*, 10–11.
26. Notes by M. G. Hallett, 12 March 1934, File: 'Questions in the Council of State Regarding Earthquake', NAI H. Pol. 3/2/1934.
27. Lord Willingdon to Samuel Hoare, 13 March 1934, Papers of Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India 1931–35, Mss Eur E240/7, 484.
28. 'Statement from a Meeting in New Delhi', *Behar Herald*, 21 April 1934.
29. Rupees 3,659,488. REPR, 18.
30. 'His Excellency the Viceroy's Earthquake Relief Fund, Bihar and Orissa Branch, Balance Sheet', 31 July 1934, in NAI, HP 1/41/1934
31. The total appears to have included contributions from the Mayor of Calcutta's fund of 50,000 rupees, and 800,000 rupees from the Indian People's Famine Trust Fund. Appendix 3', in Brett, *A Report on the Bihar Earthquake*, 26.

32. An amount of 200,000 rupees remained in balance. Solomon, *Bihar and Orissa in 1934–35*, 10–11.
33. Appendix 3, in Brett, *A Report on the Bihar Earthquake*.
34. Sec. of State for India, Samuel Hoare, on required relief measurement, in 'Earthquake (Relief Measures)', House of Commons Debates 19 February 1934, vol. 286 cc.3–4, available at http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1934/feb/19/earthquake-relief-measures#column_3, accessed 12 January 2010.
35. Untitled summary of finances for relief and reconstruction in preparation for a visit to Patna in order to discuss a financial plan for the aftermath by A. A. L. Parsons [Sir Alfred Alan Lethbridge Parsons], submitted to Home Department, GOI, 31 January 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934, 9.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Quoted in 'Confidential: Position in Bihar', note/correspondence by A. A. L. Parsons, 8 February 1934. File: 'Financial Assistance to the Govt of B&O in connection with the earthquake', NAI Finance Department, Budget Branch, File: 3 (2), 'Budget, Serial nos. 1–52/1934.
38. 'Earthquake. Method of Financing Assistance to Bihar', Financial Department, Reg F. 1030/34, Draft telegram, 13 February 1934 (dispatched 14 February 1934), IOR/L/F/7/913.
39. The motion 'Resolution RE Donation to Bihar Earthquake Relief Fund' was declined. Introduced by Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das (Punjab), 7 March 1934, in *The Council of State Debates*, vol. 1, 1934 (8 February–27 April, 1934) (Delhi: Published by Manager of Publications, 1934): 411–21.
40. D.O. F/34/1/34, M. G. Hallett, Sec. to the GOI, to All Local Governments and Administrations (except Bihar and Orissa), New Delhi, 5 February 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934. See also 'Question in the Council of State Regarding Earthquake', Sec. of State for India, Sir S. Hoare, on required relief measures for Bihar after the earthquake. 'Earthquake (Relief Measures)', in House of Commons Debates, 19 February 1934, vol. 286 cc3–4, available at http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1934/feb/19/earthquake-relief-measures#S5CV0286P0_19340219_HOC_17, accessed 11 February 2021.
41. 'Earthquake (Relief Measures)', in House of Commons Debates, 19 February 1934, vol. 286 cc3–4, available at http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1934/feb/19/earthquake-relief-measures#S5CV0286P0_19340219_HOC_17, accessed 11 February 2021. 'The Reconstruction Problem; Mr. Mookerjea's Suggestions in Bihar Council' (Patna, 20 February 1934), *ABP*, 23 February 1934.
42. D.O. 7 34/1/34 Pub., Air Mail by M. G. Hallett, GOI, Home Dept, New Delhi, to R.T. Peel, Sec., P&J Department, India Office, Whitehall, London, 30 January

- 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934. These figures were further debated in the Legislative Assembly, 14 February 1934, GOI, *Legislative Assembly Debates*, vol. I, 1934, 822, cf.
43. The budget was announced by the Finance Member Sir George Schuster on 27 February 1934. 'Appendix 1: Extracts from the Speech by the Hon'ble Finance Member of the GOI in Introducing the Budget Proposals for 1934–35', in Brett, *A Report on the Bihar Earthquake*, 91–94.
 44. *Ibid.*, 92.
 45. 'Relief to the People of Bihar Who Have Been Affected by the Earthquake', J. W. Houlton, Officiating Sec., Revenue Dept, Govt of B&O, to Sec. of the Board of Management, Indian People's Famine Trust Fund (New Delhi), Patna, 26 January 1934, in File: 'Indian People's Famine Trust Fund. Proceedings of the Meeting of the Board of Management of the Indian People's Famine Trust 1934. Sanction of the sum of Rs 8 lacs towards relief of distress caused by the earthquake in the province of Bihar and Orissa', NAI F&P Foreign 302-P/1934.
 46. Also referred to as 'The Indian People's Famine Trust Fund' or 'The Indian People's Famine Relief Fund'. *Report of the Central Executive Committee, Indian Famine Charitable Relief Fund, 1900*, 4, 9.
 47. Dang, 'Colonial Ideology, Nationalist Politics and the Social Organization of Relief', 157.
 48. *Ibid.*, 160–61. The trust was approached in an unsuccessful attempt at diverting funds to aid the distribution of quinine to prevent malaria in 1903. Rohan Deb Roy, 'Quinine, Mosquitoes and Empire: Reassembling Malaria in British India 1890–1910', *South Asian History and Culture* 4, no. 1 (2013): 65–86, 4. After 1934, the trust again granted 25,000 rupees for famine relief in Madras Presidency and 50,000 rupees to the Quetta Earthquake Relief Fund in the summer of 1935. 'Indian People's Famine Trust. Board of Management Meets', *The Searchlight*, 19 July 1935.
 49. Dang, 'Colonial Ideology, Nationalist Politics and the Social Organization of Relief', 155.
 50. 'Relief to the People of Bihar Who Have Been Affected by the Earthquake', J. W. Houlton, Officiating Sec., Revenue Dept, Govt of B&O, to Sec. of the Board of Management, Indian People's Famine Trust Fund, New Delhi, Patna, 26 January 1934, NAI F&P Foreign 302-P/1934.
 51. Telegram from Bihar Revenue to Sir Ernest Burdon [Honorary Sec. of Board of Management for the Indian People's Famine Trust], 1 February 1934, NAI F&P 301-P/1934.
 52. 'Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Management Held in the Honourable Sir George Schuster's Room in the Council House', New Delhi, 15 February 1934, NAI F&P 301-P/1934.

53. 'Relief to the People of Bihar Who Have Been Affected by the Earthquake', J. W. Houlton, Officiating Sec., Revenue Dept, Govt of B&O, to Sec. of the Board of Management, Indian People's Famine Trust Fund, New Delhi, Patna, 26 January 1934, NAI F&P Foreign 302-P/1934.
54. '42nd Communiqué', R.D., Govt of B&O, Ranchi, 11 October 1934, NAI 1/41/1934.
55. Brett, *A Report on the Bihar Earthquake*, 61.
56. Appendix 3, in Brett, *A Report on the Bihar Earthquake*, 100–01.
57. 'Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Management', New Delhi, 15 February 1934, NAI F&P 301-P/1934.
58. John F. Hutchinson, 'Disasters and the International Order. II: The International Relief Union', *International History Review* 23, no. 2 (2001): 253–98, 254.
59. The government was thereby given a prolonged period to estimate totals and discuss budget allocations. For the provision of sugar mills the VERF disbursed 232,528 rupees and the GOI 'reimbursed' the VERF by transfer of 198,632 rupees. 'His Excellency the Viceroy's Earthquake Relief Fund, Bihar and Orissa Branch, Balance Sheet, 31 July 1934'. For 'Sand clearance' the VERF disbursed 354,091 rupees and the Govt of B&O 'reimbursed' the fund with 300,000 rupees. Appendix 3, in Brett, *A Report on the Bihar Earthquake*.
60. *RPER*, 18.
61. 'Expenditure during the year 1934–35 on sand clearance grants', No. 1490, F[inance] R[evenue], Govt of B&O, Finance Dept, H. C. Prior to the Accountant General, B&O, Ranchi 11 June 1934, File: 'Allotment for free grants in connection with sand clearance in North Bihar', BSA R-L II 7/13/1935. Also Appendix 3, in Brett, *A Report on the Bihar Earthquake*.
62. Memo, M. G. Hallett, New Delhi, 3 February 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
63. For instance, a request to use the governor's public speech for publicity purposes in, "Telegram "R", from Home Dept, New Delhi to P.S.G. [Private Sec. to the Governor], Bihar and Orissa, 25 January 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
64. Douglas E. Haynes, *Rhetoric and Ritual in Colonial India: The Shaping of Public Culture in Surat City, 1852–1928* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 121–22.
65. 'Speech Delivered by H. E. the Governor of Bihar and Orissa on the 22nd January 1934', enclosed as copy from P. T. Clarke, Private Sec. to H. E. the Governor of B&O, Patna, to the Sec. to the GOI, 26 January 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
66. D.O. F. 34/1/34, M. G. Hallett to All Local Governments and Administrations, New Delhi, 25 January 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.

67. 'Confidential, Government of Bombay, Political and Reforms Department, Circular no. 734/33-F (Fin.), C. W. A. Turner, Chief Sec. to Government, circulated to Aden Residency; Sind; Commissioners of Divisions; Commissioner of Excise; The High Court Bombay; All Collectors, Including the Deputy Commissioner, Upper Sind Frontier; All Departments of the Secretariat', Bombay Castle, 30 January 1934, File: '1113 Earthquake relief: H. E. the Viceroy's Fund. Co-operation by Government Officers', IOR/R/20/A/3607.
68. Minister Sir Bejay Prasad Singh Roy donated 200 rupees and 1,000 rupees was collected in a meeting presided over by M. M. Stuart, I. C. S. District Magistrate. Notices in *ABP*, 21 and 23 January 1934.
69. 'Viceroy's Relief Fund', *ABP*, 5 October 1934.
70. Telegram to P.S.V., Simla. No. 77, 20 August 1934. Subject: 'Subscription collected in Aden for the Earthquake Relief Refund', IOR/R/20/A/3658.
71. 'Flying visit to Motihari Town', *ABP*, 28 March 1934
72. W. B. Brett, 'Weekly Bulletin' (for the week ending 9 March 1934), Patna, to M. G. Hallett, Sec. to the GOI, Home Dept NAI HP 34/1B/1934.
73. The following contributors to the VERF are mentioned in the *ABP*: 'The Nizam's Government Rs 15,000; Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, senior and junior Rs 7,500; the Maharaja of Jind Rs 10,000; The Maharaja of Baroda Rs 5,000', *ABP*, 24 January 1934; 'Notable donors' were the trustees of the Dorab Tata's Fund (50,000 rupees), Lady Ratan Tata (10,000), the Dumrao Raj (10,000 rupees), Sir Thomas Smith of Cawnpore (5,000 rupees) and the Governor of Bombay (1,000 rupees), *ABP*, 23 January 1934. In *The Statesman* four funds were displayed next to each other; the Mayor of Calcutta's fund and the VERF were given prominent headings while the Marwari Relief Society and Muslim Relief Committee appeared within the text. 'Earthquake Relief; Viceroy's Fund Now Rs. 6 ½ Lakhs; Response from Poor'; and 'Earthquake Relief; Mayor's Fund over Rs. 2,86,000; (...)', *The Statesman*, 31 January 1934.
74. Carl Heath (London), to Bertram Pickard (Geneva), 12 March 1934, BCUL PC 903:1.
75. 'Earthquake Relief; Viceroy's Fund Now Rs. 6 ½ Lakhs; Response from Poor'; and 'Children Pay', *The Statesman*, 31 January 1934.
76. 'Confidential, D.O. 42 T. C.', Commissioner's Office, Ranchi, to P. C. Tallents, 12 February 1934, in 'Fortnightly Reports—Chota Nagpur', BSA PS KW 14/1934. A report of similar content soon followed. 'Confidential D.O. 78 T. C.', Commissioner's office, Ranchi, to P. C. Tallents, 25 February 1934, BSA PS KW 14/1934.

77. 'Confidential', by I. M. Stephens, New Delhi, 7 May 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
78. A few days after the opening of the fund, the collected total amount of the VEF was 100,291 rupees and 1,158 pounds. *ABP*, 23 January 1934.
79. 'Viceroy's Appeal for Funds' (by Lord Willingdon, New Delhi, 19 January 1934), *ABP*, 20 January 1934.
80. 'Relief to Sufferers', *ABP*, 21 January 1934; 'Quick! Quick!! Quick!!!' (editorial), *ABP*, 23 January 1934.
81. Samuel Hoare to Lord Willingdon, London, 25 January 1934, Mss Eur E240/4, 958–65.
82. Lord Willingdon to Samuel Hoare, New Delhi, 22 January 1934, Mss Eur E240/7, 447, in *ibid.*
83. Hutchinson, 'Disasters and the International Order. II', 255.
84. Brewis, "Fill Full the Mouth of Famine", 894.
85. Sarah Gregson, "'Women and Children First?' The Administration of Titanic Relief in Southampton, 1912–59', *English Historical Review* 127, no. 524 (February 2012): 83–109.
86. John Benson, 'Colliery Disaster Funds, 1860–1897', *International Review of Social History* 19, no. 1 (1974): 73–85.
87. Hutchinson, 'Disasters and the International Order. II', 254–55.
88. Copy of letter no. 68/34, A. H. Joyce, Information Officer, India Office, to I. M. Stephens, DPI, 4 February 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
89. Copy of a letter from A. H. Joyce, Information Office, India Office, to I. M. Stephens, DPI, No. 129/34, London, 8 February 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934. Copy, *Inf. Offr. No. 160/34*. Air mail by A. H. Joyce Information Officer's Department, India Office, to I. M. Stephens, DPI, Home Dept (New Delhi), London, 22 February 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934. The fund had reached 46,000 pounds by 1 March 1934. Air Mail 'Inf. Offr. 185/34', Joyce to Stephens, London, 1 March 1934, *ibid.*
90. Lord Mayor, Sir Charles Collett, announced the appeal on 31 January and held the inaugural meeting at the Mansion House on 8 February 1934. 'Appeal for Help at Mansion House', *News Chronicle*, 31 January 1934.
91. Copy of letter no. 68/34, A. H. Joyce, Information Officer, India Office, to I. M. Stephens, DPI, London, 4 February 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
92. In addition to the mentioned contributors, the Mayor acknowledged Lord Reading, Lord Hardinge, Lord Linlithgow and several other 'Lords'. 'Lord Mayor's Fund', 'The Horners' company; 'Lord Mayor and Indian Earthquakes', *The Times*, 31 January 1934.

93. Copy, Infn. Offr. No. 160/34. Air mail by A. H. Joyce, Information Officer, India Office, to I. M. Stephens, DPI, Home Dept (New Delhi), London, 22 February 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
94. 'Indian Earthquake Funds', *The Times*, 2 March 1934.
95. Gregson, "Women and Children First?"; 95–96.
96. 'The Indian Earthquake. Further Donations to the Lord Mayor's Fund', *The Times*, 16 February 1934; 'Charities and Appeals. Lord Mayor's Indian Earthquake Fund. Second List of Donations, 20 February, 1934', *The Times*, 22 February 1934.
97. 'Indian Earthquake Fund', *Daily Telegraph*, 15 February 1934; 'Ever Open Doors', *Daily Telegraph*, 7 February 1934. The Lord Mayor was at that time Sir Charles Collett. 'Lord Mayor's India Earthquake Fund. Appeal Broadcast', *Daily Telegraph*, 7 February 1934.
98. 'Mayor's Appeal for Fund' (appeal by Santosh Kumar Basu), 22 January 1933 [sic 1934], *ABP*, 24 January 1934.
99. 'Distribution of Funds; Relief Measures; Support to Babu Rajendra Prosad's [Prasad's] Committee' (Patna), *ABP*, 29 January 1934. A second instalment of 10,000 rupees mentioned in 'Mayor's Fund; Working Committee Meeting', *ABP*, 30 January 1934. BCRC, *Devastated Bihar*, 61, 64.
100. Notes by M. G. Hallett, 3 February 1936. NAI H. Pol. 22/21/1936. Santosh Kumar Basu's political affiliation to the Congress, in Rajat Kanta Ray, *Urban Roots of Indian Nationalism: Pressure Groups and Conflict of Interests in Calcutta City Politics, 1875–1939* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1979), 112.
101. Douglas E. Haynes, 'From Tribute to Philanthropy: The Politics of Gift Giving in a Western Indian City', *Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 2 (May, 1987): 339–60, 339–40.
102. See note 12 for a list of contributors.
103. 'Mayor's Fund; Working Committee Meeting', *ABP*, 30 January 1934.
104. *Prabuddha Bharata*, May 1934, no. 5, 260. The total sum from the Mayor's fund was 60,470 rupees according to 'The Eighth General Report of the Ramakrishna Mission (1934–1935)' received at Ramakrishna Mission, Belur Math, October 2011.
105. Marwari Relief Society 25,000 rupees, Indian Red Cross Society 15,000 rupees, Babu Rajendra Prosad [sic Prasad] (President, Bihar Central Relief Committee) 10,000 rupees, Ramakrishna Mission 7,500 rupees, IMA 5,000 rupees, Vivekananda Mission 2,500 rupees, Salvation Army 2,500 rupees, Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha 1,000 rupees, and Central Khadem-ul Ensan Society 1,000 rupees. 'Earthquake Relief; Mayor's Fund over Two Lakhs', *The Statesman*, 30 January 1934.

106. Brett, *A Report on the Bihar Earthquake*, 26–27.
107. The respective amounts were 75,000 rupees, 50,000 rupees and 20,000 rupees. BCRC, *Devastated Bihar*, 46.
108. Letter by M. G. Hallett, Patna, 3 February 1936. BSA, Foreign-Pol. 22/21 1936. The final amount appeared as less, considering that as per 28 February 1934, a newspaper notice declared the collection to be 441,618 rupees. 'Mayor's Fund', *ABP*, 28 February 1934.
109. John F. Hutchinson, 'Disasters and the International Order: Earthquakes, Humanitarians, and the Ciraolo Project', *International History Review* 22, no. 1 (2000): 1–36. Hutchinson, 'Disasters and the International Order. II'.
110. Hutchinson, 'Disasters and the International Order. II', 255.
111. John Hannigan, *Disasters without Borders: The International Politics of Natural Disasters* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2012), 46–47.
112. Hutchinson, 'Disasters and the International Order. II', 253–54.
113. Austen Chamberlain quoted in Hutchinson, 'Disasters and the International Order. II', 254–55, 288.
114. Camille Gorgé, *The International Relief Union: Its Origin, Aims, Means and Future* (Geneva: International Relief Union, 1938).
115. Gorgé, *The International Relief Union*, 37–38.
116. Hutchinson, 'Disasters and the International Order. II', 291. Peter Macalister-Smith, 'The International Relief Union of 1932', *Disasters* 5, no. 2 (1981): 147–54, 151.
117. Hutchinson, 'Disasters and the International Order. II', 291. *ABP* reported that the IRU had decided to give 1,000 pounds for first aid to the Indian Red Cross and that the India Office had accepted the money. 'Relief to Sufferers', *ABP*, 21 January 1934. According to Gorgé, IRU gave 1,000 pounds for first aid after the Bihar earthquake, without providing further details of how the money was distributed. Gorgé, *The International Relief Union*, 37–38.
118. Hutchinson, 'Disasters and the International Order. II', 291.
119. The same day as Hutchinson mentioned that the Viceroy's office had acknowledged the appeal, the Secretary of State for India Samuel Hoare asked the Viceroy's office for the origin of the appeal in an urgent telegram. Telegram XX No. 189, Immediate, Sec. of State for India, London, to Viceroy (Home Dept.), New Delhi, 23 (recd 24th) January 1934; P.S.V.O. Secy. & Dept, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
120. Telegram from Sec. of State no. 1568, 18 January 1934; Williams to Sec. of State, regarding telegram no 189, 24 January 1934; Telegram XX No. 168, Immediate, Viceroy (Home Dept) to Sec. of State for India (London), New Delhi 24 January 1934; P.S.V. [Private Sec. to the Viceroy], P.S.V.O. [Private Sec. to the Viceroy Office] Dept, NAI HP 34/1/1934.

121. A telegram from the IRU office in Paris to Secretary of State, however, claimed that the appeal had been issued 'from Delhi' which he presumed must have been of 'the unofficial kind' from the Indian Red Cross. Telegram XX No. 189, Immediate, Sec. of State for India, London, to Viceroy (Home Dept), New Delhi, 23 (recd 24th) January 1934; Williams to Sec. of State, regarding telegram no 189, 24 January 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
122. The decision to transfer the sum to the VERF is mentioned in Notes, M. G. Hallett to Secretary of State for India, New Delhi, 22 January 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934. Indian Red Cross Society, *Annual Report 1934*, 19. The donation from IRU to VERF is mentioned in 'Enclosure no. 1: Viceroy's Appeal for 'Quake Sufferers. Relief Fund Opened: £1,000 from International Union. The King's Sympathy. Heavy Darbhanga Casualties: Hospital Collapses'. Extract from *The Statesman*, 20 January 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
123. Indian Red Cross Society, *Annual Report 1934*, 19–20.
124. 'Viceroy's Fund; Advisory Committee Set up in Delhi', *The Statesman*, 26 January 1934.
125. 'After the Indian Earthquake', *Bulletin of the League of Red Cross Societies*, XV (1934), 53–54, in Hutchinson, 'Disasters and the International Order. II', 291.
126. Indian Red Cross Society, *Annual Report 1934*, 19.
127. 'An Appeal to Our Readers throughout the World by His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa' (Sir James Sifton), 'An Appeal by the Viceroy', in Moore (ed.), *Record of the Great Indian Earthquake*, 3–7, 21.
128. Luc Boltanski, *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics*, trans. Graham Burchell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 [French edition 1993]).
129. *Ibid.*, 4–6.
130. Correspondence of I. M. Stephens, DPI, to E.C. Mieville, P.S.V., New Delhi, 30 January 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
131. Extract in 'Associated Press of India (Inland News Telegrams)', Patna, 2 February 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
132. According to correspondence, I. M. Stephens, DPI, to E. C. Mieville, P.S.V., New Delhi, 30 January 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
133. D.O. 7 34/1/34 Pub., Air Mail by M. G. Hallett, GOI, Home Dept, to R. T. Peel, Sec., P&J Department, India Office (London), New Delhi, 30 January 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
134. Conf. letter, M. G. Hallett to P. C. Tallents, New Delhi, 24 February 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
135. Conf. letter, Hallett to P. C. Tallents, 24 February 1934. NAI HP 34/1/1934.

136. Air Mail 'Infn. Offr. 185/34', A. H. Joyce, Information Officer, India Office, to I. M. Stephens, DPI (New Delhi), London, 1 March 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
137. 'The Devastations by the Earthquake', production 'our own' according to advertisement of "The New Cinema", 171, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta, *ABP*, 27 January 1934.
138. 'Lord Mayor Sees Earthquake Film', *Daily Telegraph*, 2 February 1934.
139. 'Earthquake Film: Lord Mayor of London Impressed' (London, 2 February 1934), *The Statesman*, 3 February 1934.
140. 'Indian Earthquake Fund: The Queen to Attend Special Matinee', *The Times*, 5 April 1934. Copy of letter no. 68/34, A. H. Joyce, Information Officer, India Office, to I. M. Stephens, DPI (New Delhi), London, 4 February 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
141. Indian Earthquake Fund: Drury Lane Matinee', *Daily Telegraph*, 26 April 1934.
142. The Imperial Film Company of Bombay produced the film and provided free copies for the fund. Commentary was by A. G. A. Norman, member of editorial staff of the *Illustrated Weekly of India*. 'Viceroy's "Quake Film"', *Illustrated Weekly of India*, 18 March 1934. 'A Special Behar Earthquake Film with a Personal Appeal by His Excellency Lord Willingdon', Pathe – 'The Finest Cinema in Bombay', *The Englishman*, 17 March 1934. One version of the 'earthquake film' issued by Universal newsreel footage can be viewed at <http://www.harappa.com/mom/dec98.html> (accessed 12 September 2012).
143. Lord Willingdon to Hoare, New Delhi, 30 January 1934, Mss Eur E240/7, 453.
144. J. D. Sifton to the Earl of Willingdon, Patna, 11 March 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
145. William Arthur Moore was the editor of *The Statesman* and Pearson the managing director of the *Times of India*. J. D. Sifton to the Earl of Willingdon, Patna, 11 March 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
146. Extract from Pearson, *Times of India*, to J. D. Sifton, in J. D. Sifton to the Earl of Willingdon, Patna, 11 March 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
147. J. D. Sifton to the Earl of Willingdon, Patna, 11 March 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
148. D.O. 2090, personal letter a 'rough note' prepared for Jafri in connection with his deputation to the Govt of B&O, I. M. Stephens, DPI, to M. G. Hallett, New Delhi, 31 March 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
149. Ormerod appeared to have been the owner or chairman. W. J. Turnbull and H. E. Ormerod, 'The Great Indian Earthquake', special issue of the *Indian Concrete Journal* 8, no. 10 (15 October 1934): xix.
150. See Preface in Brett, *A Report on the Bihar Earthquake*.

151. Photos 'by courtesy of H. E. Ormerod, of the Cement Marketing Company Co. of India, Ltd', *Illustrated Weekly of India* (Bombay), 18 March 1934.
152. Cover and 'An Appeal by the Viceroy', in Moore (ed.), *Record of the Great Indian Earthquake*, 21.
153. Brett, *A Report on the Bihar Earthquake*, 88.
154. 'Some Political and Other Aspects of Earthquake Relief in Bihar' (17 pp.), M. G. Hallett, 31 March 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
155. The VERF is here referred to as 'the Indian Earthquake Fund'. C. R. C. Nixon, 'The Indian Earthquake', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 82, no. 4142 (9 March 1934): 486.
156. *Ibid.*
157. 'An Appeal by the Viceroy', in Moore (ed.), *Record of the Great Indian Earthquake*, 21.
158. Boltanski makes a difference between the 'natural' helper, the 'contractual' (professional and specialised helpers), and a category which has no obligation to help. Boltanski, *Distant Suffering*, 11, 14.
159. 'An Appeal by the Viceroy', in Moore (ed.), *Record of the Great Indian Earthquake*, 21. Wilcock, *Bihar and Orissa in 1933–34*, 17.
160. 'Some Political and Other Aspects of Earthquake Relief in Bihar' (17 pp.), M. G. Hallett, 31 March 1934, NAI HP 34/1/1934.
161. Sir James Sifton, 'An Appeal to Our Readers throughout the World by His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa', Patna, 18 February 1934, in Moore (ed.), *Record of the Great Indian Earthquake*, 3.
162. Notes by M. G. Hallett, 12 March 1934, NAI H. Pol. 3/2/1934. The Viceroy's fund after the 1905 Kangra earthquake collected 1.35 million rupees according to a statement in *The Council of State Debates* vol. 1, 7 March 1934, 412. Kangra had a population of 400,000 while north Bihar, which had a population of 13 million, raised 4.7 million rupees according to Roy, 'State, Society and Market', 282n65.
163. 'Earthquake Relief; London Assistance for Viceroy's Fund', *The Statesman*, 27 January 1934.
164. For a discussion on hierarchies of aid within the British Empire, see Christina Twomey and Andrew J. May, 'Australian Responses to the Indian Famine, 1876–78: Sympathy, Photography and the British Empire', *Australian Historical Studies* 43, no. 2 (2012): 233–252.
165. Boltanski, *Distant Suffering*, 11.
166. 'Scheme for Relief; Mayor to Convene a Public Meeting', *The Statesman*, 18 January 1934.
167. 'Mayor's Appeal for Fund' (appeal by Santosh Kumar Basu), 22 January 1933 [*sic* 1934], *ABP*, 24 January 1934.

168. Boltanski, *Distant Suffering*, 8.
169. On the East India Jute Association, Marwaris and trade in raw jute, see Birla, *Stages of Capital*, 197, and Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working-Class History: Bengal 1890–1940* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 54.
170. It had set aside 25,000 rupees. 'Earthquake Relief; Mayor's Fund over Two Lakhs', *The Statesman*, 30 January 1934.
171. Indian Jute Mills Association was the voice of British jute mill-owners and managing agents. Birla, *Stages of Capital*, 190; Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working-Class History*, 4–5.
172. Indian Jute Mills Association donated 54,140 rupees. 'Earthquake Relief (...)', *The Statesman*, 31 January 1934. Hanuman Mills and Adamjee Mills gave through the association, although both had been expelled on the grounds of breaking working-hour rules. Omkar Goswami, 'Collaboration and Conflict: European and Indian Capitalists and the Jute Economy of Bengal, 1919–39', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 19, no. 2 (1982): 141–79, 153, 163; Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working-Class History*, 54–55.
173. 'Assistance of Mayor's Fund; Relief Measures', *The Statesman*, 26 January 1934.
174. 'To-day's Charity Performance', 'Wednesday's Charity Show', 'Natyā Niketan's Charity', *ABP*, 30 January 1934. 'In Aid of 'Quake Sufferers; Charity Performance by Girls', *ABP*, 23 February 1934.
175. 'Assistance of Mayor's Fund; Relief Measures', *The Statesman*, 26 January 1934.
176. 'Ladies Relief Centre [*sic* 'Centre']; An Appeal to Ladies', *Behar Herald*, 27 January 1934.
177. 'Mayor's Relief Fund: "Flag Day" Fixed for Saturday', *The Englishman*, 22 January 1934. 13,000 rupees was collected in tin cans. 'Earthquake Relief'; (...), *The Statesman*, 31 January 1934.
178. 'Behar Relief Day; Sunday the 28th January; Pl. Malaviya Urges Country Wide Observance', *Behar Herald*, 27 January 1934.
179. Nripendra Nath Mitra (ed.), *The Indian Annual Register: An Annual Digest of Public Affairs of India* (Calcutta: The Annual Register Office, Vol. II, July–December, 1934), 356.
180. George Schuster (Finance member), 14 February 1934, in GOI, *Legislative Assembly Debates* (Official report), vol. I, 1934 (24 January–16 February 1934), 830–31.