



CENSUS OF INDIA, 1911.

VOLUME V.

**BENGAL, BIHAR AND
ORISSA AND SIKKIM.**

PART I.

REPORT

BY

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FELLOW OF THE ROYAL STATISTICAL SOCIETY,
SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, BENGAL.



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PREFACE.

THE report to which this is a preface deals with the results of the census of 1911 in the Presidency of Bengal, the Province of Bihar and Orissa and the State of Sikkim, which have an aggregate area of nearly 200,000 square miles and a population of 85 millions, or over one-fourth of the total population of India.

The late appearance of the report is due to causes beyond my control. Since the census of 1901 Bengal has undergone two partitions, and Sikkim has been detached from it—changes which have involved the preparation of fresh statistics for the census of 1911 and also for each preceding census. It is perhaps almost superfluous to explain that if the census figures of any given area are to be of value for comparative purposes, those of previous censuses must be accessible. Accordingly, before the census of 1911 took place, figures were compiled for Bengal as constituted after the partition of 1905, for the only available figures related to the province as it stood in 1901. After the census of 1911 was concluded, tables showing its results were prepared for the two provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam as then existing. While this work was in progress, the repartition was announced, and the figures both of the census of 1911 and of each census since 1872 had to be worked out afresh for the Presidency of Bengal and the new Province of Bihar and Orissa. All this involved additional labour and delayed the preparation of the tables and report. On this account also I have not been able to take up all the subjects prescribed for the report, and have had to curtail the discussion of some of those with which I could deal.

The arrangements for the census followed the lines laid down in 1901, and a brief summary of them is all that is required. The first step was to obtain an accurate and up-to-date record of all inhabited areas, *i.e.*, to prepare a register in which every occupied village or collection of houses was entered. This is not altogether an easy task in some areas, where the villages are small clusters of houses scattered through the jungle, which are commonly deserted by their primitive inhabitants when anything untoward happens. In such cases it is believed that the village has incurred the anger of some evil spirit, and the people abandon the site and build their houses elsewhere. The village register having been compiled, each district was parcelled out into census divisions. The smallest unit was the block, which consisted of 40 to 50 houses, for which one enumerator was responsible. The blocks were grouped together by circles, each of which was under a supervisor: ordinarily about 10 to 15 circles, *i.e.*, 400 to 600 houses, were assigned to each supervisor. The circles again were grouped together by charges, which, as a rule, corresponded to police-stations. The Charge Superintendents, who were responsible for the operations throughout each charge, were themselves subordinate to the Subdivisional Officers and to the District Census Officers, who were appointed for each district.

The actual enumeration was conducted by an improvised agency of supervisors and enumerators, who were drawn from the ordinary population. In Bengal as constituted at the time of the census 23,000 supervisors and 326,000 enumerators were employed. In many localities it was no easy matter to obtain a sufficient supply of men who could read and write, and a long training was necessary before they could understand the duties required of them. Even where suitable men were available, their natural reluctance to serve without pay had to be overcome, and the lesson brought home to them that the census was conducted by, through and for the people, and that, perhaps for the first time in their lives, they would be actively discharging a public duty.

When they had been appointed, their first duty was to number every house, a house being defined as the residence of a commensal family. The application of this definition gave rise to numerous knotty questions, which illustrate very forcibly the differences in local conditions in a large and heterogeneous province. How, for instance, were the village dormitories, in which aboriginal boys and girls sleep, to be treated? Was a separate number to be given to each house in the Paharia villages, on the summits of the Rajmahal Hills, where each married couple has a separate hut, but the whole family have their meals together in another hut. Again, how were the numbers to be affixed? The Paharia huts, for instance, are mere shanties made of branches and poles fixed in the ground, and no number could be painted on them. So, the numbers had to be put on slabs of wood, which were either stuck on the walls or hung from the eaves. The Paharias did not leave them there, but carefully wrapped them up in rags and kept them in the bamboo baskets which form their strong boxes.

In February 1911, after they had been methodically trained in their duties, the enumerators conducted the preliminary enumeration, i.e., they entered all the necessary particulars in the schedules for every person ordinary resident in each house. The record thus prepared was systematically checked by superior officers in order to ensure its accuracy and also its absolute completeness. The final census was held on the night of the 10th March 1911, the enumerators going round to each house and revising the preliminary record so as to make it correspond to the state of affairs as then existing. In other words, they struck out the entries for all persons who had died or gone away since the preliminary enumeration, and added fresh entries for new-comers and for infants who had been born in the interval. Too high praise cannot be given to them for the thorough manner in which they fulfilled their duties, and for their assiduity in making sure that there were no omissions. As an instance in point, I may quote the experience of a small aboriginal tribe, who feared that some mysterious evil might befall them if they were counted, and fled from forest to forest, but failed to escape the enumerators. Mistakes were of course made, some of which show how simple-minded a few of the enumerators are. One man solemnly entered an idol in his schedule, and gave particulars of age, viz., 200 years, and of language, viz., Hindi. Another recorded the language of a deaf-mute as

atpat (an onomatopœic word describing the sounds he emitted). A globe-trotter described his occupation or means of livelihood as that of a tourist.

In many cases the enumerators had to face great difficulties, not the least of which was the danger of work in plague-infected areas, where they felt that they were fulfilling their duties at the risk of their lives. Many died of plague while engaged in the preliminary enumeration, and others on the day of the census itself. The local officers had the greatest difficulty in finding successors, often 'at a moment's notice'; and as those who were appointed could scarcely be expected to take over the dead men's papers, the work in some cases had to be done over again. Elsewhere enumerators were exposed to attacks from wild animals in the jungles. One man who had left his home on account of the ravages of a man-eating tiger, but volunteered to show the enumerator the way to his old village, was carried off by the tiger just as he reached its outskirts.

The day after the census the preparation of the provisional totals was taken in hand, i.e., the entries on the schedules were totalled up to ascertain the number of males and females and the aggregate population. This may seem a simple matter, but in Bengal (as constituted at the time of the census) it involved the collection of over a third of a million men at various centres and the compilation of figures for each census division. It is by no means easy to do this quickly where distances are great and the means of communication few. Nor is it easy to ensure accuracy when, as among the Santals, the enumerators are ignorant of the elementary principles of calculation, many not being able to post figures above 100. Lastly, there is the danger of loss or destruction of papers. In one district the provisional totals were delayed by one enumerator not having compiled his totals. The Subdivisional Officer went to the spot and found that the enumerator's house had been burnt on the night of the census, and with it the census papers and two of his wives. His block had of course to be censused again.

In spite of these and other difficulties, the provisional totals for the whole of Bengal were despatched within a week after the census. Their speedy collection and despatch are due to the excellent organization effected by the District Officers, the employment of all available means of transport (one of the most useful being the bicycle), and the indomitable energy of the census staff. In the Patna State the figures had to be despatched by couriers to the nearest telegraph station, a distance of 76 miles, and in Kalahandi they had to be sent 114 miles: in the latter State the authorities had, in the words of the Political Agent, "to deal with 1,200 square miles of the most awful country inhabited by the wildest of Khonds." The totals of these two States were wired on the 13th and 15th March, respectively. In the Darjeeling district the figures for the people living on a mountain 12,000 feet high and 50 miles distant from head-quarters reached Darjeeling within 36 hours of the census. In Singhbhum again many of the census staff had to march at night through forests infested by man-eating tigers carrying torches to scare them away, and completed in 10 hours marches which, as a rule, take two days. Bad weather had to be faced

in some places. The District Census Officer of one Bengal district reports that the men had to travel through a violent hail-storm and came in late at night, "all with hurts and bruises, but with the circle summaries and enumeration books dry. I had to give up the idea of sending any special messenger to head-quarters on such a fearful night, and early next morning I acted as special messenger myself and plied my bike on a muddy road of 32 miles and carried in the provisional totals safe." In this and other cases the reports are reminiscent of "How they brought the good news from Ghent to Aix."

The final results were obtained by compilation and tabulation, of which there are three stages, viz., slip-copying, sorting and compilation.

COMPILATION AND TABULATION.

Slip-copying is the process of copying the entries in the schedules on to slips. A separate slip is used for each of the persons enumerated, so that 85 million slips had to be used for the population dealt with in this report; but much labour is saved by the use of slips of different colours to indicate religion, of symbols to indicate sex and of abbreviations for the actual entries in the schedules. As in 1901, the greater part of the slip-copying was carried out in district offices. The slips when ready were sent to the central offices, where the sorting and subsequent operations required for the preparation of the final tables were carried out. In the central offices arrangements were made for copying the slips of the districts in which they were situated, together with some or all of the slips for other districts where there were difficulties in the way of getting the work done locally. For instance, the slips of Angul and the Orissa Feudatory States were copied at the Cuttack central office besides those for Cuttack: at this office no less than 6 million slips were copied. At one time the copying staff in the Bengal offices (excluding those in Eastern Bengal) numbered over 3,000, the total outturn in the week being nearly 10 million slips, and the daily average per man 590. The average is remarkably high, considering that the work had to be done in the height of the hot weather, and in some cases, where buildings could not be secured, in tents or verandahs.

Sorting is the process of arranging the slips under the heads required for the various final tables, counting the slips as thus arranged and entering the number on forms provided for the purpose, which are called sorters' tickets. This operation was performed in the central offices, of which there were seven for the area dealt with by me. They were situated at the following places and sorted for the population noted against each, viz., Berhampore (9 millions), Bhagalpur ($7\frac{3}{4}$ millions), Cuttack (9 millions), Gaya ($6\frac{1}{2}$ millions), Hazaribagh ($5\frac{3}{4}$ millions), Hooghly (10 millions) and Patna ($9\frac{1}{2}$ millions). While sorting was in progress, inquiry was made into doubtful entries, which often raise questions which it is difficult to solve. One tribe, for instance, was entered as Jhar Manjhi, *i.e.* men of the woods, or Makarkhia, *i.e.* monkey-eaters. On inquiry it was ascertained that they went by no other name, and that they did not know their original habitat and could only give an account of their recent wanderings. Specimens of their language were then obtained, and it was ascertained that they were Birhors, which also means men of the woods.

Sorting was followed by compilation, or the process of combining the figures in the sorters' tickets, so as to obtain the totals for the district. The compilation registers, in which the figures were entered, were despatched as soon as they were ready to my office, where a detailed examination of the statistics was carried out, doubtful entries checked and discrepancies inquired into. This is an operation of the greatest importance, as errors in compilation affect not merely units, but hundreds and thousands. After this the tables were prepared and the report was written. The statistics are numerous enough, but some desired to utilize the census record still further. One Bengali gentleman wanted copies of all the entries—1½ million in number—that were made in the schedules for members of his caste. Another Bengali gentleman calmly asked for the names and addresses of all literate persons in the province, in order that advertising circulars might be sent to them. He naively pointed out that this would swell the postal revenue besides developing trade.

The accounts of census expenditure were maintained separately for the provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam during the two years 1910-12, and jointly for Bengal and Bihar and Orissa in 1912-13. Divided proportionately according to the population of the two provinces as now constituted, the aggregate cost is Rs. 2,67,322-10-8 for Bengal and Rs. 2,05,550-10-11 for Bihar and Orissa, representing an incidence of Rs. 5-12-4 and Rs. 5-5-7 respectively per head of the population. The average cost is higher than in 1901 owing mainly to the fact that wages have risen in the interval, so that the staff engaged in compilation and tabulation had to be paid more. Additional expenditure, moreover, had to be incurred in consequence of the repartition of Bengal, which necessitated the compilation of revised statistics for the two provinces.

I cannot acknowledge too fully the services of the large body of private individuals and Government officers who conducted the census and brought it to a successful conclusion. The census laid a heavy burden on the District Officers and their subordinate staff, which they loyally bore without increase of establishment. Their self-sacrifice materially helped to keep down the cost of the operations. My grateful acknowledgments are further due to a large number of official and non-official gentlemen for interesting reports on ethnological and sociological questions, which have been freely drawn upon in this report. I also desire to mention the good work done by the Presidency Jail Press, under the supervision of Mr. J. Gray, in printing and despatching the forms which were used at various stages of the operations. Their aggregate number exceeded 70 millions, and they had to be printed in six different characters, viz., English, Bengali, Kaithi, Devanagari, Oriya and Nepali Hindi: some Tibetan forms were also printed by the Secretariat Press at Darjeeling.

My special thanks are due to the following Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors for the services which they rendered as Deputy Superintendents of Census in charge of the central census offices mentioned against their names:—Babu Brajendra Nath Ray (Hooghly), Babu Nilmani Dey (Bhagalpur), Babu Manmatha Nath Sen (Cuttack), Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan (Patna), Babu Anadi Ranjan Bose (Gaya) and

Babu Krishna Gopal Ghosh (Berhampore). Much useful work was also done by my Head Clerk, Babu Harendra Krishna Mitra, whose previous experience was a valuable asset. Lastly, I am greatly indebted to Babu Naba Gauranga Basak, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, who, as my Personal Assistant, was closely associated with me in the preparation of the tables and of the report. Two of the chapters and part of a third were written in collaboration with him, and all the diagrams, maps and subsidiary tables were prepared under his supervision.

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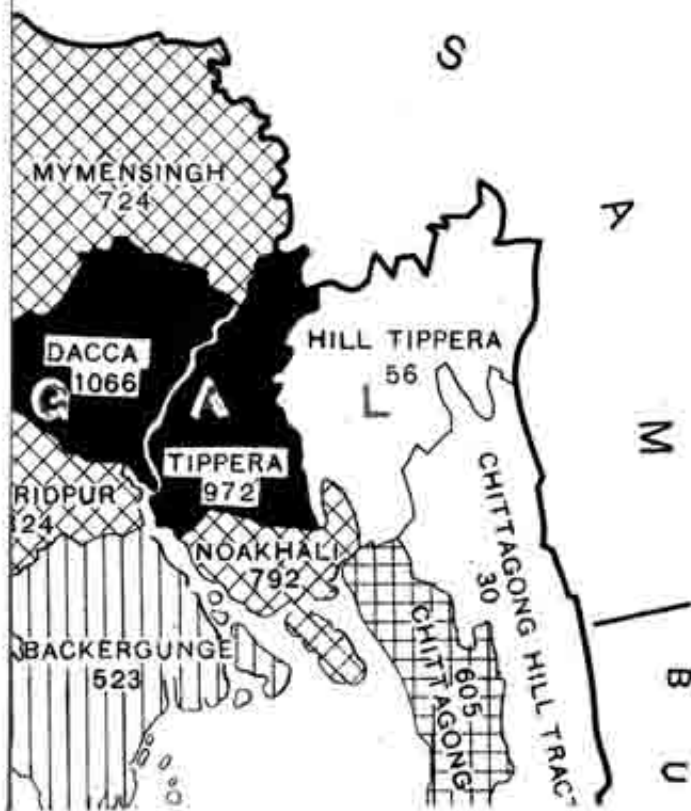
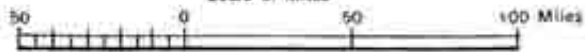
BENGAL BIHAR & ORISSA AND SIKKIM

REFER

Under 250 persons per square mile
250 and under 400
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700 " " " " 800
800 " " " " 900
900 " " " " OVER

Showing density of population by Districts and States.

Scale of Miles



BENGAL BIHAR & ORISSA AND SIKKIM

Showing density of population by Districts and States.

Scale of Miles
0 50 100 Miles

REFERENCES.

Under 250 persons per Sq. Mile

250 and under 400

400 500

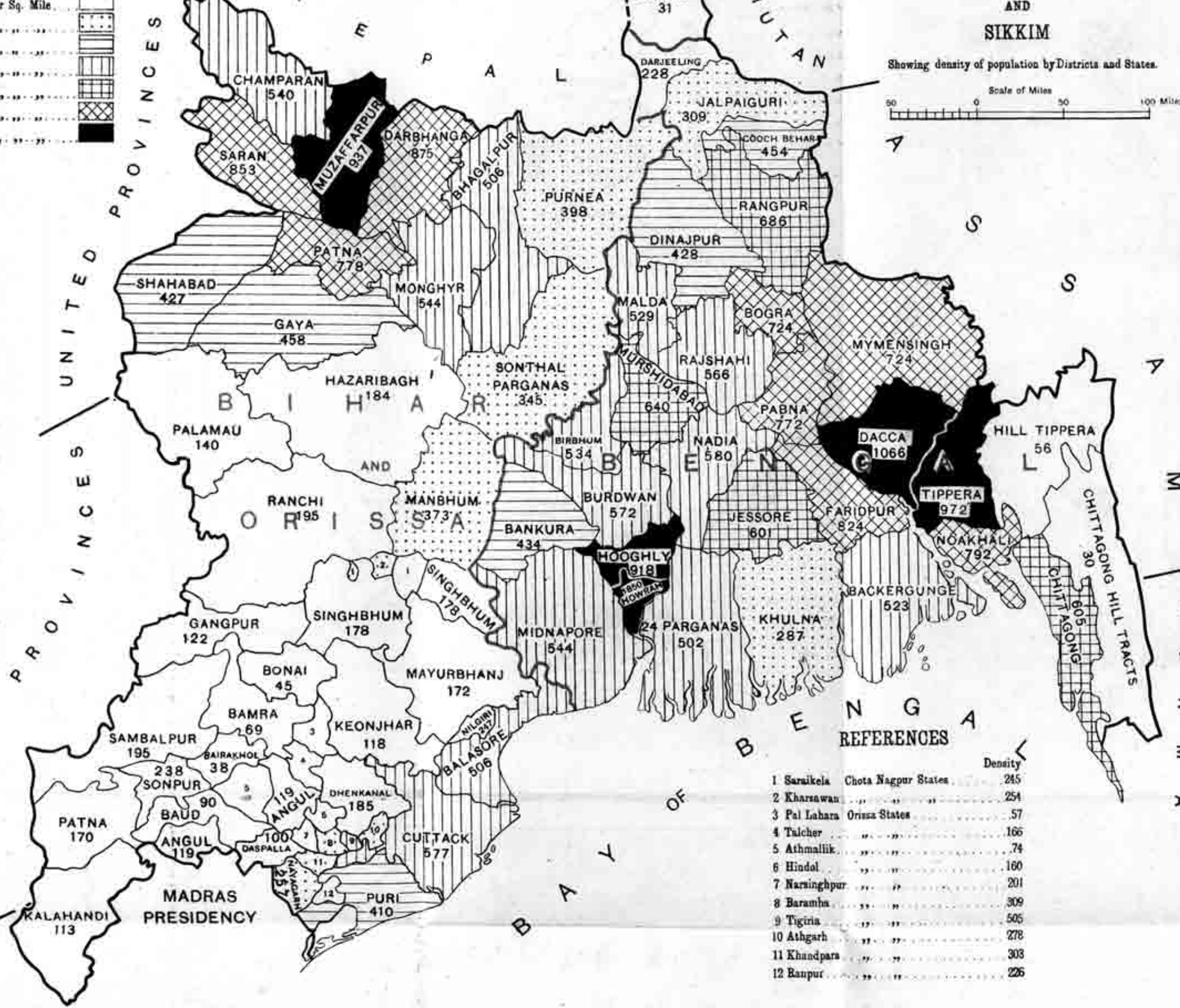
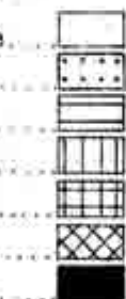
500 600

600 700

700 800

800 900

900 over



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	Density
1 Saraikela Chota Nagpur States	245
2 Kharsawan	254
3 Pal Lahara Orissa States	57
4 Talcher	166
5 Athmallik	74
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REPORT

ON THE CENSUS OF

BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA,

AND

SIKKIM, 1911.

CHAPTER I.

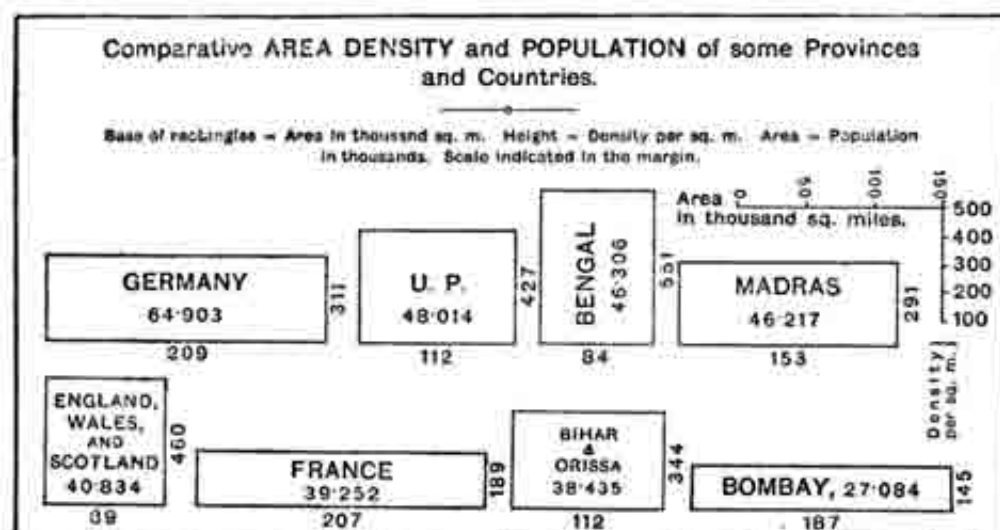
DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION.

At the census of 1901 the Presidency of Bengal and the Province of Bihar and Orissa (except Sambalpur and five Feudatory States) were included in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, a Province extending over 196,408 square miles and containing a population of 78,493,410 persons. The government of such a large and populous territory had long been a task of increasing difficulty owing to the growth of population—in 30 years it had increased by over 26 millions—the commercial, industrial and educational development of the country, and the increase in the number and complexity of its administrative problems. It had been realized for some years that the Province was too large for a single administration, and eventually in 1905 a partition, accompanied by transfers of territory between it and the adjoining Provinces, was carried into effect. A new Province, called Eastern Bengal and Assam, was constituted, which included Assam and a considerable portion of the old Province of Bengal, viz., the Divisions of Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi (except Darjeeling), the district of Malda and the State of Hill Tippera. The five Feudatory States of Jashpur, Surguja, Udaipur, Korea and Changbhakar were at the same time transferred to the Central Provinces, while the district of Sambalpur (with the exception of two zamindaris) and the Feudatory States of Patna, Sonpur, Kalahandi, Bamra and Rairakhol were transferred from the Central Provinces to Bengal. The Province of Bengal, as constituted after these changes, extended over 148,592 square miles, and contained a population, according to the census of 1911, of 57,206,430 persons. The results anticipated from the partition not having been altogether realized, another scheme of reconstruction, accompanied by organic changes in the system of government, was determined upon. By this second partition which took effect on 1st April 1912, Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa (*i.e.*, the whole Province of Bengal as constituted after 1905 with the exception of the Bardwan and Presidency Divisions, the district of Darjeeling and the State of Cooch Behar) were formed into a separate Province under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, Assam was restored to its former position as a Chief Commissionership, and the remainder of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Presidency and Bardwan Divisions, the district of Darjeeling and the State of Cooch Behar were created a Presidency under a Governor in Council.

Sikkim was under the Government of Bengal until 1906, when the control of its affairs was taken over by the Government of India. The figures for this State are therefore given separately and not included in those for Bengal, as in 1901.

AREA AND POPULATION.

2. The Presidency of Bengal contains a population of 46,305,642 persons, and extends over 84,092 square miles, of which 5,393 square miles are in the States of Cooch Behar and Hill Tippera, and the remainder constitute the Burdwan, Presidency, Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Commissionerships or administrative Divisions. Though somewhat smaller than Great Britain, it contains nearly a million more inhabitants than the whole of the British Isles. Compared with other Provinces in India, it is a little larger than the Central Provinces excluding Berar, and it has the greatest population next to the United Provinces (48,014,080), being closely followed by Madras with 46,217,245 inhabitants. Throughout almost its whole extent it is a low-lying alluvial plain, the southern portion of which is formed by the united deltas of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, while the northern portion consists of the valleys of these great rivers and their tributaries. Whether physical conditions, the character of the people and their language are considered, the Presidency is, with a few exceptions, remarkably homogeneous, but for practical purposes it may be treated as consisting of four natural Divisions, viz., Western, Central, East and North Bengal, of which a brief account will be found later in this chapter.



3. The Province of Bihar and Orissa has an area of 111,829 square miles and a population of 38,435,293 persons. Its area is slightly smaller than that of Austria (115,903 square miles), and a little greater than that of Italy (110,550 square miles), while its population is very little less than that of France (39,252,245). The largest Province in India next to Burma, Madras and Bombay, its population is only exceeded by that of Bengal, Madras and the United Provinces. It consists of the Divisions or Commissionerships of Patna, Tirhut, Bhagalpur, Orissa and Chota Nagpur, and of the Orissa and Chota Nagpur Feudatory States. The five Divisions, which have an area of 83,181 square miles and a population of 34,490,084, are the same as in 1901, with the following exceptions. The Orissa Division had the district of Sambalpur added to it in 1905, when the first partition of Bengal was effected. The district of Malda was at the same time transferred from the Bhagalpur Division to the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, whence it has been retransferred to Bengal. In 1908 the Patna Division was reconstituted, the North-Gangetic districts of Saran, Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga being formed into a new Division known as Tirhut, while the districts of Patna, Gaya and Shahabad on the south of the Ganges were formed into another Commissionership, which retained the name of the Patna Division. Owing to the transfers which took place in 1905, the Orissa Feudatory States, which in 1901 contained 17 States, now contain 24 States, the five States of Patna, Kalahandi, Sonpur, Bamra and Rairakhol being added from the Central Provinces, and two other States, Gangpur and Bonai,

from the Chota Nagpur States. Owing to this loss and to the transfer to the Central Provinces of Jashpur, Surguja, Udaipur, Korea and Changbhakar, the Chota Nagpur States now consist only of the two small States of Kharsawan and Saraikela. The effect of these changes is shown in the marginal table.

	Area in square miles.		Population.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Orissa Tributary States	14,307	28,046	1,947,502	2,796,562
Chota Nagpur States	16,014	802	1,001,429	146,646

Unlike Bengal, the Province of Bihar and Orissa is wanting in homogeneity. It consists of three sub-provinces, Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, which have different languages and land systems, while their physical configuration and the character of their peoples are entirely distinct.

4. Bihar, which for administrative purposes is divided between the Patna, Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions, extends over 42,361 square miles, and has a population of 23,752,968 persons, or nearly 10 millions more than the Central Provinces and Berar. Physically it consists of the eastern portion of the Gangetic valley, which is bounded on the north by the lower spurs of the Himalayas and on the south by the Chota Nagpur plateau. It is an alluvial plain watered and drained by the Ganges and its tributaries, such as the Gandak, Son, Gogri and Kosi, which sometimes sweep down in disastrous floods. The climate is drier than in Bengal, and the rainfall is not only lighter, but more capricious, its vicissitudes exposing the country, especially to the north of the Ganges, to periods of scarcity, which occasionally culminate in famine. Rice is the main harvest, but heavy crops of maize, wheat and barley are also raised. The people are sturdy cultivators, clinging to their lands with grim tenacity; their industries and manufactures are of little economic importance. A little over 30 years ago they were described by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal as "poor helpless discontented men, bound down to a state of extreme depression and misery, tenants of the richest Province in Bengal, yet the poorest and most wretched class we find in the country." The monopoly of agriculture, the excessive dependence of the cultivators on the winter rice crop, the precariousness of that crop, rack-renting and the oppression of landlords, made it difficult for the people to accumulate reserves on which they could fall back in a year of crop failure. Since then, the security of tenure, and the protection against arbitrary enhancement of rents, afforded by the Bengal Tenancy Act and the preparation of a record-of-rights, together with the extension of railways, have worked what may almost be described as an agrarian and economic revolution. Bihar has now passed from a condition of recurring famines to one in which, though the pinch of high prices is felt, widespread famine due to the actual absence of food is only a grim memory. In times of scarcity both cultivators and labourers display staying powers which were previously unknown, while the pressure of high prices is relieved by the annual migration of landless labourers to centres of industry, and by the remittances made by them to their families.

5. Chota Nagpur, which includes the Division of that name and the petty States of Kharsawan and Saraikela, extends over 27,679 square miles, and has 5,754,008 inhabitants, or nearly half as many as Burma. It is an upland plateau which forms the north-eastern portion of the table-land of Central India. The surface is undulating and hilly, and a large part is still covered by jungle, in which the *sal* tree (*Shorea robusta*) predominates. Cultivation is mainly confined to the valleys and the depressions between the ridges, which are enriched by the detritus washed down from above: laborious terracing is necessary to make rice cultivation possible on the slopes. The rainfall is about the same as in Bihar, but owing to the broken undulating surface the rain runs off rapidly, and artificial irrigation is necessary to bring the rice crop to maturity. Failures of the harvest occur periodically, but scarcity does not press severely on the people, as they are mostly hardy aborigines, who, even in times of prosperity, have recourse to edible jungle products, such as the fruit of the *mahua* tree, and can manage to subsist under conditions which would result in famine among the cultivators of the plains. For centuries this hilly tract remained almost a *terra incognita*, outside the sphere of administration of the Mughal Government, which saw little hope of revenue from its barren

forest-clad hills. It was part of the *Jharkhand* or jungle land, a name given to the whole country stretching from Birbhum and Manbhum to Central India, and from the fort of Rohtasgarh in Shahabad to the borders of Orissa. The Mughals exercised only a nominal suzerainty over the native chiefs and, except for a few punitive expeditions, rarely penetrated its recesses, remaining content with a tribute of a few diamonds from the Chief of Kokrah (Ranchi).^{*} It is still the home of non-Aryan tribes, who were never completely subjugated till the advent of the British, and, as stated in the last Census Report, "have preserved an individuality in respect of tribal organization, religion and language, which their congeners in the plain have long since lost."

6. Orissa, with an area of 41,789 square miles and a population of 8,928,316 persons, is by far the largest but most sparsely populated sub-province. It corresponds to the Orissa Division and the Orissa Feudatory States, and consists of two distinct portions, viz., a low-land tract along the sea board and a hilly interior. The former tract, which comprises the districts of Cuttack, Balasore and Puri, is a delta formed by the Mahanadi, Baitarani, Brahmani and other rivers debouching into the Bay of Bengal. The greater part of this alluvial delta was under the direct control of the Mughals, and formed the Mughalbandi or crown lands, from which the Mughals obtained a regular revenue. On the collapse of their power, it passed under the domination of the Marathas, and did not come under British rule until 1803. It has been throughout its history a tract difficult of access, having little communication with the rest of north-eastern India; it is only within recent years that it has been connected by rail with Madras on the south and Bengal on the north. Owing largely to this isolation, the people have social characteristics and a caste system different both from that of Bengal and that of Madras, while their language (Oriya) has but few foreign elements. The interior of Orissa forms an elevated plateau with occasional higher hills, some of which reach sub-temperate altitudes. In this hinterland there are two British districts, viz. Sambalpur, the suzerainty of which was ceded by the Marathas in 1826, but which only came under direct British rule in 1849, and Angul, part of which was annexed in 1847, and the remainder, known as the Khondmals, in 1855. The rest of the country is under the rule of Feudatory Chiefs, who, protected from invasion by the nature of the country, were nominally subject to the Mughals and Marathas, but otherwise remained independent. Their subjects are mainly forest and hill tribes, or semi-Hinduized aborigines, who have been but little affected by outside influences.

7. Sikkim, with an area of 2,818 square miles is smaller than an average district in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, while its population is less than that of any district in the two Provinces. Within its narrow limits it presents almost every conceivable condition of climate, tropical, temperate and alpine, the mountains running up beyond the snow line, the valleys sinking to 1,000 feet above sea level. At the higher altitudes arctic cold prevails; the valleys have a moist, hot and enervating climate. The rainfall in the south is very heavy: at the capital, Gangtok, it averages 133 inches in the year, but in the drier valleys to the north it falls to 20 inches or less. From about 7,000 up to 14,000 feet which is the limit of tree growth, the country is under virgin forest and uninhabited, except for occasional settlements of graziers. The population is almost exclusively confined to the valleys, slopes, and ridges below 7,000 feet, that being the highest level at which maize, the staple food of the people, comes to maturity. This and other crops, such as millets and pulses, are generally raised by means of *jhuming*. The forest is cut or burnt down, and a crop raised from the denuded surface for two years in succession, the land lying fallow for the succeeding eight years. When all the forest on his holding has been destroyed, the peasant resumes cultivation on the patch he first cleared, cutting and burning down any forest growth and scrub that may have sprung up in the meantime. At the lower levels, *i. e.*, below 4,000 feet, rice is grown by means of wet-terracing. The hill side is carved out into terraces, the outer edge of which is banked up to a height of about one foot; a channel is led from the nearest stream to the topmost terrace, from which it runs down to the terraces below, each of which is irrigated

^{*} H. Blochmann, Notes from Muhammadan Historians, J. A. S. B., V l. XL, 1871.

in turn. The population is a mixed one, consisting of Bhotias, Lepchas and Nepalese. The Bhotias, who are mainly graziers, live at the higher elevations. The Lepchas are a timid peaceful race of cultivators found in the lower part of the Tista valley and its affluents. Unable to face the cold, they favour the warmth of the valleys, where they lead a somewhat lazy life. The Nepalese, who are found mainly in the south and west of Sikkim, are the most thrifty and enterprising cultivators in the State, and are far more energetic and virile than the Lepchas, who give way to them whenever they come into contact.

8. In the Imperial Tables the districts have been grouped together by the administrative divisions known as Commissioner-ships, but this arrangement is not altogether convenient for discussing the main results of the census, the limits of Divisions having been fixed for administrative purposes and without regard to physical and ethnological considerations. In the Orissa Division, for instance, the Angul district is entirely different from the seaboard districts. The former is a hilly district with a non-Aryan population largely composed of Kandhs (Khonds) who till about 60 years ago practised human sacrifice. The latter are deltaic districts long under the domination of Brahmans, with an Aryan population, an old civilization and a peculiar caste system. The Bhagalpur Division again contains the Sonthal Parganas, which physically is a part of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, while its people are mainly Animistic Santals and Sauria Paharias, the latter of whom cling to the hill tops and are one of the most primitive races in the Province. In this report, therefore, and in the subsidiary tables attached to it, the districts are grouped together by natural divisions with physical and ethnical affinities. These divisions are the same as those adopted in 1901, except that Sikkim, being no longer under the Government of Bengal, is not included in North Bengal, and that the Chota Nagpur Plateau now comprises the district of Sambalpur and the States transferred from the Central Provinces, while it excludes the States which, as mentioned in paragraph 3, have been detached from Bengal.

9. The following statement shows the districts and States included in each natural division :—

NATURAL DIVISION.	Districts and States.	Divisions and States.
BENGAL.	West Bengal	Burdwan.
	Burdwan	...
	Birbhum	...
	Bankura	...
	Midnapore	...
	Hooghly	...
	Howrah	...
	Central Bengal	Presidency.
	24 Parganas	...
	Calcutta	...
	Nadia	...
	Murshidabad	...
	Jessore	...
	North Bengal	Rajshahi.
	Rajshahi	...
	Dinajpur	...
	Jalpaiguri	...
	Darjeeling	...
	Rangpur	...
	Bogra	...
	Pabna	...
	Malda	...
East Bengal	Cooch Behar	Cooch Behar.
	Dacca	...
	Mymensingh	...
	Faridpur	...
	Backergunge	...
	Tippera	...
	Noakhali	...
	Chittagong	Chittagong.
	Chittagong Hill Tracts	...
	Khulna	Presidency.
	Hill Tippera	Hill Tippera.

NATURAL DIVISION.		Districts and States.	Divisions and States.
BIHAR AND ORISSA.	North Bihar	Saran ...	Tirhut.
		Champanan ...	
		Muzaffarpur ...	
		Darbhanga ...	Bhagalpur.
		Bhagalpur ...	
	South Bihar	Purnea ...	Patna.
		Patna ...	
		Gaya ...	
		Shahabad ...	Bhagalpur.
		Monghyr ...	
	Orissa	Cuttack ...	Orissa.
		Balasore ...	
		Puri ...	
	Chota Nagpur Plateau	Hazaribagh ...	Chota Nagpur.
		Ranchi ...	
		Palamau ...	
		Manbhum ...	
		Singhbhum ...	
		Sonthal Parganas ...	Bhagalpur.
		Angul ...	Orissa.
		Sambalpur ...	
		Athgarh ...	
		Athmallik ...	
		Bamra ...	
		Baramba ...	
		Baud ...	
		Bonai ...	
		Daspalla ...	
		Dhenkanal ...	
		Gangpur ...	
		Hindol ...	
		Kalahandi ...	
		Keonjhar ...	
		Khondpara ...	
		Mayurbhanj ...	
		Narsinghpur ...	
		Nayagarh ...	
		Nilgiri ...	
		Pal Lahara ...	
		Patna ...	
		Rairakhol ...	
		Ranpur ...	
		Sonpur ...	
		Talcher ...	
		Tigiria ...	
		Saraikela ...	Chota Nagpur States.
		Kharsawan ...	

DENSITY OF POPULATION.

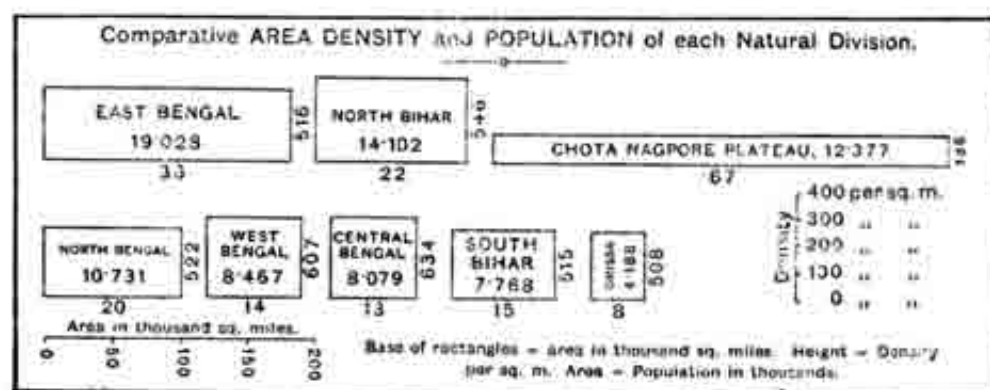
10. Statistics of the area, population, towns, villages and occupied houses of each district are given in Imperial Table I. Provincial Table I, which will be found at the end of the volume of Imperial Tables, gives similar figures for thanas, together with percentages of variation since 1891 and the density per square mile in 1911. Attached to this chapter are seven subsidiary tables showing—(i) statistics of density, water-supply and crops, (ii) the distribution of the population classified according to density, (iii) the distribution of the population between towns and villages, (iv) the number per mille

of the total population and of each main religion who live in towns, (v) towns

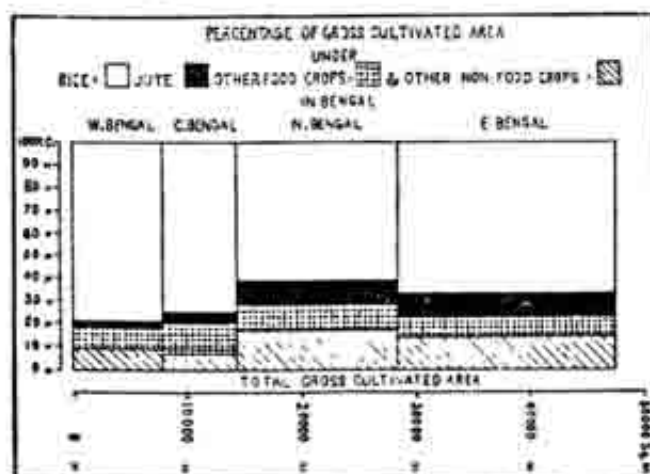
LOCALITY.	Area in square miles.	Population.
Bengal — — — — —	84,092	46,305,642
West Bengal — — — — —	12,941	8,467,314
Central Bengal — — — — —	12,734	8,074,303
North Bengal — — — — —	20,542	10,721,224
East Bengal — — — — —	36,866	19,028,819
Bihar and Orissa — — — — —	111,829	38,435,293
North Bihar — — — — —	21,422	14,108,314
South Bihar — — — — —	15,076	7,747,692
Orissa — — — — —	9,334	4,190,100
Chota Nagpur Plateau — — — — —	68,693	12,877,188

classified by population, (vi) density and variations in the population of cities, and (vii) the number of persons per house and of houses per square mile. As indicated in paragraph 6, these subsidiary tables show the districts by natural divisions, the area and

population of which are given in the margin.



11. Bengal, with an average density of 551 persons to the square mile is far more thickly populated than any European country, except Belgium and England. Its density would be even greater were it not for the large area occupied by hills, rivers, swamps and estuaries, which cause the most extraordinary variations within comparatively narrow limits. One district in the same natural division may be densely populated, and another support less than half the number; even in the same district one thana may contain a teeming population, and another have a few inhabitants scattered over its surface. For instance, the 24-Parganas supports 502 persons per square mile, but the adjoining district of Khulna only 287; if we exclude the uninhabited



forest area in the Sundarbans, a labyrinth of tidal rivers, swampy forests and half-submerged islands, their density is 776 and 515 respectively. In Eastern Bengal the district of Dacca has 1,066 persons per square mile, but in the Chittagong Hill Tracts each square mile supports only 30 people. In Western Bengal, again, 1,850 persons per square mile are found in Howrah, and 434 in Bankura. Owing to these variations the conditions

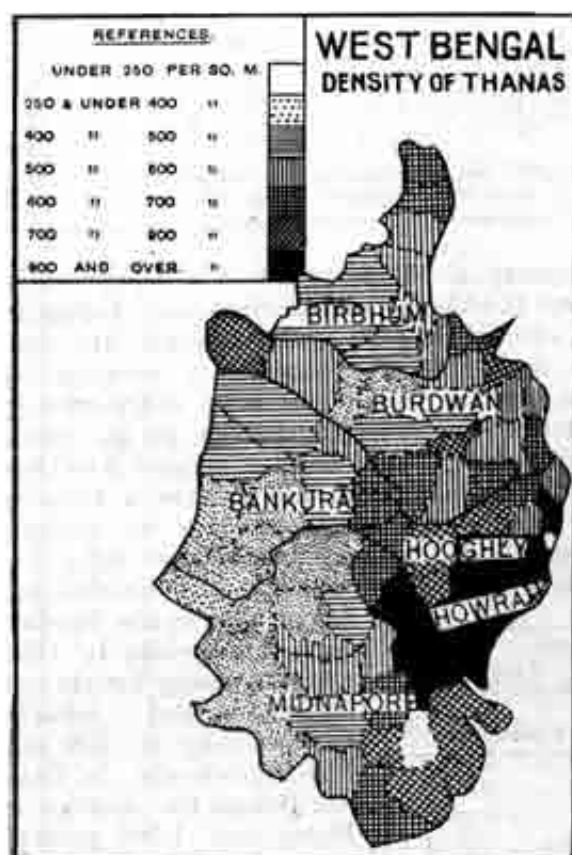
of each natural division and district will be discussed in some detail.

12. In the Presidency as a whole the pressure on the soil is less in North Bengal and East Bengal, where there are few big cities or large industries, than in Central Bengal and West Bengal, which contain the populous cities of Calcutta and Howrah and the metropolitan districts of Hooghly and the 24-Parganas. Central Bengal, with 634 persons per square mile, has the greatest density of population, and is closely followed by West Bengal with

607 to the square mile. In North Bengal the ratio is 522, and in East Bengal 516 per square mile. No less than one-fourth, however, of the area included in the latter division is accounted for by Hill Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, whose jungle-covered hills contribute only one-fiftieth of its population. If these two tracts are left out of account, the ratio in East Bengal rises to 674 to the square mile and is higher than in any other division.

The most congested district is Howrah, in which, as already stated, each square mile supports 1,850 persons. The only other district with a density of over 1,000 is Dacca, but two more districts (Hooghly and Tippera) have over 900 persons per square mile. Five districts, and the two States of Cooch Behar and Hill Tippera, support less than 500 persons per square mile. The scantiest population is found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where, density does not exceed 30 per square mile.

13. West Bengal extends along the right bank of the Bhagirathi (or Hooghly, as the river is called in its lower reaches), and approaches the Chota Nagpur Plateau on the west, while on the south it is bounded by the Bay of Bengal. It consists of two distinct zones, one a semi-aquatic rice plain, the other a rolling upland country. The portion included in the Hooghly and Howrah districts, and in the east of Burdwan, Midnapore and Bankura, is an alluvial plain formed



by the Bhagirathi, Damodar, Ajay and Rupnarayan rivers. The soil is fertile and bears heavy crops of rice, but the climate is damp and enervating, jungle grows thick and fever is rife. The country is but little raised above sea level, and is intersected by rivers, many of which are now silted up, while the beds of others are being gradually raised by the annual deposition of silt. Between the rivers are swampy depressions, and a large area is waterlogged. Urban or semi-urban conditions prevail along the bank of the Hooghly from Chinsura on the north to Howrah on the south. In this riparian strip of land town follows town with scarcely a break, and the development of manufactures in the last half century has converted it into a busy industrial centre. The remainder of the tract is higher in elevation and consists of rolling country with a laterite soil, which in the west includes the

eastern fringe of the Chota Nagpur Plateau. A poor ferruginous soil and hard beds of laterite here take the place of the fertile deltaic detritus, and wide expanses of scrub-jungle are found instead of the closely-tilled village lands of the east. Instead of containing a well-educated population of Hindus and Muhammadans, this western tract is comparatively thinly inhabited by races or castes of a less advanced type, into whose constitution an aboriginal or semi-Hinduized element enters. Rural conditions generally prevail, there being few towns or industries of any importance except in the Asansol subdivision of the Burdwan district, where the coal-fields have attracted a large immigrant population.

14. The most populous districts are Howrah and Hooghly, which are entirely alluvial, and then follow, in order, Burdwan, Midnapore, Birbhum and Bankura, in all of which there are under 600 persons to the square mile. Howrah city alone contains nearly one-fifth of the total population of the Howrah district, but even if it is excluded, the average per square mile is

1,525 and exceeds that returned by any other district in the Presidency. This teeming population is due to the neighbourhood of Calcutta and the number of jute mills, cotton mills, engineering and other industrial works clustered along the bank of the Hooghly. Density is high even in rural tracts, no thana having less than 1,293 persons per square mile, while Dumjor has 2,212—an astonishingly high figure, for, though this thana adjoins Howrah city, part of the land is marshy and uncultivable. In the Sadar subdivision, which contains the city of Howrah and most of the manufacturing works, density is more than twice as great as in the Uluberia subdivision to the south, which is more purely agricultural. The density of the district has risen by nearly 50 per cent. since 1872, and even in the last decade there has been an increase of 182 persons per square mile. This growing pressure on the soil is due not only to industrial expansion, but also to the drainage of swampy areas, a large scheme affecting over half its area having been carried out since 1891. Dumjor and Jagatballabhpur thanas, which have especially benefited by it, show an increase of 268 and 198 per square mile in these twenty years, though the former was already densely populated. The population is most scanty in Amta, the drainage of which was proposed as long ago as 1873, but which still remains partially water-logged and liable to inundation.

In Hooghly the highest density is found in the Serampore subdivision, where conditions are similar to those in Howrah, and where part of the land has been rendered cultivable by the Dankuni drainage scheme. The Serampore thana, which is a riparian strip containing five municipal towns, has as many as 5,098 persons per square mile, and, of the remaining four thanas, two have over 1,000 and two over 900 to the square mile. In the Hooghly subdivision to the north the people congregate thickly along the Hooghly as far as Tribeni, but in the low-lying, unhealthy country inland the average falls below 550. In the Arambagh subdivision the density varies according to the nature of the soil, the alluvial tract having an average density of 838 and the laterite uplands of Goghat only 677.

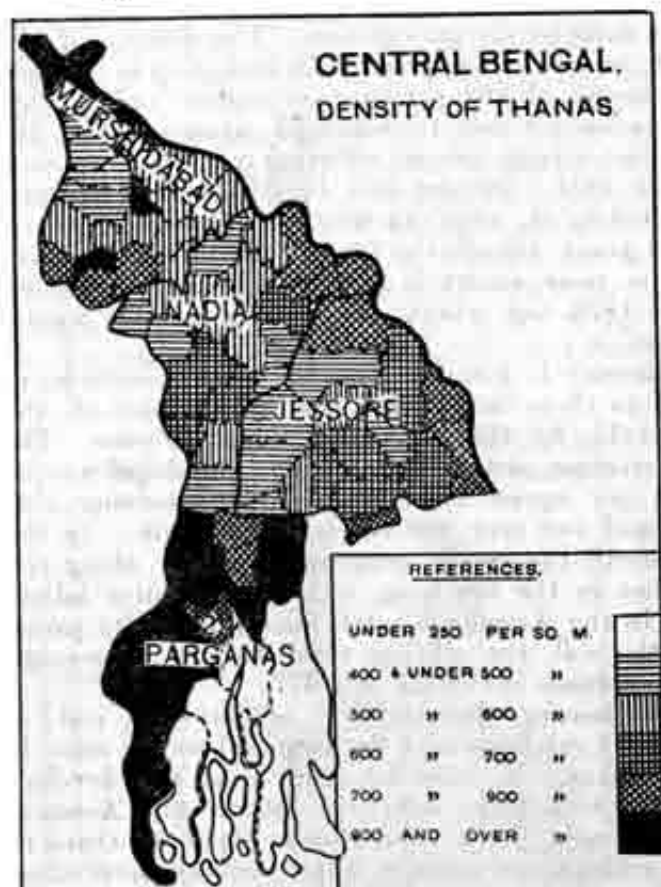
15. The relatively low density characteristic of lateritic soil is further exemplified in the Asansol subdivision of Burdwan, where the ratio is under 400 in Ausgram and Kaksa. In other lateritic areas the development of the coal-fields has led to a large influx of labour, and Asansol, with 887 persons to the square mile, is the most thickly populated thana in the district. In the alluvial portion the population is fairly evenly distributed, the pressure on the soil being greatest in the Katwa and then in the Kalna subdivision, both of which lie along the Bhagirathi.

There is a very uneven distribution of the people over the 5,186 square miles that make up the Midnapore district. The eastern half of the district, which is alluvial, is thickly populated, while the west of the district, which has a lateritic soil covered here and there with jungle, is sparsely inhabited. The most populous areas lie along the bank of the Rupnarayan and the estuary of the Hooghly, the maximum density being found in the Tamluk and Ghatal subdivisions (921 and 811 respectively), which lie along the Rupnarayan and consist of fertile rice plains. Contai, with 728 persons to the square mile, lies on the sea-coast to the west of Tamluk, and there are large tracts of sandy or salt-impregnated soil. Conditions in the Sadar subdivision are very different. Two-thirds of it form part of the lateritic plateau running down from Manbhum, which cannot support a large population, for considerable areas are covered by *sal* forest and jungle. In this subdivision there are only 397 persons per square mile, while five thanas, which still retain the old name of Jungle Mahals, and cover 1,827 square miles or more than half the total area, have a mean density of under 300 to the square mile.

— In Birbhum the density of population decreases towards the west on the borders of the Sonthal Parganas, where the surface is barren and undulating, and increases towards the east, which is an alluvial flat. It rises to over 600 in the Rampur Hât subdivision, which is mainly a fertile rice plain, and it is less than 500 in the Sadar subdivision, the minimum (449) being reached in the Suri thana, which is an undulating tract with a sterile soil. The difference between the density of the alluvial flats to the east and the uplands to the west is equally marked in Bankura. The Bankura subdivision, which is hilly and undulating, with large jungle tracts, has a density of only 389.

whereas in the Vishnupur subdivision, which is part of the deltaic country and almost entirely under rice cultivation, there is an average of 560 to the square mile.

16. Central Bengal consists of a portion of the delta in which the process of land formation has ceased. It is an alluvial plain intersected by numerous rivers, which formerly received a supply of water from the Ganges, and in their turn supplied and enriched the land with annual deposits of silt. The



influx of fresh water from the Ganges has ceased except in the rains, the result being that for the greater part of the year they have no current, but merely contain long stagnant stretches of water covered with vegetation. The banks of the rivers having been raised above the surrounding country by the accumulation of silt, depressions are found between them, the fall from all directions being towards the centre. Many of these depressions are of small size, but others are practically inland lakes. Some are mere accumulations of water upon low-lying ground, while others are natural drainage basins, the level of which does not admit of drainage. In some places these basins are on a fairly high level, and the central depression is under regular cultivation. Other

depressions are water-logged, but can still be used for growing rice, while others again are always under water.

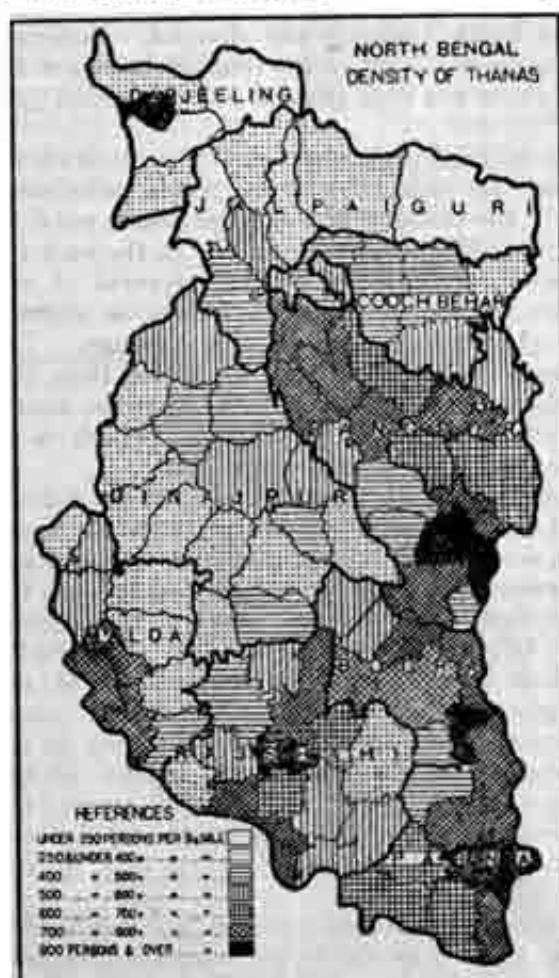
In the Division, as a whole, there are 634 persons to the square mile, but the density is increased by the large population of Calcutta; if the latter be excluded, there are 565 persons per square mile. This is a high figure, when it is remembered that in the 24-Parganas the uninhabited forest area in the Sundarbans extends over 1,711 square miles or more than one-third of the whole district. Excluding this area, the 24-Parganas has an average density of 777 per square mile. In the remaining districts the pressure on the soil does not vary very greatly, there being 640 persons to the square mile in Murshidabad, 601 in Jessore and 580 in Nadia.

17. In the 24-Parganas numerous towns with busy jute and cotton mills stretch along the whole length of the Hooghly from Garden Reach northwards. Away from its banks, however, the population is almost entirely rural and devoted to agriculture. Density in the different subdivisions varies accordingly, being as high as 1,540 in the Barrackpore subdivision, which is a narrow riparian strip crowded with municipal towns, factories and mills. In the Diamond Harbour subdivision the density is less than a third of this, and in the Basirhat subdivision there are only 223 persons per square mile. Both these subdivisions, however, lie to the south and merge in the Sundarbans. The difference between conditions in the north and south is even more plainly seen in the thana returns; no less than 19 thanas have more than 1,000 persons per square mile, while in two (Mathurapur and Husainabad), which extend into the Sundarbans, there are less than 100 per square mile.

In Murshidabad the people cluster more closely in the alluvial country to the east of the Bhagirathi than to the west, where the country is slightly undulating and the level is higher. The most densely populated thanas lie

along the banks of the Bhagirathi, four of them having a density of over 1,000, while four thanas to the west have under 500 persons per square mile. In Jessore the average density of population is least in the Bangaon subdivision to the south-west, where the silting up of rivers has deprived the country of the fertilising deposits it formerly received. It gradually increases as one proceeds from west to east, and reaches the maximum of 740 in the Narail subdivision in the south-east. Here the rivers still have a flowing current, and one thana contains no less than 897 persons per square mile. The Kushtia subdivision, a fertile tract lying between the Ganges and Mathabhangha, is by far the most populous part of Nadia. The scantiest population in that district is found in the Ranaghat subdivision in the extreme south-east, in spite of the fact that it contains a larger urban population than any other subdivision. Elsewhere the inhabitants are fairly evenly distributed, varying only from 521 to 554 per square mile.

18. North Bengal, lying from east to west between Purnea and the Brahmaputra, and from north to south between the lower spurs of the Himalayas and the Ganges, a remarkably homogeneous area, except for the hills portion of the



of the land. The least populous tracts are Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling to the north, of which the two latter have large areas under forest.

20. Density in the Pabna district is highest in the Sirajganj subdivision, a fertile jute-growing tract, in which the drainage has not been obstructed by deserted river beds to the same extent as in the headquarters subdivision. Its average density (867 per square mile) is one-third greater than that of the latter subdivision, but there are extraordinary variations, the Shahzadpur thana supporting 1,209, and the Raiganj thana only 490 persons to the square mile. The latter is an unhealthy tract over which malaria has a hold, and, moreover, the large lake known as Chalan Bil occupies a considerable portion of it. The only thana in the Sadar subdivision in which the district average is exceeded is Mathura, which, lying in the angle between the Padma and the Brahmaputra, is specially benefited by the deposit of silt brought down by the rivers.

In Bogra the scantiest population is found in the west of the district, which forms part of the elevated *quasi*-laterite tract known as the Barind. The minimum (457) is reached in the Sherpur thana to the extreme south-west, where a large area is still overgrown with jungle. The mean density is double as high as this in the adjoining thana of Dhunot, which is traversed by flowing rivers and is one of the most fertile tracts in the district. Generally speaking, the population is very dense in the east of the district between the Karatoya and Dakopa rivers, where there is a rich alluvial soil in which jute is the main crop.

21. Rangpur consists of a wide alluvial plain unbroken by natural elevations of any kind. In the north there are extensive sandy plains, admirably suited to the cultivation of tobacco: the density of the Nilphamari subdivision, which is comprised in this tract, is 758 per square mile. In the east the Kurigram and Gaibandha subdivisions are enriched by the deposits of silt brought down by the Brahmaputra: the density in the former is slightly below and in the latter considerably above the district average. The Gaibandha thana supports 1,188 persons per square mile, while less than half that number are found in the Shaghatta thana which adjoins it on the south. The least populous part of the district is the Sadar subdivision, which is at once more unhealthy and less fertile than the other subdivisions.

Rajshahi is composed of four tracts with distinct agricultural conditions, viz.—(1) the tract along the bank of the Padma, which is subject to its direct fluvial action, (2) the Barind, on the north-west, with a *quasi*-laterite soil and a high undulating surface (3), a swampy water-logged depression on the east, and (4) the remainder of the district, which has neither the special advantages nor the disadvantages of the other three areas. The Sadar subdivision, which includes the whole of the first tract and portions of the second and fourth tracts, has the highest density in the district. Next comes Noagaon, in which two thanas are comprised in the Barind and two in the fourth tract. In the Nator subdivision, which includes the whole of the swampy tract and very small portions of the first and second tracts, the effects of unfavourable agricultural conditions are accentuated by the prevalence of malaria. This is consequently the least populous part of the district.

22. Density varies greatly in the three tracts making up the Malda district, viz., (1) the area, locally known as the Diara, which is fertilized by the Padma, (2) the older alluvium, which is not so fertile as the Diara, and (3) the Barind, which is still less fertile. The thanas are not exactly

Tract.	Thana.	Density.
1 ...	Kaliachak ...	815
1 ...	Sibganj ...	804
2 ...	English Bazar ...	739
2 ...	Kharba ...	584
3 ...	Gunnastapur ...	397
3 ...	Malda ...	357
3 ...	Gajol ...	356

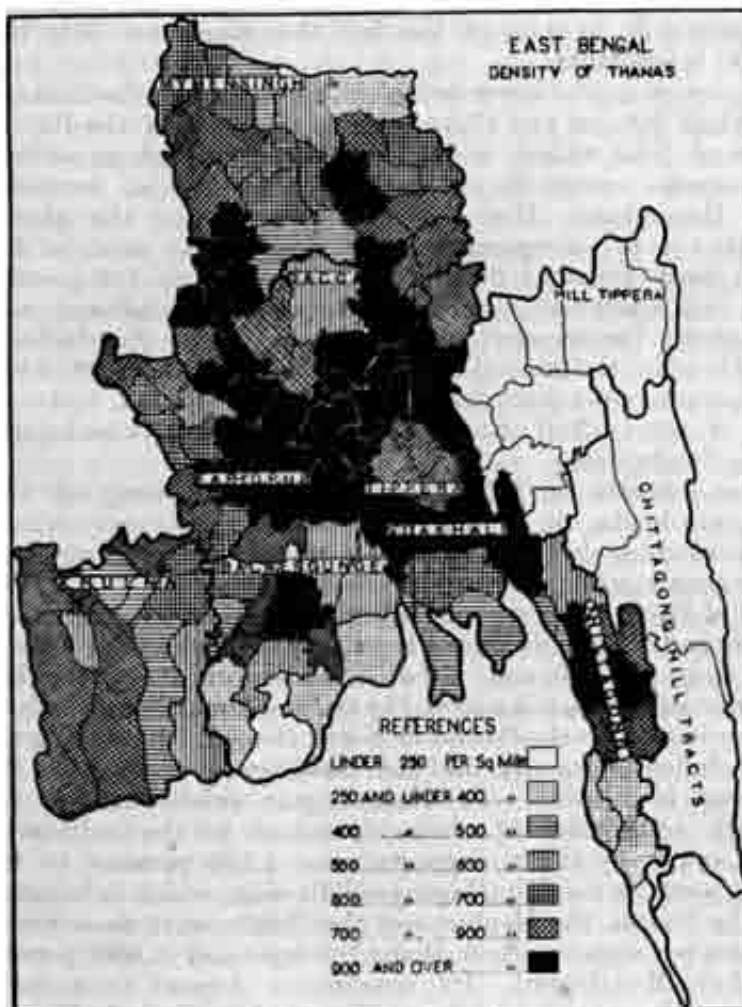
conterminous with these natural divisions, but the marginal statement clearly indicates the influence of the character of the soil on the distribution of population. The State of Cooch Behar is thinly populated, density nowhere rising above 552. Dinhata in the south and Haldibari in the extreme west support, on the average, 545 persons per square mile, but the mean density is reduced to 421 in the remainder of the State, and tails off to 359 in Tufanganj to the north-east, which is as yet not fully developed. In Dinajpur conditions are not favourable to any great density of population. It is not watered by either the Ganges or the Brahmaputra: its climate is unhealthy, and the south is covered by the high

undulating ridges of the Barind, in which cultivation is either impossible or unprofitable. The Balurghat subdivision, which includes the greater portion of the Barind, supports only 380 persons per square mile. In the district as a whole the population is fairly evenly distributed, the lowest thana density being 315 in Parsa, which lies in the Barind, and the highest 553 in Dinajpur, which includes the district headquarters.

23. In Jalpaiguri, which lies at the foot of the Himalayas, the average is reduced by the large area under forest, the reserved forests alone accounting for more than one-sixth of its total area. If these forests and the Baikantipur forest are left out of account, the average rises to 381 per square mile. The Sadar subdivision, where cultivation is most advanced, supports nearly twice as many persons per square mile as the Alipur subdivision, where the average falls as low as 162 in the Alipur thana to the east. The latter subdivision is, however, by far the more progressive of the two, as the waste lands available for settlement are being rapidly taken up and reclaimed, the result being that since 1901 its average density has been nearly doubled. In Darjeeling also the space available for settled habitation is very greatly reduced by the area under forest. Reserved forests extend over more than a third of the district, while a considerable area is taken up by tea gardens. Excluding the forests, there is an average density of 369 persons per square mile, which is very little less than the corresponding figure for Jaipalguri. The most populous part of the district is the Siliguri subdivision in the Tarai. The sparsest population is found in Kalimpong, in which, however, the greatest development has taken place, the ratio rising from 65 to 120 p.r square mile during the last 20 years.

24. East Bengal is for the greater part a deltaic plain, composed of the upper and lower portions of the deltas of the Ganges and Brahmaputra. It forms a wide alluvial expanse, broken, in the north-east, by an elevated tract known as the Madhupur

Jungle and, in the east, by hills which run south into and through Chittagong. The greater part is a fertile semi-aquatic plain covered by a network of rivers and waterways, which form almost the only means of communication. They are heavily charged with silt, and their banks, raised by its annual deposition, are higher than the surrounding country. The depressions between the high river banks form large marshes, which are especially numerous in the south of Faridpur and the west and north-west of Backergunge, where the whole country is a succession of basins, full of water in the rains, but partially or wholly dry in the winter months. The largest of these



but partially or wholly dry in the winter months. The largest of these

depressions is the Chalan Bil, which has a water area varying from about 20 square miles in the dry season to 150 square miles in the rains. The greater part of the country is annually enriched by the silt brought down by the rivers, which in the rains overflow their banks and spread over the low-lying lands between them. The rainfall is heavy, the monsoon consisting of a series of cyclonic depressions which follow each other up the Bay of Bengal. Unlike the cultivators of Bihar, therefore, the inhabitants of this favoured region have no reason to complain of lack of moisture for their crops.

25. While this is the general character of the country, East Bengal really consists of three distinct parts. The central portion, which may be designated East Bengal proper, forms the upper portion of the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, and comprises the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur and Tippera. It is a land of rivers and plains with a fertile soil, abundant crops and a salubrious climate. Plague, the terror of Bihar, is unknown, and malarial fever, the scourge of Central Bengal, is not wide-spread. Rice is the staple crop, but in recent years the area under jute has expanded enormously and is now equal to nearly a third of that devoted to rice. The land supports a teeming population, pressure on the soil being limited mainly by the *bils* or marshes stretching away from the river banks and the laterite formation in the north-east. The marshes are partially dry and covered with rice in the cold weather, but are under water in the rains, when they form an almost unbroken fresh-water sea bordered by the river banks, which stand only a few feet above the flooded country. In the north-east are outcrops of laterite, rising to a small height above the alluvium and usually covered with *sal* forest, which constitute the Madhupur Jungle. These forests are gradually yielding to the axes of the Santals and other pioneers of cultivation. The average density of population rises to 1,066 in Dacca, which is a remarkably high figure, considering that, though the town of Dacca contains over 100,000 inhabitants, there is only one other town of over 20,000. It is closely followed by the Tippera district, in which there are 972 persons to the square mile, in spite of the fact that there are only two towns with over 20,000 inhabitants.

26. The second portion is the lower delta, which comprises the districts of Backergunge, Noakhali, Khulna and Chittagong on the shore of the Bay of Bengal. It is a region of tidal waters, which, distributed through an endless chain of connected channels, eventually merge into the brackish estuaries of the Meghna and Haringhata. Here rice predominates to the almost entire exclusion of other crops, occupying no less than 79 per cent. of the cultivated area. The most populous district is Noakhali with 792 persons to the square mile, but elsewhere, owing to the large uninhabited area included in the mangrove forests and swampy islands of the Sundarbans, density falls off considerably, the general average being reduced to 488, while Khulna has only 287 persons per square mile. In this latter district, however, 2,089 square miles, or nearly half the total area, consist of uninhabited reserved forests in the Sundarbans.

The third portion consists of Hill Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, two hilly hinterlands, in which there is a scanty population, practising primitive methods of cultivation among their native jungle, and averaging only 42 per square mile.

27. The district of Dacca supports a teeming population, but there is a wide range of variations in density. In two of the four subdivisions the density is below the district mean of 1,066, and in two considerably above it. The greater part of the Sadar subdivision is covered by the Madhupur Jungle, which in its general character resembles the Barind of North Bengal. Excluding the Dacca thana, which includes Dacca city, and also Nawabganj, which is in the alluvial area, the average is only 661. The Narayanganj subdivision on the east has a more fertile soil, which is admirably suited to the cultivation both of rice and jute, and every thana supports over 1,100 persons to the square mile. On the south in the Munshiganj subdivision, which is hemmed in on three sides by the Padma, the Meghna and the Dhaleswari, there are as many as 1,996 persons per square mile in thana Srinagar and 1,600 persons per square mile in thana Munshiganj. Its inhabitants depend to a much smaller extent on agriculture than in any other subdivision of Eastern Bengal: only 51 per cent. of its population are supported by ordinary cultivation, while a very large number of males find employment elsewhere

in clerical and other work. Agricultural conditions in the Manikganj subdivision are as favourable as in Munshiganj, but it suffers from an unhealthy climate, and during the past decade two thanas have lost considerably by diluvion.

28. Tippera enjoys exceptional advantages in regard to both climate and soil. The Meghna, which sweeps past the western border, enriches a large tract of land, on which fine jute is produced, while a number of smaller streams, bringing down silt from the hills, spread it over the greater portion of the district. While the soil is exceedingly fertile, the rainfall is abundant and well distributed. The result of these favourable conditions is the high average of 972 persons per square mile. The range of variations is small, the density falling below the district average in only five thanas, three of which, viz., Chandina, Laksham and Hajiganj, are low-lying and suffer from occasional floods. The most densely populated part of Faridpur is the Madaripur subdivision, which consists of a flat alluvial plain, subject to the fertilizing action of large rivers and comparatively free from the ravages of malaria. In this subdivision density rises to over 1,000, while none of the others support over 800 per square mile.

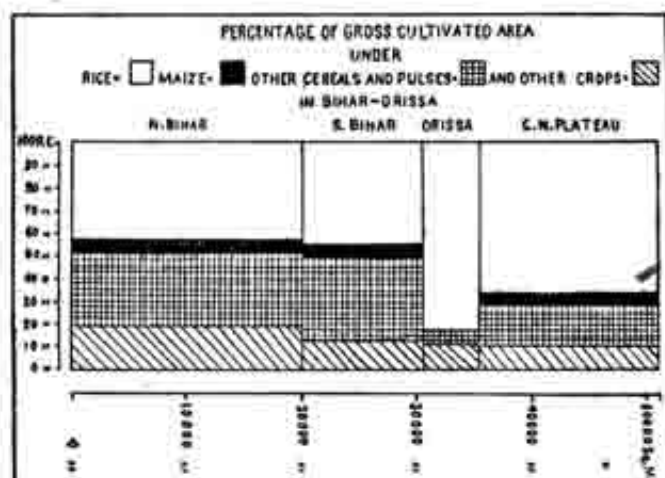
29. For considering the local variations of density, the Mymensingh district may be divided into five parts. The western part, including the Tangail subdivision and a portion of the Jamalpur subdivision, is watered and drained by the system connected with the Jamuna. This tract resembles the flat alluvial tract on the other side of the Brahmaputra in the Rangpur Bogra and Pabna districts, density in the Tangail subdivision being 989 as against 815 in Gaibandha, 724 in Bogra and 867 in Serajganj. The central portion, which includes the greater part of the Madhupur Jungle with its extensive forest reserve, corresponds to thanas Mymensingh, Fulbaria, Gaffargaon and Muktagacha of the Sadar subdivision, in all of which the density is below the district average (724). The third tract, comprising thanas Nandail, Iswarganj and part of Fulpur in the Sadar subdivision, Netrakona and part of Kendua in the Netrakona subdivision, and Kishoreganj and Kathiadi in the Kishoreganj subdivision, consists of rich alluvial lands, on which heavy crops of rice and jute are raised. The density in this tract is considerably above the district average, that of Nandail (1,171) being the highest in the district. The fourth and easternmost tract is much lower in level than the third tract and is intersected by large marshes or *haors*, where people gather during the fair weather to catch fish, graze cattle and grow *boro* rice. The density in this tract is generally below the district average. The fifth tract lying along the foot of the Garo Hills includes portions of thanas Dewanganj, Nalitabari, Sherpur, Fulpur, and Durgapur, in which the population is very sparse, the density of Durgapur (333) being the lowest in the district.

30. Noakhali consists of a mainland tract and a number of islands, the largest of which are Sandwip and Hatia. The estuary of the Meghna, which is here about 7 miles broad, sweeps past the western and southern sides of the mainland, where alluvial changes occur with surprising rapidity. The thanas which are most subject to fluvial action are Sudharam, Sandwip and Hatia, where the density falls considerably below the district average. Old lands are being constantly cut away in this area and new lands formed, which take time to develop into cultivation. In the remainder of the district, the variation is very small, the lowest average being 954 in Feni and the highest 1,223 in Ramganj, where the growth of betelnuts and cocoanuts brings the cultivators large profits. Only 40 per cent. of the total area of Chittagong is under cultivation, the uncultivable area comprising jungle-covered hills, which traverse the district, and deltaic mangrove swamps along the coast. The proportion of land under cultivation is much higher in the Sadar subdivision, where the average density is 789 persons per square mile, than in the Cox's Bazar subdivision, where it is as low as 277 persons per square mile. The land, where under cultivation, is fairly fertile, and if the uncultivated area be excluded, the density comes to 1,511 persons per square mile, a ratio which is exceeded in Eastern Bengal only by the Faridpur and Dacca districts.

31. In Backergunge the distribution of the population is limited by the uncultivable area included in the Sundarbans. The tract bordering the Sundarbans, although fertile, is also backward in cultivation and sparsely populated, the people being exposed to the dangers of cyclones and storm-waves. As a result of these conditions, the density in thanas Matbaria, Amtali, Golachipa and Baranadi falls below 400, reaching the minimum of 232 in Amtali. The density gradually rises northward with variations due to local causes, till the highest figure is reached in the Sadar subdivision. Backergunge is one of the most important rice-producing tracts in Eastern Bengal and is capable of supporting a much larger population than it does at present. In Khulna the pressure on the soil gradually increases as one proceeds from east to west, Satkhira on the east being the most and Bagerhat on the west the least populous subdivision. A number of thanas merge in the Sundarbans, and four contain 500 persons or less per square mile.

32. Both the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Hill Tippera consist largely of hills, which are unsuitable for plough cultivation. In the former only 5 per cent. of the total area is actually under cultivation, the aboriginal inhabitants living chiefly by *jhuming*. Its population has increased during the past decade by 23 per cent., but in the three circles comprising the district the density varies only from 24 to 42 persons per square mile. In Hill Tippera cultivation is more advanced, and agricultural conditions in the narrow strip of low land along the north-western and southern boundaries are similar to those in the adjoining British territory. The density varies from 25 in Kaila Sahar to 126 in the Sadar subdivision, the average in the whole State being 56 per square mile.

33. The Province of Bihar and Orissa, with 344 persons per square mile, though not so thickly populated as the British Isles (where there are on the average 30 more persons per square mile); has a denser population than Germany. In British

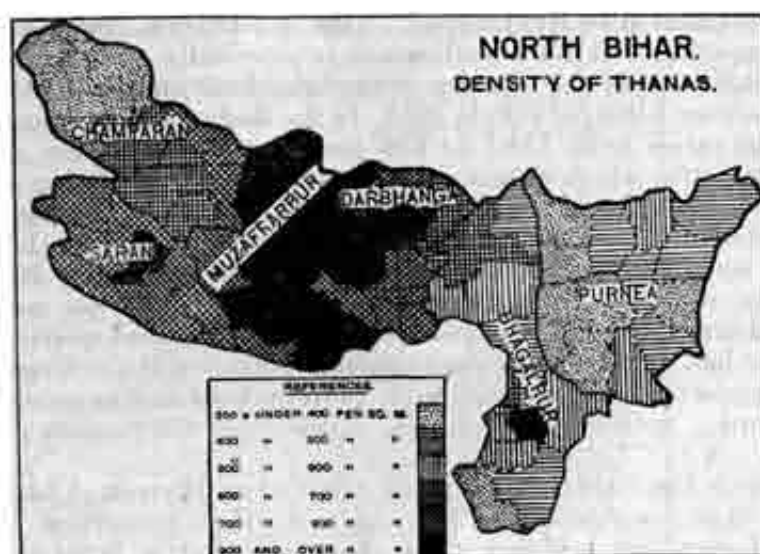


Density throughout the Province is determined by the physical nature of the country and, in particular, by hills, forest and water. Bihar is an alluvial tract, the northern portion of which is traversed by rivers debouching from the Himalayas: considerable areas are seamed by their old beds and flooded by their present channels. Immediately to the south the hilly plateau of Chota Nagpur rises above the plain. South of the latter are the highlands of Orissa, and to the extreme south-east the deltaic districts of the Orissa Division lie between them and the Bay of Bengal. Even the alluvial stretches of South Bihar and the Orissa delta have a hilly backbone, and in the whole Province there are only four districts (Saran, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur and Purnea) in which hills are conspicuous by their absence. The hills generally are either bare rocky excrecences, or bear a thin sterile soil covered with forest.

34. North Bihar, with 646 persons to the square mile, is the most congested tract in the Province. To the extreme north there is, in some parts, a sub-montane strip, consisting mostly of prairie land and denuded forest, but

territory the mean density rises to 415 to the square mile, but the average for the Province is considerably reduced by the Orissa Feudatory States, which are as big as Ireland and as thinly peopled, the average density (135) being exactly the same. The most populous district is Muzaffarpur (937), which is closely followed by Darbhanga (875), while the scantiest population is found in Angul (119).

the remainder is a flat alluvial plain almost entirely under cultivation. It is watered by a number of great rivers which have gradually raised their beds



by the deposition of silt and flow on ridges slightly elevated above the general level of the country. Most of them are liable to overflow their banks after heavy rainfall in the Nepal hills, and such inundations have been of increasing frequency and severity in recent years. In the west cultivation is rendered precarious by the oscillations of the Kosi.

which, frequently changing its course, spreads over the land a layer of infertile sand that destroys its productive powers. The rainfall is ordinarily ample, the normal annual quantity being 53.36 inches, but it is capricious and its distribution frequently untimely, especially in the north of the Tirhut Division, which has been described as the "blackest of black spots on the famine map." Here the cultivators are practically dependent on one crop, viz., winter rice. The population is dense, wages are low and rents high; when the rains fail, distress ensues among the landless labourers, but is mitigated by their increasing readiness to leave their homes and obtain work and wages elsewhere.

35. The pressure on the soil, especially in Saran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, would be still greater were it not for the area occupied by rivers and marshes. Through the centre of Champaran extends a chain of 43 lakes, with an area of 139 square miles, which mark an old bed of the Gandak and never entirely dry up. In the other districts north of the Ganges there are numerous marshes (*chaurs*) and meres, which represent the deeper portions of old river beds or are formed by the troughlike depressions between the present river banks. They are generally full of water during the rains, when they are filled by the floods of the Ganges and its affluents, and most contain some water even in the cold weather. In those which dry soonest, the ground, which retains abundant moisture, is cultivated with winter rice; in others a precarious crop of early rice is raised before they are again flooded, or a long-stemmed variety is sown broadcast, which rises with the water and is reaped from boats. They are often of very large size, one in Saran having a length of 20 miles and attaining a breadth of 2 to 5 miles.

36. These marshes, which confine the limits of human habitation, are mostly a legacy of the rivers debouching from the Himalayas. The vagaries of the same rivers are to-day a barrier to the expansion of cultivation. The most destructive is the Kosi, which is remarkable for the rapidity of its stream, the uncertain nature of its channel and the desolation caused by its floods. Between 1850 and 1875 this river, swinging to the west, cut into and overspread some 20 miles of country, turning fertile fields into wilderness of sand and swamp. Nathpur, a great grain mart in Bhagalpur, was swept away in 1875, and two fertile *naranas* in the north-east of that district have lost a considerable portion of their cultivable area. Similar devastation has taken place along both banks of the river down to its confluence with the Ganges, and, even in tracts not affected by its inroads, the fear of its movements has driven back cultivation, the place of which has been taken by grass jungle.

37. In Muzaffarpur the greatest density is found in the Sitamarhi subdivision to the north, where every thana contains over 1,000 persons per

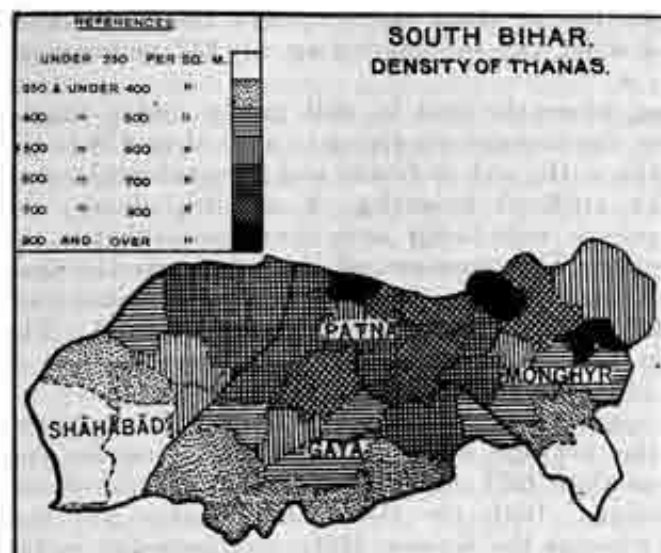
square mile. Throughout the rest of the district the pressure on the soil is uniformly heavy, all but two thanas having over 900 per square mile. The Samastipur subdivision of Darbhanga, with 938 persons to the square mile, has as dense a population as Muzaffarpur. This subdivision, moreover, contains about 40 square miles of *diara* land, which is practically uninhabited and mainly uncultivated, so that the density on the inhabited and productive area is very little less than 1,000 per square mile. In the Madhubani and Sadar subdivisions the ratio varies from 1,065 to 696 per square mile; these are mainly rice-producing tracts, which cannot support so large a population as Samastipur, where the rich uplands produce more valuable crops. The population is evenly distributed throughout Saran, only two thanas having less than 800 persons per square mile, and only one having a ratio exceeding 900. The Siwan subdivision, with 905 persons to the square mile, is now the most populous part of the district, having changed places with the head-quarters subdivision during the last decade. The most sparsely inhabited is the Gopalganj subdivision, which contains a large area of *diara* land and numerous *chauras* or rice swamps: notwithstanding this, it has over 800 persons per square mile.

38. Compared with the other districts of the Tirhut Division, Champaran has but a thin population. Not only is the proportion of uncultivable land (17 per cent.) higher than elsewhere, but a large part of the cultivable area still awaits development. Pasturage rather than cultivation has engaged the energies of its inhabitants until fairly recent times. Partly for this reason and partly because of the prevalence of malaria, which saps their energies, the people are but indifferent cultivators, and only two-thirds of the cultivable area has been brought under the plough. There is, moreover, a submontane strip in the north-west, where the Dun and Sumeswar hills cover an area of 364 square miles. These hills and the land at their base are still covered with forest, and further into the plain extend large grassy prairies, which are mainly used for pasturage. The Bettiah subdivision, in which this submontane tract lies, supports only 400 persons per square mile, or a little more than half the number found in the Sadar subdivision. Population is most dense in the eastern thanas of the latter subdivision, which adjoin the Muzaffarpur district and in which similar conditions obtain. These thanas (Adapur, Dhaka and Madhubani) are mainly under rice cultivation, and their average density is over 800. The central thanas, where there is a fair amount of waste land, have from 600 to 700 persons per square mile, while in the northern thanas the ratio is only a little over 300.

39. Bhagalpur is divided in two by the Ganges, and conditions differ considerably in the north and south. The north consists of alluvium as far as the limits of the Kosi floods, after which sandy flats appear. Till 40 years ago the country in the extreme north was covered with jungle or *sal* forest, which has now been cleared away. The land is mainly under rice cultivation and, being traversed by a number of rivers with numerous cross-channels, needs little irrigation. The highest density (641 to the square mile) is found in the Bhagalpur subdivision, which extends along both sides of the Ganges, and has a rich alluvial soil annually renewed by the fertilizing overflow of that river. Further south the surface gradually rises till a hilly tract is reached, in which artificial irrigation is necessary for the cultivation of rice. This broken country corresponds to the Banka subdivision, in which there are only 370 persons to the square mile.

In Purnea the average density of population (398) is less than in any other district in the Province outside Chota Nagpur; it exceeds 500 in only two thanas and falls below 300 in two more. This low density is due mainly to the unhealthiness of the climate and the extent of uncultivated land. The east of the district is a low-lying tract with shallow swamps, stagnant rivers and wide stretches of flooded land, which slowly dry up after the rains. The west is higher in level, and is thickly overlaid with sand deposited by the Kosi river in its gradual westward movement. The greater part is open pasture land, and crops are grown for the most part near the rivers and in irrigated plots close to the villages. Generally speaking, the northern and eastern portions of Purnea district are more thickly populated than the south and west.

40. In South Bihar the rivers do not affect the distribution of population to anything like the same extent as in North Bihar. The great rivers to the north of the Ganges are fed by the Himalayas ; with the exception of the Son those south of the Ganges



have by no means so large a drainage area, for they drain only a portion of the Chota Nagpur Plateau. They often come down in freshets after heavy rain, and occasionally sweep over the country in their vicinity, but the area covered by the flood is comparatively small, and they subside as quickly as they rise. Large demands are made on them for irrigation, and within a short time after the rains they run dry. Away from the Ganges, marshes, lakes and waterlogged areas are almost

unknown. The deficiency rather than the excess of rainfall or river-borne water is the chief difficulty the people have to face. This difficulty is met partly by the Son canal system, from which the greater part of Shahabad and small portions of Patna and Gaya receive an assured supply, partly by an extensive and ingenious system of indigenous irrigation, the cultivators tapping the rivers so long as they have any flow, building artificial reservoirs (*ahars*) and channels, and taking every advantage of the slope of the country to ensure the conservation of water.

41. Hills and jungle, so rare in North Bihar, here impose the limits on human habitation. One-fifth of the total area of Shahabad is occupied by the Kaimur Hills, which form a rocky plateau, mostly covered by jungle and incapable of cultivation. Further east, in the south of Gaya and Monghyr, there are a number of ridges and spurs projecting from the plateau of Chota Nagpur, in addition to which there are semi-detached ranges, and isolated peaks which appear to form irregular links between them. Much of this southern tract consists of broken country with a fringe of brushwood jungle. The soil is poor, it has little or no irrigation, and it yields precarious crops. It is thinly peopled, and a large portion of the inhabitants are low semi-Hinduized castes, such as Bhuiyas, Rajwars and Musahars.

The northern portion is an alluvial tract highly cultivated, extensively irrigated and well populated. The difference between this alluvial tract and the southern portion may be realized from the fact that the southern thanas of the division, extending over 4,638 square miles, have an average density of only 268 per square mile, whereas in the thanas bordering on the Ganges the density is more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as great, averaging 734 in an area of 2,628 square miles.

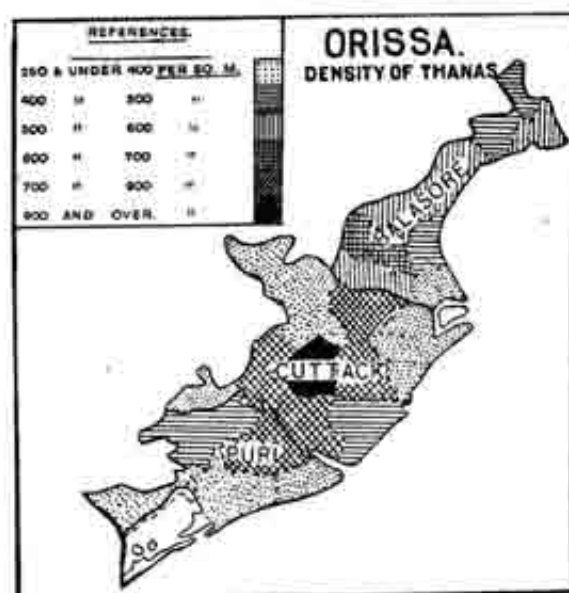
42. In Patna, with 778 persons to the square mile, the pressure on the soil is 50 per cent. greater than in other districts of South Bihar. Along the Ganges there are a number of towns and crowded villages almost as populous as towns ; even Bihar, which is the only subdivision away from the Ganges, has a density of 732 per square mile, although a considerable area is covered by the Rajgir Hills. All the other districts of South Bihar have a far scantier population, owing to the hills and jungle in the south. Monghyr is the most populous of them, but the north of the district is an integral part of North Bihar, being a fertile alluvial plain intersected by large rivers and subject to inundation. It has a mean density of 715 per square mile, the maximum of 961 being found in the Teghra thana and the minimum of 562 in Gogri, which is a low-lying tract with a large area of marsh and grass jungle.

South of the Ganges there are, on the average, only 528 persons to the square mile. Here the most thickly populated tracts are the thanas lying along the Ganges, south of which there is hilly country, bearing a growth of scrub jungle, with a rocky surface unfavourable to cultivation. The Kharagpur thana with 415 persons to the square mile begins to show a marked diminution, which reaches its lowest point in the jungle and waste lands in the extreme south of the district, the soil supporting only 231 persons per square mile in Chakai.

43. In the south of Gaya, where the land is still partly under jungle, the population is very sparse, the average not rising to more than 278 to the square mile. In the north, where the soil is fertile and a considerable area is protected from drought by artificial irrigation, it is fairly dense, the number of persons to the square mile being more than double that in the less favoured tracts to the south. The pressure of the people on the land is greatest in the Jahanabad thana to the north, a highly cultivated tract where the large number of 712 persons to the square mile is found. The minimum (271) is reached in the Barachatti thana to the south, where a considerable area consists of hills, jungle and waste land.

In Shahabad there is an equally marked variation between the northern and southern subdivisions, the average density (305) in the Sasaram and Bhabua subdivisions being less than half of what it is (641) in the headquarters and Buxar subdivisions. Both the latter subdivisions are flat, fertile and highly cultivated, whereas the Kaimur Hills are included in the two subdivisions first mentioned. The minimum is reached in the Bhabua thana, which, with 187 persons to the square mile, is the most sparsely inhabited tract in South Bihar: a large part of this thana lies on the plateau of the Kaimur Hills, where patches of cultivation are few and far between.

44. In Orissa the average density is 508 to the square mile, but it varies very considerably in different parts according to their proximity either to the sea or to the hills. All three districts have three zones, the first being an



unproductive maritime strip, the second a cultivated central plain formed of rich alluvium, and the third a broken hilly region on the west. The strip along the coast is in many places impregnated with salt, and a great part of it is unfit for cultivation. It is swampy and traversed by sluggish brackish streams, and from its general nature has been described as the Sundarbans on a miniature scale. The central portion, which forms the delta proper, is an alluvial plain with a teeming population and a fertile soil. The third belt consists of a submontane undulating country, in places broken by hills, with a sterile soil which supports a

scanty semi-Hinduized population.

45. The greatest density in Cuttack is found in the thanas of Salepur, Jajpur and Kendrapara, where the average is 800 per square mile. The maximum of 963 is reached in Salepur, which lies between two large branches of the Mahanadi and has 31 per cent. of its area irrigated from the Orissa canal system. All the thanas along the sea-coast to the east and in the hilly tract to the west have under 400 to the square mile, the most thinly populated thana being Aul with 308 to the square mile. This thana contains a belt of saline soil, in places 30 miles wide, covered by sand, coarse grass or shrub. Taking the district as a whole, the density per cultivated square mile is

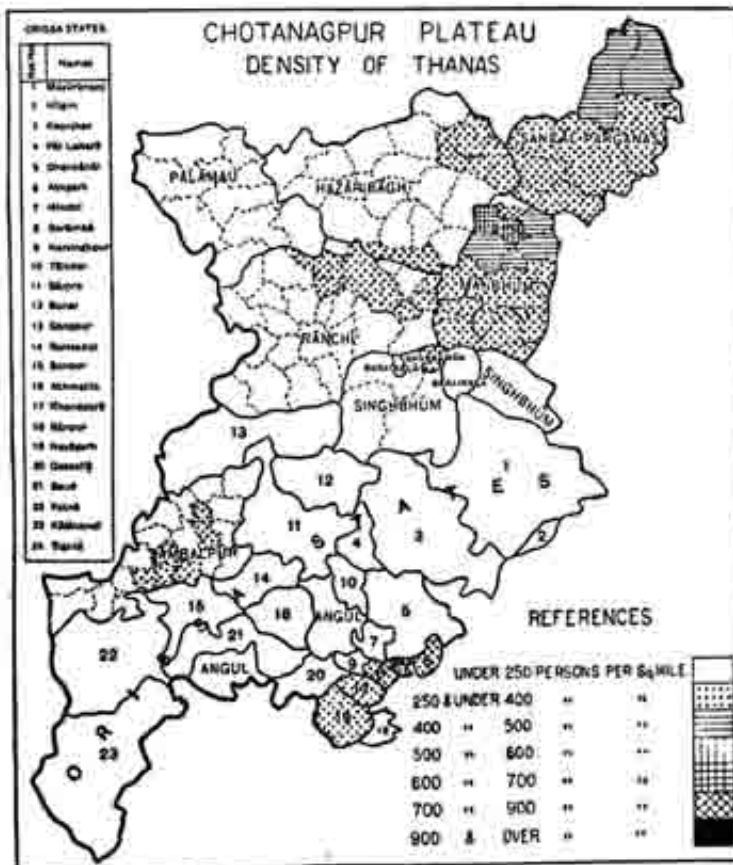
1,099, but it has been calculated that each square mile of unirrigated land would support 1,167 persons, and each square mile of irrigated land 1,515 persons.

46. Balasore at its greatest width is only 40 miles broad from east to west, and every thana contains either saline soil or uncultivated laterite. Density is as low as 288 persons to the square mile in Chandbali, a large part of which is a prairie of high grass merging on the sea-coast in a mangrove forest like that found in the Sundarbans. It is as high as 638 in thana Bhadrakh, which contains only a little hilly country and marches with the fertile central plain of Cuttack. Though it contains the head-quarters of the district, Balasore thana supports only 536 persons to the square mile, the explanation being that part of it is taken up by the maritime saline strip on the east and the undulating tract on the west. The average density (410 persons to the square mile) in Puri is far less than in any other district of Orissa, owing to the area occupied by hills, forests and water. Reserved and protected forests extend over 485 square miles, while the area of the Chilka Lake is about 450 square miles during the rains and 350 square miles for the remainder of the year: altogether 310 square miles of this lake lie in the district. Pipli (including Nimapara) in the centre of the district, which is the only thana without any hills or maritime area, contains as many as 760 persons to the square mile; the average density (349) in the rest of the district is less than half this figure. There are under 300 persons to the square mile in the Puri and Banpur thanas, of which former contains the Chilka Lake, while the latter comprises a large hilly area.

47. The Chota Nagpur Plateau is an upland tract, with a general elevation of 2,000 feet and over, forming part of the descent from the elevated high lands of Central India. It includes the inner highlands of Orissa, as well as Chota Nagpur proper, and consists of a succession of plateaux, hills and valleys. Cultivation is comparatively sparse; where not under cultivation, the plateaux and their escarpments are thinly covered with forests. The average density is 186 per square mile.

48. The most populous district is Manbhum, which has changed places with the Sonthal Parganas during the last decade owing to the development of the Jheria coal-fields. In the two thanas of Jheria and Topchanchi, which lie in the coal-field area, the density is 667 and 644 respectively, but in the adjoining thana of Tundi, which is purely agricultural, it is only one-third as much. Further south, in Chas and Raghunathpur, where there is more level ground than elsewhere, the facilities for cultivation have attracted permanent settlers, and there are 498 and 442 persons respectively to the square mile. Nirsa,

which contains part of the Raniganj coal-field, and Para, in the centre of the



district, are the only other thanas with over 400 to the square mile. Generally speaking, density diminishes from north to south, if the northernmost thana (Tundi) is excluded.

49. The Sonthal Parganas, unlike Manbhum, sends out emigrants and has no large industries to attract labour. Only half the district is under cultivation; a remaining fourth is cultivable and awaits development, but the rate of reclamation is not commensurate with the growth of population, for year by year the Santhals pour out of the district in increasing numbers to do pioneer work elsewhere. The Rajmahal Hills and outlying ranges extend over nearly two-fifths of the district, and there is a long narrow strip of alluvial soil between them and the Ganges on the north and east. It is in this strip and in the portion of the Godda subdivision to the north-west, where the land below the hills is alluvial and fertile, that the population is most dense. In the Damin-i-Koh, which comprises almost the whole of the Rajmahal Hills and consists of hills, plateaux and fertile valleys between the

SUBDIVISION.	Damin.	Extra Damin.
Dumka ...	150	309
Godda ...	305	300
Deoghar ...	...	322
Jamtara ...	...	397
Pakur ...	256	431
Rajmahal ...	332	631

ranges, there are only 284 persons to the square mile, the average for the rest of the district being 360: the marginal statement shows the density according to subdivisions. In the Rajmahal subdivision all the thanas outside the Damin lie in the alluvial belt, one containing the town of Sahebganj. In the

Pakur subdivision the Pakur and Maheshpur thanas lie partly in this belt and partly in the rolling uplands known as the Sonthali tract of Ambar and Sultanbad, which also contains the whole of Pakuria. In the Godda subdivision density is greatest in the Godda and Mahagama thanas, where the country is more open and mostly under cultivation. The latter thana, which is an alluvial tract, is the most populous in the district next to Sahebganj. Poreya is more hilly, and its density is only a little greater than that of the Godda Damin. In the south and south-west the hills give place to a series of ridges and undulating uplands, with a scanty population. This latter area contains the Deoghar subdivision, which consists chiefly of a high tableland, much of which is of little agricultural value, and the Jamtara subdivision, the least populous of all the subdivisions, in which there is still a good deal of uncleared jungle.

50. The average density in Ranchi and Sambalpur is exactly the same, viz., 195 to the square mile. In the former district it diminishes from the north-east to the south and south-west, the Ranchi subdivision having 256, the Khunti subdivision 226 and the Gumla subdivision only 146 persons to the square mile. In Sambalpur the unsurveyed area (*i.e.*, the Government reserved forests, the zamindari forests and the Mahanadi river) account for about a fifth of the total area: if it is left out of account, the average density is 249 to the square mile. Population is most sparse in the Bargarh subdivision; the Barapabar hills extend over 300 square miles or more than one-eighth of the subdivision, and a considerable area is covered with jungle, whereas in the Sambalpur subdivision there are large expanses of open cultivated country along the Mahanadi. Excluding the unsurveyed tracts, the former subdivision supports 260 and the latter 235 persons per square mile, the difference being due to the fact that in the Bargarh plain the land is under closer tillage than in the Sambalpur subdivision.

51. The population is unevenly distributed in Hazaribagh, the density in the Giridih subdivision, where there are coal-fields, being nearly 50 per cent. greater than in the Sadar subdivision, which is purely agricultural. A slight decrease is found in Singhbhum, owing to the protected and reserved forests, which extend over more than one-fourth of the whole district. If they are left out of account, there are 241 persons to the square mile. In Palamau the population is fairly dense in the valleys and in the north of the district, but gradually decreases to the south, which is a region of hills and jungle. The extreme southern thana, with 64 persons per square mile, is the most thinly populated tract in the whole of the Chota Nagpur Division. Angul supports a smaller population than any other district in the province, being still an undeveloped tract with scattered villages, often in the midst of dense forest. There are 142 persons to the square mile in the Angul

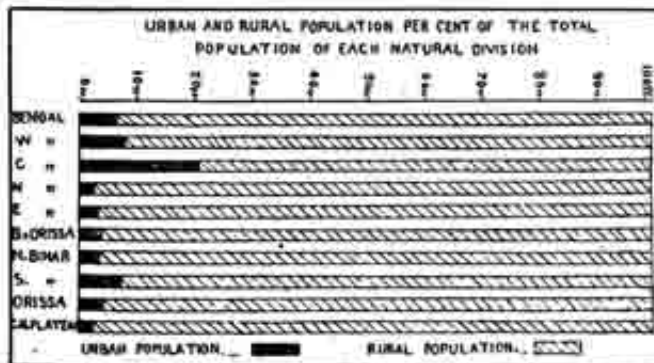
subdivision, where reserved and protected forests extend over 613 square miles, or nearly three-fourths of its area. The average is only 93 in the Khondmals, where five-eighths of the area is under forest.

52. The Orissa Feudatory States, as a whole, have a denser population than any district in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, except Manbhum and the Sonthal Parganas. Extraordinary variations, however, are found, the maximum being 505 in Tigiria, which is a fertile tract with easy means of access to Cuttack, while a minimum of 38 is found in Rairakhol, which is still mostly covered with forest. Generally speaking, the States adjoining the sea-board districts have the greatest population, eight of them having over 200 persons to the square mile. The only other State exceeding that ratio is Sonpur, which is traversed by the Mahanadi and includes a large area of alluvial land on either side of its banks.

53. At the bottom of the list is Sikkim, with only 31 persons per square mile. This is not to be wondered at, considering the physical configuration of the country. From 15,000 feet and upwards there is a mass of snow-topped peaks and ridges, treeless and uninhabited. From 12,000 to 15,000 feet the ridges are clothed with rhododendron and coniferous forests: occasional grassy plateaux with small lakes are found, to which cattle are driven for pasturage in the summer. The hill slopes from 9,000 to 12,000 feet are very steep and usually covered with virgin forest, but scattered settlements of Bhotia graziers now begin to appear. It is only at the lower levels below 7,000 feet that cultivation is possible. Here the country has been largely denuded of forest, and the slopes utilized for the growth of the staple crops, viz., maize, millets and pulses, the people living in small homesteads surrounded by patches of cultivation.

CITIES AND TOWNS.

54. The places treated as towns consist of three classes, viz., municipalities, cantonments and other places which were treated as towns for census purposes. In deciding the places which were to be included in the last category, their importance as centres of trade, their historic associations, the character of their population and the relative density of dwelling-houses were taken into consideration. Altogether, 22 places in Bihar and Orissa, other than municipalities or cantonments, were treated as towns, of which four had a population over 10,000, twelve contained 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, and the remainder had



under 5,000 inhabitants. Eight, with an aggregate population of 45,031, were treated as towns for the first time. In Bengal six places were considered sufficiently urban to be treated as towns, one (Kharagpur) having a population of 18,957, another (Saidpur in Rangpur) of 8,287, and the remaining four (all in Rangpur) under 5,000 inhabitants. All but two of these were treated as towns in 1901; the two additions were Kharagpur and Dhulian, the aggregate population of which is 27,255.

55. In neither Province have the people shown any appreciable tendency to desert the villages for the towns. In Bengal the urban population has increased by 13.2 per cent. since 1901, its growth being more rapid than that of the general population, but only 64 out of every thousand persons live in towns. In Bihar and Orissa, on the other hand, an increase in the general population has been accompanied by a decrease of 2.8 per cent. in the number of persons living in towns, who now constitute only 34 per mille of the total population. This decline is, as will be shown later, due mainly to the continued presence of plague in Bihar,

which has not only caused a grievous mortality, but disorganized the industries and trade of the towns it afflicted. *Prima facie* the Bengalis appear to have a greater predilection for town life than the inhabitants of Bihar and Orissa. Bengal contains 124 towns, whereas Bihar and Orissa contains only 76, *i.e.*, less than two-thirds of the number in Bengal, though its area is one-third greater. The average town population (23,937) of Bengal is more than one-third as great as the average in Bihar and Orissa, and the proportion of townspeople to the total population is nearly double what it is in the latter Province. Calcutta, Howrah and three suburban municipalites, *viz.*, Maniktollah, Cossipur-Chitpur and Garden Reach, contain two-fifths of the urban population. If they are left out of account, the average population of the Bengal town is reduced to 14,672, while the proportion of the urban population to the total population of the Presidency is only 38 per mille, or little more than in Bihar and Orissa.

56. In Bengal there are only three towns containing over 30,000 persons outside Calcutta and the metropolitan districts of Howrah, the 24-Parganas and Hooghly. The first two districts are the most distinctively urban, over one-fifth of their inhabitants being resident in towns, while the proportion is over one-tenth in Hooghly, where there are seven municipalities stretching along the bank of the Hooghly from Tribeni southwards. Of the other districts in the Province, Darjeeling with 93 per mille has the largest urban population, and then *longo intervallo* comes Dacca, where two towns, Dacca and Narayanganj, contain 46 per mille of the district population.

57. In Bihar and Orissa, 13 out of 21 districts have an urban population of over 25 per mille, whereas in North and East Bengal this ratio is reached in only five out of 17 districts. The most distinctively urban tract is South Bihar, where 67 per mille of the population are found in towns; then follows Orissa with 38 per mille, and North Bihar with 28 per mille. The average of the Chota Nagpur Plateau (20 per mille) is largely reduced by the Orissa States; in the Chota Nagpur Division the proportion (26 per mille) is very little less than in North Bihar, which contains an agricultural population and has few towns. Its towns are, however, of considerable size, their average population being 21,145, or very little less than in South Bihar. Even larger towns are found in Orissa their average population amounting to 26,585, a figure higher than in any division of the two Provinces except Central Bengal.

58. The two Provinces dealt with in this report contain eight towns which have at one time or other been imperial

OLD CAPITALS.

or provincial capitals, *viz.*, Bihar, Nadia, Patna, Rajmahal, Monghyr, Cuttack, Dacca, Murshidabad and Calcutta. The oldest of these is Bihar, which gave its name to the Province, and was so called from the great Buddhist monastery (*Vihara*) it contained. It was the headquarters of the Hindu Governors of the Pala Kings, but in 1198-99 the city was sacked, the monastery burnt and the Buddhist monks slain by Bakhtiyar Khilji. A sudden raid was made next year on Nadia (Navadwip), then the Bengal capital of the last of the Sena kings. After this, it is said, the Musalmans, leaving Nadia in desolation, removed the seat of Government to Lakhnauti (Gaur). Bihar appears to have been the headquarters of the Musalman Governors of Bihar until 1541, when Sher Shah rebuilt Patna, which, says the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, "was then a small town dependent on Bihar, which was the seat of the local Government. From that time Patna became one of the largest cities of the Province." Thenceforward the Mughal Governors of Bihar usually resided at Patna, but the western portion of that Province was under the rule of the Nawabs of Bengal. The latter made Rajmahal their capital from 1592 to 1608, when the seat of Government was transferred to Dacca for strategic reasons, Dacca being a more central position for the defence of Bengal against the raids of the Assamese, Arakanese (Maghs) and Portuguese. In 1639, Shah Shuja again made Rajmahal the capital, but this change did not last for more than 21 years, for in 1660 it was found necessary to re-establish the headquarters at Dacca owing to the continued danger of invasion and also because the Ganges had shifted its channel and receded from Rajmahal. Dacca remained the capital for less than half a century, Murshid Kuli Khan transferring his headquarters to Murshidabad

in 1704. The Arakanese had now ceased to be dangerous, and the city along the banks of the Bhagirathi, commanding the trade and military route up the Ganges, was far more central. There the Nawabs of Bengal remained till the downfall of the Mughal power, and the assumption of rule by the British, except for a short interval (1761–1763), when Kasim Ali Khan set up his court at Monghyr. In Orissa, Jajpur, now a small rural town, appears in early times to have been the capital of the north, and Bhubaneswar, now a village surrounded by temples or their ruins, the capital of the south. Cuttack, however, became the capital under the Eastern Ganga kings, and retained its position till the British conquest in 1803. The last capitals to be dethroned are Dacca, the headquarters of the short-lived Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam (1905–1912), and Calcutta, which is no longer the official capital of India owing to the removal of the Government of India to Delhi.

59. With the exception of Cuttack, Dacca and Calcutta, all these towns are decadent. Bihar is now a quiet provincial town far from the main routes of commerce. The old town of Nadia has been swept away by the Bhagirathi, and its modern successor is an unimportant rural municipality. Patna has been decimated by plague and lost much of its trade. Monghyr is a district headquarters, only the remains of its fort and palace (now a jail) attesting its former importance as a provincial capital. Rajmahal is a small country town with 5,357 inhabitants, mostly residing in mud huts, the ruins of the nobler edifices of the old city being buried in jungle. Murshidabad still contains the palace of the descendant of the Nawabs, but otherwise has few traces of its former grandeur, while its population is but a fraction of what it was. One or other of the causes which operate to bring about the decay of old towns in Bengal have, either singly or together, helped to bring about the downfall of these capitals. They are briefly the action of rivers, the removal of native courts, loss of trade, and the gradual or sudden diminution of population owing to disease.

60. Nearly all the old towns were built on the banks of rivers, a riparian site being naturally selected, both because it ensured the supply of drinking water and also because the rivers furnished the principal means of transport and communication. There were a few military routes, but otherwise roads were few and far between. Their situation has in many instances proved precarious to the old towns owing to the vagaries of the rivers. Pataliputra, the imperial capital of Asoka, lies buried deep below the modern city of Patna; Tamralipta, the ancient port of Bengal, has been covered by the silt of the Rupnarayan, while Tamluk, which was built over it, is now a riparian village 60 miles from the sea. Satgaon, once the headquarters of a Governor and a city crowded with merchants, sank into insignificance owing to the diversion of the rivers that fed its trade, and at the present day is only represented by a few huts scattered among jungle-covered mounds. Gaur, the capital of Bengal for over seven centuries, was ruined by the Ganges receding westwards, leaving long shallow marshes behind it. Fever followed and depopulated the city, the final epidemic of 1575 being so terrible that the dead could be neither buried nor burnt, after which the few survivors fled from the place. Within half a century the population of 200,000 described by Portuguese travellers* had disappeared. The country was almost a wilderness with few villages, but many buffaloes, swine and deer, and "very many" tigers.† Rajmahal was similarly deserted on account of the Ganges changing its course; in 1640 its current washed the walls of the city, but in 1666 the channel was, according to Tavernier, a good half league away.

61. The ruin of a riparian town may be either sudden or gradual, according as the river quickly or slowly changes its course or gradually dwindles away. The former is a somewhat rare occurrence, but two cases may be mentioned. Nadia, the old capital of the Sena Kings, was swept away by a sudden change in the course of the Bhagirathi in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Its site is now partly *char* land and partly forms the bed of the stream, which passes to the north of the present town. In the

* De Barros, *Da Asia*.

† J. H. Ryley, *Ralph Fitch* (1899).

north of the Bhagalpur district, again, the town of Nathpur was destroyed by a sudden inrush of the Kosi in 1875. [More frequently a river gradually changes its course, and an attenuated stream flows down its old channel, the towns along its banks lingering on with a gradual loss of prosperity. Such has been the case with Purnea, which in the eighteenth century was the headquarters of a Military Governor who could put an army of 15,000 men into the field, and which only 100 years ago is said to have covered a space equal to more than half of London.* Formerly the main stream of the Kosi flowed by it, but that river has worked westward and its former channel contains only a small sluggish stream. The town still extends over a large area, but its population is gradually diminishing and is now only 14,784.

In the lower delta it is more common for a river to keep to its old channel, but the silting up of its intake deprives it of a supply of fresh water, and it consequently shrinks in volume and generally deteriorates. It ceases to have a flowing stream, and its bed being choked with vegetation, navigation is rendered impossible, while the drainage of the country is obstructed and malarial fever spreads over the neighbourhood. Such rivers are either dying or dead, and the towns along them have no vitality. Their inhabitants do not desert them, but their fecundity is sapped by sickness, their industries languish, and there is nothing to induce an influx of immigrants. Jessore and Krishnagar may be regarded as typical instances of such towns. Both are headquarters of districts and are situated on the railway, factors which should make for growth, but both stand on dead or dying rivers (the Bhairab and Anjana). Both suffer from persistent endemic fever, and the population of Jessore has been stationary for the last 40 years, while that of Krishnagar is steadily diminishing.

62. In other cases the decline of a town is due to the removal of the Court, to which it owed its prosperity. When the Court is removed, the entourage of nobles,

INFLUENCE OF COURTS.

their train of followers, and the industrial classes, which ministered to their luxuries, also leave the place. The traces of old industries may be found, but these industries serve only the demands of a few rich persons. Murshidabad is a type of such a town. On entering it after the victory of Plassey, Clive wrote :—"This city is as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London, with this difference that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last city." After that battle the seat of Government was removed to Calcutta, and in 1799 the civil headquarters of the district were transferred to Berhampore. With the loss of its political importance, the size and population of Murshidabad also declined. At the first census of 1872 its population was 46,182 ; now the inhabitants of Murshidabad and its suburb Azimganj (which was formed into a separate municipality in 1896), taken together, number only 24,996.

63. A third cause tending to check the development of towns in the two Provinces is loss of trade. This may be

LOSS OF TRADE.

caused, as already stated, by the removal of a Court or by a river changing its course or silting up ; but in modern times it is generally due to trade being rail-borne instead of river-borne. The effect of such a diversion of trade is best illustrated by the case of Patna and Revelganj (in Saran). Patna is marked out by nature as the site of a riparian emporium, for it has a river frontage of 7 or 8 miles in the rains and of 4 miles in the dry season, while its central position near the junction of three great rivers, the Ganges, the Gandak and the Son, gives it natural advantages as a distributing centre. The trade of the city has now diminished owing to the opening out of new lines of railway in the districts north of the Ganges, and to the fact that it is cheaper to book goods direct to Calcutta than (as formerly) to rail them to Patna, and thence send them down by river. The natural advantages of Revelganj as a river-side emporium were equally marked. Commanding as it did the junction of the Gogra and Ganges, it was an important changing station, where boats from Bengal used to tranship their cargoes to boats from Fyzabad and Gorakhpur. Thirty years ago it was the second largest river mart with a Ganges-borne trade in

* Montgomery Martin, *Eastern India*.

Bengal. The railway has now deprived it of most of its trade, and it has also suffered from the river setting towards the opposite bank and from the retreat eastwards of the point of junction of the Ganges and Gogra. Of late years moreover it has suffered from plague, and since 1891 it has lost over a third of its population. In Bengal the history of Kalna and Katwa (in the Burdwan district) is a similar record of decay due to the diversion of trade from the river to the railway.

64. [The fourth factor is endemic and epidemic disease. In some parts, notably Central Bengal, the prevalence of malaria is responsible for decline or stagnation; in Bihar plague has been a more deadly scourge.] An account of its ravages will be given in the next chapter, and here it will be sufficient to refer the reader to the marginal statement showing the deaths from plague and the total

DISTRICT.	Number of towns.	Population, 1901.	Decrease of population, 1901-11.	Deaths from plague, 1901-10.
Patan ...	5	252,791	26,617	35,309
Gaya ...	3	87,469	9,093	2,033
Shahabad ...	6	118,047	13,634	15,664
Saran ...	3	71,422	12,234	8,243
Muzaffarpur ...	3	78,517	8,210	6,552
Darbhanga ...	4	108,392	6,336	6,873
Bhagalpur ...	2	81,498	4,249	2,852
Total ...	26	793,136	80,373	77,526

decrease of population during the last decade in 26 towns.* Not only is the number of deaths from plague considerable, but the disorganization of industry, commerce and social life has permanent effects on the prosperity of the towns. In Gaya, for instance, 30 per cent. of the population had left their work and fled from their homes when the

census was held. Normal conditions were not re-established till three months later: the result of their absence on the trade of the town even for a short time may easily be imagined. It is scarcely necessary to add that, where plague persists year after year, as has been the case elsewhere, its effects are even more paralyzing.

65. If deaths from plague are left out of account, the death-rate in towns is smaller than in rural areas, though heavier mortality is caused by epidemics of cholera and small-pox, which spread more rapidly in congested areas. The relatively greater healthiness of towns (excluding epidemics) is due to the fact that it is only there that a proper agency and other facilities exist for carrying out sanitary reforms. These reforms, carried out as far as municipal finances allow, have resulted in a gradual improvement in hygienic conditions, especially in matters connected with surface drainage

AVERAGE DEATH-RATE PER MILE.			
		Urban.	Rural.
All causes ...	...	87.28	33.41
Fever ...	...	12.90	22.83
Plague ...	...	6.06	1.32
Cholera ...	...	3.27	3.09
Small-pox ...	...	0.85	0.25
Dysentery and diarrhoea ...	...	2.93	0.80
Respiratory diseases ...	...	1.90	0.12
Injury ...	...	0.38	0.48
Other causes ...	...	9.36	6.28

purity of the drinking water-supply, and conservancy. From the marginal statement† giving the vital statistics in urban and rural areas for five years, it will be seen that in the towns the death-rate for fever is far lower, but that for dysentery, diarrhoea, and respiratory diseases is higher: this may be ascribed to more accurate reporting of the causes of death. On the other hand, the birth-rate in towns is generally lower than in rural areas

owing to the operation of one or more of the following causes:—(1) The disproportion in the sexes of the inhabitants, males being in excess of females; (2) the presence of a large floating population; and (3) the custom of sending females to be confined in their parents' homes in the villages.

66. After the somewhat dreary sketch of urban decay, stagnation or decimation by disease given in the preceding paragraphs, it is refreshing to turn to the number of towns, some old, some young and some nascent, which are fast

* In this statement, when a second census was held in 1901 after a plague epidemic had subsided and the people had returned to their homes, the figures of the second census have been taken, as representing the normal population in that year.

† Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal for 1908.

developing owing to the expansion of trade or industrial enterprise, often introduced and directed by Europeans. The cities will be separately dealt with later, and are therefore excluded from this review of the growth of railway towns, mill towns and commercial emporia. [There are three towns in the two Provinces, to which the term railway town applies, and each shows rapid progress.] Jamalpur in Monghyr, which contains the large workshops of the East Indian Railway, had an increase of 14 per cent. between 1891-1901, and at this census, in spite of losing 2,000 persons from plague, is almost the only town in Bihar with a substantial increase (8 per cent).^{*} Kharagpur in Midnapore, the headquarters of the Loco., Carriage and Waggon Departments of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, now has 18,957 inhabitants, whereas in 1901 there were only 3,526 persons resident in railway premises. The population of Saidpur in Rangpur, which is the headquarters of the northern section of the Eastern Bengal State Railway and is also a centre for the trade in jute, has risen by 42 per cent. within the last 10 years.

67. Even more phenomenal increases are recorded by the mill towns. In the 24-Parganas, for instance, Bhatpara, which was formerly famous as a centre of Sanskrit learning, where Brahman pandits studied the Sastras in quiet seclusion, is now the fifth largest town in Bengal and a busy industrial centre. Its population has increased five-fold since 1881, and has been more than doubled during the last decade, rising from 21,540 to 50,414. This increase, however, is merely commensurate with the increase of mill hands. The expansion of other mill towns along the Hooghly is equally remarkable, the aggregate population of seven in the 24-Parganas having risen by 87 per cent. since 1901. Titagarh has nearly trebled its population. Garulia has an addition of 57 per cent. and Bhadreswar on the other side of the Hooghly of 61 per cent. The whole riparian strip along the Hooghly is, in fact, becoming increasingly urban and increasingly populous, and the account given by Mr. Beverley in the Census Report of 1872 no longer holds good. He remarked—"Even in the neighbourhood of Calcutta the so-called townships are mere collections of villages—villages closely studded and densely populated, it is true, but still with small pretensions to be designated towns. The left bank of the Hooghly, like the right, is most thickly inhabited all the way up to Nadia. The villages are grouped together for municipal purposes, and are thus shown in the census tables as towns; but cattle graze, and rice is sown and reaped, in their very midst." Any one who has had occasion to pass through the mill towns will realize how conditions have changed since this account was written.

The latest addition to the list of industrial towns is Sakchi in the Singhbhum district. This is a town which has sprung up owing to its being the headquarters of the Tata Iron and Steel Company: though the latter has only recently started work, it already contains a population of 5,672 persons.

68. [The third class of modern towns showing a noticeable development consists of trade centres.] Their number is considerable, but two typical examples may be mentioned, viz. ; Chittagong, which has an increase of 30 per cent. since 1901, and Narayanganj, the centre of the jute trade, which has been growing by leaps and bounds since 1872: its population had more than doubled in 1901, and since then has increased to 27,876, or by nearly 14 per cent. This is by no means its fullest population, for it is much more crowded during the jute season than at the time of the census (in March), when trade is slack.

69. [In both Provinces there is an excess of males living in towns.]

PROPORTION OF SEXES.

The preponderance of men is much more marked in Bengal than in Bihar and Orissa; in the former Province there are only 631 females to every 1,000 males, whereas in the latter the proportion of females (932) is only slightly in defect. The reason for the relative excess of males in Bengal is partly that, in the Presidency as a whole, males outnumber females, there being 945 females to every 1,000 males. The reverse is the case in Bihar and Orissa, where there are 1,043 females to every 1,000 males. It is also partly accounted for by the fact

^{*} The area of this town has been very largely extended since 1901; the figure given above is for the town as now constituted.

that there are more industrial centres with a population largely composed of immigrants working in the mills and factories, who leave their wives at home. The larger the town, the greater is the excess of males over females, e.g., in the cities of Calcutta and Howrah there are only 475 and 562 females respectively to every 1,000 males. The proportion of women gradually rises as the towns diminish in size, the maximum (798) being found in towns with 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, which are mostly small municipal areas with few urban characteristics. Briefly, in the small towns of Bengal there are 5 males to every 4 females, whereas in the cities there are 2 males to every female.

The proportion in the mill and factory towns is much the same as in the cities. In the mill-towns of the 24 Parganas, such as Bhatpara, Garulia and Titagarh, the males outnumber females by two to one, whereas in non-manufacturing towns, such as Krishnagar, Nadia and Santipur, the sexes are equally represented, or the female element predominates. In the old city of Dacca, which contains a large permanent population—nine-tenths of the present inhabitants were born within the Dacca Division—there are 721 women to every 1,000 men, but 10 miles away in Narayanganj, a comparatively new centre of trade and industry, the proportion of females falls to 488, and in Barisal, the headquarters of the Backergunge district and an important junction of steamer routes, it is only 451.

In Bihar and Orissa the increase in the proportion of females as the towns decrease in size is even more noticeable, for, with the exception of Patna (where there are 922 females to every 1,000 males), the ratio gradually rises from 900 in towns with 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants to 992 in towns containing under 5,000 inhabitants.

70. In Bengal 67 per cent. of the urban population consists of Hindus and 30 per cent. of Muhammadans, whereas in Bihar and Orissa the proportions are 75 and 22 per cent. respectively. Considering that in Bengal Musalmans account for over one-half of the total population, the percentage they contribute to the urban population is extremely small. In Bihar and Orissa on the other hand, Musalmans represent only one-tenth of the total population, but their ratio to the urban population is more than double that figure. The larger proportion of Hindus in Bengal may be accounted for by the fact that the population of towns is recruited very largely either from the educated classes, for whom a town opens up avenues of employment, or provides educational facilities not existing in the country, or from well-to-do people who desire the amenities of town-life, or from poor people who are drawn to the towns by the demand for labour. In the Presidency Hindus contribute to these three classes more largely than Muhammadans.

There are altogether 14 towns in Bengal in which Musalmans are in a majority, viz., Garden Reach, Murshidabad and Dhulia in Central Bengal, Pabna, Sirajganj and Nawabganj in North Bengal, and Sherpur (in Mymensingh), Kishoreganj, Netrakona, Jamalpur, Comilla, Patuakhali, Chittagong and Cox's Bazar in East Bengal. Even in Dacca city there are 55 Hindus to 44 followers of the Prophet. In Bihar and Orissa, the most distinctively Muhammadan towns are Sasaram, in which 42 per cent. of the population is Muhammadan, and Bihar, in which the percentage is 36. There are no towns in which Musalmans are in excess, and even in Patna, an old Muhammadan capital, and in modern times the nidus of Musalman religious movements, the Muhammadan inhabitants represent only 27 per cent. of the population.

71. If we consider the ratio of the members of each religion living in towns to the total number professing that religion, the preponderance of Musalmans over Hindus in Bihar and Orissa, and *vice versa* in Bengal, is equally striking. In Bengal, out of every 1,000 Hindus, 95 live in towns, but in Bihar and Orissa only 31. On the other hand, 80 out of every 1,000 Musalmans are denizens of towns in the latter Province as compared with 36 in Bengal. A similar disproportion is noticeable in the case of Christians, the ratio being 478 per mille in the Presidency and only 72 in Bihar and Orissa. In the latter most of the Christians are aboriginal villagers in Chota Nagpur who cling to their ancestral lands, whereas in Bengal a large proportion of the Christians are resident in Calcutta and other large

towns, where missionary enterprise has been active. Members of other religions are numerically insignificant, and it need merely be mentioned that, as might be expected, most of them Parsis, a foreign race of merchants and traders, are found in towns. The fact that a small proportion of them and a larger proportion of Jains, who are mainly Marwari immigrants engaged in trade, are resident outside towns, is due simply to the circumstance that both Provinces export raw materials, and a certain number have to go to the villages as brokers or set up small agencies there.

72. In Imperial Table V, and in subsidiary Table V to this Chapter, towns are grouped in six classes as shown in the margin. In Bengal there are three towns in Class I, viz., Calcutta, Howrah, and Dacca, which contribute two-fifths of the total urban population. More than half the towns are of average size, 28 being in Class III and 40 in Class IV; they account for nearly half of the urban population. The small towns (34 in Class V and 17 in Class VI) contribute only one-tenth of the total number of persons living in towns. In Bihar and Orissa there are only one town in

CLASSES OF TOWNS.

Class.	Population.
I ...	100,000 and over.
II ...	50,000 to 100,000.
III ...	20,000 to 50,000.
IV ...	10,000 to 20,000.
V ...	5,000 to 10,000.
VI ...	Under 5,000.

Class I and three in Class II, which between them account for less than one-fourth of the town population. Half the towns are of small size, there being 30 in Class V and 8 in Class VI, which contribute less than one-fifth of the urban population. The remainder are towns of average size (14 in Class III and 20 in Class IV), which contain more than half of the urban population.

Taking each class as a whole, we find that in Bengal all classes of towns have steadily developed during the last two decades. There has been a comparatively small increase in Class I during the last ten years, which is due to the tendency of the people of Calcutta to spread out to the suburban municipalities. In Bihar and Orissa, on the other hand, all but the smaller towns have declined or stood still during the last 20 years, owing, to a large extent, to plague.

73. The population of places that were treated as towns in 1872 has

Class.	NUMBER OF TOWNS.			
	Bengal.		Bihar and Orissa.	
	1911.	1872.	1911.	1872.
Under 5,000 ...	17	4	8	7
5,000 to 10,000 ...	34	27	30	14
10,000 to 20,000 ...	40	27	20	17
20,000 to 50,000 ...	28	13	14	9
50,000 to 100,000 ...	2	3	3	4
100,000 and over ...	2	1	1	1
	124	77	76	52

increased by 32 per cent. in Bengal, but by only 8 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. Including the places subsequently treated as towns, [the actual increase in the urban population is 61 per cent. in Bengal as against 21 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa.] In Bengal the increase is shared in more or less by all classes of towns except those in Class II, which have a decrease of nearly 50 per cent. This decrease is, however, more apparent than real, being

mainly due to the transfer to Class I of Howrah and Dacca, which came under Class II in 1872.

CITIES.

74. There are nine cities in the two Provinces, the population of which is shown in the margin with the percentage of variation since 1901. In considering the recent growth of cities and towns, it will be most convenient to take the cities first and then to group the towns together according to natural divisions forming homogeneous areas.

Before proceeding to discuss the results of the census of cities, one characteristic feature may be referred to. There is a rise in the proportion of foreign-born (i.e., those born outside the district

CITY.	Population.	Percentage of variation.
<i>Bengal.</i>		
Calcutta ...	896,067	+ 27
Howrah ...	179,008	+ 12½
Dacca ...	108,551	+ 21½
Manicktollah ...	52,767	+ 66½
Cumiput-Chittagong ...	48,178	+ 18½
Garden Reach ...	45,296	+ 60½
<i>Bihar and Orissa.</i>		
Patna ...	138,153	+ 1½
Bhagalpur ...	74,349	+ 1½
Gaya ...	69,991	+ 30½

containing the city*), and a fall in the proportion of females to males, in every city but Manicktollah and Cossipur-Chitpur, where the proportion of females has slightly increased. As this is the case in cities which have a loss of population, as well as in those which have an increase, it is clear that the cities are tending more and more to attract immigrants from greater distances. It will also be observed that the proportion of foreign-born in all the Bengal cities except

CITY.	PROPORTION PER MILL.			
	Females to males.		Foreign born.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Calcutta ...	305	475	657	714
Howrah ...	577	565	609	706
Cossipur-Chitpur ...	536	565	637	681
Manicktollah ...	692	694	649	750
Garden Reach* ...	657	637	628	673
Dacca ...	798	721	164	126
Patna ...	1,011	922	85	96
Gaya ...	980	827	79	96
Bhagapur ...	907	861	156	169

Dacca is very much greater than in the Bihar cities, which have as yet not become manufacturing centres.

75. The progress of Calcutta and the three suburban municipalities of Cossipur-Chitpur, Manicktollah and Garden Reach is dealt with in a separate report, and here it will be sufficient to state that though each of them is under separate municipal government, they form an integral part of the same city. Howrah may also reasonably be treated as part of the metropolis, for it is only separated from Calcutta by the Hooghly, and, as pointed out in the last Census Report, is really as much a part of that city as Southwark is of London. If this be conceded, the population of the metropolis (1,222,313) is greater than that of any city in the British Empire except London, and among European cities is only surpassed by London, Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburg and Moscow.†

In Calcutta, the rate of increase which was 24·3 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, has now fallen to 5·7 per cent. Its population shows a centrifugal tendency, spreading out to Howrah and to all the suburban municipalities except Cossipur-Chitpur. The number of persons born in Calcutta and resident in that city is now nearly 34,000 less than it was 10 years ago: had it remained the same, an increase of 9·8 per cent. would have been registered. Owing to this exodus from Calcutta and the relatively greater number of immigrants they receive, all four municipalities have grown much more rapidly since 1901 than Calcutta. In Manicktollah and Garden Reach (in the latter of which, however, the growth is partly due to the extension of the municipal boundary) the percentage of increase is over ten times, in Cossipur-Chitpur it is treble, and in Howrah it is double what it is in the area administered by the Calcutta Corporation.

76. Howrah is a city which owes its development entirely to modern commerce. Originally, it was a small collection of villages, the names of which still survive in the quarters (*paras*) constituting the city. In the 18th century docks were opened along its banks for repairing the wooden vessels plying up the Hooghly, and it also became a kind of suburban retreat in which the wealthier citizens of Calcutta set up villas and laid out gardens. There cannot, however, have been much development in the first half of that century, for, as late as 1750, it is said to have been "a line of mud banks reeking with malaria, corpses in all stages of decomposition floating up and down the stream by the dozen, jungle lining the shore, the abode of the snake and alligator.‡" According to Bishop Heber, it was in 1823 a place "chiefly inhabited by ship-builders," while in 1848 it was referred to as "the Wapping of Calcutta inhabited chiefly by persons connected with the docks and shipping."

77. Howrah began to expand rapidly in the middle of the 19th century, especially after 1850 when it became the terminus of the East Indian Railway. Not only did the docks increase in size and number, but other large industrial concerns were started, such as engineering works, sugar factories, flour mills, cotton mills, jute mills and jute presses. The construction of the bridge over the Hooghly gave a further impetus to its

* It being impossible to distinguish between persons born in Calcutta and Garden Reach, the term district-born in the case of the latter town is taken to include persons in Calcutta.

† A slightly larger population is estimated for Constantinople.

‡ Howrah Past and Present, pp. 18-19.

growth, which in recent years has been stimulated by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway obtaining access to it, by the opening of two light railways, which have linked up the interior of the district with the city, and by the establishment of steamer services along and across the Hooghly. The Calcutta tramway system has been extended to Howrah since 1907, and the ferry steamer service connecting the two cities has been considerably improved and accelerated; consequently, an increasing number of persons who work in the day at Calcutta have their residence in Howrah. The number of persons born in Calcutta and enumerated in the city is double what it was in 1901, while those born in Hooghly have increased from nearly 17,000 to over 29,000. During the 40 years over which the census records extend it has more than doubled its population; the rate of growth was 35 per cent. in 1891-1901 and 13·6 per cent. in the last decade. The decline in the percentage of increase is partly due to the fact that the jute mills were not in full work owing to the dull state of the market, and partly to the fact that the census was taken on a Friday. "Some of the mills," reports the Magistrate, "closed on Friday evening for the week and a considerable number of the mill hands left for their homes, Calcutta and other places."

78. Less than twenty years ago the city was lacking in many urban amenities. In 1889 it was described by the Sanitary Commissioner as being "without exception the dirtiest, most backward and badly managed municipality" he had seen. His successor in 1893 endorsed this verdict and remarked: "Generally speaking the sanitary condition of the town of Howrah is most deplorable. I have never, in fact, seen a town in such a dangerously insanitary condition, and I should be very sorry to live in it myself." Since then much has been done to improve the condition of the town, though it is no easy task on account of its low-lying situation, its rapid

Ward.	NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ACRE.	
	1911.	1901.
I —	39	36
II —	16	14
III —	70	58
IV —	84	60
V —	90	62
VI —	34	18
VII —	78	62
VIII —	41	32
IX —	9	9
X —	9	8

growth and past neglect in laying out building sites. Water-works were opened in 1896; a regular system of drainage has been introduced and is gradually being extended; bye-laws have been adopted for regulating the construction of new huts; overcrowded *bastis* are being gradually opened up by new roads, and their sanitation and drainage improved. Density is high, averaging 33 per acre. The outer fringe of the town is thinly peopled, being mostly occupied by fields interspersed with gardens and villas.

79. The marginal statement showing the districts which contribute over 1,000 to the population sufficiently indicates how heterogeneous the population is. More than two-thirds of the inhabitants were born outside the district, and in the last ten years the number of those born in the city or district has decreased by 10,000, or nearly 20 per cent. The latter now outnumber the immigrants from the United Provinces by less than 6,000. The city is, in fact, ceasing to be a Bengali city. Nearly half the inhabitants were born in the United Provinces or the Province of Bihar and Orissa (which contributes 38,830 to its population), and only 45 per cent. speak Bengali, while 47 per cent. speak Hindi and 3 per cent.

District, etc.	Number of persons.
Howrah ...	43,639
United Provinces ...	37,943
Hooghly ...	29,010
Calcutta ...	9,847
Shahabad ...	7,575
Saran ...	6,353
Midnapore ...	6,047
Patna ...	5,709
24 Parganas ...	4,031
Gaya ...	3,664
Cuttack ...	3,446
Monghyr ...	3,150
Muzaffarpur ...	3,035
Burdwan ...	2,247
Balasore ...	1,655
Dacca ...	1,365
Darbhanga ...	1,290

Oriya. The railways, mills, factories, docks, iron-works, etc., afford employment to a large number of labourers and artisans, who leave their wives and families at home and huddle together in crowded *bastis*. At the time of the census it was ascertained that jute mills and presses employed no less than 24,000 persons, or over one-seventh of the total population, while 15,000 more worked in other manufacturing concerns, such as cotton mills, rope works, iron foundries, machinery and engineering workshops, etc. There are now only 562 females to every 1,000 males. The proportion of females gradually decreases at each census: since 1872 the number of males has risen by nearly 150 per cent., whereas the females have increased by only

75 per cent.

80. With a population of 108,551, the city of Dacca contains 58 per cent. more inhabitants than in 1872. Its development has been most rapid during the last ten years, during which it added 21 per cent. to its numbers, while the general ratio of increase in the Dacca district was 12 per cent. Its rapid growth since 1901 is mainly due to its being made the headquarters of the Eastern Bengal and Assam Government in 1905, after which people settled in increasing numbers in the town. The construction of public buildings, moreover, necessitated the employment of a large labour force, and the population was further increased by the staff of the Secretariat and other offices. The extent to which the town owes its accretion to immigrants is shewn by the fact that while the males have increased by 26.5 per cent., the rise in the number of females is only 14 per cent. Out of every thousand persons, 198 are foreign born, their distribution by birth-place being as shewn in the margin. Nearly 4,000 immigrants are natives of Monghyr. Other districts of the United Provinces and Bihar from which immigrants come in large numbers are Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Muzaffarnagar, Ghazipur, Ballia, Gorakhpur and Azamgarh. These people work as constables, railway servants, boatmen,

Other districts of Eastern Bengal.	66
Assam	12
Bengal excluding Eastern Bengal	24
Bihar and Orissa	65
United Provinces	24
Other countries	7

general labourers, porters, domestic servants, scavengers, and shoe-makers. The town is far from being a busy manufacturing or industrial centre, for at the industrial census of 1911 only 14 concerns employing 20 hands or more were returned, the aggregate number of their employes being 1,195. Weaving, formerly the glory of Dacca, now supports only 1,029 persons, but shell work and jewellery, for which the city is also famous, are still in a fairly flourishing condition, the former supporting 2,193 persons and the latter 4,032 persons.

81. The density of population in each ward is shewn in the marginal statement, from which also it will be seen that all parts of the town share in the increase except Ward V, which sustained a slight loss owing to the removal of a *basti* from a plot of land acquired by Government. The city consists of three parts—(1) the town proper, which is congested, (2) the fringe area, which is more thinly populated, and (3) the new town, which is very sparsely populated. Wards V and II, which occupy the first and second place respectively in order of density, lie wholly within the town proper. The most congested

No. of ward.	Population.	DENSITY PER ACRE.	
		1901.	1911.
I	21,093	33.1	35.4
II	14,998	47.1	61.8
III	19,536	19.7	19.0
IV	19,673	17.9	24.9
V	8,760	76.0	76.0
VI	11,163	32.9	17.1
VII	12,348	31.1	24.4

area in these two wards is Sankaribazar in Ward II, where 2,456 persons were enumerated in 432 *khanas* or census houses. In this quarter the houses, mostly three stories high, are closely packed together with a small frontage along the road, and the unsavoury smell of decomposing shells (in which the Sankharis work) clings to them. Ward I, which comes next, lies partly within the town proper and partly within the fringe area. The next, in order of density, is Ward IV, which covers a portion of the old town proper and also includes a portion of the new town. Wards III and VI lie partly in the town proper and partly in the fringe area. Ward VI lies wholly in the fringe area with one rather congested road. The civil station at Ramna consists of the area acquired by Government for the construction of public buildings and is the least populous part of the city.

82. Patna, the capital designate of the new Province of Bihar and Orissa, is a decadent city, as will be seen from the figures given in the margin which show the total population recorded at each census during the last 30 years. Figures are not given for the census of 1872, as it was wanting in accuracy, and an apparent increase of over 11,000 recorded in 1881 is believed to have been due to its incompleteness. In 1901 the census was taken at a time when plague was raging and a considerable proportion of the inhabitants had fled from their homes, the result being a decrease of 18½

Year.	Number.
1881	170,654
1891	165,192
1901	134,785
1911	136,153

per cent. At a second census held in July 1901 the population was found to be 153,739, or nearly 19,000 more, but in spite of this addition, the population was 7 per cent. less than in 1891. The last census shows an increase of 1,368, as compared with the first census of 1901; but if it be compared with the second enumeration of 1901, there is a decrease of 17,586 persons, or 11·4 per cent. The causes of the decay of the city are twofold, viz., persistent unhealthiness,* repeated epidemics of plague and the loss of trade. Formerly Patna city was an important emporium for rail and river-borne trade, but its trade is declining owing to its diversion to other centres and the disorganization caused by plague, which has been almost an annual visitation since 1900. During the last ten years there have been no less than 17,384 deaths from plague, and the loss of population (17,586) recorded at the present census very nearly corresponds with that figure. The city extends over nine square miles, and for the purposes of municipal government includes the town of Bankipore. There are on the average 23 persons per acre, and 90 per cent. of the inhabitants were born in the city or district.

83. Bhagalpur grew steadily between 1872 and 1901, adding 10,000 to its population during that period. During the last decade there has been a set back, the number of its inhabitants decreasing by 1,411, or 1·9 per cent. The decrease is mainly the effect of plague, which during the decade caused a mortality of 4,201. Like Patna, the people are nearly all local residents, 83 per cent. being born either in Bhagalpur itself or in the Bhagalpur district, while the sexes are almost equally distributed.

84. When the census of 1911 was taken, plague was raging in Gaya. A large proportion of the people had fled from the town to villages in the interior, and the total population recorded was only 49,921, or 30 per cent. less than in 1901, in which year also the town was suffering from the effects of another epidemic.† Owing to this circumstance, the census gave no idea of the normal population of the town, and a second census was therefore held in June, when the epidemic had subsided. At this second census the population returned was 70,423, or only a little less than in 1901. The comparatively large excess of males, who outnumbered the females by 7,000, may perhaps be taken as an indication that all the females who had been sent away during the plague had not yet returned to their homes, but the same disproportion of the sexes is noticeable in other towns of Bihar. There were no less than 4,780 deaths from plague in the town during the decade ending in 1910. That, in spite of this mortality, the population should be nearly equal to that recorded in 1901 (though in that year also the population had been diminished by plague) may be attributed to the fact that it is a large pilgrim centre, which every year has a considerable floating population, and that it has developed since 1901 owing to its being an important station on the Grand Chord Line.

TOWNS.

85. Before 1872 the town of Burdwan suffered severely from the epidemic of fever which took its name from the district, and in the last 40 years has only added 3,600 to its population. Excluding the places treated as cities, however, it is the fourth largest town in the Province. It now contains 35,921 inhabitants, or 899 more than in 1901, but had it not been for an extension of the municipal boundaries, there would probably have been a decrease.

* The *Sair-ul-Mutakharin* gives an account of an epidemic which broke out at Patna in the early part of the 18th century and spread over Northern India:—"At the end of the year (1730-31) there arose, for forty days together, out of the ground such an abominable stench all over the city, that the poor and rich, being equally affected by it, were attacked by an epidemical fever that filled the houses with sick. The shops and markets were shut up, the streets became desert, and the city looked like a place forsaken by its inhabitants. People said that they had never seen or heard of such a calamity. The stench and sickness commenced at Patna and Allahabad, from whence it proceeded to Akbarabad and Delhi, and continued spreading over Panipat and Sirhind, until it extended to Lahore where it stopped by a favour of divine Providence."

† The coincidence of plague with the census both in 1901 and 1911 led to a belief among the people that there was some connection between the two.

The health of the town has considerably improved since the construction of water-works in 1884-85, but it is still badly drained and suffers from fever. It has, moreover, no large industries such as would attract labour from outside. The most progressive town in the district is Asansol, which is one of the chief centres of the coal industry and an important railway junction. It has developed rapidly of recent years, and has added 50 per cent. to its population during the last ten years: part of this increase must, however, be attributed to the municipal area being extended by $1\frac{1}{2}$ square miles in 1905. The head-quarters of the subdivision were removed to Asansol in 1906, owing to its being a more central and important place than Raniganj, and it has not only supplanted but outgrown the latter town, which now shows a slight decline. Kalna has a slight increase of population, but the other towns of the district, viz., Dainhat and Katwa, are decadent. The three towns last named are situated on the Bhagirathi, and all have suffered from the silting-up or receding of that river and from the diversion of trade to the railway. The prosperity of Katwa should, however, revive on the completion of the Hooghly-Katwa line, which will give its trade an outlet.

86. Suri in Birbhum is a small town, which has recently been opened up by the Ondal-Sainthia line; its apparent growth since 1901 is probably due to the inclusion of another square mile within the municipal area. The effect of railway communication is marked in the case of the towns in Bankura, to which the Bengal-Nagpur Railway line was extended in 1902. The head-quarters station has increased by 13 per cent. and Bishnupur by 7 per cent., but Sonamukhi, which is not connected with the railway, has a slight decrease. Part of the increase in Bankura must, however, be ascribed to the addition of an area of one square mile to the municipal limits. In Midnapore the only progressive town is Kharagpur, whose rise has already been referred to. In all the other towns the population has diminished, or is practically stationary. Midnapore now has 32,740 inhabitants, or little more than in 1891: as pointed out in the last Census Report, it has no great industry or trade, and exhibits no tendency to grow. During the last decade it has suffered from fever and cholera, which have also seriously affected the towns of the Ghatal subdivision, viz., Chandrakona, Ghatal, Kharar, Khirpai and Ramjibanpur.

87. Hooghly contains no less than eight towns, of which seven are on the banks of the Hooghly. The most important is Serampore, which has been steadily progressing during the last 40 years. Owing to the proximity of Calcutta and to the industrial concerns started in the town and its neighbourhood, an increase of nearly 12 per cent. at this census has brought its population up to 49,594, or double what it was in 1872. Bhadreswar, a rising factory town, has developed at an extraordinary rate during the last decade, having an addition of 9,203, or over 60 per cent. Another flourishing town is Baidyabati, which has a considerable trade-mart at Sheoraphuli and a large jute mill at Champdani; it has added 3,342 to its population since 1901. Hooghly-Chinsura, the headquarters of the district, is slowly but steadily declining. It has no industries or trade of any importance; it is an unhealthy place, the inhabitants of which suffer from dysentery, fever and occasional epidemics of cholera; the streets or lanes are full of abandoned houses overgrown with jungle, recalling the picture of "ruin and melancholy" sketched by Mrs. Fenton in 1827. The death rate has been higher than in any other town of the district in all but two years of the decade, when it was exceeded in Bansberia. The latter town, which also suffers from defective drainage, was second on the list in the remaining eight years and has also lost population. The other towns, viz., Kotrang, Uttarpara and Arambagh, are small and unimportant. Bally, further down the river, is the only town in the Howrah district besides Howrah; it adjoins Howrah, and, as it shares in the influx of immigrants, is steadily growing.

88. In no district has there been a greater growth of urban population than in the 24-Parganas, where the average per town has risen by 38 per cent. since 1901. The whole riparian strip along the Hooghly is fast becoming urbanized: owing to their growing density of population the South Suburbs, South

CENTRAL BENGAL.

Barrackpore and Naihati municipalities have been twice subdivided since their creation and formed into nine municipalities. There are now no less than 26 towns in the district, of which five, viz., Cossipore-Chitpur, Manicktollah, Garden Reach, South Suburbs and Tollygunge, adjoin Calcutta and are suburban in character. Taken together, these five towns have added 40 per cent. to their population since 1901, while Calcutta itself has only increased by 5·7 per cent. The second class consists of industrial towns which, with the exception of Budge Budge, stretch northwards from Calcutta along the bank of the Hooghly, viz., Baranagar, the adjoining town of Kamarhati, Naihati, the two contiguous towns of Halisahar and Bhatpara, Titagarh, Budge-Budge and Garulia. The increase in these towns has been phenomenal, averaging no less than 67 per cent. There are three other towns along the Hooghly, viz., South Barrackpore, North Barrackpore and Panihati, which, however, are not industrial centres: of these, only South Barrackpore shows an advance, which is partly accounted for by the increase in the Barrackpore Cantonment. The remaining ten towns are situated inland, and are mostly rural in character: altogether, they have only increased by 6 per cent., the most substantial increases being found in South Dum-Dum, Baruipur and Basirhat. The growth of Baruipur may, however, be partly accounted for by an addition to its area.

89. Nearly all the towns of Nadia are either stationary or decadent. Their aggregate population has had an addition of only 563 since 1901, and has decreased by a little over 17,000 since 1891. The two largest towns, Krishnagar, the headquarters station, and Santipur, once an important weaving centre, have both lost ground: the former has suffered severely from fever, the latter from the decline of its industries. Nadia, the birth-place of Chaitanya and a pilgrim centre, returns 1,600 more persons than in 1901, but this is not altogether a real advance, for a religious festival was approaching, and there were a number of pilgrims present in the town. Of the subdivisional stations, Ranaghat alone, which is a considerable railway junction, has been slowly but steadily growing since 1891; in spite of the municipal area being reduced by 200 acres in 1905, its population has increased by 13 per cent. In Murshidabad, Berhampore, the district headquarters, has an increase of 7 per cent., and the two subdivisional headquarters of Kandi and Jangipur have also expanded. Murshidabad and Azimganj (a municipality in its suburbs) both show a continuous and heavy decline since 1891. There are only three towns in Jessore, of which Jessore and Maheshpur are stationary, while Kotchandpur has lost population owing to the falling off in the manufacture and sale of sugar to which it owed its former prosperity.

90. In North Bengal there are 19 towns and three cantonments, viz., Buxa, Lebong and Jalapahar, of which, however, the last two are treated as forming part of the town of Darjeeling. Of these 19 towns, only three have over 20,000 and only six over 10,000 inhabitants. The largest is still Sirajganj, a flourishing jute market on the Padma, which has grown slightly since 1901. The only towns that have decreased since that year are Natore and Sherpur (Bogra), the result of malaria and general unhealthiness. All the other towns are progressive except Old Malda, which is stationary: Jalpaiguri has increased by nearly 18 and Bogra by nearly 28 per cent. since 1901. Of the smaller towns, Saidpur, the northern head-quarters of the Eastern Bengal State Railway, has gained 42 per cent. and now contains over 8,000 inhabitants, while Kurigram and Gaibandha, two subdivisional stations in Rangpur, have doubled their population. All the towns in Cooch Behar are small and unimportant, except the capital of the same name, which is not progressive.

91. The town of Darjeeling requires special mention on account of its importance as the headquarters of Government for part of the year and also because it is, next to Simla, the most populous hill station in India. In 1872, before the construction of the railway, when the only approach to Darjeeling was by a long tedious march, the population numbered only 3,157, but during the next

nine years it increased by more than 100 per cent. It again doubled itself between 1881 and 1891, after the construction of the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway had brought the station within a day's journey of Calcutta.

*Simla ...	37,895
Darjeeling ...	24,696
Ootacamund ...	18,829
Naini Tal ...	18,027
Musmorie ...	17,402
Murree ...	16,934

The census of 1901 disclosed an increase of 20 per cent., the total population amounting to 16,924, but its progress during the last ten years has been less rapid owing partly to the fact that there is not much room for further expansion, and partly because its expensiveness deters people from taking up a permanent residence in it. In spite of this, the population rose to 19,005, the actual increase according to the census taken in March 1911 being 2,081, or 12 per cent.; altogether 1,576 of the inhabitants were Europeans. Darjeeling, it may be explained, includes not only the town proper, *i.e.*, the area within municipal limits, but also the cantonments of Lebong and Jalapahar including Katapahar. If these two cantonments are excluded and the figures for the town alone are taken, there was an increase of 1,360, or 9 per cent. during the decade.

92. A census taken at this time of the year only records the population of the town at the end of winter. It is far greater during the hot weather and rainy months, when it attracts a number of visitors who come to escape the heat of the plains or to recruit in its cool climate. A second census was therefore held in September 1911 in order to ascertain its population at this time of the year. The results of the two censuses are shown in the margin. The population of the whole town was only 3 per cent.

	March 1911.	September 1911.
	Total number of persons.	Total number of persons.
Darjeeling Town	17,053	21,553
Lebong ...	1,037	1,569
Jalapahar ...	915	1,574
Total ...	19,005	24,696

more than that recorded at a similar hot weather census held in September 1900, a fact which seems to indicate that the place now attracts very few more people than it did ten years ago. Kurseong, which is a minor hill station, is growing more rapidly, having added 25 per cent. to its population since 1901. It is becoming an educational centre for Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and like Darjeeling attracts visitors, but it is by no means the same trade centre as the headquarters of the district.

93. In East Bengal there has been an increase in the population of all but four towns since 1901. Both Dacca and Narayanganj record large additions, to which reference has already been made. Seven of the eight municipalities of Mymensingh are progressive; the head-quarters town has grown by 35 per cent., Sherpur by 24 per cent., Netrakona by 20 per cent. and Jamalpur by 18 per cent. The only decadent town in this district is Tangail, the population of which has been steadily falling off since 1881. The two towns of Faridpur show steady increases; Faridpur is now nearly 13 per cent. and Madaripur, a large jute centre, 9 per cent. larger than in 1901. In Tippera district, Comilla has an increase of 18 per cent. and Brahmanberia of nearly 12 per cent.

94. Excluding Dacca, which has already been dealt with, the largest town in the Division is Chittagong, the trade of which has developed very considerably since 1901. It has more than made up the apparent decrease disclosed in 1901, and the population is nearly 30 per cent. greater than that then returned. Trade has grown steadily, and is of sufficient importance for one large steamer line to visit the port. Previously navigation was impracticable owing to the low depth of water in the Karnafuli river, but the channel has been considerably improved by dredging. Jetties and warehouses have sprung up, and the town is now a growing centre of commercial and railway activity. Cox's Bazar in the same district has regained the position it had in 1891. In Backergunge there has been a loss of 15 per cent. in Pirojpur and of 13 per cent. in Nalchiti, but Barisal, the head-quarters, shows an increase of 18 per cent. The other towns are progressive, notably Jhalakati, a large centre of trade, which has increased by 14 per cent. and has more than quadrupled its population since

* The marginal statement shows the season population, according to a special census, of each hill station except Ootacamund, of which no special season census was taken.

1881. In Khulna, the head-quarters station of the same name is advancing rapidly, adding 25 per cent. to its population during the decade. There is also an increase of 30 per cent. in Satkhira, but a large village extending over three square miles was added to it in 1903. The only other town, Debbhatta, has been stationary since 1881.

95. Nearly every town in South Bihar has suffered from repeated visitations of plague, and has had to sustain a loss of population. The aggregate population of the seven towns of the Patna district has fallen by 15 per cent. Patna city, as already stated, has sustained a loss at each census since 1881, while Bihar shows an even greater relative decrease. Its population numbered 48,968 in 1881, but gradually fell to 45,063 in 1901. It now contains nearly 10,000, or 22 per cent., less than in the latter year, though it has been connected with the main system of the East Indian Railway by a light railway, and its trade should have developed, had conditions been normal. Its area has, however, been reduced by a square mile, and it has suffered severely from disease, no less than 4,082 persons dying from plague; in only two out of ten years ending in 1910 did the birth-rate exceed the death-rate. Dinapore, where there were 3,205 deaths from plague, has decreased by 2,674, and Barh and Khagaul have also sustained heavy losses. Phulwari, which is a collection of villages rather than a town, is practically stationary, and the only town in the district with a substantial increase is Mokameh. This is a rising trade centre and an important railway junction, through which the grain traffic of the north-Gangetic districts passes, and it has added 11 per cent. to its population.

96. In Gaya, the second census of the headquarters station, as already stated, disclosed a population little less than in 1901; and it is still the largest town in the Province next to Patna and Bhagalpur. All the other towns in this district are small in size, none having 10,000 inhabitants. Plague was prevalent in Jahanabad at the time of the census, and many of its inhabitants had consequently deserted their homes. The result was a diminution by 32 per cent. or 2 per cent., more than that shown by the first census of Gaya, where the more urban population has not the same intimate connection with neighbouring villages. Tekari, in which the population was reduced to nearly half in 1901 in consequence of the deaths and desertions caused by plague, is still on the downward grade, and Daudnagar also has a slight falling off. Both these towns were affected by plague when the census was held, and many had left their homes for unaffected areas. Apart, moreover, from this disturbing element, Tekari is 17 miles and Daudnagar 14 miles from the railway, to which trade flows more and more. Aurangabad and Nawada have an increase of 1,000, and Hisua has a slight increase. The last two towns are on the railway, while Aurangabad is close to it, and all three have benefited by the opening of the Grand Chord Line.

97. In the Census Report of 1901 it was remarked that with the solitary exception of Sasaram, all the towns of Shahabad seemed decadent. The result of this census is to confirm this view, for every town has lost population. The loss is insignificant in Sasaram, which has had a mortality of over 1,000 from plague, but has developed owing to the opening of the Grand Chord Line. It is very great in the case of the four northern towns of Arrah, Buxar, Dumraon and Jagdispur, where it averages 17 per cent. Arrah has been especially subject to epidemics of plague since the last census, the mortality from that cause amounting to 8,747; the actual decrease of population according to the census is 7,621. Buxar, which suffered a decrease of 10 per cent. in 1891-1901, has now another decrease of 19 per cent.

98. The town of Monghyr has now 11,033 persons more than were enumerated in March 1901; but at that time plague was raging and the population was abnormally small. A second census taken in July 1901 gave a population of 50,133, so that there has actually been a decrease of 3,220. The number of deaths from plague recorded in the ten years 1901-11 was 9,666, and had it not been for this mortality, there would probably have been a fair increase. Jamalpur was also partially deserted at the census held in March 1901, when the town contained 13,929 persons: a second enumeration taken eight

months later disclosed a population of 16,302. The number has now risen to 20,526 in spite of 2,000 deaths from plague, but this large increase is mainly due to an additional $2\frac{1}{2}$ square miles having been included within municipal limits in 1903. In the town as now constituted the ratio of increase is 8 per cent.: it contains large railway workshops to which labourers and artisans are attracted. There are only two other towns in the district, both of which are local trade centres, viz., Khagaria, north of the Ganges, which has lost slightly, and Sheikhpura, south of the Ganges, which has added considerably to its numbers.

99. There has been a general decline of urban population in North Bihar due partly to plague, partly to the increasing volume of emigration and partly to the fact that the towns, as a rule, have no large industries, while their trade, except in agricultural produce, mainly supplies local wants. In Saran the decrease of 1901 has been followed by another serious loss of population, which is shared in by every town. Chapra, which in 1901 recorded a decrease of 20 per cent., has since then had 6,634 deaths from plague, and its population has fallen by 3,528, or 8 per cent. There was a particularly bad epidemic in the early part of 1911, and some of the inhabitants had deserted the town when the census was taken. The rate of decrease is even higher in Revelganj, which has suffered both from loss of trade and from plague mortality: the aggregate number of deaths from plague in the decade 1901—1910 represented 23 per cent. of the population returned in 1901. In Siwan the decrease of 21 per cent. corresponds to the actual loss caused by plague. The two towns of Champaran, Motihari and Bettiah, have been free from this disease, and both have an accretion of population. The municipal area of Bettiah was reduced by half a square mile in 1902, but on the other hand its population was artificially inflated on the day of the census, when the town was visited by the Lieutenant-Governor, and people flocked in from the neighbourhood. These two towns have progressed steadily since 1872, the former having more than doubled, and the latter nearly doubled, its population.

100. The town of Muzaffarpur, which declined by 9 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, has again lost slightly, though there was an addition of a square mile to the municipal area: it now has only 1,200 more inhabitants than it had in 1881. Sitamarhi is the only progressive town in this district; it has been free from plague and has grown steadily since 1881. Hajipur, the only other subdivisional town, is decadent, every census disclosing a further decrease: during the last 10 years plague carried away 17 per cent. of the population. The population returned for Darbhanga in 1901 was unnaturally small, owing to a number of people having left the town for weddings elsewhere; but in spite of this there has been no recovery, but a further small decline (3,616), which may be attributed to plague. Madhubani, on the other hand, was free from plague, but has lost 7 per cent., owing to nearly two square miles being excluded from municipal limits in 1901. Samastipur is stationary, and Rosera has a heavy loss. The two towns of Bhagalpur have also lost ground; the headquarters station, as already stated, has lost slightly, while the population of Colgong has been reduced to under 5,000. In the Purnea district, Katihar, a developing railway junction, is the only town with an appreciable growth. Purnea is decadent, and, though it has added a few hundreds since 1901, is less populous than in 1872. Kishenganj is a centre for the jute trade, but it lies in the fever area and its population is stationary.

101. In Orissa more than half of the urban population is contained within the two towns of Cuttack and Puri. Cuttack with 52,528 inhabitants is the fourth largest town in the Province, and has an increase of 2 per cent. since 1901. In that year it contained a detachment of a Madras regiment, but it has since ceased to be a military station, and there is consequently a slight loss of population on that account.* The other two towns in the Cuttack district are holding their ground. The population of Puri is always an uncertain

* The old cantonment has been absorbed by the municipality. Its population at the time of the census was 3,508.

quantity, owing to the floating population of pilgrims. In 1901 it was returned at 49,334 or nearly 21,000 more than in 1891, but 17,085 pilgrims had come into the town for one of the large annual festivals, and the permanent population was 32,259. At the present census also there was an influx of 5,293 pilgrims on account of the approaching *Dol Jatra* festival; if they are deducted, the resident population of the town numbers 34,393 or 6·3 per cent. more than in 1901. This increase is natural, for Puri has developed considerably during the last ten years, owing to its attractions as a seaside resort. Balasore has grown slightly in consequence of an extension of the municipal boundary, but Bhadrakh is stationary.

102. The Chota Nagpur Plateau contains 27 towns, but only two (Ranchi and Purulia) have over 20,000 inhabitants. In the Feudatory States there are only six small towns, with an average population of 6,200, scattered over 28,000 square miles. Most of the towns in British territory have not yet been connected by the railway with the outside world; eight, which have obtained railway communication, are making great progress, their average increase in the last ten years being 25 per cent. In the Sonthal Parganas, Sahebganj has now more than made up the loss of population it sustained by plague in 1901, when the town was partially evacuated. Compared with that year, it has nearly doubled its population, but it has only 3,000 more inhabitants than in 1891. This is a town which owes its development to the railway, local produce being received from the districts of Purnea, Malda and Bhagalpur, as well as from the Rajmahal Hills. Of recent years it has been growing in importance as a trade centre, owing to the development of the trade in *sabai* grass, which is here pressed into bales and exported to Calcutta for the manufacture of paper. Deoghar has added no less than 29 per cent. to its population since 1901, but this apparently large increase is due, to a great extent, to an addition of two square miles to its area: it is a favourite place of pilgrimage, but the pilgrims mostly come in January, February and September, and the census figures were but little affected by them. Both this town and Madhupur are attracting an increasing number of Bengali gentlemen, owing to their reputation as health resorts, but the actual growth of population in Madhupur is still very small. Dumka, the headquarters of the district, which has recently been created a municipality, has a population of only 5,629. The old capital of Rajmahal, which is a subdivisional headquarters and a local trade mart, has only a few hundreds less.

103. Hazaribagh, which was described as slightly decadent in 1901, has now increased by nearly 2,000. Access to this town has been facilitated by the opening of the Grand Chord Line, and though it is still 40 miles from the railway, it is already attracting visitors and permanent residents on account of its healthiness and the educational facilities afforded by its college. Giridih in the same district has benefited by the development of the coal-fields, and has increased by 13 per cent.; but part of the increase must be attributed to the municipal area being extended by $1\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. The growth of Ranchi since 1891 has been even greater, for in 1901 it recorded a growth of 28 per cent. and it has now added 7,000 more or 27 per cent. to its population. The area of this town has increased by $1\frac{1}{2}$ square miles since 1901, but it has also developed naturally. At the last census it was 70 miles away from any line of railway, but since then the Bengal-Nagpur Railway has been extended from Purulia, a narrow gauge line being opened at the end of 1907. Its importance both as a sanitarium and as an administrative and commercial centre has increased in an extraordinary degree. New buildings have sprung up, and it has attracted a number of new settlers.

104. Daltonganj, in the district of Palamau, to which the railway has also been extended since the last census, has grown by 23 per cent., while Garhwa, a trading mart, which has been connected with the railway by a good road, has advanced considerably. Purulia, in the Manbhum district, which increased by 42 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, owing to the opening of the Bengal-

Nagpur Railway and the development of the cooly-recruiting business, has registered a further increase of 21 per cent. Chaibasa, the headquarters of Singhbhum, which is still 16 miles away from a railway, has not advanced appreciably, but the opening of the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Sakchi has led to the creation of another town in the district. Sambalpur, the headquarters of the district of that name, returned a population of 14,571 in 1891, but between that year and 1901 some adjoining villages were excluded from the municipal area, and the population consequently fell to 12,870. During the past decade it has advanced very slightly.

VILLAGES.

105. Both in the Presidency of Bengal and the Province of Bihar and Orissa the vast majority of the population live in villages, the proportion per mille of the total population being 936 in the former and 966 in the latter Province. The term village as used in the census records has very different meanings. In the Province of Bengal as constituted at the time of the census the *mauza*, or survey or settlement village, was treated as the census village, except in four districts; in the districts then included in Eastern Bengal and Assam the residential village was taken as the unit. In other words, the census village corresponded to the *mauza* in all the districts of Bihar and Orissa, except Manbhum, Palamau and Hazaribagh, while in Bengal it corresponded to the *mauza* in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions, to the settlement village in Cooch Bihar, and elsewhere to the residential village, *i.e.*, a group of houses bearing a separate name.

106. The *mauza*, it may be explained, consists of a parcel of land, the boundaries of which were defined either by the revenue survey over half a century ago or by later cadastral surveys. It usually bears the name of the main village or collection of houses found on it when the survey was made, but it does not necessarily correspond with the latter. It may contain only that one village, or it may contain a number of separate villages, or it may be uninhabited. In some cases the portion of the *mauza* which was inhabited at the time of the survey may have disappeared owing to the village or villages being abandoned, or it may be known by a different name, or new villages or groups of houses may have been established. The area and boundaries of the *mauza*, however, remain unchanged. It cannot disappear, except by being diluviated, and it is therefore a constant unit. The adoption of this unit is an innovation in the Bengal census procedure, the residential village being hitherto the unit, except in cadastrally surveyed districts. The term 'village' was, however, elusive and difficult of definition, while its application proved a source of great divergencies. In some parts the only residential village which was locally recognized was the village which gave its name to the *mauza*; this, consequently, was the only village returned, other collections of houses being treated as hamlets (*tolas* or *aras*). Again, groups of houses at a distance from this village, each of which in the general acceptance of the term would be regarded as a separate village, were grouped together, because they bore the name of the parent village. Elsewhere, however, every collection of houses bearing a separate name was treated as a separate village. The general result in 1901 was summarized by Mr. Gait as follows:—

"There is no guarantee that the definition has been rightly or uniformly applied even now, or that a fresh enquiry would not result in many of the so-called hamlets being classed as villages and many of the villages transferred to the category of hamlets. And if it is difficult now to decide precisely what constitutes a residential village, it will be still more so ten years hence to say what was treated as a village at the present census. In the course of ten years many existing villages will have disappeared or changed their names, while new ones will have sprung up; large villages will have absorbed their smaller neighbours, and hamlets will have grown to the status of separate villages. Detailed comparison between the results of the two censuses is thus impossible where the residential village is taken as the unit."

107. The size of the *mauza* varies very greatly, and some are surprisingly large and populous. This is due to the fact that,

SIZE OF MAUZA.

at the time of the revenue survey, large tracts were under jungle and were consequently surveyed in large blocks. Since then the jungle has given way to cultivation, and villages have sprung up in what was waste land. Thus, in the west of Midnapore a large tract of jungle land was delimited in 19 blocks; these blocks, which are known as the Jungle Mahals, contain over 20,000 villages between them. Again, in the Gaya district, one *mauza* Kawakhol, with an area of 60 square miles, was treated as a single *mauza*; it now contains no less than 88 villages or hamlets with 14,608 inhabitants. In Muzaffarpur the average area of a *mauza* is 431 acres or about two-thirds of a square mile; but the individual *mauzas* range from a few acres to three square miles, and in the alluvial formation known as *diaras* extend to 19 square miles: in this district one *mauza*, Sarsand, has a population of 10,120 persons. In Purnea, where the population is not so dense, the average size of a *mauza* is a little under one square mile; here the smallest *mauza* has an area of only 5 acres, while the largest extends over 12,621 acres, or nearly 20 square miles. In Champaran the average is 1.14 square miles, or nearly double that of Muzaffarpur, but one *mauza* (Semra Labedaha) has the enormous area of 40 square miles and a population of 16,135 persons, while another extends over 14 square miles and has 11,540 inhabitants.

108. In Saran, a district where the pressure on the soil is very great, the average size of a *mauza* is only a little over half a square mile. Altogether 218 *mauzas* in this district are over 1,000 acres in area, and 697 between 500 and 1,000 acres; the remainder are all under 500 acres. The smallest has an area of less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres; the largest (Shitab Diara) stretches over $16\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, and contains 5,117 inhabitants. The latter is, as the name indicates, a *diara* tract, and its size is not therefore so extraordinary, but its population shows how, in course of time, *diara* lands are taken up for settled habitation and not merely for shifting cultivation. Parsa, an inland *mauza* in the same district, with an area of $6\frac{1}{2}$ square miles and 6,479 inhabitants, is far more densely populated. In Bhagalpur, Khawaspur Milik has a population of 10,452 living in 18 villages, while in Puri the *mauza* of Pratap Sasan includes 27 villages with 5,094 inhabitants. A *miluk*, it may be mentioned, was originally a rent-free property granted either for religious and charitable purposes or as a reward for services already rendered or liable to be rendered in the future; a *sasan* was a royal grant of rent-free land to Brahmans, and in Orissa there is still a class of Brahmans designated Sasani as they depend for their subsistence on such grants. The marginal statement shows the number of inhabited *mauzas* and residential villages or hamlets in the districts of the old Province of Bengal which have come under survey and in which the *mauza* was taken as the unit.

109. It would be of little use to discuss the statistics for villages in Bengal owing to the difference between the definitions adopted in those districts which were administered by the two Governments, viz., Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam, and to the indeterminate character of the unit adopted by the latter. Suffice it to say that the average number of inhabitants per village is 352, and that nearly four-fifths of the rural population are in villages with a population of under 2,000. The least populous villages, as distinct from *mauzas*, are found in North Bengal, and the most populous in East Bengal, the average population being 261 and 391 respectively. The population of *mauzas* varies from 326 in West Bengal to 574 in Central Bengal. As an instance of the variations which may occur in the number of villages found in a district where the residential village is the unit, it will be sufficient to point to Jalpaiguri, where there were 3,330 villages in 1891, 766 in 1901 and 2,219 at this census.

110. In Bihar and Orissa, however, the *mauza* being a permanent unit, the statistics repay examination, though, owing to the change of the

Division.	Inhabited mauzas.	Inhabited villages.
Burdwan	26,132	29,451
Presidency	12,389	21,322
Patna	12,231	22,506
Tirhut	14,325	29,626
Bhagalpur	19,714	22,201
Orissa	15,675	27,291

definition of the census village, it is impossible to institute a comparison with the statistics of last census. In this Province the average population is 318. The mean is, however, reduced by the small villages of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, which contain on the average less than half as many people as the villages of North and South Bihar: in the latter area the most populous villages are found in Darbhanga, where there is a dense cultivating population averaging 900 per village. In the Province as a whole nearly nine-tenths of the rural population reside in villages with under 2,000 inhabitants. Large villages with over 2,000 inhabitants are far more frequent in Bihar than in other parts of the Province, the proportion of the rural population enumerated in them being 255 per mille in North Bihar and 178 per mille in South Bihar, whereas in Orissa the ratio is only 55, and in the Chota Nagpur Plateau 25 per mille.

111. In the two Provinces dealt with in this report it is not always easy

CHARACTER OF VILLAGES.

to distinguish between an overgrown village and a small town having few, if any, urban characteristics. The density and numerical strength of the population are in themselves no criteria, for a village may be a compact area with over 5,000 inhabitants, all or nearly all engaged in cultivation. The main points of difference lie in the occupations of the people, for a town is a centre of trade, or at least has shops catering for the wants of its inhabitants and of the surrounding villages, or it is a place where the majority of the residents are engaged in non-agricultural pursuits. In the villages, however, the majority are devoted to agriculture, there being comparatively few of the industrial classes: such as there are have mostly occupations subsidiary to agriculture or are engaged in handicrafts supplying the simple needs of the villagers. As a rule, the village is purely residential, and shops are few and far between, the villagers getting their supplies at the periodical weekly or bi-weekly markets (*hats*) or the fair (*mela*) to which people flock in from the neighbourhood. In this respect rural Bengal is not unlike mediæval England, where nearly all selling and buying took place at weekly markets or annual fairs. The villages are still, to a very large extent, self-contained, the people meeting their wants from their own resources, but as the tentacles of modern commerce are thrown out further and further, this isolation is gradually being broken into. One sign of the change is the creation of a new type of village, which may be most appropriately described as a railway bazar. They are simply collections of houses, godowns, etc., which spring up in the neighbourhood of railway stations and grow by gradual accretion. They are often little more than crowded *bastis*, their inhabitants consisting of traders, coolies and others dependent on the railway and not on the produce of the fields. Another new type of village consists of the cooly lines in the neighbourhood of mills and mines.

112. The character of the residential villages varies considerably in different parts of the two Provinces. In Bengal the village generally consists of small groups of houses scattered through the rice and jute fields: large compact villages, where periodical markets are held, are usually found only on the banks of the rivers. The villagers live, more or less secluded, in detached homesteads, surrounded by a belt of fruit trees or bamboo thickets: the screen of trees and jungle secures that privacy which the Bengali likes for his domestic life. The oldest villages are almost invariably found on the banks of the rivers or in their neighbourhood, where there are ridges of comparatively high land and of considerable extent. The central basins between such ridges are swampy and unhealthy, but as the population increases and the village site becomes more crowded, the people build their houses further away from the river bank on mounds artificially raised in order to keep them above flood-level. A noticeable feature of the Bengal villages as compared with villages up-country is their cleanliness. The difference between them may be illustrated by an account given by a medical officer fresh from the Punjab: "The very first thing that struck me after coming from the Punjab was the cleanliness of the villages as compared with those of that Province, and also the plentiful and comparatively pure supply of drinking-water. In the Punjab there is often but one irregular shallow pond used by man and beast for washing and drinking, the banks

of which are extremely foul with excrement, which is washed into the water by every shower, and as the dry season progresses, makes the water more and more concentrated sewage. There too in every village it is a common thing for men, women and children to go but a very few yards from their houses to defecate. In this district (Murshidabad) I found nothing approaching this state of affairs: the houses were carefully *leaped* every morning, court-yards were swept, and all the lanes were quite free from human excrement".

113. In Bihar the people are more gregarious. They live in closely packed villages standing on mounds that consist of the *debris* of former habitations; instead of dispersed homesteads we find clusters of mud-walled houses grouped round a main street with narrow side lanes. In densely populated areas, the establishment of a new village is no easy matter, and the growing population has to find accommodation by over-crowding the existing houses or adding yet another house to the congested village site. Most villages are situated in the open, surrounded by dry cultivation, but in North Bihar many are built on the edges of swampy depressions. Some villages are surrounded by groves of palm trees which furnish liquor—strangely enough, the inhabitants of such villages are often Muhammadans, to whom such indulgence should be taboo—elsewhere they stand compact in the midst of bare treeless plains. The sanitation of the Bihar village leaves much to be desired. There is little or no attempt to secure proper drainage or cleanliness. The wells from which the people get their drinking-water supply are frequently neglected and dirty. Some, moreover, are in the inner court-yards of the houses, surrounded by the house drains, the contents of which gradually soak in and find their way into the water by percolation.

114. In Orissa the villages consist of groups of houses, each with a small compound enclosed by a bamboo fence, and containing a vegetable garden. They are screened by a belt of palm, mango and fig trees; close by is the village tank, consecrated or married to a god, in the centre of which may be seen a small column or pole sacred to the deity. Most villages contain a small open shed in which the Bhagabat is recited before the assembled villagers, and in Sambalpur there is generally a rest-house for the accommodation of strangers.

115. In Chota Nagpur the villages are generally built on a ridge or near the crest of a slope, above the spot which the first settlers selected for the *bandh* or reservoir from which to irrigate their fields. They consist, as a rule, of a long straggling row of houses or of a single street with houses on each side, but occasionally contain narrow lanes striking off from the main street. When the village is first formed, the houses stand well away from one another, each with a little plot hedged in, but, as it grows, the villagers have to be content with more contracted sites and smaller enclosures. Trees, so conspicuous a feature of the Bengal village, are few in number; but there is generally a solitary *niyal*, banyan or mango tree near the house of the village head-man, alongside which an open space is usually reserved as the *akhara* or village meeting place. Immediately outside the village, however, there are usually one or more groups of trees (generally *sal* in the villages of aborigines), or even a single tree representing the grove (*sarna* or *jahira*) sacred to the village deity.* Many of the villages are very dirty, drinking-water being got from unprotected *kutch* wells, which receive part of the drainage, and their general condition is more like that of Bihar than Bengal. The Santal village is an exception, the Santals keeping their houses and their surroundings exemplarily clean, a fact which partly accounts for the healthiness and vigour of the race.

116. The above account may be taken to apply to most villages in Chota Nagpur, but they vary in character with the race of their occupants. They are not all so bare and treeless as the village described above. The Khond village lies embedded in a leafy grove or at the foot of finely-wooded hills, or crowns some knoll in the valleys. The houses are built in two long rows forming a street; at the back is a fence enclosing the homesteads

* H. Coupland, Manbhum District Gazetteer.

so that the whole village looks somewhat like a stockade. Both the Ho and Munda villages are distinguished by graveyards with massive slabs, beneath which lie the bones of past generations of the villagers. A collection of these sepulchral monuments invariably marks the site of a Ho or a Munda village; in addition to the slab at the tomb, a massive stone, 5 to 15 feet high, is set up to the memory of the deceased outside the village. The Bhuiya villages in the Orissa hills on the other hand are picturesquely placed at the foot of well-wooded hills by the side of a hill stream. "The village nestles in a fine grove of jack trees, to the fruit of which the Bhuiya is particularly partial. There is one broad street with the houses on either side. The house of the head-man and the village elders is in the centre of the street: on the outskirts live the low castes of Pans and Kols, who perform all the menial tasks of the Bhuiyas. In close proximity to the head-man's house is the *darbar* or *mandap* (drum) house, where the bachelors of the village sleep, and the place in front is used as the village dancing ground. The *darbar* house is also the village guest-house: here are stored the provisions contributed by the villagers and made up into bundles ready for the immediate use of the guest."* The Oraon villages, on the other hand, are generally huddled together without any attempt at a village street; there are no thoroughfares, but only narrow twisting paths—"a most perfect labyrinth leading to an infinite series of *cul-de-sacs*, each one or more puzzling than the last. A European who finds himself in one of these mazes would find it impossible to get out of it without a guide."†

117. The villages of the aboriginals are by no means always permanent. Should a village be attacked by some epidemic disease, the inhabitants believe that the spot is haunted by some evil spirit, demolish their house and move to some more favourable site. Another feature which deserves mention is that in Oraon, Khond, Bhuiya and Sauria Paharia villages there is generally a dormitory for unmarried boys and another for unmarried girls.

118. In Darjeeling and Sikkim there are no villages in the proper sense of the word, but only homesteads nestling on the hill sides or in the valleys. Occasionally five or six houses are grouped together, but generally each homestead stands in its own land near the patches of cleared cultivation. Clusters of houses, which can be dignified by the designation of villages, are only found in a few bazars to which the people go to obtain their weekly supplies of food. In the Tarai the social unit is not, as elsewhere in India, the village, but the *jot* or farm, i.e., the homestead of a substantial farmer or *jotdar* with the houses of his relations, tenants and farm labourers clustered round it. The *jotdar* keeps the little community together and maintains a store-house, elevated on piles, in which his stock of rice is kept and from which he makes loans to his dependants or furnishes them with seed.

119. On the outskirts of many villages in the plains may be seen a small cluster of houses in which live the degraded semi-Hinduized castes, the 'untouchables' as they are called by the modern Bengali. These consist of dirty ill-thatched houses, which present a very different appearance to the neat, well-swept and tidy buildings of the better class Hindus. In Orissa these detached hamlets are occupied by such castes as the Pans and Gandas, in Bihar by Musahars and Doms, and in Bengal by the unclean Haris and Bauris.

HOUSES.

120. In Bengal the dwelling house, or, as it may perhaps be more properly called, the homestead, is as a rule composed of four huts, built round and facing a central courtyard, with detached cattle-sheds and out-houses. Two of the huts forming

* L. E. B. Colclen Ramsay, *Orissa States Gazetteer*, p. 51.

† Rev. P. Dehon, *Religion and Customs of the Orissas*, *Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1906.

the house are used as living rooms—one for the male and the other for the female members of the household—another is a cookshed and the third is the *baitakkhana* or sitting room, where visitors are received and the men sit and smoke. They are usually built on raised plinths, and the walls consist of bamboos or reeds plastered with mud, or are built of earth, which, in the lateritic districts of West Bengal, hardens, with exposure to the air, almost of the consistency of stone. The earth required for the plinth and walls is taken from pits dug in the neighbourhood, which in the rains are full of water and afford congenial breeding-grounds for mosquitoes. The roofs are covered with thatch of considerable thickness, and have a curved hog-backed ridge, especially designed for withstanding the heavy rainfall of the delta. Sometimes the roofs are tiled, and those who can afford it are beginning to roof their houses with corrugated iron (in which they adhere to the same immemorial curve), as a protection against arson, which is a favourite form of crime in some parts of Bengal.

121. In Bihar the houses of the cultivators are, as a rule, mud-walled huts, built of earth dug up in the vicinity, with which broken pottery is mixed, so as to impart solidity. The roof is, as a rule, made of thatch—a frequent source of fire; only the well-to-do can afford tiled roofs. There is no provision for ventilation, but this is no great hardship to peasants who regard their houses merely as places for cooking and sleeping in. In riverain tracts, liable to flood from great rivers, the cultivators live in huts with wattled walls and thatched roofs, for the soil is often so sandy that mud for the walls cannot be obtained, while the risk of their houses being washed away makes the use of other materials a piece of useless extravagance.* The houses are therefore erected above the level of flood water and are constructed of bamboo framework, thickly plastered over, and thatched with straw. Some of the poorer classes have only huts made of reeds which scarcely support a thatch. These, however, have the advantage of being portable. As a Bengali writer says—"A man like a snail can carry his house anywhere and raise it anew." The richer classes only live in brick-built houses. The ordinary cultivator either cannot get or cannot afford bricks, and, besides this, there is in some places a superstitious belief that brick-built walls attract the evil eye; the well-to-do, however, know that it is harder for a burglar to break through a brick wall than a soft earthen wall. There is also a prejudice in some parts against square houses; houses should be oblong, and the two longer sides should run north and south.

122. In Chota Nagpur the average house consists of three mud-walled and thatched buildings, one of which is the sleeping apartment, one a kitchen and one a cattle-shed. They are arranged on three sides of a quadrangle; on the fourth or open side is a plot of land, on which are grown various crops and vegetables for domestic consumption. Behind one of the three huts is another plot usually enclosed by mud-walls, in which corn is threshed and fodder and manure are stored. The site has to be carefully selected from superstitious motives. A Brahman or Ojha is consulted as to whether the site is a lucky one and what is an auspicious day for commencing building. Some of the wilder tribes place 21 grains of paddy on the spot selected over-night and return in the morning to ascertain the result. If the grain has been disturbed or attacked by white-ants during the night, the spot is abandoned as unlucky; if it is untouched, the building is commenced.

123. Among some of the aboriginal races the houses are of a very primitive kind. "The huts of the Juangs," writes Colonel Dalton, "are about the smallest that human being ever deliberately constructed as dwellings. They measure about 6 feet by 8, and are very low, with doors so small as to preclude the idea of a corpulent householder. Scanty as are the above dimensions for a family dwelling, the interior is divided into two compartments, one of which is the store-room, the other used for all domestic

* The name of the headquarters station of the Saran district, viz., Chapra, is believed to be derived from *Chhapar*, meaning a thatched roof, and is evidence of its liability to inundation in early times.

arrangements. The paterfamilias and all his belongings of the female sex huddle together in this one stall, not much larger than a dog-kennel; for the boys there is a separate dormitory." The narrow entrance, into which the owner is obliged to creep on all fours, is characteristic of the rudest huts used by Dravidian races, and it has been suggested that it is a reminiscence of cave-life. This feature is also found in the Oraon houses, which are small and low, most of them consisting of four mud walls, 15 feet long, 7 feet high and 6 feet broad, surmounted by a thatched roof. In the middle of one of these walls there is a hole $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, which serves as an entrance, the door consisting of two big planks roughly hewn out of the trunk of a tree. Above is a log which supports the wall and is aptly called the *karaphora* or forehead-breaker, whilst on both sides there is a raised verandah, under which the household pigs have their sty. Inside, there are three rooms, in the middle one of which the family live and prepare their food. On one side of it is a room in which the bullocks and the goats are kept; on the other is the granary and store-room.

124. The houses of the Khonds call for special mention, as they are made entirely of wood without a single nail being used. The Khond builds his house himself, his only tools being a hatchet and a chisel. With these he hews out thick planks from the log of a tree, and erects grooved posts to form the framework of his house. Planks are slid into the grooves and bound together by cross-stays, which are fixed by wooden pins and keys. The doors are ingeniously made to revolve in grooved blocks fixed to the frame. The roof consists of thin flat rafters with a thatch of straw, and the only repair it requires is the addition of a layer of fresh straw every year. It takes a Khond two years to build a house, and it lasts from 20 to 30 years. The interior generally consists of two small rooms partitioned off by a railing. One is used for cooking and sleeping in, the other serves as a cattle-pen. The younger members of the family and the servants sleep in a separate room, where the stock of grain is also stored. The grown-up girls sleep together in a dormitory in charge of one of the old women, and there is another dormitory for the young men.

125. An entirely different type of house is found among the hill tribes in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. They are raised about six feet above the ground, access being obtained by means of a rough step ladder. In front is a verandah, behind which come the bachelors' quarters. At the back of the latter are the rooms of the married members of the family, separated by mat walls. They are apportioned according to seniority, one being reserved for the eldest married member of the family and his wife, another for the second eldest, and so on.*

126. In whatever part of the country they may be, the houses have one common feature, viz., the absence or rarity of windows by which the interior can be ventilated. This is not a matter of much importance in the houses of the lower classes, for the men live out in the open; and for the women there is a certain amount of ventilation through the thatched or tiled roof, or through the walls where the latter are made of reeds or bamboos; there is, moreover, generally a space between the walls and the roof which allows of the perflation of air. The flimsy nature of the walls is really sanitary, and in the hills of Darjeeling and Sikkim the comparative rarity of consumption may be put down to this account. It is a different matter for *pardah* women living in brick-built house. The rooms are jealously closed, and the windows, if any, are small in size, are near the top of the wall, and are securely latticed, so that these are of little use for ventilation. The insanitary effects of the *pardah* system are accentuated in towns. To quote from a report by Dr. H. M. Crake on the sanitary condition of the northern portion of Calcutta:—"No survey of an oriental city can possibly ignore the potent influence of the *pardah* system on its domestic architecture. Obviously, the house is directly inspired by the necessity of securing absolute privacy for the ladies of the household. To effectually seclude the inner apartments from the vulgar gaze, air and light are shut out and the rooms rendered

* Chittagong Hill Tracts Gazetteer.

unfit for human habitation. It is very common to find the whole of the lower storey of the *zanana*, even in large and valuable houses, given up to godowns and kitchens, the inmates frankly admitting that none of the rooms are fit to live in. I must confess I am astonished at the average kitchen. It is, in a large number of houses, a gloomy, stuffy den, full of acrid smoke, and yet the ladies of the house have to spend hours in these very unpleasant surroundings. The entire absence of chimneys results in an atmosphere which is almost unbearable when cooking is going on in a particularly ill-ventilated kitchen."

HOUSES AND FAMILIES.

127. The house for census purposes is a social and not a structural unit. As at the last census, it was defined "as consisting of the buildings, one or many, inhabited by one family, *i.e.*, by a number of persons living and eating together in one mess, with their resident dependants, such as mother, widowed sisters, younger brothers, etc., and their servants who reside in the house." In other words, the unit is the commensal family, and not the homestead or enclosure. The value of this definition is that it is easily understood and requires very little explanation: it is, in practice, the definition used in the interpretation of the *Chaukidari* Act, and is no novelty to the people. There were some exceptions to the standard definition, but they were few in number. In the case of Europeans and Anglo-Indians the whole building actually occupied by them was taken as one house. For police lines, jail, dispensaries, lunatic asylums, etc., special arrangements were made. In cooly lines each room with a separate door-way was treated as a separate house, and in the *bastis* of Howrah and Calcutta each hut was numbered as a house.

128. The average number of persons per house as thus defined is 5·3 in Bengal and 5·2 in Bihar and Orissa, which have changed places in this respect during the last decade. The variations between the different divisions are small, the maximum being 5·5 (in Central and East Bengal) and the minimum 4·6 (in West Bengal). In Central Bengal the average is slightly inflated by the figures for Calcutta, where the house was defined as the municipal premise; in West Bengal the low average is due to the immigrant population of labourers living in huts, *bastis* or cooly lines, where each room was numbered as a house. There are 105 houses per square mile in Bengal, or 38 more than in Bihar and Orissa: for this difference the area of waste, hill and jungle in the Chota Nagpur Plateau is mainly responsible. Their relative density is highest in West Bengal with its numerous towns, and then in North Bihar, which has comparatively few towns but a dense agricultural population. Of individual districts, Howrah has most (433) and the Chittagong Hill Tracts fewest (5) houses per square mile.

129. The figures for cities give very divergent results, owing to the fact that in Calcutta and the suburban municipalities of Cossipur-Chitpur Manicktollah and Garden Reach the unit was the municipal premise. In Howrah city, where the Bengal definition of house was adopted, the average number of persons enumerated in each house is only 2·9: this low figure is due to the number of *bastis* with a cooly population where each hut or room was treated as a house. The fall of the average since 1901, when it was 3·4, may be regarded as a result of the measures taken to open them out and prevent overcrowding. With this number may be compared the average of Patna city, *viz.*, 4·8. The variation is sufficient proof, if any is needed, of the difference between conditions in a progressive but congested industrial town and a decadent town with no large manufactures. Both in Patna and in Bhagalpur the average number of persons per house has risen since 1901; in the former the figure is still below that for the district generally, and in the latter it is exactly the same. In the case of Gaya no such comparison is possible, as the place was half empty at the time of the census.

130. The average number of houses per square mile has increased steadily in each Province and in each Division,

PROVINCE OR DIVISION.	NUMBER OF HOUSES PER 100 MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15 AND OVER.	
	1901.	1911.
Bengal	104	101
West Bengal	115	115
Central "	109	102
North "	101	100
East "	97	95
Bihar and Orissa	85	90
South Bihar	94	96
North "	85	87
Orissa	91	86
Chota Nagpur Plateau	96	94

except in Central Bengal, where however the apparent decrease is due to the change of definition of house in Calcutta and its suburbs. It is difficult to draw from the statistics of census houses any general conclusions as to the number of families, owing to the joint-family system. A house, as defined for census purposes, does not necessarily imply the existence of one married couple with their children: there are probably also sons and nephews with their wives, and the widows of the husband's brothers or his sons' widows, together with their children. The different conditions prevailing may however be roughly gauged by comparing the number of married females aged 15 and over with the number of houses, as in the marginal statement. It will be seen that the relative number of houses has decreased throughout Bengal, but has increased in Bihar and Orissa except in the Chota Nagpur Plateau.

131. The increase of houses in the latter Province is partly due to the natural increase of families, but the growing tendency to break up the joint-family is a contributory cause. During the lifetime of the father, the Hindu family, as a rule, lives jointly, i.e., it not only lives together, but its property is also held in common under the managership of the *karta* or head of the family. All who belong to it, e.g., sons, grandsons, nephews, etc., are entitled to maintenance from its funds, and all contribute to the expenses, whether present in the house or absent from it—in the latter case, they are bound to remit their savings home. This system has all the force of a religious institution, being based both on sacred texts and immemorial custom, but there is a general consensus of opinion, that the family is now-a-days more frequently broken up when the father dies. In Bihar, it is reported, it was the general practice, within living memory, for families to remain joint for two, three, or even more generations. Now it is estimated that the number in which the joint system is maintained for any considerable time after the father's death—much less for two generations or more—is less than one-fourth. It is a common practice for brothers to set up for themselves either as soon as their father is dead, or, a little later, while their mother is still living. In most cases, when the adult brothers partition the ancestral property in this way, the younger children have to cast in their lot with one or other of them, the mother generally remaining with the youngest of her children. But, though they set up separate establishments, they often continue undivided in legal and other business affecting their property. Where this is the case among the landlord classes, no application for partition of the estate is presented to the Collector; the rent is still collected in a lump sum, but after it is realized, it is divided among the sharers.

132. Among cultivators, holdings sometimes remain joint for a considerable time after the buildings, furniture, etc., have been apportioned among the members of the family, the division of the produce taking place on the *khalihan*, or threshing floor, after it has been reaped. In the majority of cases, however, when the family ceases to live together, a partition is made of the holdings, and their accounts are entered separately in the landlord books. On the whole, the family remains joint among the peasantry for a longer time than among the non-agricultural classes, the reason being simply that the larger the labour force, the easier it is to till the land. In the case of industrial and professional pursuits, where the personal equation is far more important, the individualistic tendency is more pronounced.

133. In Orissa, as in Bihar, the family generally remains joint so long as the father or mother is alive, but is broken up after the death of the parents. The disruption takes place at once if their sons are married and have children, and, if not, later, when they have married and have children of their own. It is estimated that only one-fifth of the families are now joint. In Sambalpur, which is governed by the Mitakshara law, according to which the son has the same rights as the father in the ancestral property, the sons are more

prone to demand or enforce partition during his lifetime. In other parts of Orissa it is practically out of the question for a son to separate unless he has some independent means of livelihood, whereas in Sambalpur the sons are sure of a share in the property. In this latter district, therefore, the family is more likely to break up after one of its members marries and begins to live with his wife. In Orissa generally, however, the longer a family remains joint, the more are its members held in esteem, for the breaking up of the family, though of common occurrence, is looked upon with disapproval. Neither marriage nor the death of the father necessarily causes the sons to leave the ancestral home. On the contrary, they generally continue to live together in the same homestead, but in separate messes.

134. In cities also the tendency is for the family to continue to live under the same roof but in separate rooms. To quote again from the report by Dr. Crake on the sanitary condition of northern Calcutta :—

"The curious system of actually dividing dwelling houses amongst several co-heirs is a very potent factor in the production of insanitary property. It is quite common to come across what was originally a single dwelling split up amongst three or four relatives. Owing partly to the *pardah* system, but very largely to the bad blood engendered by the almost inevitable litigation which the partition involves, each co-sharer erects as lofty a masonry wall as he possibly can, so as to completely shut off his share from the rest. Though carried out with wonderful ingenuity, the result too frequently is that a noble mansion with spacious court-yards is converted into a number of mean little houses with totally inadequate open spaces, and most of the rooms imperfectly lighted and ventilated. Very often one unfortunate heir can only reach his portion through a long tortuous passage."

135. The following are the chief causes to which the disintegration of joint families is ascribed.—(1) Some members of the family take advantage of their position to lead a life of idleness and become simply drones, living on the labour of their brothers. As an instance of this, may be quoted the case of an officer in Government employ, who obtained a large increase of pay but was poorer than before, because his elder brother at once threw up his own post and ceased to contribute to the family income. (2) Misappropriation or misuse of the joint property, *e.g.*, the *karta* may devote part of it to his own personal uses or employ it for purposes which do not benefit the family. (3) The family becomes so large, that there is no longer room for all under the ancestral roof. Some of the joint families are exceptionally large forming small colonies—there is a case on record of a joint family with 500 members.* For the sake of convenience, some of them move out to make homes for themselves. This division is often followed by a partition of the property. (4) Migration. Members of the family leave the home in search of employment, and do not return. Having to live apart from their relations, and finding no chance of returning home, they naturally do not see why they should not obtain a separate share of the property. In Bihar a number of joint families have been broken up on this account, especially among Kayasths who furnish recruits to Government service. Brahmans and Rajputs, who do not so generally find employment in occupations necessitating their absence from home, have, it is reported, a larger number of joint families than the Kayasths. (5) The abolition of the Panchayat system. Formerly disputes between the members of a joint family were settled by the Panchayat quickly and cheaply. Now, they have recourse to *mukhtars* and *vakils*, the result being protracted litigation, embittered feelings, and eventually the impoverishment and dismemberment of the family. (6) Modern tendencies, such as the influence of education, the throwing off of caste-ties, especially in towns, and the consequent weakening of the family bond. These tendencies are confined to the educated classes and mostly come into operation where some members are conservative and others have advanced ideas. The disintegration of the family may be due to their neglect of caste rules or to their wanting to live in a more luxurious or laxer style than their forefathers; in one case a family divided merely because one of them decided to give an English education to his daughters.

* S. C. Bose, *The Hindus as they are* (1883), p. 2.

136. Women are frequently instrumental in producing the dismemberment of families. This is especially the case where the husbands marry girls from some distant village and from families with which they have little or no past connection. Devoted to their husbands' interests, the wives are jealous of their earnings being used by others, particularly by those who do not contribute to the family income. More petty feelings, less disinterested motives, such as the mutual jealousy of the brothers' wives, the quarrels of their children, etc., also contribute to the breaking up of the family. More than one correspondent points out that it is significant that one of the Sanskrit word for wife, viz., *dara*, comes from a root meaning "to tear asunder."

137. Notes on customs regulating inheritance and partition among the aboriginals of the Chota Nagpur Plateau are given in the appendix at the end of this volume. There appear to be signs that these customs, which are the outcome of an earlier state of development, are gradually becoming modified in tracts where aboriginals are brought into contact with more civilized neighbours. Tribal customs are thus gradually breaking down, and this process will, in the nature of things, become more general as the aboriginals adopt the manners and customs of their more advanced neighbours and as their contact with Hindus becomes more frequent. It may be of value, however, to place on record the customs as they still exist.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—DENSITY, WATER-SUPPLY AND CROPS OF DISTRICTS.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	Mean density per square mile in 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AREA.		PERCENTAGE TO CULTIVABLE AREA OF—		Percentage of gross cultivated area which is irrigated.	Normal rainfall.	PERCENTAGE OF GROSS CULTIVATED AREA UNDER—			
		Cultivable.	Not cultivated.	Net cultivated.	Double-cropped.			Rice.	Jute.	Other food-crops.	Other non-food crops.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
BENGAL	567	69.7	49.5	70.9	16.7	4.3	69.84	69.2	8.2	13.0	9.6
WEST BENGAL	607	79.6	53.0	66.6	5.5	20.5	56.86	75.3	2.2	10.2	8.3
Bardham	572	82.6	50.6	63.7	15.4	39.6	56.06	81.9	1.9	11.6	5.0
Birbhum	534	87.8	69.7	79.4	2.9	21.6	55.77	92.8	—	3.2	4.0
Baokura	434	90.0	33.3	37.3	1.6	14.8	45.38	84.3	—	8.6	7.1
Midnapore	544	70.9	56.7	80.0	2.0	10.6	58.45	76.1	0.8	12.3	10.0
Hooghly	916	74.2	52.3	70.9	7.0	21.0	58.99	66.4	11.8	7.0	14.9
Howrah	1,850	83.8	61.7	78.1	12.1	—	56.96	58.2	14.2	11.1	16.4
CENTRAL BENGAL	565	65.5	41.5	63.4	13.6	3.7	58.55	75.1	4.6	12.2	8.1
24 Parganas	602	46.2	32.9	71.8	3.1	0.1	63.10	65.8	7.5	4.8	1.9
Nadia	380	79.0	37.1	46.9	31.2	0.2	57.20	67.8	3.6	15.8	13.0
Murshidabad	640	89.1	42.3	47.6	17.4	18.3	54.04	67.1	2.9	30.8	8.8
Jumra	601	47.3	50.0	80.3	14.3	—	60.72	76.6	3.6	10.4	9.3
NORTH BENGAL	527	75.0	54.8	73.0	23.7	1.0	68.76	61.8	9.9	12.1	16.2
Rajshahi	546	74.2	55.9	78.1	27.0	0.1	59.78	57.6	6.1	11.9	14.4
Dinajpur	425	80.2	50.1	62.4	0.3	—	62.13	79.0	8.8	6.0	4.3
Jalpaiguri	309	70.4	45.2	68.9	15.4	—	130.25	63.4	7.2	4.0	25.0
Darjeeling	226	33.2	23.1	68.6	4.1	16.3	120.33	22.3	2.7	41.6	33.2
Rangpur	646	73.5	63.6	82.3	33.0	3.0	85.00	57.3	12.4	9.9	19.4
Bogra	724	86.3	33.5	82.0	32.7	—	72.79	64.4	16.1	8.0	11.3
Pabna	772	81.2	63.2	77.4	36.6	—	60.62	47.2	14.1	21.8	16.2
Maidi	528	66.4	65.0	75.2	16.3	—	54.22	62.1	2.8	19.4	15.2
EAST BENGAL	573	63.9	47.9	75.0	18.9	—	62.08	65.4	10.5	6.6	14.2
Khulna	287	39.1	38.6	70.2	3.5	—	65.97	84.3	1.7	2.3	10.7
Dacca	1,090	75.3	60.0	89.0	26.6	—	69.22	65.1	11.0	11.1	12.8
Myitmeh	734	70.4	50.2	84.1	31.9	—	52.93	49.1	21.4	9.9	20.2
Faridpur	634	69.7	61.5	86.7	12.2	—	65.69	70.1	11.3	8.8	11.8
Bakergunge	525	79.2	54.9	81.8	12.1	—	64.29	81.8	1.5	4.5	17.4
Tippura	972	82.9	72.0	96.8	22.6	—	83.81	71.2	17.2	2.3	9.3
Noakhali	792	88.5	84.5	95.1	62.4	—	111.92	77.1	8.2	0.5	14.1
Chittagong	605	45.2	37.2	82.2	9.3	—	126.88	90.9	0.03	2.0	7.1
Chittagong Hill Tracts	30	51.7	4.8	9.0	—	—	78.08	56.5	—	8.5	33.0
DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	Mean density per square mile in 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AREA.		PERCENTAGE TO CULTIVABLE AREA OF—		Percentage of gross cultivated area which is irrigated.	Normal rainfall.	PERCENTAGE OF GROSS CULTIVATED AREA UNDER—			
		Cultivable.	Not cultivated.	Net cultivated.	Double-cropped.			Rice.	Maize.	Other cereals and pulses.	Other crops.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
BIHAR and ORISSA	415	72.7	51.7	71.1	12.4	12.3	52.48	54.3	5.3	26.8	13.8
NORTH BIHAR	646	59.6	68.2	76.1	26.3	9.8	53.36	43.2	6.4	31.8	18.6
Benares	853	91.2	78.9	84.2	29.9	26.1	46.00	24.2	11.2	47.1	17.5
Chandpur	540	83.1	55.7	67.0	34.8	6.9	54.09	40.2	6.6	34.2	18.6
Muzaffarpur	987	80.2	74.4	82.4	59.1	1.8	45.98	33.9	7.9	38.8	19.4
Darbhanga	875	81.0	71.9	79.0	32.7	14.9	40.77	41.2	3.1	35.0	18.7
Bhagnapore	906	80.0	68.0	73.2	24.0	17.0	61.37	54.9	7.3	27.8	10.1
Purnea	396	91.4	67.9	74.2	3.4	1.2	72.51	90.4	1.1	11.4	27.1
SOUTH BIHAR	515	75.7	59.3	78.3	14.3	22.2	45.18	44.2	6.5	37.7	11.6
Patna	778	86.2	84.2	97.8	10.3	28.4	45.26	43.5	9.4	27.2	9.9
Gaya	458	78.2	67.1	80.8	8.4	18.2	42.96	59.7	3.8	27.4	10.1
Shahabad	437	78.6	54.2	89.1	11.5	25.3	43.63	43.7	2.1	42.3	12.9
Monghyr	544	63.7	47.2	66.2	29.9	9.0	49.01	24.1	14.4	48.0	13.5
ORISSA	508	70.3	55.1	78.3	9.2	18.6	59.10	82.49	0.1	7.2	10.3
Cuttack	377	72.9	52.3	72.2	14.3	18.3	60.41	77.7	—	11.4	10.9
Balasore	506	77.6	89.1	89.2	0.8	12.9	60.79	89.4	—	1.8	8.8
Puri	410	66.8	47.1	77.4	9.1	35.7	53.06	82.18	0.02	9.9	10.9
CHOTA NAAGPUR PLATEAU	221	62.4	38.6	61.9	3.5	7.9	53.75	66.2	4.9	18.5	10.4
Hazaribagh	184	68.1	89.0	61.7	2.3	7.1	51.99	72.1	8.5	13.6	3.8
Ranchi	196	69.1	40.1	58.0	0.9	6.2	53.24	73.2	0.2	12.7	14.8
Palamu	140	45.6	14.6	40.8	0.1	9.9	48.16	54.0	1.9	25.4	19.7
Manbhum	372	65.2	57.9	88.8	4.3	8.4	52.68	78.1	—	10.0	7.0
Manbhum	176	57.5	34.5	69.9	2.5	4.8	58.32	65.1	4.9	27.5	8.9
South Parganas	848	78.2	49.0	66.9	8.6	16.2	53.60	46.9	8.5	23.5	11.0
Angul	119	29.2	27.2	76.6	6.1	5.4	55.37	61.5	1.9	18.8	27.8
Bambajpur	195	79.3	37.3	51.3	0.3	4.8	58.48	74.6	0.1	14.8	10.5

In the calculations for each Province and for each natural division, those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE

PROVINCE AND NATURAL DIVISION.	THANAS WITH A POPULATION						
	Under 100.		100—500.		500—450.		450—
	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	40,515 80% ²	3,548 42	40,139 80% ²	8,608 19.1	32,871 15.3	12,079 14.9	25,862 23.2
Bengal	12,892 16.3	734 1.8	4,110 4.9	976 2.1	13,683 16.3	5,167 17.1	17,017 20.2
WEST BENGAL ² ... ..	...	...	888 5.4	252 2.0	3,842 27.5	1,428 16.9	4,730 29.5
Bardham ... ..	...	...	...	...	300	129	1,167
Birbhum ... ..	...	...	...	...	1,589	589	775
Bankura ... ..	...	...	888	252	1,412	426	752
Midnapore ² ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	163
Hooghly ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Howrah ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
CENTRAL BENGAL	3,256 25% ²	301 3.7	...	...	619 4.3	267 3.3	3,981 37.2
24 Parganas	3,256	301	...	...	...	...	90
Calcutta ... ..	...	...	...	...	316	135	1,998
Nadia ... ..	...	...	...	...	110	50	1,383
Murshidabad ... ..	...	...	...	...	184	83	1,063
Jessore ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
NORTH BENGAL	412 2.9	49 0.6	2,085 10.2	467 4.4	5,960 29.0	2,254 27.0	5,553 27.0
Bajshahi ... ..	...	...	...	...	524	176	1,152
Dinajpur ... ..	...	...	...	...	2,641	1,018	1,305
Jalpaiguri ... ..	...	...	1,381	378	1,388	480	273
Darjeeling	412	49	724	180	...	...	974
Rangpur ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	441
Bogra ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	321
Pabna ... ..	...	...	...	...	631	306	559
Madda ... ..	...	...	...	...	678	274	829
Cooch Behar ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
EAST BENGAL ²	9,224 16.7	384 2.0	1,137 5.1	257 1.5	3,262 5.3	1,218 6.4	3,353 5.1
Khulna ² ... ..	...	...	...	...	363	113	348
Dacca ... ..	...	...	...	...	1,110	441	398
Mymensingh ... ..	...	...	...	...	1,133	376	1,328
Fa idpur ... ..	...	...	634	145	...	...	...
Backergunge ... ..	...	...	...	...	193	75	288
Tippes ... ..	...	...	515	119	571	213	215
Nokhal ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chittagong ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chittagong Hill Tracts	2,188	154	...	...	...	...	...
Rail Tippera	4,086	330	...	...	...	...	...
Bihear and Orissa	27,623 24.7	2,814 7.2	36,029 28.2	7,632 19.9	19,188 17.2	6,912 18.9	8,845 7.9
NORTH BIHAR ... ..	...	...	1,276 5.9	318 2.9	5,082 23.3	1,862 13.9	3,378 15.5
Saran ... ..	...	...	...	...	1,465	446	...
Champaran ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Munsharput ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Darbhanga ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shahjapur ... ..	...	...	534	117	707	301	3,034
Purnea ... ..	...	...	744	198	2,912	1,115	1,342
SOUTH BIHAR ... ..	...	...	2,885 19.1	658 5.5	3,856 56.9	1,432 16.4	3,009 20.0
Patna ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	331
Gaya ... ..	...	...	...	...	1,963	791	953
Shahabad ... ..	...	...	1,804	331	652	238	850
Monghye ... ..	...	...	588	136	1,321	479	975
ORISSA ... ..	...	...	1,433 17.4	390 9.3	2,990 35.3	1,133 27.1	1,594 19.4
Cuttack ... ..	...	...	...	...	1,669	598	391
Balasore ... ..	...	...	212	61	877	159	1,308
Puri ... ..	...	...	1,220	320	944	316	...
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	27,623 41.4	2,814 22.7	30,433 45.6	6,268 60.7	7,280 10.3	2,485 26.1	864 1.3
Hazaribagh	2,742	256	4,279	933	...	...	...
Banhi	2,477	200	3,463	818	774	270	...
Palam	2,599	252	2,322	425	...	...	...
Manbhum ... ..	...	...	1,334	336	2,317	861	237
Siogbhum ... ..	...	...	3,071	640	...	...	...
Sonthal Parganas	820	34	1,849	390	3,335	1,051	691
Angul	1,881	199	...	...	...	...	...
Sambalpur	847	87	2,351	489	550	189	...
Orissa Feudatory States	16,464	1,566	11,154	2,093	378	113	46
Orissa Nagpur Tributary States	...	...	602	149	...	...	...

* The areas shown for West Bengal and Midnapore exclude 41 square miles of uninhabited river beds. The proportions per cent. within the area and population of each group bear to the total.

POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO DENSITY.

PER SQUARE MILE OF—

	800-750		750-700		700-650		650-600	
Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).	Area.	Population (000's omitted).
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
13,463 159	21,263 208	14,243 168	16,294 83	13,287 157	9,427 68	9,119 108	6,821 25	10,394 123
8,833 281	13,781 164	9,308 201	8,817 105	7,228 166	5,201 62	4,996 108	5,862 70	9,064 136
2,172 557 686 618 390 404 89	2,287 164 600 276 257 755 391	1,522 150 404 163 170 499 266	1,375 89 276 830 261	1,130 133 344 667 219	551 60 373 178	513 60 351 162	834 60 129 190 510	1,450 171 157 354 944
2,057 254 27	2,456 193 108	1,668 206 74	890 70 188	736 81 180	358 28 167	340 43 142	1,174 23 1,092 32	2,713 356 1,741 196
838 891 511	429 490 1,434	950 357 924	440 ... 555	275 ... 911	201	195	10	76
2,863 367 801 670 146	2,831 118 448	1,860 173 589	2,735 132 552	2,239 809 398	559 27 142	511 48 129	407 20 ...	488 65 ...
306 228 108 269 319	1,188 288 779 128	710 901 300 95	1,132 241 639 351	877 902 559 318	28 358	27 355	196 212	333 258
1,741 971 168 534 215 112 678	6,207 168 868 570 3,394 938 709 421	4,261 224 347 265 1,643 632 468 918	3,817 104 608 310 1,190 282 466 391	3,123 165 499 948 963 216 364 384 466	3,733 197 ... 218 422 364 394 343	3,632 297 ... 291 493 915 380 541	3,447 84 ... 1,281 678 323 ... 982	4,413 523 ... 1,899 763 246 ... 1,110
130 118	309 306	190 182	190 440	... 520	644 466	631 451	368 61	281 112
4,630 229	7,462 67	4,935 188	7,477 67	6,059 158	4,226 58	4,123 107	959 98	1,330 75
1,745 124	2,950 139	1,939 137	4,809 250	3,914 278	3,437 157	3,357 358	888 41	969 63
1,070 678	1,879 603 768	836 577 466	1,430 583 725 967	1,989 566 574 785	1,306 1,110 181	1,060 1,112 182	302 428	312 406
1,596 203 130 480 433 303	3,742 248 1,176 1,075 1,261 280	2,483 220 796 717 857 143	1,046 69 535	832 107 411	486 23 93	474 67 69	52 04 34 8 6	293 53 184 30 28 20
833 169 184 849	292 55 ... 292	187 64 ... 187	1,622 207 1,391	1,313 273 1,035	303 37 303	292 73 292	4 004 ...	40 70 ...
456 37	498 68	326 86	...	...	...	...	15 008	28 02
118 316 33	355 143	333 82	...	...	...	...	15 ...	38 ...

In Midnapore. Those for East Bengal and Khulna exclude 2,688 square miles of the Sundarbans in Khulna. Population are given in italics below the absolute figures for each Province and natural division.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BETWEEN TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	AVERAGE POPULATION PER		NUMBER PER MILE RESIDING IN—		NUMBER PER MILE OF URBAN POPULATION RESIDING IN TOWNS WITH A POPULATION OF—				NUMBER PER MILE OF RURAL POPULATION RESIDING IN VILLAGES WITH A POPULATION OF—			
	Town.	Village.	Town.	Village.	20,000 and over.	10,000 to 20,000.	5,000 to 10,000.	Under 5,000.	5,000 and over.	2,000 to 5,000.	500 to 2,000.	Under 500.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	21,456	338	51	949	672	199	109	20	19	120	443	418
Bengal	23,937	352	64	936	702	196	85	17	22	113	453	412
WEST BENGAL	21,974	326	73	927	747	97	149	7	5	100	457	438
Bardham	16,898	522	61	929	514	166	221	—	4	140	961	293
Birbhum	9,131	418	10	990	—	—	1,000	—	20	102	469	393
Bansura	19,089	333	50	950	768	232	—	—	7	49	338	607
Midnapore	12,732	240	36	964	321	805	329	45	—	30	390	360
Hooghly	18,935	426	139	981	814	—	186	—	6	113	508	312
Hoortah	100,700	767	213	787	1,000	—	—	—	—	258	980	162
CENTRAL BENGAL	36,580	574	104	796	790	145	55	10	34	142	545	279
24-Parganas	31,097	557	229	775	598	322	79	—	65	146	806	389
Calcutta	896,057	—	1,000	—	1,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nadia	19,633	643	59	941	353	130	229	118	17	146	616	237
Murshidabad	15,914	696	61	959	313	568	99	—	44	228	596	202
Jessore	7,066	462	12	968	—	—	601	129	7	78	544	371
NORTH BENGAL	9,777	261	22	978	305	457	133	105	17	79	355	549
Rajshahi	16,329	317	31	979	729	—	261	—	—	7	397	696
Dinajpur	15,945	173	9	991	—	1,000	—	—	—	27	314	789
Jaipur	5,883	401	13	967	—	975	—	25	—	238	264	463
Darjeeling	13,290	478	33	907	—	772	327	—	45	196	464	305
Rangpur	6,044	316	15	984	—	458	228	319	47	154	463	397
Bogra	6,601	268	12	987	—	—	690	310	—	24	463	678
Pubna	22,026	222	21	969	562	438	—	—	6	49	432	494
Maidan	12,708	206	41	959	562	346	—	—	81	34	292	694
Cooch Behar	3,849	482	37	973	—	896	—	314	38	92	587	953
EAST BENGAL	17,524	391	25	975	536	370	80	14	29	127	473	371
Khulna	9,717	695	21	979	—	819	181	—	76	201	516	307
Dacca	68,214	325	46	964	1,000	—	—	—	10	72	472	445
Myrmensingh	15,259	363	27	973	172	773	34	—	—	72	498	829
Fairdipor	16,102	351	16	969	—	1,000	—	—	9	91	443	636
Backergunge	9,724	475	20	980	467	347	251	40	10	161	556	293
Tippora	15,235	242	24	976	780	220	—	—	—	74	479	447
Noakhali	7,009	473	3	990	—	1,000	—	—	88	206	440	396
Chittagong	16,572	1,066	22	973	268	—	—	132	170	565	363	101
Chittagong Hill Tracts	—	294	—	1,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	377	422
Hill Tippera	8,831	36	30	970	—	—	1,000	—	—	—	104	846
Bihear and Orissa	17,407	344	34	966	603	208	163	26	18	128	432	425
NORTH BIHAR	21,145	445	28	972	619	244	126	11	30	225	523	223
Barua	17,817	514	31	969	595	175	230	—	7	106	577	310
Champaran	20,339	706	21	979	634	266	—	—	25	281	501	193
Muzaffarpur	20,522	656	29	971	332	557	111	—	39	209	546	208
Darbhanga	24,130	900	23	967	649	171	180	—	30	344	609	124
Bhagalpur	39,223	582	37	963	946	—	—	35	61	254	449	216
Purnea	10,434	488	16	984	—	708	223	—	16	127	338	319
SOUTH BIHAR	21,854	461	67	933	737	123	124	16	18	160	500	322
Patna	33,763	546	147	823	836	82	64	18	29	169	343	274
Gaya	12,769	333	41	959	559	—	308	33	9	63	473	463
Shahabad	17,062	377	55	943	602	237	141	—	7	113	406	350
Monghyr	22,219	606	42	958	755	245	—	—	36	297	508	169
ORISSA	26,585	328	38	962	712	268	—	—	3	52	478	467
Cuttack	26,237	360	28	962	656	342	—	—	4	56	518	422
Balasore	19,970	249	28	962	335	466	—	—	—	35	439	326
Puri	29,686	320	29	961	1,000	—	—	—	2	50	437	499
CHOTA NAAGPUR PLATEAU	9,051	209	20	980	220	274	415	91	1	24	272	703
Hazarinagh	10,474	146	33	967	—	661	290	119	—	16	176	308
Ranchi	15,572	342	34	966	708	—	294	—	—	29	440	531
Palamanu	4,689	218	17	983	—	631	369	—	—	25	319	146
Manbhum	10,229	254	20	980	681	—	163	136	—	24	240	728
Singhbhum	7,341	203	31	979	—	—	1,000	—	—	—	209	793
South Parganna	8,232	192	33	977	—	593	407	—	—	6	330	720
Angul	—	136	—	1,000	—	—	—	—	—	11	372	637
Sambalpur	8,435	379	34	976	—	—	735	365	7	97	497	444
Orissa Feudatory States	4,200	194	10	990	—	—	899	111	—	21	256	724
Orissa Naga r States	—	167	—	1,000	—	—	—	—	—	18	161	821
Sikkim	—	279	—	1,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	285	735

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—NUMBER PER MILLE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION
AND OF EACH MAIN RELIGION WHO LIVE IN TOWNS.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER PER MILLE WHO LIVE IN TOWNS.					
	Total Population.	Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Jain.	Parai.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	51	57	42	104	489	910
Bengal	64	95	36	478	572	925
WEST BENGAL	73	71	97	615	292	597
Burdwan	61	54	72	385	402	...
Birbhum	10	10	10	85	...	...
Bankura	50	56	25	341	83	...
Midnapore	38	34	64	647	308	...
Hooghly	139	141	138	702	1,000	1,500
Howrah	213	202	243	811	1,000	878
CENTRAL BENGAL	204	275	119	687	934	992
24 Parganas	225	249	186	283	310	952
Calcutta	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Nadia	59	110	25	115	300	300
Murshidabad	61	20	34	682	426	...
Jessore	12	19	8	114	...	...
NORTH BENGAL	22	32	15	235	301	605
Rajshahi	21	53	12	192	337	...
Dinajpur	9	13	7	35	283	...
Jalpaiguri	13	12	18	20	28	1,000
Darjeeling	93	76	132	414	528	1,000
Rangpur	15	27	9	746	239	...
Bogra	13	47	7	120	142	...
Pabna	31	54	23	100	288	...
Madad	41	35	47	19	619	...
Cooch Behar	27	29	19	711	348	...
EAST BENGAL	25	43	16	117	308	1,000
Khulna	21	25	17	120	...	1,000
Dacca	46	71	32	42	600	1,000
Mymensingh	27	51	13	94	299	...
Faridpur	15	25	9	19	...	...
Backergunge	20	40	11	124	...	...
Tippura	24	45	14	605	...	...
Noakhali	5	12	3	61	...	...
Chittagong	22	34	16	676	1,000	1,000
Chittagong Hill Tracts ... ..	...	...	Contains no town.	...	...	...
Hill Tippura	30	35	13	135	1,000	...
Bihaar and Orissa	34	31	50	72	369	657
NORTH BIHAR	28	25	45	554	238	619
Samat	31	27	60	398	653	...
Champeran	21	17	42	345	...	...
Muzaffarpur	29	25	53	721	...	1,000
Darbhanga	33	28	68	540	41	...
Bhagalpur	37	30	101	475	307	...
Purnea	16	19	12	240	245	...
SOUTH BIHAR	67	54	182	767	593	1,000
Patna	147	119	370	894	275	1,000
Gaya	41	24	100	880	746	...
Shahabad	55	42	214	467	1,000	...
Monohyr	42	34	93	679	287	...
ORISSA	38	33	201	547	495	...
Cuttack	38	28	189	828	545	...
Balasore	35	24	245	431	...	...
Puri	39	29	7	151	...	...
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	20	21	70	35	306	667
Hazaribagh	33	29	75	278	297	...
Ranchi	34	49	150	32	492	...
Palaman	17	15	44	10	...	...
Manbhum	20	21	25	166	124	...
Singbhum	21	29	227	122	...	800
Sonthal Parganas	23	27	64	59	314	...
Angul ... ..	...	...	Contains no town.	...	...	...
Bamtalpur	24	22	240	62	...	...
Orissa Feudatory States	10	11	79	2	122	...
Chota Nagpur States ... ..	...	...	Contains no town.	...	...	...
Sikkim ... ..	...	...	Contains no town.	...	...	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—TOWNS CLASSIFIED BY POPULATION.

CLASS OF TOWNS.	Number of towns of each class in 1911.	Proportion to total urban population.	Number of females per 1,000 males.	VARIATION PER CENT. IN THE POPULATION OF TOWNS AS CLASSED AT PREVIOUS CENSUS.				VARIATION PER CENT. IN URBAN POPULATION OF EACH CLASS FROM 1871 TO 1911.	
				1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	1871-1881.	(a) In towns as classed in 1871.	(b) In the total of each class in 1911 as compared with the corresponding total in 1871.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BENGAL...	124	100	631	+ 15·5	+ 12·2	+ 9·9	- 2·6	+ 31·8	+ 60·6
I.—100,000 and over	2	39·9	507	+ 8·9	+ 35·5	+ 11·4	- 3·8	+ 41·6	+ 87·0
II.—50,000-100,000	3	3·5	567	+ 31·0	+ 3·9	+ 31·3	+ 5·2	+ 63·2	+ 49·6
III.—20,000-50,000	21	26·8	710	+ 30·9	+ 2·0	+ 3·3	- 10·2	+ 6·7	+ 88·7
IV.—10,000-20,000	40	19·6	742	+ 17·7	+ 7·2	+ 5·0	- 4·1	+ 25·2	+ 60·0
V.—5,000-10,000	34	8·5	798	+ 6·8	+ 3·2	+ 10·1	+ 4·0	+ 18·2	+ 24·7
VI.—Under 5,000	17	1·7	774	+ 15·5	+ 10·7	+ 35·0	+ 79·9	+ 179·6	+ 249·9
BIHAR AND ORISSA.	76	100	932	- 2·8	- 6·7	+ 6·6	+ 13·2	+ 2·7	+ 21·2
I.—100,000 and over	1	10·3	922	+ 1·0	- 18·4	- 3·2	+ 7·4	- 14·3	- 14·3
II.—50,000-100,000	3	14·3	900	- 9·3	- 12·6	+ 6·2	+ 5·2	- 4·2	- 22·2
III.—20,000-50,000	14	35·7	923	- 4·4	+ 4·2	+ 6·1	+ 5·2	+ 2·0	+ 46·0
IV.—10,000-20,000	20	20·8	947	- 1·9	- 9·7	+ 6·0	+ 18·9	+ 30·2	+ 30·2
V.—5,000-10,000	30	16·3	961	+ 3·7	+ 6·4	+ 19·5	+ 29·6	+ 29·5	+ 118·4
VI.—Under 5,000	8	2·6	992	+ 16·2	+ 10·3	+ 37·4	+ 55·5	+ 151·0	+ 42·0

* The percentage in column 5 represents the increase shown by the census of 1911, in the population of the towns included in each class at the census of 1901. The same principle is followed in the case of column 6 to 9. In column 10 the percentage shows the increase in the population of towns as classed in 1911 over the population of towns as classed in 1871, including the population of towns which have come up from a lower class during the intervening period.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—CITIES.

CITY.	Population in 1911.	Number of persons per square mile.	Number of females to 1,000 males.	Proportion of foreign-born per mile.*	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.				
					1901-1911.	1901-1901.	1881-1891.	1871-1881.	1871-1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bengal.									
Calcutta	896,067	36,002	475	714	+ 5·7	+ 24·3	+ 11·4	- 3·3	+ 41·6
Roorah	179,006	20,965	562	720	+ 13·6	+ 35·2	+ 20·4	+ 8·0	+ 112·9
Cuttack-Chilipour	48,178	14,324	565	661	+ 18·2	+ 29·7	+ 19·3	+ 3·6	+ 89·9
Manicktollah	12,787	12,721	694	750	+ 64·0	+ 15·0	- 41·2	- 10·9	- 0·4
Garden Reach	42,395	13,322	637	435	+ 60·8	+ 1·0	+ 194·7	+ 24·2	+ 389·3
Dacca	105,531	16,917	721	398	+ 21·0	+ 10·0	+ 6·1	+ 14·2	+ 68·2
Bihaar and Orissa.									
Patna	136,152	15,128	922	86	+ 1·0	- 18·4	- 3·2	+ 7·4	- 14·3
Gaya	49,921	6,240	897	96	- 30·0	- 11·3	+ 5·2	+ 14·2	- 30·3
Bhagalpur	74,849	8,261	661	169	- 1·9	+ 9·0	+ 1·2	+ 4·4	+ 13·7

* Foreign-born indicates born outside the city or the district containing the city. Calcutta for the purpose of this table is treated as a district. It being impossible to distinguish between those born in Calcutta and Garden Reach, the district-born in the case of the latter towns includes persons born in Calcutta.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—PERSONS PER HOUSE AND HOUSES PER SQUARE MILE.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSE.				AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOUSES PER SQUARE MILE.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	5.2	5.2	5.3	6.2	53	78	77	61
Bengal	5.3	5.1	5.2	6.3	105	100	96	75
WEST BENGAL	4.6	4.5	4.5	5.3	133	132	122	102
Burdwan	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.8	132	135	121	107
Birbhum	4.6	4.2	4.2	4.4	117	120	107	103
Bankura	4.9	4.8	4.9	5.2	88	88	89	64
Midnapore	4.8	4.8	4.9	5.0	112	111	103	82
Hooghly	4.1	4.0	3.8	4.2	221	222	233	195
Howrah	4.3	4.5	4.9	5.8	433	373	307	239
CENTRAL BENGAL	5.5	5.1	5.4	6.0	116	119	107	93
24 Parganas	5.4	5.4	5.7	5.4	94	79	68	56
Calcutta*	20.3	19.8	10.1	17.7	1,384	5,921	2,110	1,079
Nadia	4.7	4.8	5.0	5.4	122	125	119	106
Murshidabad	4.9	4.7	4.4	4.8	123	132	132	120
Jessore	5.0	4.9	5.4	7.0	121	126	130	140
NORTH BENGAL	5.4	5.3	5.5	6.0	97	91	83	73
Rajshahi	4.7	5.1	5.3	6.0	119	111	107	93
Dinajpur	5.6	5.4	5.8	5.8	76	73	87	61
Jalpaiguri	5.2	5.0	5.4	6.1	56	53	42	33
Darjeeling	4.1	4.1	4.9	5.2	55	53	39	34
Raipur	5.9	5.6	5.7	6.2	110	111	100	97
Bogra	5.8	5.9	5.7	7.4	124	106	99	66
Pubna	5.3	5.5	5.9	6.2	146	141	134	109
Malda	5.7	5.4	5.8	5.6	92	86	78	67
Cooch Behar	5.2	5.1	4.9	5.2	87	83	90	69
EAST BENGAL	5.5	5.5	5.4	7.8	94	87	88	57
Khulna	6.0	5.5	5.7	8.9	44	44	43	33
Dacca	5.4	5.6	5.5	6.9	196	159	137	110
Mymensingh	5.8	5.9	5.8	7.6	134	105	96	64
Faridpur	5.1	5.2	5.3	7.3	162	164	150	99
Backergunge	4.9	4.9	4.9	6.2	107	129	120	81
Tippah	6.0	5.9	5.7	8.5	161	144	135	72
Noakhali	5.7	5.5	5.4	9.4	140	127	114	58
Chittagong	5.0	4.9	5.0	5.4	122	111	101	83
Chittagong Hill Tracts	5.8	5.8	5.2	6.8	5	4	4	3
Hill Tippera	5.1	5.6	...	...	11	6	...	...
Bihaar and Orissa	5.2	5.3	5.7	6.4	67	62	71	61
NORTH BIHAR	5.1	5.3	5.8	6.6	126	120	109	91
Baran	4.5	5.2	5.5	7.0	189	175	188	125
Champaner	5.5	5.7	6.2	6.1	94	90	84	70
Muzaffarpur	5.5	5.3	5.9	7.0	169	174	153	123
Darbhanga	4.9	5.0	6.1	7.2	179	173	137	109
Bhagalpur	5.2	5.5	5.8	6.1	96	91	83	75
Purnea	5.4	5.4	5.4	6.1	74	89	72	61
SOUTH BIHAR	5.2	5.3	5.8	6.6	98	97	92	78
Patna	5.2	5.2	6.1	6.2	146	150	140	134
Gaya	5.1	5.1	5.8	7.1	90	86	81	74
Shahabad	5.0	5.3	5.7	7.1	86	94	83	62
Monghyr	5.5	5.4	5.7	7.0	98	97	91	71
ORISSA	5.0	5.1	5.2	5.9	103	99	90	75
Cuttack	4.9	5.1	5.1	5.5	117	111	104	90
Balasore	5.0	5.0	5.4	5.9	109	88	89	78
Puri	5.0	4.8	5.3	7.0	82	90	72	62
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	5.2	5.3	5.7	5.9	36	31	34	30
Heatibagh	5.7	5.5	6.0	6.0	83	89	98	86
Ranchi	5.8	5.5	5.0	5.6	31	33	33	34
Palaman	5.3	5.4	5.9	5.4	26	28	31	30
Manbhum	5.1	5.5	5.5	5.9	74	59	53	42
Singbhum	5.0	5.2	5.5	5.2	36	31	27	23
South Parganas	5.7	5.8	6.1	6.4	81	77	62	45
Angul	4.7	4.8	5.0	5.8	35	34	11	20
Sambalpur	4.5	4.7	...	...	43	36	...	...
Orissa Feudatory States	5.1	5.1	...	...	27	22	...	...
Orissa Nagpur States	4.9	6.0	...	...	50	39	...	...
SIKKIM	5.3	5.3	...	...	6	4	...	...
Other—								
Calcutta	20.3	19.8	10.1	17.7	1,384	5,921	2,110	1,079
Howrah	2.0	2.4	...	...	7,301	5,434	...	...
Comptur-Chitpur	7.7	6.9	...	...	1,921	1,796	...	...
Manickteila	7.8	5.2	...	...	1,782	1,815	...	...
Garden Reach	6.8	4.2	...	...	1,611	1,947	...	...
Dacca	5.5	5.2	...	...	2,901	2,730	...	...
Patna	4.8	4.1	...	...	3,119	3,633	...	...
Gaya	4.2	5.0	...	...	1,494	1,782	...	...
Bhagalpur	5.2	5.2	...	...	1,556	1,619	...	...

* The variations in Calcutta are due to changes in the definition of house.
In the calculations for each Province and for each natural division, those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

CHAPTER II.

MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION.

138. The present chapter deals with the variations in the population that have taken place since 1872, when the first census was taken. The changes which occurred between each census up to 1901 will be only briefly referred to, as they have already been dealt with in previous census reports, and the discussion will be mainly devoted to the variations during the last decade. Figures showing the variations in the population of each district and State are contained in Imperial Table II, and similar information for thanas is given in Provincial Table I. These statistics are further illustrated by the subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter, which deal with (1) variations in the population of districts in relation to density since 1872, (2) variations in the natural population of districts between 1901 and 1911, (3) the difference between the vital statistics for each district and the results of the census, and (4) variations by thanas classified according to density.

139. There is ample evidence of the scantiness of the population in various parts of the two provinces in the early days of British rule. This was largely the result of the terrible famine of 1770, when, according to the estimate made by Warren Hastings, "at least one-third of the inhabitants perished"; even 18 years later the Governor-General had to report to the Court of Directors that one-third of the Company's territory in Bengal "was a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts." Apart, however, from the effects of famine, the unsettled state of the country had long been instrumental in preventing the expansion of cultivation. Rennell's map shows the lower part of the delta as empty of villages, with the words "Depopulated by the Maghs" written across it. Further south, the oppression of the Marathas had reduced the rich province of Orissa to a pitiable state. Of this we have first-hand evidence by Mr. Motte, who, in order to avoid repetition in his account of the journey which he made through it in 1766, remarked: "In my journey it will be unnecessary to say that any place I came to was once considerable, since all the places which were not so are now depopulated by the Marhattas, and such alone remain as on account of their bulk are longer in decaying." Again: "I passed into the talook of Budruc (Bhadra), where I found deep marks of the Marhatta claws on the fine tract of land, formerly well peopled, where a human creature is not now to be seen, except, perhaps, a solitary herdsman, attending a large drove of buffaloes or other horned cattle."* In many parts it took years for the British to establish the settled rule of peace. The border district of Midnapore, for instance, was liable to periodical invasions by the Marathas, while its western portion was covered with jungle and inhabited by predatory tribes. It was perpetually harassed by the inroads of the Marathas, by armed bands of *sannuasis*, who roamed through the country in many thousands strong, by the raids of aboriginal tribes (generally known as Chuars), and by the turbulence of the jungle chiefs. Even in 1800, after nearly forty years of British occupation, the Collector reported that two-thirds of Midnapore consisted of jungle, the greater part of which was uninhabited and inaccessible.

140. In the districts now included in Bihar and Orissa, the reports of the Collectors and the investigations of Buchanan Hamilton show that large areas were waste or very thinly peopled. Herds of wild elephants roamed through the north of Purnea, and some had even made their way to

* *Narrative of a Journey to the Diamond Mines at Sumbhulpoor*, Asiatic Annual Register, 1799.

"the woods in the south." Wild buffaloes were exceedingly destructive, and in the north wolves used to carry off a number of children. "The population seems in some places to be diminishing, for the extreme timidity and listlessness of the people have in some parts prevented them from being able to repel the encroachments of wild beasts."* Only one-fourth of Champaran was under tillage in 1794, and a great part of Darbhanga was uncultivated, partly owing to the famine of 1770, and partly because of the oppression of the farmers of revenue and freebooting zamindars. In 1783 the Collector proposed that cultivators should be recruited from the dominions of the Vizier of Oudh to reclaim "the unpeopled wastes." Thirteen years later one *pargana* was described as "the abode of dreadful beasts of prey," while another was the haunt of wild elephants. Again, Buchanan Hamilton left it on record that part of Shahabad had not recovered from the desolation caused by the wars of Kasim Ali half a century before, and that in some *parganas* a large portion of the land was either overgrown with stunted woods or had lately been deserted. Even as late as the Mutiny the country round Jagdispur was covered with dense jungle in which the mutineers found a retreat, and Government was obliged to have it cleared at a great cost. Similar accounts might be given for other districts, if the limits of space permitted.

141. In the first half of the 19th century attempts to compute the population, or actually to count it, appear to have been made from time to time. The basis of the calculations varied widely, and some of the figures appear so extraordinary in the light of our present knowledge, that it is surprising that they can have been accepted at all. For instance, a so-called census of the district of Patna was held in 1837, and the total population estimated at 845,790, but 284,132 persons, or nearly one-third of the total, were assigned to the city of Patna.† Another census showed the population of the Tirhut district as 1,660,538, the basis of the calculation being a count of houses and the assumption that each contained six persons. Twelve years later the number had fallen by 150,000, and it was naively explained that the population was "supposed to have increased enormously," but it was now calculated at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ persons a house. Elsewhere, as for instance in Chittagong, the figures were based on an estimate of the area under cultivation, coupled with an assumption that each cultivated acre supported 6 persons. As a rule, however, the estimates were based on the number of houses and the average number of persons supposed to live in each; the average, though generally taken to be 5, was sometimes 4, and in one case as low as $2\frac{1}{2}$. How haphazard these estimates were may be realized from the experience of Sir Henry Thuillier, then a young lieutenant, in charge of the revenue survey of a *varqana* in Sylhet from 1839 to 1842. In 1841 he reported to the Deputy Surveyor-General that he did not know that he was expected to undertake a census, and that it would be difficult to make the count so late in the day. Major Bedford, Deputy Surveyor-General, reprimanded Thuillier, though he candidly admitted that the mistake had probably resulted in economy; if the houses were counted and multiplied by a certain factor, that would suffice. Thuillier then pointed out that this gave no indication of the numbers of the sexes, but even this did not defeat Major Bedford. He seemed astonished that Thuillier's wanderings in Jaintia had not given him a tolerably accurate idea of the relative numbers of the sexes, and eventually the numbers were assigned on Thuillier's visual knowledge of that *varqana*. Afterwards, in 1851-52, Thuillier himself, who had in the meantime been appointed Deputy Surveyor-General, in an annual report to the Board of Revenue, showed the figures for Jaintia as having been obtained by a "census taken of the population."‡

* Montgomery Martin, *Eastern India*. Buchanan Hamilton adds:—"This however is only a local and recent evil, and within the last forty years the population has, I am credibly informed, at least doubled." He also speaks of "the immense population by which the country is overwhelmed." These statements can scarcely be credited, for even in 1788 nearly a quarter of a *pargana* with an area of nearly 1,000 square miles lay waste for want of cultivators (*Purnea District Gazetteer*, p. 99).

† Bengal and Agra Gazetteer of 1841.

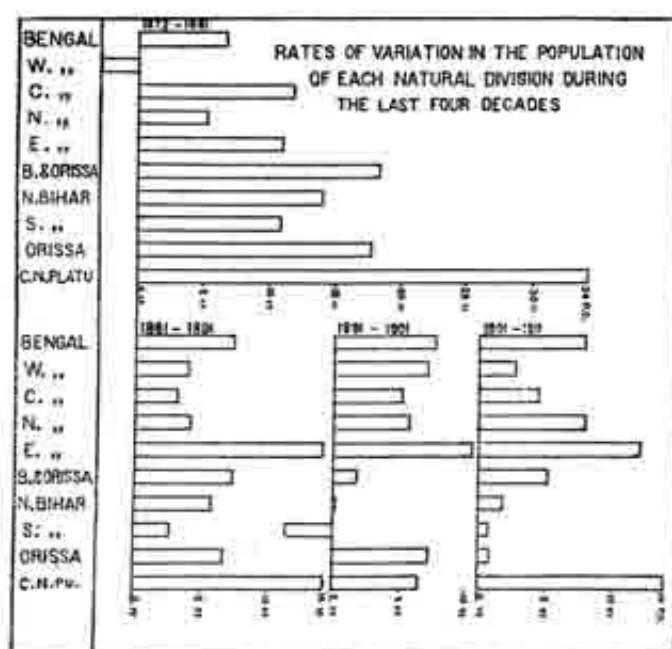
‡ I am indebted for knowledge of the above incident to a note by Captain F. C. Hirst.

142. The marginal table shows the population recorded at each census,

VARIATIONS SINCE 1872.			Percent- age of increase since previous census.
Year of census.		Population.	
Bengal	1872 ...	34,687,292	...
	1881 ...	37,014,989	6.7
	1891 ...	39,805,942	7.5
	1901 ...	42,881,776	7.7
	1911 ...	46,305,642	8.0
Bihar and Orissa	1872 ...	28,210,382	...
	1881 ...	33,398,931	18.4
	1891 ...	35,904,575	7.5
	1901 ...	36,557,257	1.8
	1911 ...	38,435,293	5.1

and the percentage of increase during each intercensal period. During the 39 years over which the census operations have extended, Bengal has added 11,618,350 persons or 33.5 per cent. to its population. At every census, except that of 1881, the rate of increase has been greatest in East Bengal—a rich and fertile region, which is now

more populous by 56.8 per cent. than it was in 1872. Both Central and North Bengal have added to their population at every census but the rates of increase since 1872 are less than half that returned for East Bengal. West Bengal, which has grown only by 11.3 per cent., has been the least progressive, owing partly to the decline between 1872 and 1881, when it suffered from the long continued visitation of Burdwan fever, and partly to the small increase (2.8 per cent.) registered in 1911.

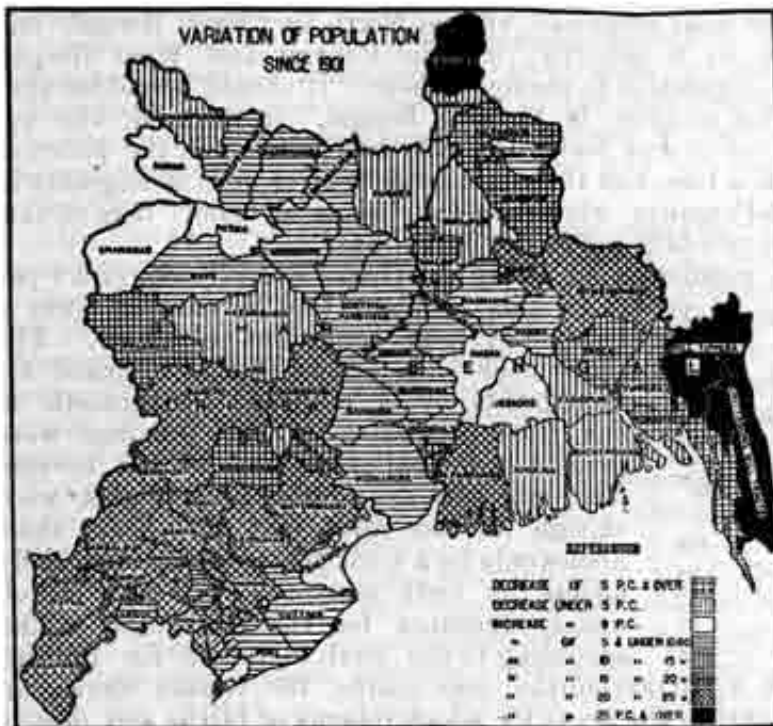


143. The population of Bihar and Orissa has grown by 36.2 per cent. since 1872, but part of

the increase is fictitious, i.e., it is the result of improved enumeration and not of natural growth. This has been especially the case in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where the census was defective, in a major degree in 1872, and in a minor degree at each subsequent census. Even allowing for this element of error, no part of the Province has developed so rapidly as this tract, which is peopled by hardy and prolific races, mostly of aboriginal descent, and in which there is room for expansion, large areas being available for reclamation and calling for cultivators. In North and South Bihar also the census of 1872 was wanting in accuracy and completeness, the result being that an increase of over 10 per cent. was returned for both divisions in 1881. The census of 1891 showed a growth of 5.9 per cent. in North Bihar and of 2.7 per cent. in South Bihar, but since then the former has been almost stationary, while the latter has yet not made good the loss of population which it sustained between 1891 and 1901. Orissa developed rapidly up to 1881, when it was recovering from the effects of the famine of 1866, and it continued to progress until 1901. It has now received a check, its rate of increment during the last decade being under 1 per cent.

144. Up to 1905 both the Provinces dealt with in this report formed part of one Province (Bengal), and when the census of 1911 was held, they were divided between the two Provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam.

The general rate of growth up to the latter year in the united Province of Bengal showed a progressive decline, viz., from 12 per cent. in 1881 to 7½ per cent. in 1891 and to 5 per cent. in 1901: this was undoubtedly due in part to the higher standard of accuracy attained at each successive census. The separation of the figures for the two new Provinces shows that there has been a steady but gradual advance in Bengal, the increase in the



percentage of growth being 1·3 per cent. (from 6·7 per cent. in 1881 to 8 per cent. in 1911). In Bihar and Orissa there was a continuous decline in the ratio till 1901, after which there was a sharp rise: in this latter Province the abrupt transition from the increase of 18·4 per cent. recorded in 1881 to that of 7·5 per cent. recorded in 1891 is due to the admitted incompleteness of the first census of 1872. The greater rapidity of growth shown by the present census cannot be connected with any improvement of the census-taking except in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, especially in the Orissa States. Here, there is reason to believe, the better organization effected under the control of the Political Agent resulted in the enumeration of persons who previously escaped the census, and it must therefore be held partly responsible for the high rate of increase recorded (19·6 per cent. as against 9·5 per cent. in 1901). In the case of Sikkim there is no doubt that part of the increase of 49 per cent. recorded at this census is due to improved organization. The census of this State is always a matter of difficulty owing to the nature of the country, its scattered population and the paucity of persons able to read and write. In 1901 an excellent scheme for the census was drawn up by Mr. Gait, then Census Superintendent of Bengal, but, for reasons which need not be discussed here, it was not given effect to. Except in a few bazars, houses were not numbered, and eventually two clerks had to be deputed to conduct the census of the entire population—a task which lasted ten weeks. At the present census, a scheme following the lines laid down in 1901, with some modifications suggested by further experience, was carried out successfully by the Political Officer.

145. The actual increase of population in Bengal since 1901 has been 3,423,866 or 6·7 per cent. Every natural division contributes to the increase, but in unequal shares, as shown in the margin. Immigration is partly responsible for the accretion. The immigrants from outside provinces outnumber the emigrants who have gone to other parts of India by a little over 1½ millions, the excess having increased considerably during the last decade. The main factor, however, is natural growth, and in different parts of the province this largely depends on the strength of Musalmans, who, as is well known, are more prolific than Hindus.

VARIATIONS SINCE 1901—BENGAL

DIVISION.	Increase per cent.	Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of births over deaths per milia.	Percentage of Musalmans.
Bengal	6·7	+ 4·8	52·3
West Bengal	3·8	+ 1·1	15·4
Central "	4·5	+ 0·5	49·1
North "	8·0	+ 5·00	59·5
East "	12·1	+ 9·50	67·3

The marginal table sufficiently shows how largely their preponderance affects the proportional growth of the population in each division. The increase is greatest where they are most numerous, viz., in North and East Bengal, and least where they are in a minority, viz., in Central and West Bengal, though the immigrant population is strongest there. It should be added that conditions are somewhat peculiar in Central Bengal. It contains the unhealthy districts of Jessore and Nadia, the only two districts in the province which have sustained a loss, and there is a large body of male immigrants in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas who leave their wives at home: it is on this account that the birth-rate falls below the death-rate.

The addition of population in Bihar and Orissa is 1,878,036, or 5.1 per cent. In this province the Musalmans form a small minority, and emigration is active. The number of emigrants to other provinces is in excess of that returned for

DIVISION.	Increase per cent.	Excess of births over deaths per mille.
Bihar and Orissa	5.1	5.2
North Bihar	1.9	2.1
South	0.7	1.5
Orissa	0.9	2.6
Chota Nagpur Plateau	14.0	9.1

immigrants by 1½ millions: one-thirtieth of the total population of the province were present in Bengal at the time of the census. The emigrants are mostly adult males, and, though for the most part they leave their homes only for a time, their absence materially affects the birth returns. It is this which mainly accounts for the fact that, while, according to the vital statistics for 1901-10 there was an excess of 1,910,000 births over deaths, the census shows an increase of only 1,240,000 in the areas for which returns of births and deaths were compiled. There has been a substantial increase only in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where it is due to natural growth among prolific aboriginals. In North Bihar there has been a slight advance, but South Bihar and Orissa are practically stationary. The slow rate of growth in these areas is the combined result of emigration, scarcity and epidemics of disease, notably plague, which has caused a mortality of half a million in Bihar. The conditions prevailing in each district and natural division will be discussed later, and here it may be stated that four districts have sustained a loss of population, viz., Saran, Patna, Shahabad and Monghyr.

146. In Bengal, where there had been a succession of somewhat unhealthy years at the end of the previous decade, there was an improvement in the general condition of the people up to 1904. The east of the Province was visited by heavy floods in 1905 and by widespread epidemics of cholera in the next two years. Crops were also short, and their partial failure accentuated the tendency to high prices. After 1907, however, there was again a series of healthy years. In Bihar and Orissa the first four years of the decade witnessed a period of fair agricultural prosperity: the number of births increased, while mortality gradually fell. The three years 1905 to 1908, however, were years of distress. The harvests were short and the price of food-grains ruled high: the decline of the birth-rate and the rise of mortality are symptomatic of the unfavourable conditions prevailing. In 1909, however, the outturn of the crops was excellent, prices fell and a marked improvement in the general health was apparent.

It is almost superfluous to add that conditions even in the same year are exceptionally diverse in different parts of the enormous area covered by the two Provinces. The same year may witness drought and excessive rainfall, a failure of the crops on one side and a full harvest on the other, a rapid extension of cultivation in one direction and the lapsing of well cultivated land into jungle in another. These features will be dealt with later in the sections given to each district.

147. The most prominent feature of the economic history of the last decade is the rise in prices which took place in 1906 and continued during the two succeeding years. While the average price of food varied little from the normal during the first half of the decade (1901 to 1905), it suddenly rose in 1906 in a marked degree, this rise becoming accentuated in 1907, till in August of that year the average price of rice was 58 per cent., and the maize 70 per cent. above the previous normal. The crops of 1907-08 being also

short, there was no appreciable reduction next year in the price of these cereals, the first of which is the great food-staple of Bengal, while the latter is consumed largely in Bihar. The rise of prices was not confined to these two Provinces, but was more or less general throughout India, and was due to common causes. It is not proposed to trespass into the region of economics by discussing these causes, but some of the contributory factors operating in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa may be mentioned, as illustrating the change of economic conditions in this part of India and the manner in which it has affected the people.

148. In the first place, there was a poor outturn of food-crops, and of rice in particular, for four successive years (1904-07), accompanied by a rapid advance in the price of jute. The area under jute expanded enormously, rice fields being given up to the cultivation of jute in many districts: it has been estimated that 40 crores of rupees were paid for the jute crop of one year (1906), and that of this sum $15\frac{1}{2}$ crores were clear profit. The shortage of the stocks of rice, combined with an increase in the buying powers of a large proportion of the cultivators, led to an unprecedented demand for the grain; and the high prices naturally induced those who had stores of rice to sell what they could, keeping only the minimum required to carry them on till the next harvest.

The enhancement of prices and the high level at which they stayed were partly also due to the action of dealers and merchants, who, with increased facilities for inter-communication, are now able to control the grain trade to an extent previously unknown. Much of the trade which used to be carried on locally between the actual cultivators and grain-dealers in local bazars, has now come under the control of large firms at the chief commercial centres. Their agents penetrate into rural tracts where they were unheard of 15 or 20 years ago, and buy up surplus stocks of grain before even dealers in the nearest towns can make a bid. Their operations are well described in the following extract:—

"In India the initial stage of 'cornering' is not ordinarily the result of the action of individuals, but of the elements, as represented by a deficient rainfall. This reduces the supply, and prices automatically rise, but the indications are that the prices to which food-stuffs have risen in certain years have not been raised entirely by the natural action of insufficient rain, or even by an inflation of the currency, but have been artificially raised, and this could only have been done by the action of dealers in food-grains. These men do not actually form a ring for cornering purposes, but they belong to the same caste in each of the different parts of the country, and act together apparently by instinct, and hold back their stocks, for the purpose of artificially raising prices, on the smallest encouragement, *i.e.*, the smallest shortage of grain. When normal conditions return, after having reaped a rich harvest, if money is at the same time plentiful, they can afford to hold back their stocks, partly with the object of maintaining high prices, and partly for speculative reasons, gambling for another year of scarcity, and they have been encouraged in this manœuvre by the many years of apparent slight scarcity during the past fourteen years. If successive years of plenty follow, they are forced to sell, and prices fall, but only slowly."

149. Generally speaking, the cultivators, who form the vast majority of the population, benefited by the high range of prices, but it must be remembered that with them an increased income does not always mean increased resources, but rather greater opportunities for unproductive expenditure, *e.g.*, on marriages and other social or religious ceremonies. The savings of years may in this way be spent in a single week. This is especially the case among the less highly developed races, such as the aboriginals of Chota Nagpur, who are improvident and thriftless. Living only for the present, they love to spend all that they get and never trouble to save. In Singhbhum, for instance, the Hos devote their surplus stores of rice to making rice-beer and consume them in drink; it is estimated that in the Kolhan a quarter of the rice crop is converted into liquor. In the Sonthal Parganas, again, the scarcity of 1908 coincided with an abnormal increase in the consumption of country spirit, the cultivators having obtained high prices for their lac.

The high range of prices had a very different effect on the non-agricultural sections of the community, and especially those members of

²F. J. Atkinson, *Rupce Prices in India, 1870 to 1908*, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, September 1909.

the middle classes who are dependent not on agriculture, commerce and industries, but on the fixed salaries which they obtain in clerical and professional employment. To them high prices meant straitened circumstances, if not actual privation. So much was this the case, that the Government instituted a system of "grain compensation allowances" in view of the diminution of their assets which the high prices of food entailed.

150 The landless labourers, formerly the most destitute of all, were not much affected. Those who were ready to travel could find ample employment in the coal-mines, mills, factories, etc., where wages have risen and are far higher than in rural areas. In the case of the coal-mines, for instance, it has been estimated that in the ten years ending in 1903 the wages of all classes of workers had been increased by about 50 per cent. "In the year 1894," writes the Chief Inspector of Mines, "the manager of a large colliery said that he took care that any miner who was willing to do a fair day's work should get not less than 4 annas per day, and that most of his work-people got one hot meal every day, as if these workers were exceptionally well off as compared with other miners. I believe that 4 annas a day was almost above the average wage at that time, but now it is not at all uncommon to be told that the miners earn 5 annas, 7 annas, and more than these amounts per day, that a miner and his wife earn Re. 1 per day between them, and so on. And the wages of other labourers have, consequently, risen accordingly."*

In districts where the wages of field-labour have not risen appreciably during the last ten years, the labourers should *a priori* have suffered from the pinch of high prices. In such districts, however, they are paid not in cash but in kind; and while the quantity of produce they receive remains unchanged, its value has increased. In other parts agricultural labour is paid in cash, but the labourers' wages have risen. In several Bengal districts, indeed, local labour has to be supplemented by the influx of immigrants from Bihar and Orissa, and the demand being in excess of the supply, wages are regulated thereby.

151. There appears to be no doubt that there has been a general rise in the standard of living of the present generation. Many things, which were formerly regarded as luxuries are now articles of ordinary use. Not the least significant change is the way in which rice is displacing coarser grains as a daily article of food, *e.g.*, the lowest classes in parts of Bihar and Chota Nagpur, who seldom had a meal of rice, are now able to indulge in it. There has at the same time been an undoubted improvement in the staying powers both of the small cultivators and the landless labourers, especially in North Bihar. In giving an account of the famine of 1873-74, which was most intense in the district of Tirhut (*i.e.*, the present districts of Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur), Sir A. P. (now Lord) Macdonnell stated that the raiyats were so impoverished, and so unable to bear up against the failure of a single season's crop, that one-third of the population was at one period in receipt of relief from the Government. In 1896-97, when the distress was at its highest, more than three-fifths of the persons in the Patna Division who were in receipt of relief belonged to the districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, but, instead of forming one-third of the population of those districts, they formed less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of it. The lapse of ten years has shewn a further improvement, for in the Darbhanga famine of 1906-07 the percentage of persons relieved to the population of the distressed area was only one-third of what it was in the previous famine, while the proportion was still smaller in the famine of 1908-09.

The change which has taken place must be mainly attributed to the greater mobility of labour, which again is the result of the extension of railway communications. When scarcity is felt, a larger proportion of the people leave the district and obtain labour elsewhere, remitting their savings home. The volume of emigration, in fact, corresponds to the state of the crops. If they are good, it diminishes; if there is a failure, it is larger and lasts longer. The one section of the community, which appears to be stationary, consists of the professional middle classes (*bhadralok*) of Bengal who do not engage in commerce or industries. They do not reduce their expenditure on the social and religious ceremonies

* Report of Chief Inspector of Mines for 1903.

incidental to their position, though the expense of maintaining that position has increased. At the same time their ranks are swelled, and competition is rendered keener year after year, by the growing number of recruits from schools and universities.

152. There was, as already stated, a large extension of the area under jute during the first part of the decade, and fears were at one time expressed that the area under food-crops was being reduced below the limit of safety. There appear to be no valid grounds for such fears, for the subsequent lowering of the price of jute resulted in the shrinkage of jute cultivation, and rice has partially regained the area which it lost. Even in the jute-growing districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur and Tippera the area under jute is still less than a third of that under rice. It has been proved, moreover, that rice and jute can be raised from the same land, provided that it is fertile enough; but it must be admitted that the ordinary cultivator is averse to such double cropping, as it involves continuous and somewhat exhausting labour.

There is no doubt as to the extension of rice cultivation to tracts where it was formerly unknown. In 1877 Sir William Hunter wrote in the Statistical Account of Bhagalpur:—“Throughout the south of Bihar, all along the hills from Rajmahal to where the Son river enters at the south-west corner of Shahabad district, the people are poor, and the country is barren and only just reclaimed from jungle. Rice has been comparatively recently introduced, and is still too scarce and dear to be the staple food of a people who had long been accustomed to support life on more hardy grains and on jungle produce, such as the fruit of the *mahua* tree.” In this area rice is now grown wherever irrigation is possible, and much has been done to extend irrigation. In Monghyr the Kharagpur reservoir alone has so greatly extended the area under cultivation that the rent-roll of the estate benefited by it has risen by 300 per cent. in 30 years.

Formerly the cultivator distributed his capital and labour far more equally between rice and other crops, such as oil-seeds, pulses, etc. Now, the good prices commanded by rice, and the facilities for export afforded by the railway, have led him to concentrate on rice. This is not an unmixed benefit, for rice is often grown on uplands imperfectly irrigated and unsuitable for its growth. Areas which used to produce millets and maize, on which the people subsisted, have been turned into rice-lands of which the outturn is often uncertain and precarious. Such cultivation is, in fact, speculative, the peasants abandoning the grains which form their daily food for the sake of the larger profits which rice yields.

153. Three districts were affected by famine during the decade, viz., Darbhanga, Ranchi and Puri. A number of other districts suffered from scarcity, which in places almost approached famine, but the cultivators, with improved resources, were able to tide over their difficulties with the aid of loans, and it was not necessary to declare famine. Such scarcity was most acute in Bankura, Nadia, Muzaffarpur, Sonthal Parganas, Bhagalpur, Cuttack, Balasore and Angul.

154. In Darbhanga the famine of 1906-07 affected an area of about 1,690 square miles, or one-half of the district, with a population of nearly 1½ million. The famine was primarily due, not as usual to drought, but to floods. In July 1906 the rivers debouching from the Himalayas overflowed their banks, causing considerable damage to the crops. The first flood had scarcely subsided, when it was followed by another of unprecedented height and duration. Almost the whole affected area was submerged for about a fortnight, the *bhadoi* crop being destroyed and the paddy seedlings swept away. By the time the water had subsided, it was too late to plant out fresh seedlings, except in the Madhubani subdivision, where, however, the crop suffered greatly from subsequent drought. In the end the *bhadoi* crop yielded only 12, and the winter rice 27 per cent. of the normal. *Rabi* crops were sown over a larger area than usual, but the prolonged drought which followed the floods, and heavy rainfall at harvest time, reduced their yield to barely half the average. The total outturn of crops for the year is estimated to have been barely one-third of the normal. The harvests of 1905-06, moreover, had been poor, the yield being only two-thirds of the normal. The result was widespread scarcity.

but it was acute enough to necessitate the declaration of famine only in five of the ten thanas of the district, viz., the Darbhanga, Bahera and Rosera thanas in the Sadar subdivision, the Warisnagar thana in the Samastipur subdivision and the Benipati thana in the Madhubani subdivision. Of these, the Rosera and Bahera thanas (in the south-east of the district, where the famine was especially severe) suffered most. The famine continued till August 1907, when a bumper *bhadoi* crop brought it to a close. Except during the first stage of the distress, i.e., immediately after the floods, the percentage of persons relieved to the population of the distressed area was only 2.66 per cent., their average daily number being 38,945.

155. The affected area had not fully recovered from the effects of this famine before it was visited by another, which was brought about by drought. Owing to the failure of the monsoon rains in 1908, the *bhadoi* crop had a very poor yield, and the winter rice crop, which is the mainstay of the people, was an almost total failure. There was scarcity, more or less acute, throughout the district, except in the Dalsinghsarai and Samastipur thanas. The failure of crops was most severe in the Sadar and Madhubani subdivisions, where famine was declared and relief operations had to be undertaken. In the Samastipur subdivision the only area where scarcity existed was the Warisnagar thana. This subdivision is a rich, fertile tract, with uplands suited to the cultivation of *bhadoi* and *rabi* crops, and is not dependent on winter rice like other parts of the district.

Distress was acute from February 1909 up to the end of May 1909, when it was mitigated by the commencement of the rains and the consequent resumption of agricultural operations. During these four months agricultural employment was almost entirely non-existent, except for a short time during the *rabi* harvest. This harvest, however, had little effect in relieving distress, as the crop was very poor for want of moisture. The most severely affected parts were the east portion of the Bahera thana, the Singhia out-post of Rosera, and portions of the Darbhanga, Phulparas and Benipati thanas. The average daily number of persons relieved (53,609) was greater than in 1906-07, but their proportion to the total population of the affected area was less and amounted only to 2.22 per cent.

156. In 1908 there was famine in Ranchi for the first time since 1900. After that year the crops were more or less normal until 1906-07, when there was a bumper crop, the bulk of which was exported owing to the enhanced demand caused by the failure of crops elsewhere. The famine was due to the early cessation of rain in 1907, and was intensified by the very large exports. The total rainfall was in excess of the normal, but it was very badly distributed. August was abnormally wet; the rainfall in September was quite up to the average in quantity, but the whole of it fell in the first few days, and, except for one or two slight local showers, there was no rain in the district after 9th September. The result was that the early rice suffered from damp, while the winter rice dried up owing to insufficient moisture. The oil-seed crops withered, and the *rabi* was a total failure.

The area in which famine had to be declared consisted of thanas Kurdeg, Kochedega, Chainpur, Bishenpur, Ghagra and Gumla (all in the Gumla subdivision), with an area of 2,261 square miles and a population of 237,238. Relief was also required in Sisai thana and a part of Sonahatu thana, while test-works were opened in Burmu and part of Tamar. The whole affected tract was 3,402 square miles with a population of 447,461. The distress varied from scarcity in Burmu to actual famine in Bishenpur, but in the area in which famine was declared the ratio of persons on relief works to the population affected was only 1.59 per cent. It would undoubtedly have been greater but for the exodus of able-bodied labourers. Instead of the emigration season closing as usual in April, it continued right through the hot weather and even into the rains, when, as a rule, cultivators are very unwilling to leave their fields. The mortality reached a high figure (46.5 per mille) owing mainly to severe epidemics of small-pox, fever and cholera, which were rife throughout the district. There were no deaths directly traceable to starvation or privation, but in consequence of high prices and general distress the people succumbed to disease more readily than would have been the case in an ordinary year.

157. In Puri there was famine, in 1908, in two separate tracts, of which the former consists of the islands and sea-face of the Chilka Lake in the south-west of the district, while the latter, which also borders on the sea, lies at the extreme north-east of the district. The former, which may be described as the Chilka tract, has an area of 143 square miles with a population of 25,038; the latter, which is known as the Marichpur tract, extends over 178 square miles with a population of 74,345. The Chilka tract, which has a sandy, salt-impregnated soil, is not subject to floods to any considerable extent, but it cannot withstand the effects of drought. It has only one crop viz., winter rice, which is very largely dependent on an adequate rainfall in September and October; and in 1907 there was almost an entire failure of this later rain. In the Marichpur tract conditions are somewhat similar, winter rice being the chief, and in some parts the only, crop, but unlike the Chilka tract, it is subject to inundation from the Devi and other rivers running through it. Here floods did great damage to the standing rice crop, and the failure of the September and October rains destroyed much of what the people were able to retransplant.

158. Fever is such an important factor in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, whether considered from a statistical, sociological or economic point of view, that a brief description of its distribution is required, especially as no comprehensive account of the liability of different parts of the two Provinces to fever has hitherto been published. Year by year it is silently and relentlessly at work. Plague slays its thousands, but fever its ten thousands. Not only does it diminish the population by death, but it reduces the vitality of the survivors, saps their vigour and fecundity, and either interrupts the even tenor, or hinders the development, of commerce and industry. "A leading cause of poverty—and of many other disagreeables in a great part of Bengal—is the prevalence of malaria. For a physical explanation of the Bengali lack of energy, malaria would count high."* The present account is brief and sketchy considering the complexity and intrinsic importance of the subject, but, owing to the necessary limitations imposed on a census report, more cannot be attempted.

159. The vast majority of deaths are returned under the generic head of fever, owing to the predilection of chaukidars for fever as the cause of death in any case not palpably due to cholera, small-pox or plague. Inquiries made by competent observers show, however, that the mortality actually due to malarial fever is very much smaller than would appear from the returns. A special investigation (referred to at greater length below), which was conducted for three years in a rural area of Burdwan, where over 70 per cent. of the deaths were ascribed to fever, proved that nearly half were due to other causes, chiefly respiratory diseases. Even worse results were obtained by an investigation into the actual causes of so-called fever deaths in a small Bengal town, where the standard of intelligence and efficiency should *a priori* be higher. In this town a Deputy Sanitary Commissioner went from house to house to verify the recorded deaths, and found that, out of twenty deaths, ascribed to fever, three only were due to malaria, and even these were doubtful. The diagnosis of the cause of death was, in the majority of cases, extraordinary. Three deaths were due to old age, dropsy or bronchitis. One was a case of convulsions, and another of septicæmia. Two deaths could not be traced, and in two other cases living persons were reported as dead.

160. The medical officers deputed to assist the Bengal Drainage Committee, during the special inquiry held in 1906-07, also made investigations into the actual causes of the deaths reported as due to fever. In Nadia they found that 40 per cent. of the cases investigated were due to malaria, acute or chronic, and the remaining 60 per cent. to bronchitis, pneumonia, phthisis, dysentery, diarrhoea, typhoid, Leishman-Donovan infection, and other causes. In Jessore they found that 35 per cent. were due to malaria, while phthisis was responsible for 9 per cent., and dysentery and diarrhoea for 11 per cent. A similar inquiry was held in the Dinajpur district in 1904, when it was found that less than one-third of the deaths classified as due to fever were actually caused by malaria. The general result of these different inquiries is to

* R. E. Vernede *An Ignorant in India*, 1911.

show that approximately one-third of the deaths imputed to fever are the direct result of malaria.

161. In many localities where malaria has long been prevalent and become endemic, it does not cause any exceptional mortality. In parts of the Tarai, in particular, the incidence of malaria is high, but the inhabitants, such as Tharus, Meches and Rajbansis, seem inured to it. Major A. B. Fry, I.M.S., Deputy Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal, writes that, on visiting malarious districts for the first time, he was struck by the well-developed and prosperous appearance of the inhabitants, even in the malarious villages. "Although with spleens large enough to reach the umbilicus, and with malarial parasites in their blood, and having attacks of fever frequently, the children as a whole looked quite fat and healthy, not particularly anæmic, and seemed little affected by the malaria and were playing about and seemed to enjoy life." In fact, though malaria prevents any large increase of population, it is not inconsistent with a small or moderate increase provided that other conditions are favourable.

It must, however, be remembered that malaria is the indirect cause of a large proportion of deaths owing to enfeeblement caused by its repeated attacks. Malaria, and the lowered vitality resulting from it, is a predisposing cause in both phthisis and dysentery, so that it is responsible, in part, for the prevalence of these diseases and for the mortality ascribed to them. There can, in any case, be little doubt as to the prejudicial effect of malaria on the birth-rate, both by causing abortion and still-birth, and also by diminishing the reproductive powers of persons whose systems are weakened by continual attacks. Further, as stated by a statistical authority, "from an economical point of view common sickness is more important than deaths, for it is the amount and duration of sickness rather than the mortality that tell on the prosperity of a community (Dr. Dickson)."

162. It is only recently that the various types of fever and their prevalence in different localities have been scientifically investigated. It has been shown conclusively that Central Bengal is subject to a bad type of malarial fever, where its prevalence is due to, or is facilitated by, two causes, viz., the water-logged state of the country and the insanitary condition of the villages. The general situation may be summed up in the words used by Captain Stewart and Lieutenant Proctor in their description of one typical district: "The excessive prevalence of malaria as a whole can be attributed directly to the great facilities afforded to the breeding of mosquitoes, chiefly by the presence in and around the villages of jungle, dirty tanks, ditches, marshes and casual water in every direction, and, to a lesser degree, to the *bills* and dead rivers acting in the same way in some cases. In its turn, the presence of so much water in the villages is due, in part, to the carelessness and ignorance of the inhabitants, and in part to the want of natural drainage in the country, owing to its position in a deltaic tract, where the process of land-building is still going on. The rivers are gradually heightening their banks and beds, until the drainage is away from instead of towards them. The subsoil water is unable to drain away rapidly, remains long at high level after the wet season, and prevents the soaking in of rain-water resulting in casual collections of water remaining for long periods in every hollow, natural and artificial. It is the combination of these two factors, the high subsoil water and the jungly and insanitary condition of the villages, that results in so high a malaria rate. The pits, hollows and jungle in the villages† would in themselves be insufficient to account for so great a prevalence of the disease, were they not combined with the lack of natural drainage, which allows the surface collections of water to remain for so long a time; and on the other hand, so far as our present knowledge goes, the high subsoil water has no connection with the disease except in so far as it is a cause of these surface collections of water. The silting up of the rivers is merely one sign of the

° A. Newsholme, *Vital Statistics* (1899), p. 38.

† Major A. B. Fry, I.M.S., to whom I am indebted for assistance in preparing this account of the localities affected by fever, writes:—"Tanks containing enough water to remain full all the year, contain enough fish to destroy all larvae, provided the latter are unprotected by excess of weeds. Clean tanks are larvæ-free..... The effect of jungle is variable, but I am convinced that the undoubted fact that jungly villages are more malarious is explained by the fact that jungle is a measure of the age of a village; the jungly villages are old villages with broken surface and foul soil. It is quite conceivable that a village situated within a solid unbroken circle of bamboo growth, with only a narrow exit and with tanks and water outside the ring, might be adequately guarded against mosquitoes and fever."

lack of natural drainage, and apart from that is not in itself a cause of malaria to any large extent."*

163. Conditions similar to those described above also exist in North Bengal and the alluvial tract of West Bengal, in both of which malaria is prevalent. In West Bengal it occurs not only in water-logged localities, but also on the dry uplands. The geological formation of the latter is favourable to the retention of water in places where the surface is uneven, for the soil has an impermeable stratum which prevents percolation. Here stagnant pools remain until a dry season comes in. The number of infected mosquitoes goes on increasing, and, *pari passu*, the number of infected people, the one reacting the other. The river districts of East Bengal, such as Dacca, Backergunge and Tippera, are the least malarious. "In these districts the rivers are open, tidal, and clean-banked. When the rivers silt up at the mouth, the district is at once changed in character, and will be found to be amongst the worst in the Province. Dinajpur, Jessore, part of the 24-Parganas, Faridpur and Nadia are examples of this class. In Faridpur these two conditions are seen within thirty miles of each other. The Bhushna thana is as malarious as any part of Bengal, while Palang and the *char* thanas are free from the scourge. Were it not for Bhushna and some of the western thanas, the death-rate from fever in Faridpur would be comparatively low. Jessore and Dinajpur are full of old water courses that have gradually silted up; the natural drainage of the district is upset, the subsoil water is phenomenally high, and the whole place is water-logged."† On the other hand, cholera is nearly always more prevalent in river districts than in drier areas. In the latter, epidemics rage sometimes with extraordinary virulence, but in the river districts cholera is almost an annual visitation. The explanation seems to be the practice of defecation on the banks of *khals* or rivers and the consequent pollution of the water. The severity of the disease depends on the rainfall and the quantity of water flowing in the rivers. When rainfall is short, the current slow, and the volume of water small, the disease is rife. When rainfall is heavy and there is a good flood, it is rare.

164. In Bihar the condition of most villages is probably more insanitary than in Central and North Bengal. They are mostly free from jungle, but they are congested and badly drained; the drinking-water supply is often neglected, measures being rarely taken to protect the wells and preserve their purity. The earth required for building the houses is dug up in their immediate vicinity, the excavations forming dirty pits, where water remains stagnant for a long time. Moreover, the cowsheds, as in Bengal, are close to the houses, and in them the mosquito finds a resting place undisturbed by smoke.‡ Most villages are surrounded by rice cultivation, this wet crop being grown almost up to the doors of the houses. In North Bihar many villages stand on the edge of large marshes. Extensive areas are swampy and liable to inundation from the rivers, which leave water lying over the country till November. The drainage, as in North Bengal, is obstructed by deserted or silted-up river channels.§ Conditions, however, vary even in the same district. The south of Champaran, a dry area, is practically free from malaria, but in the submontane swampy area to the north the people are fever-sodden. In the north of Bhagalpur malaria is rife; on the south bank of the Ganges in this district, and also in Patna and Monghyr, it is absent.

165. In the upland plateau of Chota Nagpur, where there is good natural drainage, where the soil is dry and porous, and where wet crops are not grown to such an extent as in Bengal and Bihar, malaria is far less common, but it is distinctly prevalent in the valleys. "In some of the shut-in valleys in this part of the Province it is possible to find places that are perfect death-traps. These are usually valleys with rich marshy soil and a slow stream wandering through them. Malarial infection is so rapid and so deadly, that inhabitants of the districts usually avoid these spots choosing

* Report of the Drainage Committee, Bengal, 1909.

† Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal, for 1904.

‡ The proximity of cowsheds to houses is an important factor in the propagation of malaria.

§ In Saran the country is so closely cultivated, that in some places the natural drainage channels have been brought under tillage.

the more healthy parts for locating their villages."* The villages at the foot of the *ghats* below the plateau or on the escarpments, and those actually on the edge of plateau, are also very malarious.

166. In Orissa most of the big villages have a main street, with houses in a row, which is kept clear of trees and jungle, but behind the houses, and on the outskirts of the village, conditions are similar to those obtaining in a typical Bengal village. The country is deltaic, rice cultivation is seen everywhere, and Cuttack is largely under irrigation from the canals. "One can," remarks Major A. B. Fry, I.M.S., "only suppose that the reason why the irrigated portions of this district are not heavily malarious is that the amount of existing infection has not reached a numerical value high enough to cause widespread epidemics. The supply of anophelines has certainly in many places reached the numerical value, and I shall not be surprised to find a heavy epidemic occurring in the near future."

167. Plague first appeared in Bengal in 1898, when there were two outbreaks, one in Calcutta and the other in Backergunge.† In the early part of 1899 it again visited Calcutta, and there were also outbreaks in ten rural districts. In the cold weather of 1900-01 the disease spread over a larger area. Since the last census it has established itself firmly in Bihar, coming and going with the seasons with wonderful regularity. It is most prevalent in the winter, practically disappears or remains dormant throughout the hot and rainy seasons, and reerudescs with the advent of the cold weather, attaining its greatest virulence in the first three months of the year. At first, the epidemic was confined to those parts where easy communication and grain markets existed, e.g., in Patna from 1900 to 1904 the tract along the East Indian Railway and the surroundings of Bihar were attacked every year, while the south-west of the district remained immune. The disease thrives in congested areas, and the people have recognized this by evacuating their houses and encamping in the open. This so far is practically the only measure they take to avoid attack, and inoculation has found little favour. The only district in which it has been resorted to on any extensive scale is Gaya, where 23,000 persons were inoculated by their own free will during the epidemic of 1900-1901. The success of inoculation in this district was due to the popularity of the Collector and the Civil Surgeon and to the confidence they inspired: in no other district has the same result been obtained.

1901	...	...	70,388
1902	...	...	25,369
1903	...	...	56,972
1904	...	...	70,450
1905	...	...	116,769
1906	...	...	56,708
1907	...	...	79,867
1908	...	...	14,105
1909	...	...	9,613
1910	...	...	45,309
Total	...	...	545,450

168. The marginal table shows the actual number of deaths recorded as due to plague during the ten years in the Province of Bihar and Orissa. The vast majority occurred in Bihar, for Chota Nagpur and Orissa have been almost immune from this scourge. The districts of Patna, Saran and Shahabad have suffered particularly severely, the ratio of plague deaths during the decade to the population of 1901 being 90, 80 and 30 per mille respectively.

The trading classes appear to have lost most heavily from plague. "It is not the trade itself but its environment that is responsible for the increased death-rate or for the immunity of those who engage in it. All shop-keepers, especially grain-dealers and Halwais or sweetmeat vendors, show a very great mortality from plague. It is almost always the village shop-keepers who are first attacked with plague: they usually introduce the disease, and they always suffer the most. These men have dark, rat-infested store-godowns. In Calcutta, Barh and many other towns it is the bania's quarter from which most deaths are

* Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal, for 1904.

† As the people of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa seem to think that plague is a new visitation, and that its causes are mysterious, I may be permitted to mention that a Muhammadan historian (Mu'tamad Khan) gives an account of an outbreak of plague in the Deccan in 1619, which clearly indicates the presence of the plague rat and also that the evacuation of houses was then, as now, the chief means of escape from attacks. "When it was about to break out, a mouse would rush out of its hole, and, striking itself against the door and the walls of the house, would expire. If, immediately after this signal, the occupants left the house and went away to the jungle, their lives were saved; if otherwise, the inhabitants of the whole village would be swept away by the hand of death. If any person touched the dead, or even the clothes of a dead man, he also could not survive the fatal contact."

returned. Unfortunately the raiyat's house is his grain-store as well as his abode; hence in the agricultural villages the conditions under which he and his family live are not very different from those of the city bania. Consequently, though not a shop-keeper, his family usually suffers severely. The men who have no such houses, such as Nats (gipsies) fishermen, herdsmen, almost entirely escape. Further, in rural areas, the death-rate is much greater amongst women and children than amongst men, the reason being that they are more at home.*

169. Epidemics of plague have been conspicuous by their absence in nearly all parts of Bengal, Calcutta being the only place in which there has been any considerable mortality. The immunity of Bengal is remarkable, because there is a constant influx of labourers coming from infected areas to seek employment in the fields, or on the railways, or in the mills and factories. The causes of this immunity were first pointed to, in 1906, by Major Clemesha, I.M.S., who remarked:—"A house so constructed as not to be suitable for rats to live in, and not containing any food to attract rodents, would probably remain non-infected unless a case of pneumonic plague was placed in it. There is the greatest difference between the Bihar and purely Bengali villages. In Bihar the mud houses are closely packed together, so as to utilise every available inch of ground. There are no streets, narrow passages between the walls only remaining. The village is compact; it may consist of several *tolas* or hamlets separated by a considerable distance, but each such *tola* is a compact, overcrowded unit. In Bengal exactly the opposite tendency prevails. Villages are long straggling lines of houses built on the highest part of the land to be above flood level. Usually each house is buried in a thicket of bamboos and rank vegetation, having its own compound, and the individual houses being often some distance apart. Undoubtedly, the Bihar village is the ideal type for plague to flourish in. It is certainly infested with rats. Conversely, it would appear that the Bengali village is not a suitable location for the virus. Plague has fairly frequently been introduced into such a village, but it has not spread to more than the members of the household. To-day, practically all Eastern Bengal is free from the disease. I am not able to say definitely as to whether this type of village contains less rats than the Bihar variety, but I am inclined to think that this is the case. It is, however, certain that there is comparatively little overcrowding: the houses are much better ventilated and lighted, and are made of a material which allows rapid exchange of air. I am inclined to the view that these conditions and the possible scarcity of rodents have a considerable influence in rendering these districts unsuitable as a habitat for the plague virus. With most of these districts there is considerable communication with Calcutta, and yet it is only in Bihar and in cities that plague has obtained a foothold.†"

170. Further inquiries have established the fact that the immunity of Bengal, and particularly of Eastern Bengal, is due to the scarcity of plague rats, which again is a consequence of the structure of the houses and the habits of the people. The results of these inquiries are summarized as follows:—

(1) Eastern Bengal has suffered very little from bubonic plague; a few epidemics only of pneumonic plague have occurred. (2) The physical features of the country protect it, to some extent, from the importation of infection and would tend to limit the opportunities for spreading the disease if it once broke out. (3) The freedom from plague can chiefly be attributed to the scarcity of rats in the houses as compared with other parts of India. (4) *Mus rattus* is comparatively rare in Bengali houses, because of the habits of the people, in respect of their greater regard for neatness and tidiness, both in and around their dwellings, which diminishes the food supply of the rodents. (5) The structure and design of the Bengali home, whether it be of the solid masonry type on the one hand or of the flimsy matting or grass type on the other, afford little shelter for rats. (6) The presence of natural enemies of *Mus rattus*, such as the musk rat, may assist in maintaining a low rat infestation of the houses.‡

Commenting on these conclusions, the Editor of the *Indian Medical Gazette* remarks:—"The writer gives a very favourable account of the neatness

* Major W. W. Clemesha, I.M.S., *An Account of Plague in Bengal*, Indian Medical Gazette, Volume XLI, 1906.

† The Journal of Hygiene, Plague Supplement I, p. 192 (Dec. 1911).

‡ *An Account of Plague in Bengal*, Indian Medical Gazette, Volume XLI, 1905.

and tidiness of the houses of Eastern Bengalis as compared with those of the inhabitants of other parts of India, and while these habits of tidiness help to keep away the rats, the construction of the houses does even more. When the houses are *mucka*, i.e., built of brick and mortar, the walls naturally afford little harbourage for rats, and the *kutchas* houses of thin bamboo matting or wattle, with a roof of corrugated iron, split bamboo or thin thatch, gives even less shelter to these rodents. The country-tiled roofs, which are so infested with rats up-country, are not seen in Eastern Bengal. In fact, the rat is a domestic animal in the thick mud-walled houses necessary to protect against heat and cold in Upper India, while in Eastern Bengal he finds but few places to live in and, in fact, is not a domestic animal.*

171. The principal irrigation works in the two Provinces are the Son, Orissa and Midnapore canals. The average area (in square miles) irrigated in each of the decades ending in 1890, 1900 and 1910 was as shown in the margin. During the last

CANALS.	DECADES ENDING IN—		
	1890.	1900.	1910.
Son ...	447	843	849
Orissa ...	172	256	378
Midnapore ...	128	112	119

decade the Dhaka canal, a small work in the Champaran district, was completed, being first used for irrigation in 1905. The Tribeni canal in the same district is under construction and has been partially completed. The Son Canals irrigate the greater part of the district of Shahabad and small portions of Gaya and Patna. After their introduction in Shahabad a large area of waste land was brought under the plough, and the cultivation both of rice and sugarcane rapidly increased: the area under rice is now 50 per cent. more than it was before the construction of the canals. In Gaya the canals, which irrigate the two thanas of Daudnagar and Arwal, have turned neglected waste into fertile fields. Speaking of Daudnagar in 1812, Buchanan Hamilton remarked:—"Some of the best land even is neglected, and is chiefly occupied by poor-looking woods of the *valas* (*Butea frondosa*)."¹ His description of the country round Arwal is equally depressing, for he observed:—"A great portion is neglected, and, where the soil is poor, is chiefly over-grown with thorns of the stunted *naiab*. Where the waste land is rich, it is over-grown with harsh long grass." The appearance of this tract is now very different, as it includes some of the best rice-growing land in the district. Since 1872, Daudnagar has added nearly 45 per cent. and Arwal 33 per cent. to its numbers.

172. In Shahabad also there was a large increase of population in the irrigated areas up to 1891, but the census statistics of the last 20 years do not show any general correlation between growth of population and the benefits of canal irrigation. In fact, throughout the northern thanas

THANA.	Percentage of area under irrigation in 1910.	DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE			
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
(1) Shahpur ...	22	825	730	790	777
(2) Iiro ...	27	824	661	843	541
(3) Buxar ...	25	473	467	504	526
(4) Dumraon ...	22	661	735	769	749
(5) Bikhramnagar ...	24	525	504	497	490
(6) Dehri ...	21	546	537	496	466
(7) Karganar ...	14	376	365	391	393

(numbered 1—4 in the marginal statement) there has been a serious decline since 1891, whereas in the central thanas (numbered 5—7) the pressure on the soil has been increasing. There is a general belief locally that since the construction of the canals malarial fever has spread and increased in intensity. That this belief is well founded may be gathered from the finding of the Committee appointed to enquire into the administration of the Son Canals. "It is," they remarked, "a matter of notoriety that Shahabad was formerly one of the healthiest districts in Bengal. It was not free from fever by any means, but it was less malarious than other districts. There can be no doubt that it does not now enjoy this comparative exemption from malaria. Fever now appears to be more common in all the Bihar districts than it formerly was, but nowhere is the increase greater and more marked than in Shahabad. This change is attributed partly to the dampness of the subsoil occasioned by irrigation, and partly to the obstruction of drainage occasioned by the canal embankments. It is an obvious conclusion to connect increased malaria with increased dampness. The change, moreover, cannot be attributed to any other cause with any show of reason.

* *An Account of Plague in Bengal*, Indian Medical Gazette, Volume XLI, 1906.

We think that, in the districts irrigated by the Son, the complaints of injury to health are well founded, and that the tracts so irrigated suffer now more severely than other tracts which are not commanded by canal water.*

On the other hand, the census returns for the last twenty years show that, of the three thanas where most land is under canal irrigation, Bikramganj and Dehri have a substantial increase, while in the third (Piro) the decrease is very small. The explanation of the results of these twenty years must be sought elsewhere. It appears to be simply that the thanas in which there has been the greatest loss (all of which lie along the banks of the Ganges and are traversed by the railway) have suffered severely from plague and that this scourge has not affected those further inland and away from the railway.

173. In Cuttack, which is served by the Orissa canal system, the inquiries made during the settlement show that the increase of cultivation in irrigated lands is no greater than in non-irrigated lands. "All the inquiries made have failed to elicit any evidence of a substantial extension of cultivation to lands which but for the canal water were not likely to have been reclaimed."† The canals have, however, given a large area immunity both from famine and flood. The canal embankments protect nearly 550,000 acres, where every year the inhabitants used to be kept on the alert, for two or three days at a time, waiting for a signal to fly to the highest ground available, and were obliged to see their houses washed down on all sides without having any power to save them. As regards famine, it will be sufficient to

refer to the terrible famine of 1866, when the mortality was estimated at one-fifth to one-fourth of the population, and to quote the conclusion of the Indian Irrigation Commission that now few parts of India are more secure from such visitations. The marginal statement shows the increase in density since

THANA.	Percentage of area under irrigation in 1910.	DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE.			
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
Jagatsinghpur ...	21	770	764	725	695
Tirtol ...	9	470	461	432	426
Salepur ...	31	963	899	802	674
Kendrapara ...	18	832	771	714	650

1881 in the thanas where over 5 per cent. of the area is under canal irrigation.

174. Three large schemes, designed for the drainage and consequent reclamation of swampy areas, have been carried out in Bengal. Two of these schemes, viz., the

DRAINAGE SCHEMES.

Howrah and Rajapur schemes, which drain an area of 50 and 270 square miles respectively, benefit the district of Howrah: the former was completed in 1885 and the latter in 1894-95. The third, which was brought into operation in 1873, consists of the Dankuni drainage works in the Hooghly district. These schemes have proved very successful in reclaiming useless swamps and improving other lands. In years of heavy rainfall the surplus water is drained away by means of channels and sluices; in years of drought water from the Hooghly is let in for the purposes of irrigation. The people are thus assured of good harvests both in years of drought and in years of heavy rainfall. Two thanas have been especially benefited by these schemes, viz., Dumjor, where the population has increased 33 per cent. since 1891, and Jagatballabhpur, where the increase amounts to 17 per cent. In Amta, where there is waterlogging similar to that which used to prevail in these two thanas, the increase has been only 9 per cent., though it has been opened up by the Howrah-Amta Light Railway.

175. The most important drainage scheme in progress during the decade was the Magra Hat scheme, which is designed for the drainage of a marshy tract extending over 290 square miles in the south of the 24-Parganas. The conditions which formerly existed in this tract may be realized from a description written 30 years ago. Fever was constantly present in every village; other diseases found a congenial home; the productiveness of the land was only a fraction of what it should be. The inhabitants, it was said, might be regarded as "inured to a semi-amphibious life by a long course of preparation resulting in the survival of the fittest." This state of affairs is becoming a thing of the past, even though the scheme has not yet been fully

* Report, 1888, pp. 27-28.

† S. L. Maddox, Orissa Settlement Report.

completed. Its effect is already shewn in the census returns for villages situated in the affected tract. The population of these villages was 272,734 in 1901, but has now risen to 352,702, the rate of increase being 29 per cent., which is far in advance of the general rate of growth for the district, in spite of the fact that this tract contains an agricultural population, whereas others are industrial centres. In the same district the construction of a sluice in the neighbourhood of Diamond Harbour has already had remarkable effects, though it was only completed in 1909. Prior to its construction there were 100 square miles of swampy or waste land; now this area is covered with rice cultivation, the annual value of which is nearly 38½ lakhs of rupees, while the value to the tenantry of one year's crops only is estimated as approximately twice the actual cost of the scheme.

176. There have been large extensions of railway communications in both Provinces during the decade. The Eastern Bengal

RAILWAYS.

State Railway has completed a line from Kaunia to Dhubri and Gauhati, and thus brought the Assam Valley within easy reach of Calcutta and Bihar. The extension of the Bengal and North-Western Railway from Hajipur to Katihar and the linking up of Katihar with Godagari by the Eastern Bengal State Railway have furnished a through route across the North Gangetic districts, stimulating emigration from Bihar to Bengal and Assam. The Assam-Bengal Railway has completed communication through the hill section of the line between Chandpur and Dibrugarh, thus opening up a new route to the tea-gardens of the Assam and Surma Valleys, which is much quicker and easier than the old river routes. Lines have also been made to Noakhali and Ashuganj on the Meghna, and from Kaunia to Bogra on the Eastern Bengal State Railway. The increase in the mileage of railways in this part of Bengal has not resulted in a decrease in steamer traffic; on the contrary, the facilities afforded by the steamers have been increased considerably, and they now penetrate the recesses of the delta more extensively than they used to do. In West Bengal the East Indian Railway has constructed a line from Ondal to Sainthia, which passes through the centre of Birbhum and connects the Sadar station (Suri) with the Chord Line at Ondal on one side and with the Loop Line at Sainthia on the other. In Central Bengal the Murshidabad-Ranaghat branch has been added to the Eastern Bengal State Railway system: it takes off from the main line at Ranaghat in Nadia and runs through that district to Lalgola Ghat on the Ganges in the extreme north of Murshidabad.

177. In Bihar and Orissa the Grand Chord line, traversing the districts of Manbhum, Hazaribagh, Gaya and Shahabad, was opened in 1906, and the Purulia-Ranchi line, a light railway connecting Ranchi with Purulia on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, in 1907. In the latter year also, the Midnapore-Bhojudih-Gomoh section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the districts of Manbhum, Bankura and Midnapore was opened to traffic. This line completed the through connection, east and west, of the Manbhum colliery area, and also opened up the district of Bankura, which till then was not served by a railway. Further west the Barun-Daltonganj branch of the East Indian Railway has given Palamau connection with the main line and afforded its coalfields access to the north-west. North of the Ganges the most important new line is the Hajipur-Katihar extension of the Bengal and North-Western Railway along the left bank of the Ganges. Its value to North Bihar can hardly be exaggerated, as it traverses the districts of Purnea, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Darbhanga and Saran, and has branches to the Ganges opposite Bhagalpur and Monghyr. Another extension of the same railway is the Mansi-Bhaptiahi line, which runs from Mansi near the Ganges to Bhaptiahi near the Nepal frontier. This line connects Bhagalpur city with the Supaul and Madhipura subdivisions, and in Monghyr provides direct communication across a tract seamed with rivers and channels, where traffic by road used to be most difficult.

Three light railways have also been opened. In Patna a light railway was built from Bakhtiyarpur to Bihar, which was extended to Silao in 1909. In 1905 a line from Barasat to Basirhat in the 24-Parganas was opened, and in the same year the Mayurbhanj light railway, which connects Baripada, the headquarters of the Mayurbhanj State, with Rupsa on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway.

178. The value of new lines of railway to the tracts which they traverse, in affording an outlet for their produce and also to their surplus labour, needs no explanation; but, as pointed out in the Census Report of 1901—"It does not follow that this benefit will be reflected by an immediate growth of the population. Very frequently the tendency is the other way. The cultivator benefits by the rise in prices, but there is no waste land available for new settlers, while on the other hand the landless labourer is enabled to move more easily and for shorter periods to places where there is a greater demand for his services." These remarks are very fully confirmed by the results of this census, which show that the effect of a new line of railway is to relieve congestion in populous districts rather than to attract permanent settlers to undeveloped tracts. In the densely populated district of Cuttack, in which railway facilities have recently been introduced, the number of immigrants has not increased, whereas the number of emigrants has increased by over 50 per cent. In Ranchi, again, where the railway is only a few years old, the number of emigrants has already so far increased that they represent 20 per cent. of the number born in the district.

179. Sometimes the construction of railways appears to be, actually or potentially, prejudicial to the health of the people, owing to the facilities which they afford for the introduction or dissemination of disease. Their function is that of carriers, and they carry disease as well as goods. This seems to be especially the case with plague, a contributory cause, no doubt, being that grain godowns, infested by plague rats, are naturally most common in the towns or stations situated along the railway. In twelve towns, for instance, situated on the railway in Bihar (which are also along or within a few miles of the Ganges), we find that since 1901 there have been 60,000 deaths from plague, representing one-eighth of the population of that year.* On the other hand, the districts of Orissa and West Bengal (such as Bankura and Midnapore) have benefited by the railway taking pilgrims, who previously plodded wearily on foot to and from the shrine of Jagannath at Puri, and spread cholera in all directions along their line of march. There is also a potential source of danger in the form of 'borrow pits,' from which earth is excavated for railway embankments. They are not continuous but separated from each other by intervening banks of earth. In the rains they form stagnant ponds, from which water cannot drain away and in which the fever mosquito breeds and multiplies.† So far there is ground for the common, though vague, belief of the people that fever is connected with the railway, but, on the other hand, where such embankments exist, fever is as prevalent in tracts far removed from the railway as it is near the line.

180. Railway embankments may also obstruct the drainage of the country. The Indian Railway Act (section 11) requires railway administrations to provide waterways sufficient to enable the water to drain off the land near or affected by the railway as rapidly as before its construction, but it is open to question whether it is physically possible to do so, and there is no doubt that in areas liable to inundation, the embankment does frequently alter the drainage of the country. On one side the floods are deeper and last longer than before, and the soil becomes waterlogged; on

* Cf. the following remarks in the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society for February 1912 (page 348)—"Two further Reports by Mr. M. Greenwood, Jun., on the Statistical Investigation of Plague in the Punjab, are published in a supplementary number of the *Journal of Hygiene* (December, 1911). The first deals with the relation between the proximity of villages to railways and the relative frequency of epidemics. Comparing villages in the whole of the Amritsar district with those within two miles of the railways, it was evident that the latter were the more frequently infected. But villages near the railway are, on the whole, the larger villages, and a large village is, *ipso facto*, the more likely to be infected. Correction being made for size, it appears that proximity to the railway still remains as an effective factor, leading to an increase of plague owing to the increased personal communication between villages and centres of constant infection."

† The following remarks recorded by the Sanitary Commissioner in his Annual Report for 1904 apply *mutatis mutandis* to railway embankments. "The question of constructing roads is in certain districts a matter of the greatest importance and one that is constantly neglected. In districts, like Backergunge, where all roads have to be raised, the greatest possible care should be taken in obtaining earth for this purpose. All borrow pits should be made in the form of a ditch and should open into a *khāl*. All earth should be taken from one side of the road only. If this were done, the result would be a channel useful as a waterway for small boats. It would be scoured out at each tide, and thus could not possibly be a breeding place of mosquitoes, while it would be very beneficial to the drainage of the country. A series of stagnant pools covered with weeds, as one only too frequently sees, is a standing danger to health."

the other, the land does not receive the same amount of moisture or the same fertilizing deposit of silt. The resultant advantages and disadvantages may, however, counterbalance one another. In the former area the cultivators may merely lose 'catch crops'; in the latter they may be benefited by protection from floods.*

181. Since the last decade there has been a revival of the small industries of Bengal owing to the Swadeshi movement, i.e., a movement aiming at the resuscitation of dead or dying indigenous industries, the development of such as have maintained their vitality, and the initiation of new forms of industrial enterprise, directed and managed by Indians and employing Indian labour. Its effect has been principally to enable weavers to regain some of the ground which they had lost owing to the produce of their looms being driven out of the market by cheaper machine-made goods. Interest in the movement has fallen off lately, but for some years it had a stimulating effect, as may be realized from the remarks recorded in 1907 by the Magistrate of Hooghly: "It appears that while formerly the weavers had to take advances from the middlemen and were always more or less indebted to the latter, they are now very much better off, and if anything, the middlemen are sometimes indebted to them. I was told the other day by the President of the Dwarhatta Union that a young widow of the weaver caste, who would formerly have in all possibility suffered great privation, was now earning Rs. 16 or 17 a month and maintaining herself and her younger brother and sister in some comfort. In Dhaniakhali I was told that a weaver earns about Rs. 20 a month, and the Subdivisional Officer of Serampore reported that a weaver there earns Rs. 25 a month. A large dealer in Dhaniakhali was complaining that he was doing less business now than before, because now dealers from Chandernagore and elsewhere are coming to the villages, whereas formerly he and a few others had a sort of monopoly." The Swadeshi movement has also been instrumental in the starting of a number of small factories in the metropolitan districts for the manufacture of such articles as soap, ink, pencils, tin boxes, steel trunks, combs, buttons etc., but it has not made much headway as regards large manufactures employing mechanical power. Joint-stock companies have been started, but few have had any real vitality, and nearly all the important industrial concerns are still chiefly under European supervision and supported by European capital. There is one notable exception in the case of the Tata Iron and Steel Works, recently established at Sakchi in Singhbhum, which owe their creation to the enterprise of Messrs. Tata, but in this case also the management consists of Europeans and Americans.

182. The decade has witnessed a most remarkable development of coal mining, as may be realized from the marginal statement. Coal mining in Bengal is now nearly a century old, but in spite of the natural advantages conferred by the geographical position of the coal-fields and easy mining conditions, its true development has only taken place during the last 20 years, progress being most rapid in the last ten. The output of coal in 1910 was 95 per cent. of the total production of India, and nearly all of it was raised from the Raniganj coal-field in the districts of Burdwan and Manbhum and the Jheria coal-field in Manbhum. The latter has developed most rapidly and produces more coal than any other field; the labour force in Manbhum has grown accordingly, for whereas

YEAR.	NUMBER OF—		Output in tons.
	Mines.	Workers.	
1901	292	79,632	3,702,874
1910	416	98,264	10,777,306

there were 157 mines with 32,194 workers in 1901, the number of the former rose in 1910 to 232 and of the latter to 56,179. The only other coal-fields of any importance are the Giridih field in Hazaribagh, with 10 collieries and an output of 674,000 tons (in 1910), and the Daltonganj coal-field in Palamau with one mine from which 85,000 tons were raised. The history of the industry during the decade was somewhat chequered owing to a boom and a subsequent slump. The boom culminated in 1908, when the output was over 11½ million tons, the maximum ever reached; next year the trade received a decided set-back, the demand being no longer equal to the supply. The value

* See Monghyr District Gazetteer, pages 116, 117, 119-121. Bhagalpur District Gazetteer, pages 132, 133, and Purnea District Gazetteer, page 105.

of coal properties shrunk enormously, but the Chief Inspector of Mines pointed out—"In spite of the slump in values, the industry to-day is probably in a healthier condition than it was two years ago; the fever has departed; many weak members, which should never have been allowed to grow, have been excised, and, with normal conditions, a steady and profitable future is bound to supervene."^{*} At present the mining is easy, for most of the coal is raised from inclines driven into the outcrops of the seams, and the majority of the mines are at depths varying from a few feet to 350 feet.

183. Mica mining has also developed, though not so rapidly, the number of mines rising from 18 in 1901 to 168 in 1910 and the number of workers from 6,254 to 10,581.

OTHER MINES.

Slate is quarried on a small scale in Monghyr, and copper is raised in Singhbhum. There are also iron workings in the latter district, from which 17,646 tons were raised in 1910.

184. The development of other large industries, which was so marked a feature of the economic history of the last decade, has continued. The marginal table will

sufficiently illustrate the expansion of jute manufacture, and it need merely be added that the capital invested in the mills is £13,000,000, that the wages paid to the 200,000 employés are 4 crores per annum and the annual value of the products is 25 to 30 crores. The number of cotton mills has risen in the decade from 10

to 15, and the average number of operatives from 8,000 to over 11,500, while in 1910-11 the number of other factories in Bengal as then constituted was 184, with an average daily labour force of 84,657.† Of the latter 21,914 persons were employed in 10 railway workshops, 9,850 in 36 jute presses, 8,288 in 9 dock-yards, 7,232 in 4 arms and ammunition factories, and 5,310 in engineering workshops.

185. Nowhere has there been a greater outburst of manufacturing and industrial activity than in the 24-Parganas, where the number of factories rose from 74 to 124 between 1901 and 1911 and the number of operatives from 94,186 to 169,310.

TOWNS.	INCREASE OF POPULATION, 1901-1911.		INCREASE OF OPERATIVES, 1901-1910.	
	Actual.	Per cent.	Actual.	Per cent.
Bhatpara
Nalhati
Haldia
Titagarh

The mill towns along the banks of the Hooghly show a most extraordinary growth of population, which is accounted for by the influx of labourers, as illustrated in the marginal table. The character of the population has changed so greatly owing to this influx, that some mill towns are now practically foreign towns planted in the midst of Bengal.

In Bhatpara four persons speak Hindi to each person speaking Bengali: in Titagarh 75 per cent speak Hindi, 8 per cent. Telugu, and 4 per cent Oriya, while 11 per cent. only speak Bengali.‡

186. The present system of reporting births and deaths and compiling vital statistics from the returns is of recent origin, having been introduced in 1892. Births and deaths in towns had, it is true, been registered since 1873, but in rural areas deaths alone were registered. Under the present system, compulsory registration is in force in the towns, *i.e.* parents, guardians or the persons directly concerned are required to report births and deaths to the town police. In rural areas each *chaukidar* or village watchman is provided with a pocket

^{*} Report of Chief Inspector of Mines in India for 1909.

† There was 1 cotton mill in Eastern Bengal and Assam with 285 operatives, and 115 other factories employing, on the average, 11,875 operatives daily.

‡ The existence of a large new colony of Madras in Titagarh came to light in a curious way in the course of compilation. In the tickets for Table XIII for that town there were over 3,000 entries of Dounguli, *i.e.* two-fingered. This seemed at first inexplicable, but one of the tickets gave a clue, as Madras was entered after Dounguli. The tickets for Tables X and XI were then compared. The former contained over 3,000 entries of Telugu and the latter a corresponding number of entries of Ganjam and Vizagapatam as the birthplace. Investigation showed that the caste was Devanguli or Devanga, a common Madras weaving caste. It may be added that in 1901 the number of persons born in Madras and enumerated in the whole district (24-Parganas) was only 618, and the number of Telugu speakers 294.

book, in which he is required to have all births and deaths that may occur within his jurisdiction recorded by himself or the village *panchayat*; these are reported on parade days at the police stations and outposts, which are the registering centres. The statistics thus obtained are compiled by the police, and submitted monthly to the Civil Surgeon, who prepares returns for the whole district for inclusion in the annual report of the Sanitary Commissioner. The statistics are checked from time to time by Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Vaccination, and the *chaukidars* punished, if necessary, for neglecting to report properly. In the towns, the higher level of intelligence and the fear of legal penalties tend to make registration and the classification of diseases more accurate than in the rural tracts. In the latter the reporting *chaukidar* is generally illiterate, and vital registration is less correct, the chief defects being the registration of still births and the omission of actual births in outlying villages and among the lower castes.

187. In addition to the periodical checks above mentioned, a special inquiry was held between August 1906 and July 1909 in order to ascertain, by way of test experiment, how far births and deaths in rural areas are correctly registered. The area selected was a portion of thana Galsi in the district of Burdwan, containing a population of about 53,000 persons. This area was divided into three sections, each of which was under the charge of a medical officer. The reports of births and deaths as registered by the *chaukidars* were obtained every week. Inquiries were then made in the villages to verify their reports, and also to ascertain locally if any births and deaths remained unregistered. A special local inquiry was also made in each case of death, either recorded or unrecorded in the thana register, to determine its probable cause. At the commencement of each year's operation a rough census of the population under observation was taken with the object of checking the work done. During the three years over which the enquiry extended, the number of births and deaths that actually occurred was 4,670 and 6,910, respectively, as against 4,690 and 6,917 entered in the thana register. There was thus an excess of 20 births, which was due to the inclusion in the birth returns of 2 cases of abortion and 26 cases of still-births, to the double registration of 3 births, and to failure to report 11 actual births. In the case of deaths there was an excess of 7 only, due to the erroneous inclusion of 3 cases of abortion, 23 cases of still-birth and one death that occurred before the enquiry began, and to the omission of 20 deaths that actually occurred.

188. This enquiry shows that the vital statistics as at present collected and compiled are vitiated mainly by errors regarding still-births and, in a minor degree, by the omission of births and deaths, but that the net difference between the number of vital occurrences and the number registered is very small: the latter is in excess by 4 per mille in the case of births and one per mille in the case of deaths. The number of births that escaped registration was only 2 per mille of the total number, the corresponding ratio for deaths being 3 per mille. There was considerable variation in the manner of registering still-born infants. Altogether, 53 cases of still-birth were reported, of which 23 were recorded as deaths and 26 as births, while the remaining four were correctly recorded as still-births. The medical officers, however, found that there were 34 cases of still-births which were not recorded at all, 22 being males and 12 females. The effect of still-born infants being erroneously included in the birth returns is to produce an infinitesimal excess of males, for the proportion of males among still-births is always high:—it varies according to the figures given by Darwin from 135 to 150 males per 100 females* and in the 34 cases reported by the medical officers the ratio per 100 females was as high as 183. The proportion of still-births actually registered as births to the total number of births that occurred was, however, under 6 per mille, and it is doubtful therefore whether the excess of males due to this error is more than 4 per mille.

189. If the results of this enquiry could be regarded as typical, the vital statistics could be accepted with some confidence, but it may be taken for granted that, while the inquiry lasted, the *chaukidars* felt that they were on their trial and took trouble to report every birth or death of which they

* *Descent of Man*, 2nd edition, p. 243.

had cognizance. Further, the testing conducted annually by the Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Vaccination shows that the reporting is still incomplete in some districts. The maximum in the case of deaths (21 per cent.) was recorded by Shahabad* in 1904 and in the case of births (12) by Rajshahi

YEAR.	PERCENTAGE OF OMISSIONS.	
	Births.	Deaths.
1901	1.72	0.99
1902	0.95	0.66
1903	0.90	0.82
1904	0.91	0.81
1905	0.87	0.78
1906	0.86	0.61
1907	0.83	0.67
1908	0.82	0.36
1909	0.74	0.39
1910	0.45	0.29

in 1903; the worst district record in a single year for births and deaths was 9 per cent. Such bad results, however, are exceptional. The returns (given in the margin) showing the percentage of unreported births and deaths in Bengal that were detected by the vaccination staff (out of several millions inquired into) are proof that there has been a gradual improvement in accuracy, especially since 1905, after which the Eastern Bengal districts are excluded as they were transferred in that year to the newly formed province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. In these districts the same

standard of efficiency has not been reached as elsewhere, and it is noticeable that the census results do not correspond with those afforded by the vital statistics so closely as in Bihar and Orissa and other districts of Bengal.

On the whole, the number of omissions is comparatively small, and the general conclusion seems to be (1) that though the vital statistics of the whole Province approximate to the truth (in a major degree for Bihar and Orissa and in a minor degree for Bengal), those for individual districts, especially in Eastern Bengal, are not always reliable; and (2) that the tendency to omission is greater in the case of births than deaths.

190. The returns of deaths under different heads are notoriously inaccurate. The reported number of deaths from

CAUSES OF DEATH.

fever is invariably in excess of the actual number owing to the fact that the *chaukidars*, who are primarily responsible for their registration, group under this head nearly all the deaths which are not due to the well known diseases of plague, cholera or small-pox. Even deaths from cholera are often returned as deaths from fever: a year in which there is a cholera epidemic in a district will usually show a large rise in fever mortality, because the *chaukidar* goes on returning cholera deaths as due to fever until the epidemic is so bad that he is forced to recognize it. Detailed investigation of the returns yields the most extraordinary results. In one district, for instance, out of a total of 83 deaths registered as due to dysentery or diarrhoea, only 32 were actually found to be due to those diseases. Fever accounted for 23, cholera for 18, teething for 2; one was really a case of still-birth and another of death during labour; the remainder were caused by old age, obstruction of the spleen, phthisis, want of milk and actually snake-bite. Other instances of the extraordinary nature of the diagnosis have already been given. The explanation is that the *chaukidar* is ignorant and careless, that he rarely sees the corpse, and that in any case he nearly always takes the word of the relatives as to the cause of death: the latter are generally equally ignorant, and sometimes they deliberately conceal the actual cause.

191. Taking the figures given in the marginal table above as typical of each Province, and making necessary allowance for omissions, we get the results given in Subsidiary Table III A. In this table the

VITAL STATISTICS AND ESTIMATES OF BIRTH AND DEATH RATES.

effects of migration have had to be ignored, as there are no statistics to show how many were immigrants and how many were emigrants in each year. They do not, however, affect the results very materially, for in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, as a whole, the emigrants exceeded the immigrants by only 1 per mille in 1901 and by 3 per mille in 1911: in Bengal the excess of immigrants over emigrants is now 6 per mille more than in 1901, while in Bihar and Orissa the excess of emigrants over immigrants is greater by 13 per mille. From this subsidiary table it will be seen that the average annual birth rate and death rate during 1901-10 are 37.9 and 32.9 in Bengal, 42.1 and 36.1 in Bihar and Orissa, and 39.7 and 34.3 respectively in Bengal,

* The actual number was 104 out of 484 deaths.

Bihar and Orissa as a whole. Mr. G. F. Hardy, F.I.A., F.S.S., the Actuary who was retained by the Census Commissioners of 1881, 1891 and 1901 to deal with the age statistics of those years, estimated the birth and death rates for 1891-1901 in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole at a little over 43·9 and 38·9 per mille, respectively.

192. As regards the net increase due to vital occurrences, the subsidiary table shows the actual annual excess of births over deaths to be 5·3 per mille in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole, and this may be taken as a fair approximation, for as shown above, the net excess of emigrants over immigrants in the two Provinces taken together was very small. There is, however, a considerable difference if the two Provinces are considered separately. The balance of migration is against Bihar and Orissa, the emigrants from which add to the death roll of other countries and thus lower the death rate of their own Province: they outnumbered the immigrants by 36 per mille in 1901 and by 49 per mille in 1911. In Bengal, on the other hand, there is a gain from migration, for the number of immigrants is far greater than that of emigrants. It contains a large floating population from Bihar and the United Provinces, who add to its mortality returns, but very little to the number of births, as the immigrants live mostly without their families. These immigrants outnumbered the emigrants by 26 per mille in 1901 and by 32 per mille in 1911. Thus, as compared with the birth rate, the real death rate is lower in Bengal, but higher in Bihar and Orissa, than would appear from the returns of vital occurrences. The average rate of increase, therefore, may be taken as a little above 5 per mille in Bengal and a little below 6 per mille in Bihar and Orissa. The rate for the two Provinces together (5·4 per mille) corresponds closely with Mr. Hardy's estimate of 5 per mille as the actual rate during the previous decade.

193. It also appears on a detailed examination of the vital statistics that each Province would have shown a higher rate (about 7 per mille) as the average annual rate of increase, had there been no lean years like 1905-08, when the rates of increase were abnormally low. Mr. Hardy's estimate of 7 per mille as the normal rate of increase in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole (deduced from the estimated actual rates of 8·0, 7·7 and 5·0 per mille in 1872-81, 1881-91 and 1891-1901, respectively) is therefore corroborated by the vital statistics for 1901-10, during which

	1891-1901.			1901-1911.		
	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
Rates according to Mr. Hardy's estimate for the previous decade ...	41·8	44·8	7·0	42·9	38·9	5·0
Rates according to vital statistics ...	35·8	31·8	4·0	39·7	34·3	5·4
Difference	-16·0	-13·0	-3·0	-4·2	-4·6	-4

being reduced from 16 and 13 per mille in 1901 to only 4·2 and 4·6 per mille in 1911.

WEST BENGAL.

194. The district of Burdwan consists of two distinct portions, the eastern half being a low-lying alluvial tract subject to inundations from the Damodar, Ajay, Khari, Kunur and Bhagirathi rivers. The effects of floods are accentuated by the obstruction of drainage caused by dams and weirs erected across rivers and creeks for the purposes of irrigation. Large tracts are consequently water-logged for a considerable portion of the year, especially in the south-east of the Sadar subdivision. The western portion of the district, which corresponds to the Asansol subdivision, consists of rolling uplands, with a dry laterite soil, and is far healthier. Between 1872 and 1891 the population of the district decreased by 94,535, or nearly 6½ per cent. This diminution

was due to a virulent type of fever known as

BURDWAN.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,538,371	+ 0.37	
Sadar Subdivision	663,103	- 2.81	
Burdwan	66,572	-	4.69
Behlgaon	82,964	+	1.32
Khandaghoi	60,382	-	2.24
Kaush	101,891	-	2.38
Satgaolia	105,115	-	2.30
Jamulpur	69,823	-	4.24
Gaist	90,371	-	2.18
Anggram	82,162	-	2.74
Asansol Subdivision	388,582	+ 4.74	
Asansol	177,312	+	5.61
Raiganj	179,783	+	5.95
Kakra	31,487	-	4.36
Katwa Subdivision	261,463	+ 3.32	
Koongaon	39,672	+	5.74
Katwa	94,952	+	2.42
Mangalkot	78,839	+	2.32
Kalna Subdivision	225,225	- 0.53	
Kalna	89,411	-	0.91
Purbasthali	73,350	-	2.15
Manmohar	62,464	+	2.29

Burdwan fever,* which raged between 1862 and 1874, and, in 12 years, is estimated to have carried off three-quarters of a million people. After 1874 the health of the district improved, but the after effects of the disease persisted for some time. A decided recovery was witnessed in the decade 1891-1901, and at the census taken in the latter year an advance of 10 per cent. was recorded.

195. During the next decade conditions were generally unfavourable, and the number of deaths exceeded the number of births by 20,000. There were repeated epidemics of cholera, those of 1907 and 1908 being especially

virulent and accounting for over 20,000 deaths, while malaria continued to levy its annual toll. Some scarcity was felt in 1904, and, in the Katwa subdivision, in 1908; but owing to the demand for labour in the coal fields, mills, factories, etc., the poorer classes are able to get ample employment and are not so much affected by the failure of crops and the pinch of high prices as in purely agricultural districts. The cultivators have benefited by the higher price which they get for their crops, and labourers by the rise in wages: the rate of interest, it is reported, was formerly 30 to 75 per cent. but has fallen to 12 per cent. Sons of middle-class cultivators now think it beneath their dignity to work in the fields like their fathers. The supply of agricultural labourers is unequal to the demand in the sowing and harvesting seasons, and wages have consequently gone up.

196. The population has only increased by 5,655 or less than one-half

BURDWAN.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	770,324	768,067	764,542	767,874
Immigrants	92,200	87,200	84,208	74,129
Emigrants	27,978	68,362	42,537	30,877
Natural population	735,546	746,899	724,171	744,612

per cent., and there would have been a decrease, had it not been for the influx of labourers attracted by the good wages obtainable in the coal-fields. The causes of this check to development are the ravages of disease and the greater exodus of persons born in the district, whose absence materially affected the returns. Their number has risen by 32,000 since 1901, but is still only about two-thirds of that returned for immigrants, who have increased by 21,000. The increase would have been greater had it not been for the dull state of the coal market, which resulted in the number of workers in coal mines falling from 39,383 in 1901 to 37,665 at the time of the census. Owing

* As I shall have frequently occasion to refer to "the epidemic of Burdwan fever," it may be explained that this was an endemic fever which became generally epidemic, and that the name by no means implies that it was peculiar to Burdwan. It appears first to have attracted notice in the Jessore district about 1825, and began to affect the Nadia district about 1832; it came across the Bhagirathi or Hooghly river into the Hooghly district in 1857-59 and it affected other districts of the Burdwan Division at a later period. During the period of its greatest virulence, a number of medical officers made inquiries into its origin and character and into the condition of the affected tracts. The general consensus of opinion was that the disease was a malarial fever of an intensely aggravated type, attended by an unprecedented mortality. The causes most generally assigned were over-population and obstruction of drainage caused by the silting up of rivers; but it cannot be said that any completely satisfactory reason has been put forward, which accounts for the outbreak of the fever, its gradual spread from east to west, and its disappearance. The fever was called by the natives *jwar bokar* (literally, fever without sense) i.e., fever with delirium, a term which in recent years has also been applied to cases of plague. [See Hooghly District Gazetteer, pp. 127-128.]

mainly to this cause, the Asansol subdivision, which grew by nearly 20 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, has now added only 4·7 per cent. to its population. Immigrants represent over one-fifth of the total population of the subdivision and nearly one-half of the total number of immigrants in the whole district. All the thanas in the subdivision have added to their population except Kaksa, which is an agricultural tract that suffers from endemic fever. The only other subdivision in which there has been any growth of population is Katwa, where it is independent of immigration. In the Sadar and Kalna subdivisions the loss is shared in by every thana except Mantesarwar and Sahebganj.

197. Like Burdwan, the district of Birbhum was decadent until 1891 owing to the ravages of fever. The population decreased by 7 per cent. between 1872 and 1881, and in the succeeding decade increased by less than 1 per cent. In

BIRBHUM.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	935,473	+ 3·68	+ 13·03
Sadar Subdivision	544,472	+ 1·59	+ 13·97
Suri	126,806	- 0·87	+ 10·90
Dubrajpur	123,511	- 1·92	+ 10·53
Bolpur	119,176	+ 2·01	+ 17·28
Bakulpur	82,516	+ 6·14	+ 18·08
Lahpur	69,465	+ 8·50	+ 11·55
Rampur Hat Subdivision	391,001	+ 6·73	+ 11·68
Rampur Hat	110,889	+ 7·45	+ 10·08
Mayureswar	97,307	+ 3·48	+ 5·97
Nalhati	90,124	+ 7·94	+ 11·93
Murari	93,571	+ 8·23	+ 17·18

the latter year there was a falling off of nearly 4 per cent. in the Sadar subdivision, which suffered severely from fever, but an accretion of 10 per cent. in the Rampur Hat subdivision to the north. In the next 10 years conditions were generally favourable, and the district added 13 per cent. to its population, the two subdivisions sharing nearly equally in the increase.

198. Birbhum is almost entirely dependent on agriculture. The crops had a fair outturn up to 1905, but from

1906 to 1908 they were short, and there was some scarcity in 1908-09. The poorer middle classes, small cultivators and landless labourers were embarrassed by the high range of prices. The Santals and other semi-aboriginal tribes, who could not get sufficient employment locally, went further afield, but the good crops and revived prosperity of the next two years brought them back to their homes. A serious flood occurred in 1902, when heavy rain caused the Brahmani in thana Murari, the Bansloi in Nalhati and the Mor in thana Suri to overflow their banks and inundate the surrounding country. Great loss was caused to cultivators in the four thanas of the Rampur Hat subdivision, and more especially Nalhati and Murari. The health of the district was generally good, except in 1906-1908, when it suffered from a wave of fever and epidemics of cholera; in these three years deaths exceeded births by 41,000.

199. In the decade as a whole, there was an excess of 18,689 births,

BIRBHUM	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	463,828	471,635	444,599	457,591
Immigrants	29,897	35,182	27,194	32,412
Emigrants	21,881	20,521	20,870	26,485
Natural population	466,622	464,074	438,871	440,604

and the census shows an increase of 33,193 or 3·68 per cent. The number of immigrants has risen very little and is nearly counterbalanced by the exodus of the native-born. The growth of population is shared in by all thanas except Suri and Dubrajpur in the west of the Sadar subdivision. Here the soil is not so fertile as it is to the east, and heavy mortality was caused by cholera and small-pox in 1908.

Owing to the loss in these two thanas, the average increase in the Sadar subdivision is only 1·59 per cent., whereas it is 6·73 per cent. in the Rampur Hat subdivision. The latter is one of the most progressive tracts in West Bengal, and is now more populous by 29 per cent. than it was in 1881, whereas the population of

the Sadar subdivision has increased by only 11 per cent. As in 1901, the Murarai thana in the extreme north, which benefits from the immigration of Santals, has grown most rapidly, but it is closely followed by Rampur Hat and Nalhati, which are prosperous agricultural areas traversed by the railway.

200. The district of Bankura has had a sustained growth of population since the first census was taken in 1872. The census of 1881 showed an increase of 7.6 per cent. and, in spite of the prevalence of disease in the east of the district, there was a

BANKURA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1801—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,138,670	+ 1.99	+ 4.37
Sadar Subdivision	746,964	+ 4.90	+ 2.85
Bankura	138,372	+ 5.59	+ 5.88
Onda	120,591	+ 1.89	+ 0.44
Gangaighati	189,440	+ 2.17	+ 4.06
Khatra	129,908	+ 12.73	+ 3.00
Raipur	110,972	+ 8.52	+ 0.79
Simlipal	30,486	+ 0.99	+ 2.27
Vishnupur Subdivision	391,706	- 3.13	+ 7.17
Vishnupur	139,725	- 2.20	+ 5.07
Sonamukhi	82,042	- 0.34	+ 2.27
Kochar	91,889	- 4.52	+ 5.91
Tuda	77,940	- 5.33	+ 10.39

further advance of 2.7 per cent. in 1891. The succeeding decade was, on the whole, a healthy one, the endemic or epidemic fever known as Burdwan fever having died out. The census of 1901 showed a total population of 1,116,411, representing an increase of 4.37 per cent.

201. On the whole, conditions between 1901 and 1910 were favourable to a further expansion. The railway was introduced in the early part of the decade, and the public health was good during the first 7 years, the number of births exceeding the registered deaths by 41,000. At the close of 1907, however, the crops failed over a large area, the parts most affected being thanas Raipur, Onda and Khatra. Distress was felt from January till September 1908, and relief was given to an aggregate of 414,798 persons. The effect of the scarcity is seen in the vital statistics. In 1908 the births fell by nearly 8,000 and deaths increased by 4,000, but in the next 2 years there was a rapid rise in the birth rate, which culminated in 1910, when the number of births exceeded that recorded in 1908 by 46 per cent.

202. In the whole decade the excess of births over deaths was 58,178, while the increase of population now brought to light is only 22,259 or 2 per cent. The difference is due, almost entirely, to the increasing volume of emigration, to which the construction of the railway has given an impetus. It has long been

BANKURA.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	562,565	576,095	549,494	566,927
Immigrants	12,191	32,991	11,740	17,794
Emigrants	95,737	79,627	75,269	71,549
Natural population	648,101	622,721	613,015	620,352

the practice for the aboriginal tribes or semi-Hinduized castes of aboriginal descent, such as Santals, Bauris and Bagdis, to emigrate to other districts in the cold weather when their harvests are reaped, and to return at the beginning of the hot weather or later. Many, moreover, work in the coal mines in the Burdwan and Manbhum districts, as well as in the mills along the river Hooghly. This exodus has been facilitated by the railway, and since 1901 the number of those who have left their homes for employment elsewhere has increased by 20 per cent., the actual number of male emigrants rising by 20,000.

203. While the Sadar subdivision has added 4.9 per cent. to its population, the Vishnupur subdivision has suffered a loss of 3.13 per cent. At first sight, this result appears somewhat surprising, for the headquarters subdivision is an undulating tract of rocky, often barren soil, whereas the Vishnupur subdivision is a fertile alluvial plain. On the other hand, the undulating uplands are well-drained and the people suffer little from malaria, which is prevalent in the lowlands of the Vishnupur subdivision. The difference in climatic conditions has resulted in a very different rate of progress, for between 1872 and 1891 the population of the headquarters subdivision

increased by 24 per cent., while that of the Vishnupur subdivision declined by more than 8 per cent. Only once, viz., in 1901, has the latter had any increase of population since the census operations began. The inhabitants of the headquarters subdivision are, moreover, to a large extent aboriginals or semi-aboriginals, who do not suffer from disease as much as the better castes of Hindus, owing probably to the healthier lives they live, to their residence in the dry uplands, and to their more nourishing diet. They are prolific races, in whose villages swarms of children may be seen. Had it not been for the fact that they supply most of the emigrants from the district, the increase of population would have been even greater. In spite of emigration, the Khatra and Raipur thanas, where they are most numerous, have developed most rapidly.

204. The population of Midnapore declined by 1 per cent. between 1872 and 1881 owing to the ravages of Burdwan fever, which first appeared in 1871 and raged till 1877, causing an estimated mortality of a quarter of a million. During the

MIDNAPORE.	Population. 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,821,201	+ 1'15	+ 5'29
Sadar Subdivision	1,300,080	+ 1'75	—
Midnapore	54,171	+ 0'19	+ 9'07
Kharagpur	132,875	+ 1'99	+ 10'31
Jhargam	80,331	+ 5'59	+ 7'10
Binpur	112,270	+ 4'34	+ 2'41
Saibani	59,576	+ 2'09	+ 9'70
Debra	59,792	+ 1'54	+ 1'36
Sabang	147,590	+ 4'04	—
Naryangpali	123,324	+ 4'13	+ 0'93
Garhbeta	126,353	+ 5'08	+ 5'39
Kewapuri	83,351	+ 3'72	+ 3'23
Dantan	126,236	+ 2'15	+ 2'28
Gopiballabpur	168,172	+ 0'01	+ 7'36
Ghatol Subdivision	301,396	- 7'26	- 0'90
Ghatol	83,341	- 5'40	- 0'36
Dampur	136,157	- 3'75	- 2'37
Chandrakona	81,898	- 7'19	+ 0'94
Tamluk Subdivision	601,502	+ 3'13	—
Tamluk	181,872	+ 2'67	—
Masandpur	102,325	+ 3'03	+ 6'27
Sutahata	74,246	+ 5'10	+ 11'50
Panchura	148,991	+ 0'44	+ 4'07
Nandigram	129,070	+ 2'90	+ 12'57
Contal Subdivision	618,223	+ 2'50	+ 10'59
Khajuli	57,866	- 0'35	+ 14'74
Contal	177,708	+ 2'90	—
Bansagac	76,007	+ 1'32	—
Bhagawanpur	129,731	+ 4'97	+ 6'59
Ngara	78,379	+ 0'57	+ 5'40
Patanpur	109,042	+ 2'81	+ 6'16

district, was rife in the water-logged areas, and the outturn of the crops was poor for several years.

206. The census discloses an increase of 32,087 or 1'15 per cent. The volume both of emigration and immigration has increased owing to the extension of the railway, the main line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway being opened in 1901 and the Jherria extension in 1903. The emigrants, however, outnumber the immigrants by 96,000. All the subdivisions have a growth of population except Ghatol, which was also the only subdivision that sustained a loss in 1901. The reasons for its decadence are not far to seek. It is an alluvial tract with a fertile soil, but it is liable to floods, and the people suffer from constant malaria and periodical epidemics of cholera. The inundations affect the public health in two ways. On the one hand, the flood water scours out holes and ditches, and carries off surface filth and rotting vegetation, depositing a protective layer of silt. On the other hand, the stagnant water, slowly drying up, affords a congenial breeding ground for malaria-bearing mosquitoes. There are thus two divergent effects. At first, the flood water cleanses the country and cholera disappears. After the floods are over,

the next twenty years there was a steady growth, representing 4'6 per cent. in 1891 and 5'99 per cent. in 1901. The increase was rapid along the sea-coast and the estuary of the Hooghly. There was a fair natural development in the healthy, but barren and sparsely inhabited up-lands in the west of the district. Stagnation or decline prevailed in the ill-drained depression that intervenes between these two extremes.

205. Conditions during the decade 1901-1910 were not favourable to a further advance. In 5 years only did the death rate exceed the birth rate, the only really healthy years being 1903, 1904 and 1908-10. This was the result mainly of epidemics of cholera, which were particularly widespread in 1901, 1902, 1906 and 1907; in 1902 there was also an epidemic of smallpox, which was responsible for 17,000 deaths. Fever, the most important factor in the health of the

there are large collections of stagnant water, and fever becomes rife. In bad

MIDNAPORE.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	1,410,714	1,410,467	1,390,323	1,391,881
Immigrants ...	41,002	84,536	27,754	22,107
Emigrants ...	92,189	70,584	72,120	62,116
Natural population ...	1,459,527	1,424,339	1,434,609	1,431,890

seasons, moreover, the people migrate freely to Calcutta and the Sundarbans, and such a bad season occurred in 1909, when no less than 548 villages were flooded and the crops over 85,000 *bighas* destroyed by unusually high floods.

207. The Contai and Tamluk subdivisions, which lie along the sea-coast and the estuary of the Hooghly, are comparatively free from malaria, and both have increased at about the same rate. Little progress has been made in the Midnapore subdivision, where six thanas have added to their population but as many more have to record a loss. In one thana, viz., Kharagpur, the advance is very nearly 20 per cent., but this is almost entirely due to the expansion of Kharagpur town, an important railway centre containing the workshops of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. In other thanas the growth of population must be ascribed to their natural advantages. They all lie to the west where the lateritic uplands descend to meet the plains. The climate is dry, there is a good system of natural drainage, and a large proportion of the population consists of hardy aboriginals. The thanas with a decrease consist of two blocks, viz., (1) an upland block to the north consisting of the Garbheta, Salbani and Keshpur thanas, all lying to the north of the Kasai, and (2) an alluvial block to the south-east consisting of Midnapore, which lies mainly to the south of the Kasai, and Debra and Sabang, which are entirely to the south of that river. In the former of these areas cholera and fever have been prevalent and the harvests poor; the latter block is a low-lying depression mostly under canal irrigation, where the country is fertile, but swampy and malarious.

208. Hooghly, like other districts of the Burdwan Division, suffered severely from the ravages of Burdwan fever between 1857 and 1877. Though the fever persisted for 20 years, it must not be supposed that it afflicted all parts

HOOGHLY.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.
		1901-1911.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	1,090,097	+ 3.91
Sadar Subdivision ...	312,042	+ 1.16
Balagarh ...	45,233	+ 2.56
Pandua ...	71,040	+ 3.47
Dumdakhal ...	97,296	+ 1.71
Potba ...	43,431	- 0.03
Hooghly ...	54,772	- 2.80
Serampore Subdivision ...	461,296	+ 11.65
Haripal ...	103,704	+ 7.01
Jangipara ...	58,561	+ 1.50
Serampore ...	113,184	+ 19.82
Sugar ...	73,083	+ 14.00
Chanditola ...	111,794	+ 12.48
Arambagh Subdivision ...	316,759	- 3.23
Arambagh ...	119,405	- 1.00
Goghat ...	96,170	- 8.07
Khatmakui ...	99,184	- 0.07

of the district throughout that period. It spread from place to place, its average duration in any one locality being from three to seven years. The mortality was enormous, being estimated by various observers at from one-third of the population up to nine-tenths in certain very severely affected places. In 1881 the Census Superintendent estimated the loss of population due to it at no less than 650,000; for apart from actual mortality, the fever reduced the vitality of the survivors, thus diminishing the birth-rate, and also forced a number of the inhabitants to leave the district for healthier areas. "It is true," he remarked, "that this terrible epidemic did not

claim so many victims in the decade which has elapsed since the census of 1872 as in that which preceded it, but the ravages of the disease have not yet been repaired, the ruined villages have not yet been rebuilt, jungle still flourishes where populous hamlets once stood, and while many of those who fled before the fever have not returned, the impaired powers of the survivors have not sufficed to fill the smiling land with a new population." The census of 1881 showed a decline of 13 per cent., but the disappearance of the fever was followed by a recovery, the result being an increase of 6 per cent. in 1891. In the next decade there was but little advance owing to the drain caused by deaths from fever; the increase of 1.4 per cent. recorded in 1901 was mainly due to a rise in the number of immigrants.

209. Since 1901, there has been a gain of 41,056 or 3·91 per cent., part of which is due to the influx of immigrants rather than to natural growth. There was an excess of recorded deaths over births during the decade amounting to nearly 36,000, and the birth-rate surpassed the death-rate in only 3 years, viz., 1904, 1909 and 1910. Fever is rife and is a natural consequence of the natural configuration of the country. It is for the greater part a semi-aquatic rice plain traversed by large and small rivers, with low-lying depressions between them; many of the rivers have more or less silted up, and no longer drain the land, which remains swampy and water-logged. Malarial fever," writes Lieut. Col. D. G. Crawford, I. M. S., formerly Civil Surgeon of Hooghly, "is still the prevailing disease of the Hooghly district, though fortunately it is no longer the scourge that it was 50 to 30 years ago. Something has been done since that time to alleviate its ravages, particularly the flushing of some of the 'dead' rivers of the district since the construction of the Dankuni drainage channel in 1873 and the opening of the Eden canal in 1881. Still, however, the physical conditions of the district remain much as they were half a century ago; and thus they must always remain, for no human agency can alter them. The district is little above sea-level, it has a heavy rainfall, it is traversed by numerous 'dead' or silting up rivers, and it is chiefly devoted to the growth of rice, a crop which requires the ground to be a swamp during several months of the year for its cultivation. These conditions necessarily lead to its being water-logged in the rains. Practically, every house built in the district necessitates the excavation of a small tank or pit (*doba*) to get the earth, which forms a plinth, to raise the house above flood-level. Efficient drainage is an impossibility, as there is not sufficient fall. The tanks which abound in the towns—in the Hooghly-Chinsura Municipality alone there are 700—the drains, with their inefficient fall, forming chains of stagnant pools instead of running streams, and the vast expanses of rice cultivation, all supply ample breeding grounds for the mosquito by which malarial fever is spread."

The population is still nearly 30,000 less than it was in 1872, and if, as observed by Mr. Gait in the Census Report of 1901, it is very doubtful whether the district will ever fully recover its losses until the drainage problem is solved, that consummation appears a very remote contingency.

210. Emigration is fostered not merely by the industrial, but also

HOOGHLY.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	555,928	534,374	529,179	520,062
Immigrants ...	108,067	75,222	81,423	57,891
Emigrants ...	88,428	61,045	70,590	52,551
Natural population ...	536,159	517,137	516,646	513,922

by the agricultural demands of the district. The mills, factories and brick-fields along the Hooghly create a constant, and the needs of cultivation a periodic, demand for labour, which is supplied by outside districts, mainly the districts of Orissa, Chota Nagpur

and Bihar. The larger industries have developed steadily—the average daily number of operatives in registered factories rose by 10,000 between 1901 and 1911—and the increasing wealth of the cultivators enables them to employ outside labour instead of tilling their fields themselves. Agricultural labourers from the Sonthal Parganas and Chota Nagpur have consequently settled in the villages, and some have become cultivators on their own account. The number of persons from outside districts who were enumerated in Hooghly is now 46,000 more than in 1901. Part of the increase is due to an extra number of coolies being at work on the construction of the Hooghly-Katwa Railway at the time of the census, but even so the number exceeds that returned in 1891 by 86 per cent. On the other hand, the number of those born in the district who were enumerated elsewhere has increased by 27,000 since 1901—the number in Howrah alone has risen by 13,000. So much, however, of the migration, whether inwards or outwards, is of a temporary character, that its effect on the population cannot be gauged with any precision. A large proportion of the immigrants only come for the agricultural season, or work in the mills and brickfields during the cold weather, after which they return to their homes. The emigrants, again, consist, to a large extent, of clerks and others who have to work in Calcutta

and elsewhere, but keep up homes in this district, to which they return at intervals. They number 37,000 less than the immigrants enumerated in the district, but the figure returned for them is still 7,000 less than in 1891.

211. The only progressive part of the district is the Serampore subdivision, where the increase (48,000) exceeds the total gain of the district. This subdivision has grown steadily since 1881, and owes its prosperity to its marshes having been reclaimed by the Dankuni and Rajapur drainage schemes, to the establishment of jute mills along the river bank, to its connection with the main system of the East Indian Railway by a branch from Tarakeswar to Seoraphuli, and to the opening of the Howrah-Shiakhala Railway in 1897, which has linked it up with Howrah. The population of the headquarters subdivision is stationary. The two inland thanas of Pandua and Dhaniakhali have a small increase, which is ascribed to the influx of agricultural labourers: the other three thanas have been declining since 1891. The Arambagh subdivision has sustained a loss of population in every thana, the decrease being greatest in Goghat, a tract difficult of access, which lost population between 1891 and 1901. It has suffered from malaria, which is also common in the other two thanas, where the land is swept by the annual floods of the Damodar and Dwarakeswar. Their drainage is defective and the flood water remains stagnant in depressions choked with weeds, which foster the propagation of fever-bearing mosquitoes.

212. The history of the last 40 years in Howrah has been one of continued progress. It suffered severely from Burdwan fever, which, it was estimated, had caused 50,000 deaths by 1881, but the census of that year brought to

HOWRAH.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1881-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	943,501	+ 10.93	+ 11.38
Sadar Subdivision	492,225	+ 14.14	+ 17.73
Bally	22,891	+ 90.98	...
Littonah	21,635	+ 4.11	...
Howrah, Bhipur and Golabari ...	179,349	+ 12.93	+ 25.10
Dumjor	16,085	+ 10.79	...
Jagatballypur	99,724	+ 7.73	+ 8.80
Uluberia Subdivision	451,277	+ 7.64	+ 5.52
Almita	177,199	+ 6.15	+ 2.39
Hagman	27,609	+ 7.13	+ 3.24
Uluberia	107,971	+ 13.97	+ 8.78
Syampur	98,519	+ 7.70	+ 8.66

213. Agricultural conditions were, on the whole, favourable, and the number of births exceeded the deaths by a little under 17,000. These criteria, however, are not of such importance as in other districts. No district in West Bengal is so little dependent on the outturn of its crops—the special industrial census shows that one-seventh of the total male population is at work in manufacturing or industrial concerns employing 20 persons or more. The ratio of births is, moreover, unusually small, because a large proportion of the people consist of male immigrants and of persons living in the towns of Howrah and Bally. The former leave their wives at home and those townspeople who have wives with them, send them home to their villages before confinement: in many cases these villages lie in other districts, and the births are consequently excluded from the returns for Howrah. Immigration has been stimulated during the past decade by the development of commerce and manufactures. The dull state of the jute trade led to a partial stoppage of work in some jute mills, but at the time of the census they had a labour force of over 44,000. The list of other concerns is a long one, e.g., cotton mills, jute presses, iron foundries, machinery and engineering works, brick-fields, railway workshops, oil mills, flour mills, etc. The extension of the tramway from Calcutta and the improvement of the service of ferry steamers between the two cities have further induced persons who formerly resided in Calcutta to cross to this side of the river: the number of persons born in Calcutta but enumerated in Howrah has increased by over 7,000 since 1901. The result of these combined influences is an increase in the number of immigrants by 45,000. This, however, only accounts for less than a half of the total gain, and there is a loss of 17,000

by emigration to be set off against it. A considerable part of the increase must therefore be attributed to natural growth. The immigrants congregate in the

HOWRAH.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	498,641	544,861	439,339	410,985
Immigrants	125,515	64,769	98,641	45,979
Emigrants	55,435	16,957	14,594	8,515
Natural population	568,721	592,673	555,294	573,522

neighbourhood of the mills along the river bank from Bally on the north to Uluberia on the south. The inland area in the north of the district has been opened up by the Howrah-Amta and Howrah-Shiakhala Light Railways, while the execution of the Howrah, Barajol and Rajapur drainage schemes has done much to reduce water-logged and uncultivable areas in thanas Dumjor and Jagatballabhpur. The south of the Uluberia subdivision is not so water-logged and is generally healthier. The city of Howrah accounts for nearly one-fourth of the total increase, but all parts of the district are progressive. The rate of growth is twice as rapid in the Sadar subdivision, which is the centre of industrial activity, as in the Uluberia subdivision, where the population is mainly agricultural. Of the rural thanas, Uluberia has the highest ratio of increase (13·9 per cent.), while the percentage is least in Amta, where much of the land is water-logged and fever is prevalent.

CENTRAL BENGAL.

214. Though the 24-Parganas, as a whole, has steadily added to its population since 1872, the growth has not been uniform. In 1881 there was a net increase of 7 per cent., but the Barrackpore subdivision declined by 9 per cent. owing

24-PARGANAS.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,434,104	+ 17·12	+ 9·69
Sadar Subdivision	756,348	+ 12·67	+ 11·63
Barrackpore	100,309	+ 10·49	+ 4·63
Malda	92,637	+ 15·49	+ 41·27
Jayrampur	123,566	+ 14·72	+ 18·62
Shanerg	87,470	+ 14·36	+ 12·38
Behala	50,482	+ 0·93	—
Tollygunge	86,487	+ 19·45	—
Sonarpur	47,335	+ 8·17	—
Vidya-nagar	91,708	+ 9·26	+ 6·71
Badga Budge	95,974	+ 16·34	+ 18·92
Diamond Harbour Sub-division.	515,725	+ 11·93	+ 14·36
Malda Hat	140,019	+ 7·36	+ 4·90
Palta	27,301	+ 9·25	+ 3·20
Diamond Harbour	79,535	+ 11·71	+ 11·44
Kulpi	132,324	+ 12·68	+ 26·90
Malda-nagar	87,646	+ 21·90	+ 23·02
Barrackpore Subdivision	292,624	+ 41·69	—
Barrackpore	43,910	+ 13·62	+ 12·75
Barrackpore	72,259	+ 102·80	+ 38·12
Nasirpur	25,236	+ 46·59	+ 7·88
Khardaha	22,465	+ 13·66	+ 7·5
Dum-Dum	26,987	+ 13·96	—
Nalhati	101,767	+ 55·18	—
Barasat Subdivision	292,791	+ 10·84	—
Habra	24,820	+ 5·71	+ 0·90
Daganga	62,532	+ 12·72	+ 1·03
Barasat	105,439	+ 12·95	—
Basirhat Subdivision	429,476	+ 15·39	+ 7·22
Basirhat	141,940	+ 7·34	+ 4·38
Basirhat	94,720	+ 12·57	+ 10·66
Harna	69,433	+ 11·18	+ 1·96
Harnabad	126,383	+ 31·01	+ 15·79
Suburbs of Calcutta	147,240	+ 45·28	+ 15·62
Conjurer-Culter	44,178	+ 18·23	+ 29·64
Manicktollah	52,767	+ 66·01	+ 13·01
Garden Reach	45,295	+ 60·56	+ 1·03

rainfall next year was deficient and the outturn was again poor. Consequently, in 1907 there was distress, to meet which agricultural loans and

to the prevalence of malaria. At the next census a proportional growth of 11·9 per cent. was registered, and this was followed by another increase of 9·9 per cent. In the last of these decades (1891-1901) the riparian population grew by 12 per cent. owing to the development of the industrial towns along the Hooghly, but the rate of growth was twice as fast in the southern thanas, where the progress of reclamation in the Sundarbans attracted numerous settlers. On the other hand, the central and northern thanas remained stationary or lost population.

215. Conditions between 1901 and 1911 were in favour of a further growth of population. The public health was good, the births exceeding the deaths by 100,000. The outturn of the crops was well up to the average during the first half of the decade. In 1905 they were short owing to heavy but unevenly distributed rainfall, while the

other relief measures were necessary. On the other hand, there was a continued and increasing activity in manufacturing and industrial centres, which led to an addition of 50 registered factories (*i.e.*, factories employing 50 hands or more) and of 75,000 employés. Considerable progress was also made in the reclamation of the Sundarbans, where agricultural colonies are growing rapidly in spite of the absence of facilities of communication. The north of the district has no such drawbacks, for areas which were without railway communication are now served by the Barasat-Basirhat Light Railway, which was opened to traffic in 1905 and extended to Hasnabad in 1909; another line from Beliaghata Bridge to Patipukur was opened in 1910. The suburban traffic between Calcutta and stations in this district has also developed rapidly: in 1910 the number of season tickets issued to and from Sealdah was 31,766. The extension of the Calcutta Electric Tramway to Alipore, Tollygunge and Behala has assisted in the development of those places, while the Port Commissioners' steamer service has popularized the riverain municipalities in the Barrackpore subdivision. The result is that a growing number of clerks employed in Calcutta offices live outside the city and are daily passengers on the trains, trams or ferry steamers.

216. The total increase of population since 1901 is 355,745 or 17 per cent., nearly half of which

24-PARGANAS.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	1,305,700	1,125,404	1,092,916	982,442
Immigrants	274,479	132,144	154,362	70,414
Emigrants	72,097	67,145	43,017	55,942
Natural population	1,102,318	1,062,408	1,000,596	970,972

may be ascribed to the increased number of immigrants, most of whom are attracted by the good wages offered in the mills along the Hooghly or for agricultural labour in the interior. Their number has

risen by 176,000 since 1901, and they now constitute one-sixth of the total population. On the other hand, there has been a loss of 20,000 by emigration, and more than half of the increment of population must be attributed to natural growth. The Barrackpore subdivision has a phenomenal increase, representing 42 per cent., which is nearly entirely due to the influx of mill-hands—the proportion of males to females in the whole subdivision is 5 to 3. In none of the other subdivisions, whether industrial or agricultural, is the rate of growth under 10 per cent. There is no sign of a drain of the population to Calcutta; on the contrary, the development of suburban railways and river steamer services points to the fact that an increasing proportion of the workers in Calcutta prefer to have their homes outside the city.

217. A special inquiry, made by the Bengal Drainage Committee in 1906-07, showed that the district, as a whole, is not abnormally unhealthy nor specially malarious, though some portions of it return high rates of mortality. The noticeably malarious thanas were proved to be those of Dum-Dum, Khardaha, Barrackpore, Noapara, Naihati, Deganga and Habra; the least malarious areas are Bhangar, Matla, Diamond Harbour and Budge Budge. In the healthy thanas the rate of increase has varied from 11 to 17 per cent.; in the unhealthy thanas the natural loss of population by death or lowered vitality is counterbalanced by immigration. Five of the seven unhealthy thanas lie along the Hooghly in the Barrackpore subdivision, where mill-towns cluster closely together, and the effect of malaria is obscured by the shifting of population to industrial centres. Habra has an increase of only 5 per cent., a rate a little below that in the adjoining thana of Baduria. The two thanas last mentioned lie in the extreme north-east of the district, and have advanced at a relatively slow pace compared with the thanas immediately to the south of them, *viz.*, Barasat, Deganga and Basirhat, which have all benefited by the opening of the light railway and have grown at a uniform rate of 13 per cent. There has been even more rapid progress in the Sundarbans thanas to the south and south-east, where cultivation is rapidly spreading. Hasnabad, which has also been opened up by the railway, has a gain of 32 per cent., and Mathurapur of 21 per cent.

218. The census of Calcutta forms the subject of a separate report, and has also already been referred to; its results will therefore be only briefly mentioned here.

CALCUTTA.

The increase in the population of the city since 1901 (48,271 or 5·69 per cent.)

CALCUTTA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
TOTAL	898,067	+ 5·69	+ 24·25
Bhampukur Ward No. 1	43,036	+ 13·14	+ 28·74
Kumartoli	33,073	+ 9·08	+ 12·80
Bartala	24,610	+ 6·70	+ 37·84
Sukna's Street	48,112	+ 14·46	+ 30·67
Jorabagan	32,114	+ 6·71	+ 36·24
Joramto	20,541	+ 13·37	+ 37·20
Barabazar	30,495	+ 7·42	+ 42·93
Kalutola	37,094	+ 9·02	+ 24·39
Muchipara	63,362	+ 1·17	+ 22·60
Howbazar	35,014	+ 7·58	+ 12·34
Paddipukur	29,966	+ 6·79	+ 27·16
Waterloo Street	6,264	+ 0·29	+ 6·24
Freemick Bazar	28,436	+ 5·08	+ 10·02
Taltola	22,112	+ 0·36	+ 10·37
Codurga	11,382	+ 22·12	+ 38·33
Park Street	1,294	+ 13·22	+ 27·23
Bona Butee (Victoria Terrace)	1,123	+ 42·70	+ 18·62
Hastings	1,850	+ 6·23	+ 22·00
Rusuly	45,072	+ 16·69	+ 12·97
Bochalpukur	27,861	+ 14·32	+ 22·71
Ballygunge-Tollygunge	29,937	+ 46·84	+ 19·17
Brownspace	24,569	+ 9·23	+ 16·25
Alipore	19,749	+ 11·46	+ 18·68
Ekbnipore	21,869	+ 12·21	+ 40·66
Watganj	43,506	+ 13·33	+ 41·31
Fort William	1,411	+ 32·48	+ 7·90
Park	26,890	+ 9·67	+ 11·26
Canals	5,262	+ 26·38	+ 111·66

the males outnumber the females by more than two to one. The number of immigrants has risen by 82,000 since 1901, but there has also been an increasing exodus of the native born, particularly to the suburban municipalities and to Howrah.

POPULATION.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	807,874	398,393	562,506	245,200
Immigrants	471,120	169,223	401,402	155,537
Emigrants	47,944	40,204	17,922	18,898
Native population	184,493	169,374	178,916	148,061

219. The records of the district of Nadia for the last 50 years are a depressing chronicle of disease, either endemic or epidemic. Between 1857 and 1864 it was swept by the fever which was later known as Burdwan fever, but which at first was

NADIA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,617,846	+ 2·44	—
Sadar Subdivision	366,614	+ 2·01	+ 3·53
Kaliganj	33,122	+ 0·83	+ 12·70
Chapra	70,440	+ 7·39	+ 2·14
Nokulpura	54,163	+ 0·36	+ 0·79
Kheonungu	35,792	+ 3·12	+ 12·24
Kalshagar	198,196	+ 2·18	+ 5·69
Hanskhali	44,941	+ 2·06	+ 14·49
Kushlia Subdivision	456,885	+ 4·25	—
Kushlia	100,304	+ 3·69	+ 7·19
Mirpur	124,653	+ 3·66	+ 2·17
Daulatpur	81,760	+ 2·73	+ 9·12
Kumarkhali	127,168	+ 6·27	—
Meherpur Subdivision	329,563	+ 5·33	+ 3·39
Karimpur	94,350	+ 6·53	+ 5·53
Gangul	69,361	+ 12·22	+ 8·62
Meherpur	75,392	+ 0·39	+ 6·26
Tehatta	92,270	+ 1·66	+ 7·72
Chudanga Subdivision	242,032	+ 4·93	+ 3·74
Chudanga	61,965	+ 9·25	+ 1·84
Damohuda	69,042	+ 0·66	+ 9·63
Alondanga	87,012	+ 4·62	+ 1·75
Jhansagar	34,113	+ 1·06	+ 1·54
Ranaghat Subdivision	220,752	+ 1·69	—
Ranaghat	44,947	+ 1·23	+ 8·16
Ranaghat	80,429	+ 5·64	+ 1·20
Chokdaha	81,367	+ 0·01	—

is entirely due to immigration, the excess of deaths over births in the decade being no less than 145,534. The large excess of deaths is due to the relative deficiency of females in the population, to the practice of married women being sent away to their native villages for their confinement, which results in births being entered in the returns for outside districts, to the considerable proportion of prostitutes among the female population, and last, but not least, to high infantile mortality. The number of those born in Calcutta represents only 29 per cent. of the total population, and of the total population, and there has also been an increasing exodus of the native born, particularly to the suburban municipalities and to Howrah.

Commission ascribed the epidemic to obstructed drainage and waterlogging of the soil, which had been intensified by a gradual filling-up of the *bils* by the deposit brought in from the rivers: this again had been supplemented by a gradual but continuous rise in the level of the river beds, thus causing a general derangement of levels so serious as to affect the natural drainage of the country. There was another serious epidemic which lasted from 1880 to 1885; this was inquired into in 1881-82 by the Nadia Fever Commission, which came to the conclusion that the epidemic was due to the insanitary condition of the villages and the silting up of its rivers. A further investigation was made by the Bengal Drainage Committee in 1906-07, whose conclusions may be stated at some length as throwing light on the unhealthiness of different parts of the district and the results of the present census.

220. "It is impossible to differentiate between the physical features of the different portions of the Nadia district. The whole area consists of an alluvial plain, which still receives a fair share of the Gangetic flood through the channels of the Jalangi, Matabhanga and Garai, but it is subject to general inundation in years of high flood only. Back-waters, minor streams and swamps intersect it in all directions. A low-lying tract of black clay soil, known as the Kalanter, stretches from the adjoining district of Murshidabad through the Kaliganj and Tehatta thanas on the west, but these areas do not present any special features from the point of view of health. Taking the average annual district death-rate from fever for 1901-05 (33·3 per mille) it may be said that those thanas which have a corresponding rate of 35 and over are specially unhealthy, and those with a rate of 30 and under are comparatively healthy. On the basis the most unhealthy thanas in Nadia are those of Gangni and Karimpur adjoining one another on the north-west, and Jibannagar, Kumarkhali and Naopara* in the east. The more healthy thanas comprise those of Krishnagar, Chapra and Meherpur, forming a little strip from north to south in the centre of the district, and Chakdaha in the extreme south. It is difficult to connect the figures showing the variations in population, in the three censuses of 1881, 1891 and 1901, with a theory of the progressive deterioration of health in thanas which now show the highest rates of mortality from fever, but the outbreaks of epidemic fever in the district between 1861 and 1864, and again between 1880 and 1886, have complicated the conclusions as to normal health which may be deduced from the various fluctuations. * * * Looking to the available evidence touching the medical history of the district, we arrive at the following conclusions:—(a) the whole district is very unhealthy; (b) similarly, the whole district is feverish; (c) investigation upon a small scale has demonstrated the fact that some of the fever is probably due to Leishman-Donovan infection, but that the greater part is malarial; (d) the most malarious thanas are those of Gangni, Karimpur, Jibannagar, Kumarkhali and Naopara; (e) the least malarious areas are the Krishnagar, Chapra, Chakdaha and Meherpur thanas."

221. It may easily be imagined that in such a district as this the population is not likely to be progressive, for, apart from actual mortality, the constitution of the survivors is enfeebled, and their reproductive powers reduced by constant sickness. In 1881, it is true, a gain of 11 per cent. was recorded, but this was due merely to the deficiencies of the first enumeration, for from 1872 onwards it suffered terribly from fever and in one year lost no less than 40 per mille of its inhabitants. In the next decade there was a decrease of 1·2 per cent., and in 1901 there was an advance of only 1·5 per cent. Conditions between 1901 and 1910 were very unfavourable, the only healthy years being 1904, 1909 and 1910. Not only was fever generally prevalent, but there were constant epidemics of cholera from 1902 to 1908, the death-rate from cholera in these seven years averaging over 4 per mille and being as high as 7 per mille in 1907. There was, moreover, scarcity in 1908, when conditions approached those recognized as famine conditions, though it was not found necessary to declare famine under the Famine Code. The rainfall of 1905, though in excess of the normal, was badly distributed. Next year it was below the average and was again unequally distributed, while in 1907 it was still more deficient, there being an almost complete failure of the monsoon in September and October. The distress which ensued in 1908

* The Naopara thana is now called Mirpur.

affected about 800 square miles, comprising the whole of the Meherpur subdivision and parts of the Sadar and Chuadanga subdivisions.

222. It may be added that the land appears to be of low fertility. "The soil," reports the Collector, "is universally a light sandy loam possessing but little fertilizing power. The light manuring which is applied is generally insufficient, and there is no doubt that the soil is getting less and less fertile. The average yield of crops is low, as will be seen from the fact that the average yield of winter rice is 805 lbs. per acre, and of autumn rice 835 lbs., while in Jessore it is 1,145 and 870, and in 24-Parganas it is 943 and 1,014 respectively. Another noticeable feature is that it is becoming necessary to allow the land to lie fallow for longer periods between croppings. During the five years from 1904-05 to 1908-09 only about 40 per cent. of the total cultivable area was actually cropped. The corresponding percentages in the two sister districts of Khulna and Jessore were about 74 and 89 respectively. It can safely be concluded that the soil in Nadia is not sufficiently fertile to enable the same percentage of the population to depend upon agriculture as in other districts."

223. A light railway connecting Ranaghat and Krishnagar was opened in 1898, and the Murshidabad branch of the Eastern Bengal State Railway in 1904-05. All the subdivisions, except Meherpur, are traversed by at least one branch of the Eastern Bengal State Railway. The Meherpur subdivision is cut off from the railway and has no water communications, for the only river which traverses it, the Bhairab, is silted up. Emigration is more active than in any other district of the division, and the number of persons leaving it, in order to escape its unhealthy climate or for the sake of employment elsewhere, has risen by 11,500 since 1901. On the other hand, the number of immigrants has increased by 14,000, owing largely to the number of workmen required for the construction of the Lower Ganges Bridge at Damukdia. There is therefore a net gain from migration of 2,500.

224. Only five thanas, viz., Kaliganj, Chapra, Krishnagar and Hanskhali in the Sadar subdivision, and Ranaghat in the subdivision of the same name, have an increase of population. Krishnagar and Chapra are among the thanas classed by the Drainage Committee as among the least malarious in

NADIA.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	812,480	805,286	822,992	835,389
immigrants	37,810	35,543	30,226	28,794
Emigrants	74,766	61,013	71,160	52,577
Natural population	849,236	850,736	862,978	860,083

the district. The other two placed under this category, viz., Chakdaha and Meherpur, are so far fortunate, that they have not lost population but are stationary. The increase of the Ranaghat thana is due to the fact

that it contains the town of Ranaghat, an important railway junction where labour is attracted by work on the line and in the brick-fields. The malarious thanas mentioned by the Drainage Committee have all lost population at a rate varying from 4 to 13 per cent. The Karimpur thana, in particular, shows a gradual decrease of about 6,000 during each of the two decades since 1891. Apart from malaria, the decrease is partly due to the fact that a portion of the north of the thana has been subject to diluvion by the river Padma, necessitating migration to the northern districts of Pabna and Rajshahi.

Every subdivision has lost ground, but the loss in the Kushtia subdivision is greater than the figures indicate, because at the time of the census, a labour force of 3,447 was employed on the construction of the Lower Ganges Bridge, many of whom were immigrants from outside. The falling off in the Chuadanga and Meherpur subdivisions, on the other hand, must be discounted by the fact that, at the time when the census was taken, a number of labourers had migrated temporarily to the adjacent districts of Jessore, Khulna, etc., where labour is required for harvesting winter rice. The main crop of Nadia is *aus* or early rice, whereas in these districts winter rice predominates. When therefore the *aus* crop has been harvested, a large number of agricultural labourers find employment in reaping the winter crop of other districts.

225. Owing to the ravages of Burdwan fever, the increase of population between 1872 and 1891 was very small (barely 3 per cent.), but a good recovery was made between 1891

and 1901, the proportional growth recorded in the latter year being 6·6 per cent. The increase was far from uniform, for in the low-lying water-logged tracts to the east it was only 3 per cent., whereas in the higher and better drained thanas to the west it averaged 12·9 per cent. It was as high as 26 per cent. in Sagardighi and Nabagram, two sparsely populated thanas which attract immigrants from Birbhum and the Sonthal Parganas.

MURSHIDABAD.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	1,372,274	+ 2·93	+ 6·57
Sadar Subdivision ...	517,723	- 0·65	—
Gorabazar ...	35,074	+ 18·41	—
Berhampore ...	30,143	+ 7·16	+ 373
Beidanga ...	118,938	+ 13·64	—
Noeda ...	50,779	+ 8·00	+ 623
Haripur ...	53,251	+ 6·70	+ 256
Dumtabor ...	35,548	+ 4·82	+ 473
Baunagar ...	85,552	+ 3·81	+ 258
Dumka ...	112,242	+ 3·54	+ 322
Lalbagh Subdivision ...	195,128	+ 2·73	—
Bhagwangola ...	59,354	+ 5·84	+ 497
Shamshirganj ...	21,902	+ 13·42	+ 1594
Manullabazar ...	11,169	+ 9·65	+ 1894
Asanpur ...	12,546	+ 3·30	—
Sagardighi ...	40,424	+ 3·02	+ 3691
Nobogram ...	49,833	+ 7·94	—
Jangipur Subdivision ...	357,930	+ 7·10	+ 5·36
Laiga ...	66,517	+ 7·91	+ 132
Raghunathganj ...	73,359	+ 9·07	+ 1074
Mirzapur ...	47,597	+ 4·01	+ 930
Suti ...	67,292	+ 4·44	+ 640
Shamshirganj ...	102,065	+ 12·99	+ 1192
Kandi Subdivision ...	301,493	+ 9·75	—
Bharatpur ...	36,621	+ 0·83	—
Khargaon ...	68,549	+ 7·49	+ 1392
Kandi ...	34,798	+ 9·00	+ 1231
Barwan ...	74,378	+ 6·55	+ 978
Gokaran ...	26,947	+ 2·20	—

there was a partial failure of the winter rice crop. Taking the average of the whole decade, however, crops were almost normal, and a demand for labour was created by the construction of three new railway lines, viz., the Ranaghat-Murshidabad branch of the Eastern Bengal State Railway, and the Barharwa-Azimganj-Katwa and Ondal-Sainthia branches of the East Indian Railway. The effect of these lines being opened is already apparent in an increasing exodus of labourers during the cold weather. The number of persons enumerated outside the district is now nearly 29,000 more than in 1901, and the district has lost nearly 25,000 by migration more than it has gained.

227. The west and east of the district are clearly differentiated by their physical configuration.

MURSHIDABAD.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	678,292	608,982	633,248	679,636
Immigrants ...	30,002	36,569	35,846	35,348
Emigrants ...	51,366	55,325	38,469	40,227
Natural population ...	656,928	712,726	659,967	684,817

The portion lying to the west of the Bhagirathi is a continuation of the Chota Nagpur plateau: its general level is higher than that of the rest of the district, the surface is undulating and the climate is comparatively dry. The eastern portion is a deltaic tract in which the land is still being gradually raised by the deposition of silt from the rivers which traverse it. Here, however, the action of nature has been interfered with by the marginal embankment along the left bank of the Bhagirathi, which prevents the inundation which would otherwise occur.

228. The healthiness and unhealthiness of different parts are described as follows by the Drainage Committee:—"Taking the average annual district death-rate from fever (1901-1905) as 29·7 per mille, it may be concluded that the thanas which exhibit a rate of 25 and under are fairly healthy and those in excess of 40 noticeably the reverse. The healthy thanas of Khargaon, Kandi, Barwan, Gokaran and Bharatpur (constituting the Kandi subdivision) occupy a compact block in the south-west corner, while Raghunathganj and Mirzapur, along with Shamshirganj, Suti and Sagardighi (the rates for which are only slightly higher), lie to the north-west—all (except Raghunathganj) to the west of the Bhagirathi. The only other thanas on that side of the river are Nobogram, which is neither specially healthy nor the reverse, and Asanpur, which falls within the area of high rates. The feverish thanas group themselves in a well-defined tract, running north to south along the east bank of the Bhagirathi from Bhagwangola, through Manullabazar,

Shahanagar, Daulatbazar, Asanpur (west of the Bhagirathi), Sujaganj and Gorabazar. The average annual mortality from fever (1901—1905) in these thanas runs higher than any rates in either Jessore or Nadia, with the one exception of the Gangni thana in the latter, which exceeds the rate of Bhagwangola only. Hariharpara adjoining to the east is only slightly less unhealthy. The eastern portion of the district, Gowas, Jalangi and Nonda, stands midway in point of health between the two areas above defined. The variations in the total population recorded in the three censuses, especially during the decade 1891—1901 (the figures for the earlier ten years were affected by epidemic fever), corroborate these conclusions in a marked manner. The district as a whole showed a fair increase in population at the last census (+6·6 per cent.), but all the noticeably unhealthy thanas, with the exception of Bhagwangola and Hariharpara, and Gorabazar and Asanpur, which were practically stationary, showed a falling off, although it is to be remarked that the declining prosperity of the trade which used to centre around Murshidabad and Cossimbazar has also contributed to this result. The only other decrease, in Suti, which is a healthy area, was due to emigration, not illness. The facts then may be summarised as follows :—(a) Some portions of the district are extremely unhealthy, more so than Jessore or Nadia; other portions are comparatively healthy. (b) Fever is similarly distributed. (c) Local investigation has shown that the fever is malarial, but the presence or absence of Leishman-Donovan infection is an open question. (d) The most malarious thanas are Bhagwangola, Manullabazar, Shahanagar, Daulatbazar, Sujaganj, Hariharpara, Asanpur and perhaps Jalangi. (e) The least malarious areas are comprised in the whole of the Kandi subdivision, and the thanas of Shamshirganj, Suti, Raghunathganj, Mirzapur and Sagardighi.

The conclusions of the Drainage Committee are confirmed by the results of the present census. The Kandi subdivision has developed at the rate of 9·75 per cent., and all the other thanas mentioned as least malarious have an increase except Raghunathganj, where the population is stationary. Shamshirganj, which made the greatest progress between 1872 and 1901, is still growing rapidly and has added another 16 per cent. to its population. Of the eight thanas mentioned as most malarious, six are distinctly decadent.

229. Jessore, like Nadia, is a land of moribund rivers and obstructed drainage, and its history during the last half century is also one of recurring epidemics of disease and declining population. It forms a flat alluvial plain inter-

sected by several rivers debouching from the Ganges, and by numerous lesser channels and *khals*, many of which have lost their connection with feeder streams, and have become merely channels for local drainage. Some rivers, such as the Garai and Madhumati and a portion of the Chitra in the Narail subdivision, though they have degenerated considerably, still have flowing streams. Others have practically no current for the greater part of the year. Except in the rains, when they maintain a languid vitality, these so-called rivers are merely a chain of long stagnant pools overgrown with weeds. In the south, however, the lower reaches of the rivers are affected by the tide. After the rainy season a portion of the country is under water, either from the over-flowing of neighbouring rivers or from the local rainfall. When the land dries up, extensive *bils* are left, some of which remain stagnant throughout the year.

JESSORE.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION, 1901—1911.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,758,264	+ 3·03
Sadar Subdivision	462,305	+ 3·82
Bagherpara	50,508	+ 0·40
Jessore	128,994	+ 2·09
Jhikerpasha	78,936	+ 0·44
Maurampur	132,642	+ 4·23
Keshatpur	72,407	+ 6·00
Jhenida Subdivision	362,518	+ 6·13
Balkopa	166,626	+ 0·89
Jhenida	88,229	+ 7·74
Kaliganj	71,368	+ 13·20
Kotechandpur	36,360	+ 9·72
Magura Subdivision	265,948	+ 4·12
Magura	142,068	+ 4·96
Mohammadpur	82,627	+ 6·98
Sadka I. O. P.	41,253	+ 9·42
Narail Subdivision	360,509	+ 2·54
Lofatare	120,664	+ 7·15
Narail	149,529	+ 2·71
Barkali	90,316	+ 2·91
Bangaon Subdivision	306,984	+ 3·27
Malimganj	92,125	+ 8·37
Bangaon	89,623	+ 0·71
Bangaon	104,126	+ 3·14
Gaighata	42,040	+ 2·90

230. In 1817 the district suffered from a virulent epidemic of cholera,* and in 1836 there was the first outbreak in epidemic form of that malignant type of fever which was first known as Nadia and then as Burdwan fever.† It lasted for seven years, and seemed to disappear in 1843. In 1846, however, it broke out again, and in the next two years spread over the whole district. After a temporary cessation the fever re-appeared in 1854-56, and about this time began to spread westward to Nadia and the 24-Parganas. This epidemic ceased in 1864, but between 1880 and 1885 there was another serious epidemic, for which the Nadia Fever Commission of 1881-82 could discover no specific cause. It held, however, that it had its source in the silting up of the main rivers and the general insanitary condition of the villages. Since 1891 fever of a less virulent type has been prevalent and formed the subject of a special inquiry by the Drainage Committee in 1906-07. The conclusions at which the Committee arrived were—“(1) The whole district is extremely unhealthy; (2) malarial fever prevails extensively everywhere; (3) by a rather arbitrary comparison, the thanas of Jhenida, Gaighata, Salikha and Bagharpara are the most malarious; (4) the least malarious are thanas Barkalia, Lohagara, Kotchandpur and Gadkhali.‡”

231. The only census at which there has been any increase of population is that of 1881, but the apparent increase then recorded must be attributed to incomplete enumeration at the preceding census. In 1891 there was a decline of 2·6 per cent., and this was followed by a further decrease of 4 per cent. in 1901. In the latter year the south-eastern corner was the only tract which showed even a nominal improvement, and the loss of population was greatest in the country running west and south-west from the Muhammadpur thana on the eastern boundary. The unhealthiness of the district was no less conspicuous during the decade 1901—1910, in which the total number of deaths exceeded the births by 70,000, while the death-rate was above the birth-rate in all but three years (1901, 1909 and 1910). This drain on the population is not counterbalanced by an influx from outside. The immigrants, it is true, are more numerous by nearly 13,000 than in 1901, but still fall short by 13,500 of the number of those born in Jessore who, owing either to necessity or choice, were resident elsewhere at the time of the census. All but five thanas have lost population. Three of these fortunate

thanas, viz., Barkalia, Lohagara and Jhikargachha, are among those mentioned by the Drainage Committee as the least malarious in the district; Barkalia and Lohagara form part of the Narail subdivision, which is the only tract which has made any progress.

JESSORE.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	501,092	507,172	914,025	399,130
Immigrants ...	29,774	28,999	24,446	22,551
Emigrants ...	29,424	22,574	43,779	27,359
Natural population ...	910,766	914,047	983,515	904,988

NORTH BENGAL.

232. Rajshahi is covered with recent alluvium, except in the north-west, where the elevated tract known as the Barind has a quasi-laterite soil. With the exception of the Padma, which forms the southern boundary of the district, and

RAJSHAHI.

* It is commonly believed that 1817 was the first year and Jessore the first place in which cholera broke out in a virulent epidemic form, and that it had appeared before only in a mild endemic form. This belief does not appear to be justified, for there are historical references to earlier cholera epidemics. Not to multiply instances, Hicky's Bengal Gazette of 22nd April 1781 refers to an outbreak in Calcutta as follows:—"The plague has now broken out in Bengal and rages with great virulence: it has swept away already about 4,000 persons. Two hundred or upwards have been buried in the different Portuguese churches within the last few days." See also Jessore Gazetteer, p. 61.

† It was reported on in 1863 by Dr. Elliott, who traced it back as far as 1824 and noted that "a peculiar type of fever was prevalent in Jessore for many years previous to its first appearance in the district of Nadia."

‡ Now the Jhikargachha thana.

of the Mahananda, which runs for a short distance along its western border,

RAJSHAH.	POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
	1911.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,480,587	+ 1'37	+ 1'58	
Sadar Subdivision	564,224	+ 1'41	- 1'27	
Bos'ia	98,628	+ 2'49	- 2'57	
Tanor	92,390	+ 4'37	+ 1'77	
Godagari	23,097	+ 17'06	+ 1'28	
Puthia	86,363	- 6'46	- 3'57	
Charghat	102,612	- 6'26	- 5'92	
Bagnura	159,127	+ 4'38	+ 2'95	
Naogaon Subdivision	517,405	+ 8'91	+ 12'13	
Naogaon	* 187,291	+ 10'52	+ 14'28	
Manda	435,738	+ 7'66	+ 10'91	
Panchupur	99,018	+ 4'22	+ 8'67	
Mahadebpur	94,661	+ 12'90	+ 14'10	
Nator Subdivision	398,958	- 7'02	- 4'76	
Nator	118,160	- 12'43	- 2'94	
Singra	120,508	+ 0'48	+ 1'61	
Bawalgram (Barligano)	96,963	- 7'99	- 6'77	
Lalpur	61,327	- 8'12	- 1'28	

the river system consists of a network of moribund streams and water-courses. The district slopes slightly from west to east, and its drainage, instead of being carried off by rivers, flows into a chain of marshes and swamps, the neighbourhood of which is malarious and unhealthy. Rajshahi is, in fact, one of the most malarious districts in North Bengal, and had a higher death rate during the past decade than any district in the division except Jalpai-guri and Dinajpur. Nator is the most malarious, and Naogaon the least malarious subdivision in the district, the Sadar subdivision occupying

an intermediate place between the two.

233. Between 1872 and 1891 the population of the district, as a whole, was almost stationary, and in the next ten years there was a small increase of 1'6 per cent. During these 30 years the south and centre of the district were decadent, the thanas concerned sustaining a loss of 12'8 per cent.; on the other hand, the population increased by 25'6 per cent. in the Barind, and by 59'3 per cent. in the rich *ganja*-growing thanas of Naogaon and Panchupur in the Naogaon subdivision. The Barind has developed owing to the immigration of Santals, Mundas and Oraons, who find congenial employment in clearing it for cultivation, while the Naogaon subdivision has benefited by the movement of the inhabitants of unhealthy water-logged areas to the healthier and more prosperous thanas included in it.

234. The history of the last decade has been uneventful. Fever has continued unabated, and the reported births exceeded the deaths by only 31,266, representing an increase of 2'14 per cent. on the population of 1901. The actual increase of the population according to the census is 20,003 or 1'4

RAJSHAH.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	755,306	735,241	740,768	719,920
Immigrants	57,940	34,027	46,315	32,564
Emigrants	20,097	18,629	11,941	11,671
Natural population	712,253	705,943	705,996	699,127

per cent. only, a result which is practically unaffected by the variations in the number of immigrants and emigrants since 1901. Both are now more numerous than they were in that year, but the increase of the former (15,888) is nearly counterbalanced by

the increase of the latter (15,114). The rate of growth in the natural population indeed closely corresponds with that of the actual population. Small as the increase is, it is mainly attributable to the greater fecundity of the Muhammadans. While they have increased in numbers, the Hindus have decreased by 2'79 per cent.

235. The deterioration of the Nator subdivision, which is the chief centre of malaria, has continued, and a further loss of 7 per cent. is now recorded. Singra is, as in 1901, the only thana that has gained population, but the gain is under one-half per cent. The Sadar subdivision has a slight growth of 1½ per cent. The most progressive thana in this subdivision, or indeed in the whole district, is Godagari, which lies within the Barind and has added 17 per cent. to its numbers. Elsewhere, there has been a small increase of 3½ to 4½ per cent., but Puthia and Charchat have again decreased. Naogaon subdivision, where two thanas (Manda and Mahadebpur) lie in the Barind and two (Naogaon and Panchupur) in the *ganja* area, is by far the most

progressive part of the district, all its thanas contributing to the increase. It is now more populous by 22 per cent. than it was in 1891, whereas the Sadar subdivision has remained practically stationary, the increase at this census not having made up entirely for the loss in 1901. The Nator subdivision is steadily declining and has lost 11 per cent. of its population the last 20 years.

236. The district of Dinajpur is a flat alluvial plain broken in the south by the Barind, which rises in low undulating ridges, and in the north-west by low hills along the Kulik river. It is well drained, and the rainfall is abundant and well-

distributed; but these advantages are minimized by the prevalence of fever of a malignant type. A comparatively thinly peopled district, its population has been steadily growing, the ratio of increase, though never very great, rising at each successive census. Conditions between 1901 and 1910 were generally favourable to a further increase. The death rate was the highest in North Bengal, but was surpassed by the birth rate (43·7 per mille), the result being an excess of 45,626 of births over deaths. There was some scarcity during 1908 and 1909 in the west of the

district and in the south-east corner in Ghoraghat, which was met by the distribution of loans and relief works. All distress disappeared with the bumper crops reaped next year, and it does not seem to have affected the growth of population, for during these two years there were 17,000 more births and 11,500 less deaths than in the two preceding years.

237. The increase disclosed by the census is far greater than is apparent

from the vital statistics, amounting to 121,018 or 7·7 per cent. The difference is due to the largely enhanced number of immigrants, of whom there are 65,000 more than in 1901, while emigrants have only increased by 6,000. The

immigrants are mainly found in the Barind, where they are fast reclaiming the waste: they are nearly all aboriginals, such as Santals, Mundas and Oraons, who have increased from 90,345 to 131,668. Owing mainly to their presence, all the thanas in the Barind, viz., Kaliganj, Banshihari, Parbatipur and Nawabganj of the Sadar subdivision and the whole of the Balurghat subdivision, have increases of over 10 per cent. The Thakurgaon subdivision, which grew by 2 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, is now practically stationary, one thana only (Pirganj) having gained population. This subdivision suffers severely from malaria, and the loss it thereby sustains is not compensated for by immigration, as in the Sadar and Balurghat subdivisions.

238. Between 1872 and 1891 there was a continuous growth of population in Jalpaiguri due to the development of the tea industry (which was introduced in 1874) and to the influx of labourers and cultivators. The increase was, however, almost

DINAJPUR.	POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
	1911.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,687,863	+ 7·72	+ 5·70	
Sadar Subdivision	594,954	+ 9·04	+ 4·04	
Dinajpur (Kotwali)	217,775	+ 4·08	+ 0·31	
Kaliganj	116,360	+ 10·68	+ 4·96	
Baliganj	88,520	+ 3·08	+ 1·36	
Banshihari	99,692	+ 15·31	+ 3·31	
Parbatipur	94,044	+ 12·99	+ 8·41	
Nawabganj	88,362	+ 17·08	+ 13·71	
Balurghat Subdivision	447,343	+ 15·77	+ 14·21	
Patniala	110,181	+ 17·34	+ 19·05	
Pera	83,605	+ 15·88	+ 8·79	
Balurghat (Patnam)	104,501	+ 14·22	+ 25·96	
Gangarampur	95,686	+ 14·30	+ 4·99	
Phulbari (Chintamani)	71,370	+ 15·93	+ 13·87	
Thakurgaon Subdivision	545,566	+ 0·46	+ 2·20	
Thakurgaon	229,671	+ 1·65	+ 1·39	
Raniakali	72,981	+ 0·99	+ 0·45	
Pirganj	104,503	+ 6·41	+ 3·86	
Birganj	144,411	+ 0·47	+ 4·16	

DINAJPUR.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	889,876	797,987	823,862	742,993
Immigrants	119,502	77,541	80,789	51,214
Emigrants	11,056	12,434	8,420	8,773
Natural population	781,430	732,870	731,483	700,559

entirely confined to the Western Duars, *i.e.*, the country lying along the foot

JALPAIGURI.	POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
	1911.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	
DISTRICT TOTAL	902,660	+ 1479	+ 1570	
Sadar Subdivision	699,959	+ 495	+ 988	
Jalpaiguri	85,788	+ 470	- 070	
Rajaul	75,480	+ 408	- 231	
Bode	103,401	- 037	- 072	
Pathgram	58,624	+ 492	- 228	
Mainaguri	200,636	+ 973	+ 2117	
Damdin	116,035	+ 727	+ 2826	
Alipore Subdivision	202,701	+ 6983	+ 6475	
Alipore	126,560	+ 8149	+ 7001	
Falakata	76,121	+ 5845	+ 3757	

of the Himalayas between the Tista and Sankos rivers, which comprises the Alipur subdivision (thanas Alipur and Falakata) and two thanas in the Sadar subdivision, *viz.*, Mainaguri (with the Dhupguri outpost) and Damdim. In this area there was a remarkable increase, the tea gardens having attracted labour, while new settlers came in from other districts and the Cooch Behar State, as well as from the west of the district. With regard to the condition of the district during the past decade, the Deputy Commissioner (Mr. Lees) writes:—"The chief feature of the history of the past ten years is the great expansion of cultivation, especially in the Alipur subdivision. There are now few jungle blocks in the district outside the reserved forests. The rapid development of the tea industry between 1881 and 1891, when the area under tea rose from 35,683 acres to 76,158 acres, suffered some check owing to the depression of the tea industry, but the area under tea has now risen to 88,000 acres. Almost all the available land which is suited for tea cultivation in this district has now been taken up, and further expansion of tea cultivation cannot be very great. The decade was a period of prosperity without any serious flood or other calamity." There were, it is true, severe floods in 1902, 1906 and 1910, but comparatively little damage was done to the crops. Epidemics of cholera broke out in the two last years, and also in 1908, a year of deficient rainfall, carrying off altogether 5,000 persons. Fever, which is endemic in this Tarai district, continued unabated. Of all the districts in North Bengal only Dinajpur had a higher death-rate, and the excess of births over deaths was only 4,646.

239. The census shows an addition to the population of 116,334, or 14·8

JALPAIGURI.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	490,228	412,432	422,550	283,976
Immigrants	123,309	111,569	104,914	88,309
Emigrants	9,477	11,222	7,365	9,271
Natural population	346,396	311,792	324,591	290,538

per cent. since 1901: the emigrants have also increased, but only by 3,573, leaving a balance of 73,472 in favour of the district. The population in the Western Duars has continued to grow rapidly, the percentage of increase

CENSUS.	INCREASE IN—	
	District.	Western Duars.
1901	100,350	103,401
1901	106,708	114,550
1911	116,334	108,766

naturally the first to attract new cultivators. They filled up rapidly, and there is now little waste land available for new settlers. In the Alipur subdivision, however, cultivation is extending in every direction, and there is a constant stream of immigrants attracted by the fertility of the land and the lowness of the rents. In the rest of the district there has been a

per cent., for which immigration is mainly responsible, the natural population having increased by only 7 per cent. There are now no less than 265,268 immigrants in the district, their number having risen by 77,045 or 41 per cent. since 1901: the emigrants have also increased, but only by 3,573, leaving a balance of 73,472 in favour of the district. The population in the Western Duars has continued to grow rapidly, the percentage of increase being 26 per cent.: the marginal table sufficiently shows the effect its development has had on the expansion of the district. While, however, the Alipur subdivision to the east has grown by no less than 70 per cent., the percentage of increase in Mainaguri and Damdim, in the west, is only 9 and 8 per cent., respectively, whereas it was 31 and 28 per cent. in 1901. These two thanas, lying nearest to the old settled tracts, were

small natural growth of population, varying only from 4 to 5 per cent., except in the Boda thana, which records a slight loss: this thana is an old settled tract, with a fairly high density of population, which offers no prospects to immigrants, and is decadent, having lost population at each census since 1881.

240. No district in either Province exhibits more clearly the effect of settled peace than Darjeeling. Writing in 1854, Sir Joseph Hooker said that there were not a hundred inhabitants under British protection when Darjeeling was first trans-

DARJEELING.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	265,550	+ 6.65	+ 11.55
Sadar Subdivision	152,097	+ 13.96	+ 26.33
Darjeeling	75,367	+ 8.34	+ 18.78
Jorhanga cw	27,210	+ 20.86	+ 24.93
Kalimpong	49,520	+ 19.72	+ 52.97
Kurseong Subdivision	41,207	- 6.81	+ 1.39
Kurseong	41,207	- 6.81	+ 1.39
Siliguri Subdivision	72,246	+ 2.53	- 3.47
Siliguri	72,246	+ 2.53	- 3.47

ferred, but that, during the two years in which he witnessed its development, its progress resembled that of an Australian colony not only in the amount of building, but also in the accession of native families from the surrounding countries.* The influx of immigrants has continued almost unabated up to the present time, and the population has been nearly trebled during the 39 years over which the census returns extend. The census of 1881 disclosed an addition of 64 per cent., which was partly due, however, to the incompleteness of the first enumeration, and this was followed by an increase of 43.5 per cent. in 1891. During the next decade the rate of progress was reduced to 11.55 per cent., owing largely to the depression of the tea industry. The rate of progress in these ten years was very different in the hills and the Tarai at their base. The former is a healthy tract, where the development of the tea industry has attracted labour, while new settlers have come in to bring waste lands under the plough. The latter is an unhealthy tract, the inhabitants of which are sodden with fever. It sustained a loss of 3.5 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, whereas there was a growth of nearly 15 per cent. in the hills.

241. The present census shows a decline in the rate of increase, the actual addition of population being 16,433, or 6.65 per cent. The explanation is that there is only a limited area in which there is room for an increase of population. Over one-third of the district is covered by reserved forests, while the tea gardens extend over about one-seventh of its area. While they were being opened out and developed, labour poured in and a phenomenal growth of population resulted. Now all the land suitable for tea cultivation, within the area reserved for it, has been taken up. On the tea gardens therefore no considerable increase of population can be expected. As it is, tea occupies a third of the cropped area, and the tea gardens employ a labour force of 53,000, or one-fifth of the total population of the district. As regards ordinary cultivation, only one-third of the district is cultivable, and it cannot therefore hope to support a teeming agricultural population. Even in Kalimpong, where nearly half the land is reserved for native cultivation, it is recognized that it has reached the limit of safety in some parts, and in such localities it has been found necessary to prohibit further extension.

The net result is a progressive decline in the rate of increase and a shrinkage of the volume of immigration. The immigrant population decreased between 1891 and 1901, and there is now a further falling off of 7,000. The immigrants still, however, account for two-fifths per cent. of the total population, and, as pointed out in the last Census Report, the reduction in their numbers merely means that the flow of fresh immigrants is growing less and not that it is closing. The earlier foreign-born immigrants are dying out, and their place is being taken by their children born in Darjeeling.

* *Himalayan Journals*. Sir Joseph Hooker refers to the hills portion of the district excluding Kalimpong, which was then part of Bhutan.

242. To turn to the variations of population in different parts of the

DARJEELING.	1911.		1901	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population	142,094	122,456	122,000	116,112
Immigrants	87,102	80,056	71,289	53,102
Emigrants	3,863	4,543	3,128	2,546
Natural population	60,829	77,953	47,583	60,564

district, the most progressive thanas are Jorbungalow and Kalimpong. The former grew by 24·5 per cent. between 1891 and 1901 and now records a further increase of 20·9 per cent. In the latter the rate of growth has fallen from 55·9 per cent. to 19·3 per cent., a result due to the check imposed on immigration by the small proportion of cultivable land that is left. As stated in the District Gazetteer (1907):—"Whether the volume of immigration will be so great in the future is very doubtful. The best lands have been taken up, those now being developed consist of the poorer and more remote lands, which have been the last to attract settlers, though they are largely taken up by those who can get no good land elsewhere, and there are only 30 square miles of reclaimable jungle left." The growth in the Darjeeling thana is normal and calls for no remarks. The Kurseong subdivision, which was almost stationary in 1901, has now sustained a loss. In that year it was shown that the tea garden population was slightly reduced, but this loss was more than counterbalanced by the access of new settlers for ordinary cultivation, and to some extent by the development of the town of Kurseong. The result of this census seems to show that the limit which the land can support has been reached, and it appears probable that some of the cultivators have moved to Kalimpong and Jorbungalow. The Tarai (Siliguri subdivision) has a slight increase, but it has not yet entirely made good the loss that occurred between 1891 and 1901, and the number of its inhabitants is still slightly less than it was 20 years ago.

243. The population of Rangpur declined at each census until 1901, when an increase of 4·3 per cent. brought back the number of its inhabitants to the same figure as in 1872. The improvement in 1901 was due in great measure to

RANGPUR.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,385,330	+ 10·73	+ 4·30
Sadar Subdivision	683,127	+ 3·77	+ 1·84
Bangpur (Kotwali)	147,292	+ 3·70	+ 7·53
Mahiganj	102,027	- 4·09	- 2·41
Kahiganj	150,181	+ 4·36	+ 1·69
Badarganj	28,244	+ 3·74	+ 7·96
Mitchapukur	36,813	+ 5·32	+ 5·73
Itraaj	77,386	+ 10·98	+ 2·79
Nilphamari Subdivision	491,860	+ 6·38	+ 3·01
Nilphamari	156,796	+ 5·15	+ 9·97
Dima	139,692	+ 3·98	+ 2·32
Jaldhaka	185,372	+ 9·20	+ 1·78
Kurigram Subdivision	539,520	+ 15·29	+ 1·31
Kurigram	85,634	+ 14·15	+ 4·62
Lalmantiriak (Bansbari)	121,360	+ 4·70	+ 4·27
Nagahwar	145,137	+ 10·19	+ 0·65
Ulipur	227,549	+ 26·48	+ 1·82
Gaibandha Subdivision	620,623	+ 18·91	+ 12·22
Gaibandha	231,731	+ 19·34	+ 14·86
Gobindganj	206,512	+ 17·49	+ 10·96
Sundarganj	100,049	+ 24·49	+ 1·80
Ranghata	76,491	+ 14·36	+ 12·65

244. The improvement in the general condition of the people continued between 1901 and 1910. The crops were good and the people prosperous except in 1908-09, when there was scarcity in parts of the Sadar and Gaibandha subdivisions, which was relieved by means of loans and does not seem to have affected the growth of population to any appreciable extent. The Kaunia-Bonarpara line has been opened, and, as it touches the town of Gaibandha, has done much to open out that subdivision, while the extension

immigration; if this were left out of account, the increment would barely have exceeded 1 per cent. Immigration was stimulated by the extension of railway communications, for the Gaibandha subdivision was rendered more accessible by the line running from Santahar to Fulchhari on the Brahmaputra, the Cooch Behar Railway was opened to traffic, and the Tista river was bridged. The earthquake of 1897, moreover, appears to have had beneficial effects on the public health; for by changing the levels of a great part of the district, it facilitated its drainage, and consequently malaria seems to have been less prevalent.

of the Eastern Bengal State Railway, first to Dhubri and then to Gauhati, has established direct communication between Assam and Calcutta.

The ravages of malaria diminished, and, though there was some recrudescence after 1905, the number of births exceeded the reported deaths by no less than 133,512 or 6·2 per cent. The increase of population returned at the census is nearly 100,000 more, amounting to 231,215 or 10·7 per cent. To

RANGPUR.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	1,254,717	1,130,611	1,134,991	1,029,124
Immigrants ...	125,451	59,639	80,450	26,996
Emigrants ...	32,249	22,290	36,602	27,470
Natural population ...	1,161,115	1,107,260	1,071,263	1,027,598

this increase immigrants have contributed largely, for they are more numerous by 69,000 than in 1901, while the district has only lost 7,000 by the exodus of the native born. Owing partly to immigration and partly to natural causes, the Muhammadans, who pre-

ponderate in the district, have increased by 14·54 per cent., while the Hindus have increased only by 3·46 per cent. The greatest growth of population has taken place in the Kurigram (15·3 per cent.) and Gaibandha (18·9 per cent.) subdivisions, where there has been a great influx of Musalmans from Pabna and Mymensingh, who have settled on the *chars* of the Brahmaputra. In the Nilphamari and Sadar subdivisions the rate of progress has been influenced more by natural causes than by immigration. Both these subdivisions suffer from fever and epidemics of cholera: the former has gained 6·4 per cent. and the latter only 3·8 per cent. All thanas, however, are progressive except Mahiganj, which has been decadent since 1881.

245. The Karatoya river traverses Bogra from north to south and divides it into two unequal portions with distinct characteristics. The eastern portion is covered with the alluvium of the lower Brahmaputra valley, while the western and larger portion forms part of the Barind.

BOGRA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	983,567	+ 15·24	+ 11·78
Bogra ...	270,000	...*	...
Adamdighi ...	108,752	...*	...
Dupchanchia ...	48,878	...*	...
Barindakandi ...	132,333	+ 15·29	+ 16·18
Rubganj ...	92,170	+ 20·78	+ 15·45
Panchabhi ...	107,963	+ 21·30	+ 22·06
Khetia ...	63,483	+ 23·22	+ 11·24
Sherpur ...	54,448	+ 2·45	+ 7·09
Dhunot ...	33,298	+ 2·70	+ 18·69

* Figures showing the percentage of variation in Bogra, Adamdighi and Dupchanchia are not available owing to changes of jurisdiction.

has been a sustained and fairly rapid growth of population, the increment recorded both in 1891 and 1901 exceeding 11 per cent. Conditions during the decennium ending in 1910 were favourable to a further advance. The resources of the district were developed by the railway, running from west to east through Bogra, which was completed in 1900-01. Good harvests were reaped throughout the first half of the decade, and though there was some scarcity in 1908-09 and 1909-10, it was short-lived and the cultivators were able to tide over their difficulties by means of loans. The public health was, on the whole, good, and the births exceeded the deaths by 100,932, representing an increase of 11·8 per cent. on the population of 1901.

246. The increase of 130,063 or 15·2 per cent. brought to light by the census is mainly due to natural growth. Compared with 1901 there is a net gain of only 15,431 from increased migration, immigrants having risen from 37,897 to 63,148 and emigrants from 15,756 to 25,576. All parts of the district contribute to the

BOGRA.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	409,528	481,041	436,571	416,833
Immigrants ...	87,790	23,368	22,358	13,539
Emigrants ...	19,959	12,617	8,137	7,619
Natural population ...	477,708	468,290	422,600	408,712

increase. The least progress has been made by the Sherpur thana, an unhealthy tract lying along the moribund Karatoya river: here the deaths during the decade exceeded the births, and there would have been a loss of population but for the immigration of aboriginals and others, who are bringing the jungle under cultivation. The higher ratio of increase (5·7 per cent.) in thana Dhunot, a fertile area which is the most densely populated part of the district, is due to natural growth and not to immigration. In the other thanas, which are mostly healthy and dry, the increase is due to the combined effect of natural causes and immigration. One noticeable feature of the increase is that the Hindus, who were practically stationary between 1891 and 1901, have now increased by 8·24 per cent. The Muhammadans, who form the bulk of the population, show still greater improvement, the ratio of increase among them having risen from 5·6 to 16 per cent.

247. Between 1872 and 1881 the population of Pabna increased by 8·3 per cent., but part of the increase is attributable to the incompleteness of the first census. In 1891 there was a gain of 3·85 per cent., while in 1901 there was a further addition of 4·3 per cent. Between 1901 and 1910 the growth of population was retarded. Crops were poor in the first four years and the jute trade slack in the last three. High floods occurred in 1903, 1906 and 1910, of which that of 1906 did considerable damage to the crops, while the inundation of 1910 caused some temporary distress. In four of the ten years the reported deaths exceeded the births, and in the decade as a

THANA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,478,536	+ 0·51	+ 4·34
Sadar Subdivision	539,266	+ 2·04	+ 2·10
Sainthia (Dulai)	169,940	+ 2·08	+ 7·20
Pabna	204,004	+ 2·30	+ 6·21
Mathura	94,616	+ 7·20	+ 6·33
Chatmohar	130,596	+ 1·85	+ 2·99
Sirajganj Subdivision	829,310	- 0·57	+ 9·42
Sirajganj	370,168	+ 2·27	+ 10·93
Shahadpur	256,336	+ 2·31	+ 8·78
Raiganj	104,370	+ 1·96	+ 11·96
Ullapara	194,436	+ 1·29	+ 7·17

whole there was a loss, the deaths outnumbering the births by 11,238. "Malaria," writes the District Magistrate "is a permanent scourge and has its strongest hold in thanas Sainthia (formerly Dulai) and Chatmohar of the Sadar subdivision and in Raiganj and Ullapara in the Sirajganj subdivision. Thana Pabna in the Sadar subdivision is not free from its ravages. This is due mostly to the existence of a number of *bils* of various sizes in the interior, in most of which the water lies stagnant almost all the year round except in years of excessive flood."

248. There has, according to the recent census, been an increase of 7,191, or only one-half per cent. No less than 7,154 persons however were employed on the Lower Ganges bridge works at Sara, of whom the majority were newcomers from outside districts: if they are left out of account, the increase is entirely wiped out. The returns for birth place show that since 1901

PABNA.	1911.		1901.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population	713,591	704,996	709,840	711,847
Immigrants	44,770	20,190	34,130	14,303
Emigrants	34,847	48,929	29,917	34,304
Natural population	723,514	726,257	715,013	721,846

immigrants have increased from 49,040 to 64,900 and emigrants from 64,305 to 102,667. The loss by emigration thus considerably exceeds the gain by immigration, the net loss being 22,502, which added to the excess of deaths over births, should have caused a considerable decrease of population: it is therefore open to question whether the vital statistics are correct. There was an increase of 12,515 or 2 per cent. in the Sadar subdivision, of which more than half was due to the employes enumerated in the Lower Ganges bridge works: without them the Pabna thana would have sustained a loss. In Chatmohar, a malarious area, there is a slight decrease, and in Sainthia a slight increase, while Mathura, which has a better climate and more fertile soil, has a substantial growth. The population declined in all the thanas of Sirajganj subdivision, except the Sirajganj thana, where there was a very small

increase. The loss in Raiganj and Ullapara is due to the ravages of malaria. As regards the decrease in this subdivision, the Subdivisional Officer writes: "It is difficult to account for the fall in population shown by this census, but I am of opinion that the ravages of malaria have had a serious effect. The jute trade appears also to have reached its high water-mark as regards the number of persons employed. No attempt has been made to revive or rebuild the jute mill at Sirajganj, which fell in the earthquake of 1897 and used to employ about 2,000 hands. The immigration of Bunas into Raiganj thana has gone on steadily, but this has been more than counterbalanced by the emigration of cultivators from the riparian tracts to the districts of Rangpur and Goalpara, where they find more land for settlement." But for emigration the subdivision as a whole would have shown an increase instead of a decrease.

249. Malda consists of two distinct tracts separated by the river Mahananda. The western portion is composed of recent alluvium, a part of it being still subject to the fluvial action of the Ganges. The eastern portion lies in the

MALDA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,004,159	+13·88	+ 8·49
Gomastapur	67,414	+ 11·77	+ 6·81
English Bazar	94,617	+ 4·61	+ 6·33
Nawabganj	71,274	- 0·54	- 1·63
Kaliachak	164,801	+ 11·20	+ 14·30
Sibganj	150,371	+ 13·79	+ 11·91
Khatra	82,599	+ 14·37	+ 16·41
Ratan	133,098	+ 22·16	+ 4·43
Talimukh	57,203	+ 12·90	+ 9·38
Old Malda	84,222	+ 16·41	+ 22·90
Gajol	96,763	+ 21·02	+ 22·00

Barind, which has an undulating surface and stiff laterite soil. The population has been growing steadily in spite of the prevalence of malaria. An increase of 14·5 per cent. was recorded in 1891, and another increase of 8·5 per cent. in 1901. Between 1891 and 1901 the greatest progress was made by the Gajol and Old Malda thanas in the Barind, two sparsely populated areas where Santals settled in large numbers. There were also large increases in Kaliachak and Sibganj to the south-west, where new alluvial formations attracted a number of Musalman cultivators from Murshidabad on the other side of the Ganges, as well as from English Bazar and Nawabganj in this district: the two latter thanas consequently sustained a loss.

250. Since 1901 the district has made steady progress. The births exceeded the deaths in every year but 1907, the result being a net excess of 98,484 or 11·2 per cent. on the population of 1901. The crops were good except in 1908-09, when short rainfall led to a failure of the winter rice crop—the principal crop in the Barind area—and some distress was experienced, which was remedied by the issue of loans and the opening of relief works. In the rest of the district, however, good *bhadoi* and *rabi* crops were obtained and, owing to the high prices of food-grains, the condition of the people was, if anything, more prosperous than in other years. The scarcity had no deterrent effect on the growth of population: on the contrary, the birth-rate in 1909 (52 per mille) was higher and the death-rate (29·4 per mille) lower than in any other year of the decade. The most important feature in the economic history of the decade was the opening of the Katihar-Godagari Railway, which traverses the district from north to south. The railway has already done much to develop the district. The Collector reports—"At every railway station a bazar has sprung up, and the cultivator has profited largely by the competition of traders in jute, rice and other country produce. Growers of the mango fruit are now able to reach markets at a greater distance and command better prices. Another result has been to facilitate immigration into the thinly populated areas in the east of the district."

251. The outcome of the above conditions is a gain of 122,425 or 13·9 per cent. This increase is to be attributed to natural causes, for though there has been a greater influx of immigrants, the outward movement of the people has resulted in a corresponding increase in the number of emigrants. The immigrants consist chiefly of Santals, who are reclaiming waste lands in the Barind, and of Musalmans who cultivate the new alluvial formations

in the *diara* tract, besides Bihari settlers who come into the northern

MALDA.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	499,547	505,812	439,497	445,237
Immigrants ...	64,878	54,193	35,070	42,817
Emigrants ...	21,364	20,140	13,220	13,544
Natural population ...	455,237	471,559	394,647	413,968

thanas of the district and into Manikchak. The Santals alone have increased by 14,394 during the past decade. Population increased in every thana except Nawabganj, in which there was a small decrease owing to the diluviation of their lands having compelled a certain number of the people

to move to other thanas in the district. English Bazar, in which there was a decrease of 6·23 per cent. in 1901 (attributed to declining trade, unhealthiness and migration to adjoining thanas) now shows an increase of 4·61 per cent. The proportional growth in all the remaining thanas exceeds 10 per cent. As in other districts of North and East Bengal, the Muhammadans have a larger share in the increase than the Hindus, owing to their numerical superiority as well as to their greater procreative capacity.

252. From 1881 to 1901 Cooch Behar suffered from persistent unhealthiness, and both the census of 1891 and that of 1901 showed a declining population, the decrease recorded being 3·9 per cent. and 2 per cent., respectively. Conditions during the decade ending in 1910 were more favourable. Fever, which is the scourge of this low-lying water-logged country, showed some abatement, while cholera, from severe epidemics of which the State suffers periodically, was not so prevalent; the number of deaths due to it was 9,000 as compared with 17,000 in the previous decade. There was a serious inundation in 1906,

COOCH BEHAR.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
TOTAL ...	592,952	+ 4·58	- 2·05
Kotwali ...	150,608	+ 7·40	- 4·4
Tufanganj ...	90,147	+ 9·14	- 1·5
Dinhata ...	148,329	+ 8·22	- 2·0
Matabhanga ...	142,804	+ 1·75	- 3·3
Mekliganj ...	51,546	+ 2·87	- 1·0
Haldibari ...	39,522	+ 5·01	+ 9·9

from which the north of the Matabhanga subdivision suffered most, but otherwise there were no seasonal calamities. Cultivation expanded, the cultivators benefited by the rise in the price of agricultural produce, and there was an increasing demand for labour, which was met by the import of coolies from up-country. The Gauhati extension of the Eastern Bengal State Railway (from Gitaldaha to Gauhati) was built during the decade and has already helped to open out the south-east of the State.

253. The result of the census is to show an increase of 25,978 or 4·6 per cent., part of which is due to immigration, the immigrant population being greater by over 10,000 than in 1901, while the number of emigrants has risen by a little under 4,000. These immigrants are mostly temporary, and the males outnumber the females by 2 to 1. All parts of the district share in the increase, but the most progressive is Tufanganj, a sparsely-inhabited area, where there has been a rapid extension of cultivation. It is closely followed by the Cooch Behar (Kotwali) thana, which has gained by immigration from Mekliganj. Haldibari, a thriving jute-centre, has a normal increase of 5 per cent. The least progress has been made in Matabhanga, which suffered from the floods of 1906, and is reported to be the most unhealthy part of the State. The small increase in Mekliganj is due to the fact that it lost to the Cooch Behar thana, while Dinhata was visited by a severe epidemic of cholera in 1909.

COOCH BEHAR.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	318,548	276,404	301,382	265,592
Immigrants ...	36,293	18,849	27,894	16,909
Emigrants ...	18,121	17,115	18,761	15,792
Natural population ...	299,375	274,670	290,329	264,413

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EAST BENGAL.

254. The Khulna district was created in 1881, when the census showed a small increase of 3·2 per cent. This was followed by a further increase of 9 per cent. in

KHULNA.

1891, but the percentage of growth was reduced to 6·4 per cent. in 1901.

KHULNA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,366,766	+ 9·08	
Sadar Subdivision	441,245	+ 10·07	
Kulma	129,870	+ 3·20	
Demuria	94,624	+ 3·22	
Baltaghat	43,560	+ 7·13	
Paikgachha	133,191	+ 22·88	
Satkhira Subdivision	547,380	+ 11·91	
Kalaroa	73,661	+ 2·67	
Magura	90,241	+ 2·37	
Satkhira	111,749	+ 8·90	
Kaliganj	204,267	+ 31·47	
Asasuni	62,262	+ 16·24	
Bagherhat Subdivision	378,141	+ 4·16	
Mollahat	61,337	+ 0·01	
Bagherhat	164,130	+ 3·22	
Rampal	69,179	+ 6·74	
Morviganj	83,495	+ 7·70	

This latter census disclosed considerable variations in different parts. While the Sadar subdivision in the centre of the district had an increase of 17·7 per cent., the ratio was only 6·6 per cent. in the Bagherhat subdivision to the east, while there was a falling off of 1·5 per cent. in the Satkhira subdivision to the west, where, however, the decrease was practically confined to the two unhealthy thanas of Kalaroa and Asasuni.

255. The condition of the people was generally prosperous in the decade succeeding the census of 1901. The east of the district benefited by the construction of a light railway from Barasat to Basirhat,

which was opened in 1905-06, while the deepening and widening of the Madaripur Khal, so as make it navigable throughout the year, were of immense advantage to the jute trade. The health of the people was on the whole good, the births during the decade exceeding the deaths by 93,000. The crops were fair, and though the poorest classes felt the pinch of high prices from 1906 to 1909, the cultivators benefited by the enhanced value of their crops. There was a severe cyclone in October 1909, accompanied by a tidal wave which carried all before it along the waterways near the sea-face. Cattle were destroyed in thousands (the estimated loss was 80,000), trees blown down on all sides, *kutcha* buildings levelled to the ground, and the rivers swept clear of country boats. Fortunately, however, there was very little loss of human life, and only slight damage was done to the rice crop. The rainfall in the previous part of the year had moreover been copious and well distributed, and next year bumper crops were reaped.

256. The increase of population disclosed by the census is 113,723 or 9 per cent.—a result due to natural growth, rather than to any large accretion from outside districts. Though the immigrant outnumbers the emigrant population, the excess is only 15,000, whereas in 1901 it was nearly 40,000, the change being due to emigrants increasing by 14,000 and immigrants falling off by 11,000. All parts of the district have progressed in a major or minor degree.

KHULNA.	1911.	1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male. Female.
Actual population	109,379	657,187	653,470 999,378
Immigrants	80,914	35,816	43,697 22,090
Emigrants	29,115	19,732	14,066 11,818
Natural population	694,760	633,163	622,841 380,366

The variations seem to depend on two factors, viz., the relative healthiness and unhealthiness of different parts, and the reclamation of cultivable land on the fringe of the Sundarbans. On the former point the conclusions of the Bengal Drainage Committee were—“(a) The district is not conspicuously

unhealthy in any part; (b) malaria is prevalent, but not especially so; (c) the most malarious thanas are Kalaroa, Mollahat, Magura and perhaps Satkhira; and (d) the least malarious are Kaliganj, Paikgachha, Asasuni and Rampal.”

257. On the whole, the most unhealthy part is the northern tract adjoining Jessore, and the central portion of the district is not so insalubrious, as it is more open and the jungle less dense. In the Sundarbans, to the south of this cultivated belt, there are few permanent inhabitants, the land being low and subject to inundation, and fresh water scarcely obtainable. It is on the northern edge of this latter tract that cultivation is advancing most rapidly. To this cause and to their comparative healthiness must be ascribed the uniformly large increase (16 to 23 per cent.) in Kaliganj, Paikgachha and Asasuni, which all lie along the central line of the Sundarbans. The three thanas, which were classified by the Drainage Committee as malarious, viz., Kalaroa and Magura on the north-west and Mollahat on the north-east, have advanced very slightly, the ratio of increase in the two

former being under 3 per cent., while Mollahat is stationary. Satkhira, about the unhealthiness of which there was some doubt, has added 8·9 per cent. to its population, owing mainly to its development by the light railway : at the previous census it decreased by 1·75 per cent., in consequence of bad health and the loss of trade caused by the diversion of its boat traffic.

Considering the variations in the population of each subdivision, the rate of advance has been rapid in the Satkhira and Sadar subdivisions, but comparatively slow in the Bagerhat subdivision. It was noticed in the last census report that the clearance of jungle in the Sundarbans was proceeding at a relatively slow rate in this last subdivision, and the same feature is now even more marked. This is partly due to the cyclone of 1909, which killed off the deer, and consequently led to an increase in the number of man-killing tigers in this part of the Sundarbans : how serious an obstacle these brutes are to the expansion of cultivation is familiar to all having a knowledge of the Sundarbans.

258. Hemmed in on three sides by the Jamuna, Padma and Meghna,

DACCA.

Dacca is subject to all the vicissitudes of alluvion and diluvion, as well as to the periodic inundation and silt fertilization characteristic of Eastern Bengal. These great rivers, as

DACCA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,960,402	+ 11·95	+ 10·61
Sadar Subdivision	1,013,819	+ 14·99	+ 11·45
Dacca (Kotwali)	118,566	+ 31·33	+ 13·02
Keraniganj	242,047	+ 16·89	+ 10·76
Kupata	230,006	+ 36·13	+ 22·33
Narabaganj	173,803	+ 1·73	+ 0·09
Sadar	264,575	+ 12·17	+ 12·72
Narayanganj Subdivision	779,564	+ 17·99	+ 15·00
Narayanganj	187,761	+ 18·84	+ 14·32
Islipata	329,094	+ 18·88	+ 15·70
Ropganj	262,709	+ 16·30	+ 14·63
Munshiganj Subdivision	692,407	+ 9·34	+ 9·86
Munshiganj	319,221	+ 6·67	+ 10·35
Srinagar	377,186	+ 11·67	+ 9·52
Manickganj Subdivision	474,812	+ 1·25	+ 4·46
Manickganj	221,377	+ 6·55	+ 3·97
Seabe (Gheor)	158,046	+ 1·17	+ 7·61
Hartmanspore	95,389	+ 5·79	+ 1·11

towards Mymensingh, which is higher and undulating, is somewhat sparsely populated, but is now being rapidly opened out, on account of the pressure on the soil in other parts of the district. Between 1872 and 1901 there was an increase of over 10 per cent. at each census, and in the year last named the population was greater by 45 per cent. than it was 29 years before.

259. During the past decade there has been nothing to retard the further growth of the people. It

DACCA.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Total population	1,477,690	1,482,712	1,309,723	1,334,702
Immigrants	74,640	39,981	56,767	28,632
Emigrants	124,345	55,338	34,842	33,645
Natural population	1,327,985	1,496,099	1,217,909	1,329,615

district ; the distress, however, was temporary and not sufficient to call for relief measures. The census shows an increase of 315,967 or 12 per cent., which is due entirely to natural growth, for, compared with 1901, the balance of migration is against the district, causing a loss of 20,000. Both emigration and immigration are more active than in 1901, but while the number of immigrants has risen by 29,322, the increase of emigrants is 49,416. The latter number 177,903, but the excess of males over females shows that 45 per cent. are temporary absentees.

well as numerous smaller streams which intersect the district, annually flush and fertilize the land, except in an elevated tract to the north, which includes the Madhupur Jungle. Malaria, which checks the growth of population in so many districts, has no strong hold over this district, except in a small area on the western side. Blest with a fertile soil, a good water-supply, a healthy climate and a comparatively high standard of material prosperity, the people in this favoured tract are multiplying with great rapidity, though most of the district is very densely populated. The northern part

It was a period of general prosperity and good health, the only year in which there was any interruption to the even tenor of development being 1906, when unusually high floods led to a failure of crops in part of the dis-

260. The Sadar subdivision, where cultivation is spreading fast in the Madhupur Jungle, has an increase of 15 per cent. Both the Dacca and Kapasia thanas have grown by over 20 per cent., owing to the development of Dacca city in the former and the expansion of cultivation in the latter. The increase in thana Nawabganj is very small, although there has been an accelerated rate of progress compared with the previous decade. The density in this thana is extremely high, and there is a considerable exodus of its male inhabitants; in consequence of this the females exceed the males by one-eighth. The increase of 18 per cent. in the Narayanganj subdivision is evenly distributed between the thanas comprised in it. It is a fertile healthy tract, to which up-country immigrants are attracted in increasing numbers by the demands of the jute industry, and from which there is very little emigration. In the Munshiganj subdivision the increase amounts to 9·3 per cent., which is very little less than at the previous census. The density in this subdivision is the highest in Eastern Bengal, and there is, in consequence, a flow of emigration from it. The rate of progress has diminished in thana Munshiganj, but increased in thana Srinagar in spite of its higher density. The least progressive part of the district is the Manikganj subdivision. Situated between the Dhaleswari and Padma, it is liable to constant changes by alluvion and diluvion. In recent years it has lost by diluvion, the Padma having cut away a considerable area along the western boundary in thanas Sealo and Harirampur. The rate of increase has now fallen from 4·5 to 1·25 per cent. owing mainly to this outward movement.

261. The Madhupur Jungle divides Mymensingh into two unequal and ethnically dissimilar portions. The western and smaller portion, which is watered and drained by the Jamuna, resembles in its general character the alluvial tract on the

MYMENSINGH.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	4,526,422	+ 15·53	+ 12·75
Sadar Subdivision	1,185,330	+ 21·26	+ 14·59
Mymensingh (Kotwali)	225,227	+ 16·21	+ 14·40
Phulbari	120,631	+ 16·24	+ 18·09
Gabergao	149,789	+ 18·81	+ 12·24
Nandali	132,371	+ 14·25	+ 9·72
Iswardganj	185,796	+ 21·24	+ 12·10
Phulpur	216,129	+ 21·21	+ 17·67
Muktasarcha	95,407	+ 22·28	+ 14·40
Netrakona Subdivision	655,295	+ 14·01	+ 7·12
Netrakona	199,937	+ 18·42	+ 8·41
Kendua	175,484	+ 14·17	+ 10·28
Durgapora	127,036	+ 11·18	+ 1·72
Borhatia	123,772	+ 10·99	+ 8·61
Khollajuri	29,165	+ 17·39	+ 10·28
Jamapora Subdivision	813,306	+ 20·23	+ 16·10
Jamapora	255,460	+ 20·37	+ 15·94
Nalitabari	124,633	+ 25·27	+ 16·01
Dewanganj	177,333	+ 19·99	+ 11·72
Sierpara	179,634	+ 22·85	+ 21·19
Madarganj	76,863	+ 8·25	+ 15·35
Tangail Subdivision	1,049,772	+ 8·20	+ 12·89
Tangail	268,205	+ 2·94	+ 10·59
Kalibati	160,942	+ 10·30	+ 10·41
Gopalpur	218,232	+ 13·28	+ 19·44
Nadarpur	118,571	+ 5·90	+ 10·20
Mirzapore	106,781	+ 14·43	+ 10·59
Ghorail	93,196	+ 12·35	+ 10·41
Siarichari (formerly Jagannathganj.)	29,900	+ 0·97	+ 18·44
Kisarganj Subdivision	622,719	+ 14·40	+ 11·78
Kisarganj	190,604	+ 15·06	+ 10·10
Kathin	178,420	+ 15·27	+ 11·04
Baigrapur	135,645	+ 11·30	+ 14·16
Baile	146,630	+ 15·15	+ 10·10
Bhairabnagar	23,512	+ 21·19	+ 14·16
Astogram	97,897	+ 17·00	+ 14·16

to the cultivation of jute, which is extensively grown throughout the district. The people are so prosperous that they can afford to look down upon menial work and leave most of it to immigrants from Bihar and the United Provinces, who serve as earth-diggers, *palki*-bearers, domestic servants, boatmen and general labourers. The Musalman form nearly three-fourths of the inhabitants of the district. Owing to the preponderance of this prolific and hardy community and to the constant influx of immigrants, the population

the eastern portion is fertilized by the Surma (called the Meghna in its lower reaches), by the old Brahmaputra and numerous other streams. Towards the east, there are extensive *haors* or marshes, where people gather in the cold weather to catch fish, grow *boro* rice, and graze their cattle. Along the border of the Garo Hills, the country is hilly and sparsely populated. The greater part of the Tangail subdivision is malarious like the tract on the other side of the Jamuna, but the remainder of the district is practically free from this scourge. Taken as a whole, Mymensingh must be regarded as one of the healthiest districts in Bengal, its death-rate being lower than that of every other district in North and East Bengal except Tippera. The soil is fertile and admirably suited

has been rapidly growing, the ratio of increase exceeding 12 per cent. at every census. Between 1901 and 1911 there was nothing to cause a check to the development of the district. The public health was good, and even in 1905, when there was a virulent epidemic of cholera causing a mortality of 10½ per cent., the deaths were outnumbered by the births. The agricultural seasons were also good. Some distress was caused by severe floods and high prices in 1906, but their effects did not last long. Both emigration and immigration have been stimulated by the extension of the railway to Fulchari.

262. The addition of population now returned is 608,320 or 15½ per cent. It would have been even greater but for emigration, for though immigrants have increased by 46,000 since 1901, there has been even greater rise in the number of the district-born who were enumerated outside the district. The latter are now more numerous by 76,000, and their aggregate (156,993) is very little less than that of immigrants (161,395). There would be a net loss of 30,000 if the whole of the migration were permanent, but the excess of the males shows that the majority of the emigrants are temporary absentees; immigrants are, to an even greater extent, only temporarily resident in the district. In the Sadar subdivision,

MYMENSINGH.	1911.		1901.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population	2,329,602	2,196,819	2,014,390	1,901,709
Immigrants	111,176	90,719	62,760	32,250
Emigrants	85,907	71,026	45,971	34,394
Natural population	2,314,871	2,207,632	1,979,004	1,894,003

Tangail. This sub-division suffers from malaria and lost heavily from the cholera epidemic of 1905: this was so virulent that in many places the villagers, being unable to dispose of their dead by ordinary means, either threw the bodies into the rivers or left them to rot on the ground. It has, moreover, lost from the emigration of Musalmans to the *chars* of the Brahmaputra in the Goalpara district, where they can obtain land on easy terms. Owing to these causes, the percentage of increase has fallen to 2·8 and 5·9 per cent. respectively in thanas Tangail and Nagarpur. Both these thanas are liable to malaria, both are very densely populated, and it is from them that the Musalmans have chiefly emigrated to the higher reaches of the Brahmaputra. All the remaining thanas in the sub-division have a gain of over 10 per cent. In spite of emigration there is an increase of 18·8 per cent. among the Musalmans, or 12 per cent. more than among the Hindus, though the latter are reinforced by immigrants from upcountry.

263. Faridpur is bounded on three sides by the Meghna, the Padma and the Garai, and is intersected by numerous smaller streams. In the north and east the land is comparatively well-raised, but the level sinks towards the south, and on the

FARIDPUR.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,121,914	+ 8·71	+ 6·20
Sadar Subdivision	546,499	+ 5·20	+ 6·14
Faridpur	118,194	+ 6·81	+ 3·37
Bhanga	232,632	+ 8·72	+ 12·93
Nasirvanda	110,496	+ 8·82	+ 1·39
Bhusim	90,196	+ 6·17	+ 6·43
Goalpunda Subdivision	326,963	- 0·003	- 8·05
Goalpunda	124,078	+ 2·54	+ 3·71
Balakandi	81,902	+ 7·42	+ 9·47
Paungsa	121,983	+ 3·92	+ 12·53
Madaripur Subdivision	616,203	+ 15·04	+ 11·82
Madaripur	243,368	+ 12·00	+ 12·93
Palong	250,332	+ 16·60	+ 0·82
Bischar	212,503	+ 16·99	+ 3·91
Gopalganj Subdivision	430,249	+ 9·20	+ 11·82
Gopalganj	121,698	+ 10·93	+ 14·92
Kotalipara	102,343	+ 10·72	+ 12·29
Masumipara	112,277	+ 7·48	+ 8·77
Kasidand	94,929		

which includes extensive cultivable wastes, the population has increased by 21·3 per cent.: in no thana is the increase less than 14 per cent. The increase in all the other subdivisions also exceeds 14 per cent., except in

confines of Backergunge the whole country is practically a marsh intersected by strips of high land, the remains of rivers that have at various times flowed through this tract. The district is malarious, the mortality from fevers during the past decade being exceeded in Eastern Bengal only by that of Chittagong. Since 1872 the population has made steady progress, there being a total increase of 37·65 per cent., which is almost evenly distributed between the four decades ending in 1911.

264. In the last decade there has been an increase of 169,971 persons or 8.71 per cent. Births exceeded deaths by 101,560, but there would have been a greater excess had it not been for epidemics of cholera in five years, which carried off nearly 37,000 persons. The number of immigrants has increased from 73,483 to 96,333 and of emigrants from 75,810 to 81,469, there being

PARIDIPUR.	1911.		1901.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population ...	1,074,919	1,046,903	877,385	874,578
Immigrants ...	56,830	29,494	46,572	28,810
Emigrants ...	32,619	28,830	54,190	31,690
Natural population ...	1,070,830	1,036,311	804,882	869,288

therefore a balance of about 17,000 in favour of the district. Much of the migration is temporary, as is apparent from the proportion of the sexes, for males exceed females by 17,345 among immigrants and 23,769 among emigrants.

In the Sadar subdivision there has been an increase of 5.2 per cent., which is shared in by all the thanas, except Bhushna, where there is a decrease of 6.17 per cent.; this thana is very malarious owing to the silting up of old drainage channels. The high percentage of increase (15 per cent.) in the Madaripur subdivision is due partly to natural causes and partly to immigration, for the fertile alluvial formations in that subdivision attract Musalman settlers from the adjoining districts. In the Gopalganj subdivision there is a fair increase of 9.2 per cent., but the Goalundo subdivision is stationary: the latter is notoriously unhealthy, and the deaths during the decade exceeded the births considerably.

265. Backergunge is a part of the alluvial delta formed by the river systems of Eastern Bengal, and consists partly of mainland and partly of islands in the estuary of the Meghna. The mainland forms an unbroken plain, intersected by a network of tidal rivers and channels. Along the coast lie the Sundarbans, a semi-aquatic area of forests, swamps and tidal creeks, in which cultivation is gradually extending. The soil is extremely fertile, being annually enriched by the silt brought down by the rivers. Owing to its low level, and the peculiar character of its river system, the district is practically protected against drought by natural irrigation, but it is exposed to the devastation of cyclones and tidal waves. The more fertile tracts in the lower levels, which are exposed to tidal waves and infested by wild animals, offer few attractions to the people of other districts. They cannot stand the climate of the Sundarbans as well as the

BACKERGUNGE.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	2,428,911	+ 5.98	+ 6.40
Sadar Subdivision ...	985,184	+ 4.21	+ 7.53
Barnal ...	152,397	+ 6.94	+ 7.86
Gauraul ...	252,596	+ 10.22	+ 14.79
Mehauliganj ...	174,194	+ 9.12	+ 6.19
Jhalokati ...	187,305	+ 3.95	+ 6.48
Nalditi ...	82,335	+ 2.40	+ 2.55
Backergunge ...	144,397	+ 1.98	+ 2.10
Pirozpur Subdivision ...	550,418	- 0.56	+ 6.52
Pirozpur ...	122,935	- 5.04	+ 5.33
Sarupkati ...	204,649	- 0.70	+ 13.71
Matbaria ...	122,005	+ 7.71	+ 4.39
Bhandaria ...	29,809	- 2.48	+ 7.99
Patuakhali Subdivision ...	574,972	+ 10.01	+ 5.22
Patuakhali ...	308,470	+ 5.87	+ 1.45
Banghal ...	120,355	+ 8.73	+ 0.41
Amtoil ...	144,952	+ 16.95	+ 11.38
Gaichips ...	101,295	+ 12.42	+ 13.79
Dakshin Shahbazpur Subdivision ...	318,337	+ 17.80	+ 4.56
Bhola ...	167,092	+ 11.94	+ 4.24
Baranadi ...	151,245	+ 26.30	+ 4.98

natives of Backergunge, and the new settlers are mainly people from other parts of the district, who have either lost their old homes by diluvion are attracted by low rentals. Even the Maghs, who take up lands in this area, are chiefly colonists from other localities in the district, from which they have been ousted by Bengalis. The people generally are in easy circumstances. "There is no doubt," writes the Collector, "that the average Backergunge cultivator could, if he would take the trouble, be a wealthy man. In all but the most exceptional years his lands give him an abundant crop of rice with the minimum of exertion, and, in addition, his cocoanut and betelnut trees can nearly always be depended upon to give him a plentiful and valuable crop of nuts without any labour on his part beyond that of plucking them."

266. Between 1872 and 1881 the development of the district was checked by the disastrous cyclone of 1876, but in the next decade it recovered from its effects and grew rapidly, an increase of 13·3 per cent. being recorded in 1891. A further advance of 6½ per cent. was made in the decade ending 1901, the greatest growth of population taking place in the areas where reclamation was most active, viz., in the northern thanas of Gaurnadi (14·8 per cent.) and Swarupkati (13·7 per cent.) and in two of the Sundarban thanas, Amtali and Galachipa (11·3 and 13·8 per cent.). The first half of the decade ending in 1910 was a prosperous period, but in 1905 a partial failure of the early paddy, followed by a general failure of the winter crop, resulted in scarcity. Relief operations had to be started and help given in the shape of loans. Some suffering was also felt in 1909, when a cyclone, accompanied by floods, swept over the country. All parts of the district suffered more or less, but the southern portion of the Dakshin Shahabazpur, Patuakhali and Pirozpur subdivisions were especially affected. The effect of these conditions is seen in the returns of vital occurrences. In the first half of the decade the births exceeded the deaths by nearly 114,000; in the second half there was a reduced birth rate and an enhanced death rate, resulting in the excess of births being only 18,000. In the decade, as a whole, the excess amounted to 132,788, an increase of 5·8 per cent. on the population of 1901.

267. The actual increase shown by the census corresponds very closely with this figure, being 137,159

BACKWATERS.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	1,244,833	1,194,076	1,175,008	1,115,849
Immigrants	46,915	34,497	31,095	8,906
Emigrants	39,629	16,440	24,535	14,477
Natural population	2,256,249	1,198,019	1,149,553	1,121,428

or 6 per cent. This increase is the result of natural growth, for migration has increased very little since 1901, and the immigrants outnumber the emigrants by only 16,000. The greatest development has taken place in the Dakshin

Shahabazpur subdivision (17·8 per cent.), where the large increase is due to the settlement of immigrants on newly formed *chars*. The rate of growth has been slower in Patuakhali (10 per cent.), but the two Sundarbans thanas of Amtali and Galachipa have large gains owing to the expansion of cultivation and colonization. The same cause accounts for the increase in the Matbaria thana of the Pirozpur subdivision. All the other thanas in the latter subdivision have lost ground. It appears to have become more malarious: complaints are made that the water in the tidal creeks has become more brackish, and in the last five years of the decade deaths exceeded births. Conditions were more favourable in the Sadar subdivision, where the population increased by 4 per cent. Here the most progressive tract is the swampy Gaurnadi thana, where reclamation is steadily going on as fresh deposits of silt gradually replace the water and extend the cultivable area.

268. Tippera consists of a flat alluvial plain broken only by the Lalmai Hills, which cover a comparatively small area. It is fertilized by the Meghna, which flows along its western border, and by a number of smaller streams that

TIPPERA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1881—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,430,138	+ 1474	+ 1879
Sadar Subdivision	1,099,050	+ 1476	+ 1861
Coxilla (Kotwall)	198,036	+ 11·81	+ 12·28
Daudkandi	248,407	+ 17·96	+ 19·27
Muradnagar	234,623	+ 14·61	+ 15·72
Chandina	120,961	+ 18·20	+ 18·84
Chandigram	146,835	+ 9·78	+ 14·46
Laksmi	143,297	+ 16·28	+ 20·74
Brahmanbaria Subdivision	757,283	+ 11·84	+ 1474
Brahmanbaria	333,400	+ 11·46	+ 14·45
Kashib	159,463	+ 11·02	+ 12·93
Naltnagar	269,340	+ 12·82	+ 16·23
Chandpur Subdivision	573,805	+ 1875	+ 3005
Chandpur	247,036	+ 18·22	+ 26·76
Hajiganj	167,206	+ 20·70	+ 28·91
Matlabganj	159,468	+ 17·96	+ 23·93

bring down silt from the hills to the east. In the tract watered by the Meghna the soil is admirably suited to the cultivation of jute, while the remainder of the district forms one of the most important rice producing tracts in Bengal. In point of climate Tippera occupies the first place in North and East Bengal, its death rate from fever being the lowest in these two divisions. The population increased rapidly between 1872 and 1901, the rate of growth increasing at each successive

census and reaching 18·8 per cent. in 1901. The next decennium opened in a cycle of general prosperity. The jute industry was thriving, and trade of all sorts expanded with the advent of the railway, for the Assam-Bengal Railway was opened in 1895, while a branch line running from Laksam to Noakhali was added in 1903. This period culminated in 1904-05, when exceptional prices were realized for a fine harvest of jute, and rice was so cheap that it sold at 14 to 15 seers per rupee. In 1906, however, heavy floods caused extensive loss of both the rice and jute crops, and the distress was enhanced by a fall in the price of jute. Two lean years followed, but there were good harvests in 1908-09. In 1910 the floods were abnormally high and prolonged and did much damage, especially in the north of the district.

269. The result of adverse conditions during the latter half of the decade was to reduce the rate of increase to 14·7 per cent., the actual increase being 312,147. It would, however, have been greater had not the balance of migration been against the district, the number of emigrants rising from 55,529 to 95,757, while immigrants only increased from 56,752 to 60,360.

TIPPERA.	1911.		1901.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population ...	1,342,691	1,387,057	1,045,099	1,022,002
Immigrants ...	24,303	21,997	27,095	19,697
Emigrants ...	56,737	57,030	30,367	35,163
Natural population ...	1,303,455	1,302,060	1,079,281	1,037,507

Emigration is especially active in the Sadar subdivision, from which people move freely to Hill Tippera, where they can obtain land on easy terms. The increase is shared by all the subdivisions and by all the thanas within them, the range of variation

being comparatively small. The greatest advance has been made by the Chandpur subdivision to the south and the least by the Brahmanbaria subdivision to the north, the Sadar subdivision, which lies between them, having an intermediate position. In Tippera, as elsewhere, the Musalmans are multiplying more rapidly than the Hindus, the rate of increase of the latter (8 per cent.) being less than half what it is among the former.

270. Noakhali consists of a tract of mainland together with a number of islands in the mouth of the Meghna, the largest of which are Sandip and Hatia. The mainland is a flat alluvial plain broken only by a hilly tract in the extreme north-east corner. The soil is fertile throughout the district, the lands subject to the direct fluvial action of the Meghna, being especially rich, although subject to sudden changes, as that river cuts away the land in one place, and builds it up in another. The district is one of the most densely populated in Bengal, and since 1901 the area under cultivation has increased by 15 per cent.: the limits within which further extension is possible have almost been reached. Rice covers about three-fourths of the district and the annual yield is estimated at ten million maunds, of which about six millions are required for local consumption, leaving a balance of four millions for export. The area under jute has risen from 7,000 acres to over 30,000 acres since 1901, and the profits derived from its sale are considerable: it is reported that in 1911 about 400,000 maunds of jute were exported, and that the cultivators obtained at least 24 lakhs of rupees from its sale. Besides this, betelnut and cocoanut plantations cover a large area and yield a handsome profit, the value of their produce being estimated at 25 to 30 lakhs of rupees. These resources place the peasantry above the margin of want, and they are, in fact, in easy circumstances.

NOAKHAL.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	1,302,090	+ 14·05	+ 13·08
Sadar Subdivision ...	961,527	+ 16·85	+ 14·42
Bardhaman (Noakhali) ...	194,695	+ 10·55	+ 3·90
Lakshipur ...	204,399	+ 22·74	+ 18·90
Bengamari ...	224,046	+ 17·90	+ 18·83
Bansura ...	145,131	+ 19·30	+ 20·44
Sandip ...	110,452	+ 3·93	+ 13·94
Hatia ...	75,808	+ 34·30	+ 12·50
Feni Subdivision ...	340,563	+ 6·81	+ 9·74
Chhagalnala ...	124,292	+ 3·20	+ 8·87
Feni ...	208,271	+ 10·29	+ 10·29

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271. When the census of 1881 was taken, the population of the district had been reduced by the disastrous cyclone of 1876, when the island of Hatia lost a quarter and Sandip a sixth of its inhabitants. This cyclone was followed by a terrible epidemic of cholera, and the mortality from both causes was estimated at 100,000. The result was a decrease of 2·3 per cent., but since 1881 the population has been growing very rapidly, an increase of 23 per cent. being recorded in 1891 and of 13 per cent. in 1901. Since 1901 there has been a series of prosperous years, except 1906, when there was a failure of the crops and relief operations had to be undertaken. Some damage to the crops was also caused by heavy floods in 1909, when fever broke out in a virulent form, causing a mortality of 33,817 as against 26,670, the average for the decade. In the whole decade the reported births exceeded the deaths by 165,754, representing an increase of 14·5 per cent. on the population of 1901.

272. The census shows that the population is greater by 160,362, or 14

NOAKHALL.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	645,898	636,192	548,777	572,801
Immigrants	12,777	10,067	10,775	8,568
Emigrants	35,915	12,673	26,139	7,444
Natural population	622,030	633,586	533,413	573,925

per cent., than it was at the last census, in spite of a slight loss by emigration. Emigrants are now more numerous by 15,000 than in 1901, but nearly half are temporary absentees, males being in excess of females by 23,242. The Sadar subdivision, which is less fully developed than the Feni subdivision, has grown more than twice as fast as the latter. There are, however, some remarkable variations in the rate of growth, for while Sandip has an addition of less than 4 per cent., the abnormal figure of 36½ per cent. is reached in Hatia. Such variations, extraordinary as they may appear, are due to the changes wrought by the constructive and destructive powers of the great rivers and the consequent shifting of the population. Chhagalnaia, a densely populated thana, which in 1901 had 1,033 persons per square mile, has only a slight increase (2 per cent.), but the pressure on the soil has been no check to growth in Beganganj or Ramganj, of which the former had 864 and the latter 1,023 persons to the square mile in 1901: they now have a gain of 18 and 20 per cent. respectively.

273. Chittagong consists of a long narrow strip of coast, valleys and low

CHITTAGONG. ranges of hills lying between the Bay of Bengal and the Chittagong Hill Tracts; its average breadth is only about 15 miles, while its length is 165 miles. The soil is

CHITTAGONG.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,508,433	+11·47	+ 4·89
Sadar Subdivision	1,259,842	+ 9·26	+ 4·62
Chittagong (Kotwali)	112,137	+ 13·99	+ 10·79
Mirazai	112,918	+ 10·42	+ 2·31
Nitakond	76,344	+ 3·10	+ 5·97
Hachanari	88,790	+ 4·46	+ 5·82
Phatikchhari	117,441	+ 4·57	+ 5·44
Raonai	177,314	+ 7·73	+ 5·91
Pattiya	238,682	+ 7·87	+ 7·12
Satkandi	172,976	+ 10·45	+ 1·09
Bamkhali	152,342	+ 18·98	+ 0·29
Cox's Bazar Subdivision	248,591	+ 24·19	+ 6·47
Cox's Bazar	86,360	+ 16·55	+ 9·91
Molukhali	47,071	+ 27·37	+ 5·35
Chakaria	61,314	+ 29·66	+ 1·31
Teknaf	53,946	+ 21·30	+ 21·29

fairly fertile, but malaria is more prevalent than elsewhere in East Bengal: between 1901 and 1910 it had the highest death rate from fever of all the districts in the Division. It is also exposed to cyclones, and its census history is one of fluctuation, caused by disastrous cyclones and epidemics of cholera consequent on the pollution of the water supply. The first cyclone occurred in 1876, and was accompanied by a storm-wave, which swept the sea board: 12,000 persons were drowned, and 15,000 perished in the cholera epidemic which followed. The loss of population caused by this calamity, by the ravages of disease in other years, and by emigration, reduced the growth of population to less than one-half per cent. in

1881. The next ten years, however, were healthy and prosperous, and a considerable increase of population was recorded in 1891, the number of inhabitants being 13·9 per cent. more than in 1881. In the next decade again the district suffered from a destructive cyclone, which burst in October 1897. A series of storm-waves swept over the island of Kutubdia and the villages on the mainland, drowning many thousands of men and cattle, sweeping away homesteads and destroying standing crops: the loss of life by drowning alone was estimated at 14,000 souls. Cholera broke out in a severe form, and in Kutubdia alone it was estimated that more than one-tenth of the population died during the epidemic. The result was that in 1901 an increase of only 4·9 per cent. was recorded, which is about half what it would have been but for the cyclone and its after effects. The greatest growth occurred in the thanas along the coast which escaped the brunt of the cyclone, viz., Teknaf and Cox's Bazar in the south, and Chittagong, Sitakund and Mirsarai in the north.

274. Since 1901 the district has been free from any such calamity. There was, however, a partial failure of the rice crop over the lowlying tracts of the district, which were affected by heavy floods in 1906. "The people generally," writes the Collector, "are prosperous. In normal years, they get two crops of paddy from their fertile soil, and can obtain house materials and fuel from the neighbouring hills at a nominal price. Those who have no lands of their own and are not so well off go down in thousands in December to cut paddy in Aracan, where they earn a rupee a day, and return in February and March with large sums of money." The effect of these favourable conditions is seen in the addition of 155,183 persons or 11½ per cent., a result which is not due to the accretion of population from outside, for the number of immigrants is only 18,701 or about 7,000 more than in 1901. There has also been a small gain from a slightly diminished exodus of the district-born, the number of whom has fallen from 106,037 to 99,627. In 1901 the figures were inflated

CHITTAGONG.	1911.		1901.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Acts of population	722,837	755,396	641,392	711,838
Immigrants	12,818	6,082	7,029	4,310
Emigrants	90,880	8,947	85,604	20,223
Natural population	800,899	788,460	730,167	727,781

by the outward movement of the people after the cyclone, and also by a poor rice crop in some parts. The emigration is moreover of a temporary character, and does not represent a permanent loss, most of the emigrants being

labourers engaged in cutting rice crops in Burma, or lascars on steamers engaged in the eastern trade, who leave their wives at home: the excess of males over females in the emigration population is no less than 81,733.

275. The local variations exhibit very clearly how completely the tracts affected by the cyclone have recovered from its effects. Maishkhali, which in 1901 had a decrease of 7 per cent., has now gained 37 per cent. Chakaria and Banskhali, which were stationary, have an increase of 30 and 19 per cent. respectively. Satkania, where the loss was partly due to the cyclone and partly to enhanced emigration, has advanced by 10½ per cent. Of the two subdivisions, Cox's Bazar has made most progress, this being a sparsely populated area, which is fast developing as cultivation expands. Here the growth has been greatest in the two thanas Maishkhali and Chakaria, which suffered from the cyclone, but Cox's Bazar and Teknaf have also large increases. In the Sadar subdivision the most progressive thanas are those that have recovered from the cyclone and the two northern thanas of Chittagong and Mirsarai. Chittagong owes its expansion largely to the development of Chittagong town, while Mirsarai has a more fertile soil than the inland thanas and has benefited from railway communication. The remaining thanas have a more or less uniform rate of growth, varying from 3 to 8 per cent.

276. The greater part of the Chittagong Hill Tracts consists of hills and ravines covered with dense jungle. The aboriginal tribes, who constitute over 94 per cent. of the population, live chiefly by *jhuming*, and plough cultivation has not made much progress. The area so cultivated is not more than 1 per cent. of the

total area, while the net cropped area only slightly exceeds 5 per cent. Re-

CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARI- TIONS.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	153,630	+ 23.30	+ 16.29
Chakma	77,355	+ 58.74	+ 7.1
Mong	37,612	+ 13.45	+ 40.4
Bohmong	49,063	+ 11.21	+ 12.9

erved forests alone extend over 1,020 square miles or one-fifth of the district. The district being sparsely inhabited, and the people, consisting of hardy aborigines, they have been steadily adding to their numbers. A phenomenal increase of 46 per cent.

was recorded in 1881, but this is merely a proof of the incompleteness of the first census. It is, in fact, known to have been vitiated by the fact that, the Chief's revenue being based on capitation tax, it was to his interest to return a small population. With improved enumeration, the rate of increase was reduced to 5.6 per cent. in 1891, but rose again to 16.3 per cent. in 1901. Since 1901 the history of the district has been uneventful. The health of the people was good, and the only year in which there was any shortage of the crops was 1906, when there was some scarcity necessitating the grant of loans.

277. The rate of increase according to the present census is 23.3 per

CHITTAGONG HILL TRA. TR.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	69,695	71,189	68,328	56,324
Immigrants	5,060	1,240	6,337	907
Emigrants	600	591	1,109	762
Natural population	78,325	70,478	73,010	56,729

cent., the actual increment being 29,068. The returns of birthplace are not altogether reliable: such as they are, they show very little variation compared with 1901, and the increase must therefore be attributed to natural growth. The local variations are extraordinary. Chakma, which both in 1891 and

1901 increased by 7 per cent., has now a sudden rise of 58 per cent. Mong, which declined by 40 per cent. between 1891 and 1901 and increased at the same rate in 1901, has now a loss of 13 per cent. Bohmong has an increase of 11 per cent., which is very nearly the same as was recorded in 1901. These variations are ascribed to the nomadic habits of the people, who move from place to place as they *ihum*: it is reported that that a large number migrated from the Mong circle to the Mioni valley in the Chakma circle. It is further reported that there has been immigration from Hill Tippera, though this is not apparent in the returns of birthplace. It is possible that the changes may be due, in part at least, to differences in the dividing line between the circles as drawn at different censuses.

278. The State of Hill Tippera consists of several ranges of hills, running north and south with an average interval of 12 miles, and increasing in height towards the east. The hills are clothed for the most part by bamboo jungle, while the low

HILL TIPPERA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION. 1901-1911.
DISTRICT TOTAL	229,613	+ 32.48
Sadar Subdivisions	74,672	+ 13.80
Kalishahine	21,809	+ 52.90
Khowal	21,298	+ 107.25
Dharmamagar	19,056	+ 87.57
Saamara	18,062	+ 68.30
Udaypur	40,114	
Bilonia	19,187	- 9.66
Subram	5,315	

ground is covered with tree jungle, cane bush and thatching grass. The nomadic cultivation known as *jhuming* is almost universal in the hills, plough cultivation being confined to the plains, and in particular to the narrow strip adjoining British territory. The first census of the State was admittedly incomplete, and that of 1881 was also probably inaccurate, so that the abnormal increase of 171 per cent., recorded in 1881 and the very high rate of 44 per cent. returned in

1891 must be discounted. The first reliable census was that of 1901, according to which the number of inhabitants was 26 per cent. more than ten years before.

279. Since 1901 uniform and steady progress has been made. The

HILL TIPPERA.	1911.		1901.	
	Ma's.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	121,820	107,798	97,495	80,880
Immigrants ...	90,741	80,802	34,829	19,064
Emigrants ...	708	664	26	84
Natural population ...	71,767	77,559	67,736	61,839

revenue has been doubled, communications improved, and the reclamation of cultivable waste has proceeded rapidly, attracting numerous new settlers. There were no epidemics of disease, and crops were on the whole good. The census recently concluded shows that the population has increased by 56,288

per cent. or $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Large as this increment is, it is accounted for partly by the natural growth of the people, but mainly by the influx of immigrants, who are more numerous by 37,769 than they were 10 years ago: over one-third of the population consists of persons born outside the State. They include a large number of Muhammadans from the adjoining British districts of Tippera and Sylhet: owing to this addition to their numbers, the Muhammadans have increased by 43.3 per cent., a ratio double that of the previous decade. The increase in population is shared by all parts except Bilonia and Sabrum, the decrease in which is attributed to the movement of the people to Udaypur and across the border into the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

SOUTH BIHAR.

280. The census of 1881 disclosed an increase of 12.6 per cent., but this apparently large increase was due, in part at least, to the incompleteness of the first census held in 1872. In 1891 the population was found to be stationary, the recorded

PATNA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	1,609,631	- 0.93	- 8.4
Patna City Subdivision ...	140,063	- 0.65	- 21.76
PATNA CITY ...	136,153	+ 1.01	- 18.41
Pirbaho Ward 1 ...	33,435	...	...
Alamganj 2 ...	20,834	...	...
Chwaja Kalan 3 ...	33,308	...	...
Chauk Kalan 4 ...	19,890	...	...
Malauland 5 ...	14,654	...	...
Rural area ...	18,423	...	...
Sadar Subdivision ...	201,193	- 0.29	- 10.45
Photevari ...	89,036	- 1.46	- 0.94
[Bakerganj]* ...	[14,512]	...	...
Masaurhi-Buzurg ...	115,137	+ 0.67	- 11.37
Dinapore Subdivision ...	314,644	- 0.33	- 10.36
Manor ...	80,348	- 7.87	- 11.57
Dinapore ...	83,325	- 4.01	- 11.19
Bikram ...	172,089	+ 3.12	- 9.36
Bark Subdivision ...	378,621	+ 3.64	- 10.52
Patna ...	74,737	+ 2.96	- 18.66
Bark ...	197,814	+ 1.01	- 4.41
Mokameh ...	106,050	+ 9.45	- 15.10
Bihar Subdivision ...	575,110	- 4.30	- 0.95
Bihar ...	385,939	- 4.81	+ 0.09
Hilsa ...	161,564	- 4.02	- 0.39
Isaunpur ...	77,607	- 2.55	- 7.36

increase being barely 1 per cent., while in 1901 there was a decrease of 8.4 per cent. This decrease was directly due to the direct and indirect losses caused by plague, viz., mortality, the flight of the district-born, the absence of those who had homes in other districts and the disorganization of the census staff, which led to a defective enumeration. Plague appeared in epidemic form in January 1900, broke out again in the next cold weather and was at its height at the time the census was taken.

281. Conditions during the ten years which have since elapsed were not such as to give any hope of recovery. Plague continued to levy a heavy toll year after year: in three years only was the mortality

ascribed to it under 3,000, and in four years (1901, 1904, 1905 and 1907) it was over 20,000. Altogether, over 140,000 deaths have been caused by this

* For municipal purposes the Bakerganj police-station forms part of Patna City, but for general administrative purposes it forms part not of the Patna City subdivision but of the Sadar subdivision. The figures relating to it are therefore included in those for Patna City, but are excluded from those for the Patna City subdivision.

scourge, representing a death-rate of 8·7 per cent. on the population of 1901: it is probable that the actual number was even greater owing to deaths from plague being returned under the comprehensive head of fever. Epidemics of cholera have also been frequent, that of 1910, which caused nearly 14,000 deaths, being specially virulent: the aggregate number of deaths due to this disease during the decade was over 50,000. Altogether, the number of deaths from all causes exceeded the number of reported births by no less than 111,632. The birth-rate has risen, the average being a little under 41 per mille as compared with 38 per mille in the preceding five years. But it has failed to keep pace with the death-rate, the average for which is 47·50 per mille, the highest ratio in either Province: only twice, and then only slightly, have the births in any one year outnumbered the deaths. There has, moreover, been no commercial or industrial development which would attract population from outside. The Bihar-Bakhtiyarpur Railway has, it is true, helped to open up the south-west of the district, but, on the other hand, the towns are decadent and the river-borne trade, on which they largely depended, is dwindling. There were partial failures of crops in four years, and in 1901, 1905 and 1909 there were floods. That of 1901, which inundated the country all along the Ganges, was the greatest within living memory, but it subsided rapidly and did very little damage. The inundation of 1909, however, had serious effects on the *bhadoi* crops of the Masaurhi thana.

282. The census discloses a decrease of 15,111, or a little under 1 per cent. That the decrease

PATNA.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	800,373	799,853	804,450	820,292
Immigrants ...	28,341	53,950	32,382	50,178
Emigrants ...	33,439	79,456	73,983	68,334
Natural population ...	866,996	824,444	846,170	882,448

should be so small in view of the adverse circumstances sketched above is partly due to the fact that at the time of the census there was a large influx of labourers from other districts, who came to cut *rabi* crops in the low-lying lands in the Mokameh thana.

Owing largely to this accession, the number of immigrants is 10,000 more than in 1901, but it is still 43,000 below what it was in 1891. The volume of emigration has increased to a far greater extent, the number of persons born in the district who were enumerated outside it rising in the last ten years by 31,000. There was a widespread epidemic of plague from December until after the census was taken—8,000 deaths from plague were reported in January and February 1911—and there was a certain amount of desertion on that account. It did not, however, interfere with the completeness of the census, for those enumerators or supervisors who fled from their villages either provided substitutes—the well-to-do paid for their services—or returned to assist both in the preliminary enumeration and the final census. There was, in fact, only one case in which a breakdown of the census organization seemed imminent. Patna city had been free from plague till the first week in March, when it broke out in two wards. Some of the enumerators in one of these wards absconded a few days before the final census, but their schedules were recovered and a special staff deputed to fill their places. The census organization stood the strain put upon it, and no part of the decrease can be ascribed to a failure in the enumeration.

283. All parts of the district share in the decrease or are stationary, except the Barh subdivision and the Masaurhi thana in the south of the Sadar subdivision. In the former, however, the increment is mainly due to the influx of labourers already referred to, as a result of which the Mokameh thana has an increase of over 9,000, or over three-fourths of the increase of the whole subdivision. The Masaurhi thana is a fertile tract traversed by the railway, and it is noticeable that the adjoining thana of Jahanabad is the most progressive area in the Gaya district. Taking the district as a whole, the population is now 8 per cent. less than it was in 1881, and there seems, under present conditions, but little hope of recovery.

284. Between 1881 and 1891 the population of Gaya was practically stationary, the increase recorded in 1891 being only 0·6 per cent. The reason for this slow

growth appears to be that the district suffered from the ravages of

GAYA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	2,159,498	+ 4·83	- 3·67
Sadar Subdivision ...	785,334	+ 4·74	- 9·68
Gaya Town ...	49,951	- 29·97	- 11·31
Gaya ...	191,464	+ 4·60	- 5·55
Atari ...	94,375	+ 3·95	- 14·88
Tekari ...	165,610	+ 11·80	- 19·78
Barnahati ...	113,960	+ 5·91	- 2·35
Sheghiati ...	169,976	+ 12·18	- 1·42
Jahanabad Subdivision ...	422,287	+ 9·33	- 1·85
Jahanabad ...	289,196	+ 7·27	- 2·95
Arwal ...	133,091	+ 14·70	- 5·35
Aurangabad Subdivision ...	490,881	+ 4·52	- 1·02
Daudnagar ...	125,394	+ 6·29	- 6·06
Naldighar ...	101,421	- 1·63	- 0·50
Aurangabad ...	264,066	+ 6·23	- 4·15
Nawada Subdivision ...	460,996	+ 1·49	+ 3·25
Nawada ...	295,063	- 0·94	+ 4·68
Rajauli ...	77,290	+ 4·87	+ 0·40
Pakribarwan ...	88,643	+ 7·24	+ 1·04

fever and that emigration increased greatly, while immigration fell off. The result of the census of 1901 was even more unsatisfactory, for the population decreased by over 78,000 or 3·7 per cent. Not only was the decade 1891-1901 an unhealthy period, but there were two years of scarcity. A virulent epidemic of plague also broke out towards the end of 1900, causing heavy mortality and a general panic, which drove large numbers from their homes. In one thana alone (Tekari) it was found that 11,000 people had fled outside its boundaries be-

tween the preliminary enumeration and the final census.

285. The plague epidemic of 1901 caused over 10,000 deaths, and since then there have been severe epidemics in the four years 1904-1908, the worst year on record being 1905, when there was a death-roll of over 16,000. In the other five years of the decade the district has been almost free from the pestilence, the aggregate mortality being under 1,400. Gaya has thus suffered far less than Patna, the total number of plague deaths being only a little over 41,000, or less than one quarter of those recorded in the latter district. There have, moreover, been no serious epidemics of cholera: the number of cholera deaths in each year has been under 1,000. The total number of recorded births has exceeded the deaths by 70,000. Except in the three years 1906-08, when deficient or unevenly distributed rainfall resulted in poor harvests, the outturn of the crops was fair. There has been no noticeable development of industries, but the interior of the district has been opened out and emigration stimulated by two new lines of railway, viz., the Grand Chord and Barun-Daltonganj lines.

286. The present census discloses an increase of 99,565 or 4·83 per cent., the result of natural growth and a return to normal conditions.

GAYA.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	1,061,291	1,098,207	1,011,271	1,046,655
Immigrants ...	22,104	29,290	18,875	27,359
Emigrants ...	116,911	67,658	96,330	76,929
Natural population ...	1,156,095	1,146,270	1,028,926	1,098,343

Plague, it is true, prevailed in the early part of 1911, causing 1,000 deaths before the census. When it was taken, the disease raged in the towns of Gaya and Jahanabad, and also in several villages in the interior. Nearly all the

inhabitants of Jahanabad encamped in huts outside the town. In Gaya town the people, who had good cause to remember the terrible epidemic of 1900-01, were panic-stricken, and a large number left the town. The result was a loss of over 20,000, which was made good at a second census held three months later. Apart from this disturbing influence, the general increase would have been greater, had it not been for the persons who left the district for employment elsewhere. The number of the district-born who were enumerated elsewhere has risen by 31,000 since 1901, and, even after allowing for an increase of 15,000 in the number of immigrants, there is a balance of 16,000 against the district. All but two thanas share in the increase. The effects of recovery from the effects of plague are specially noticeable in the Tekari thana, which now records a growth of 12 per cent. in place of a decline of 20 per cent. The expansion of the Arwal thana in the north-west has been even more rapid, but, as stated

elsewhere, this is a fertile canal-irrigated area, where the population is steadily growing. Arwal and the adjoining thana of Daudnagar were the only thanas outside the Nawada subdivision (which was then free from plague) which had any increment in 1901. The Jahanabad subdivision, in which the Arwal thana is included, is the most progressive part of the district. The least progressive is the Nawada subdivision, which was the only subdivision with any increase of population in 1901. Here there is a slight decline in the Nawada thana, which may be ascribed to the fact that in 1901 its population was temporarily swelled by plague refugees. The only other thana with a falling off is Nabinagar in the south-west, an infertile tract, where the soil is poor and there is practically no irrigation, so that the crops are scanty at the best of times.

287. Between 1872 and 1891 the population of Shahabad grew steadily, owing largely to the development of cultivation and the influx of immigrants caused by the opening of the Son Canals. If, however, immigrants are excluded, the district actually lost

SHAHABAD.	Population. 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,865,660	- 4'94	- 4'8
Sadar Subdivision	631,226	- 9'82	- 5'87
Arrah Town	38,549	- 16'91	- 9'40
Arrah	235,564	- 11'39	- 5'43
Shahpur	161,804	- 11'39	- 5'43
Piro	195,309	- 4'09	+ 2'83
Buxar Subdivision	382,971	- 8'10	- 5'02
Buxar	149,540	- 4'55	- 6'02
Dumraou	234,121	- 10'05	- 4'42
Sasaram Subdivision	544,374	+ 0'88	+ 1'18
Bikramganj	192,231	+ 3'24	+ 2'27
Kharaghat	99,461	+ 9'29	+ 6'59
Sasaram	160,583	- 3'41	+ 1'33
Dehri	91,699	+ 1'70	+ 8'14
Bhabhua Subdivision	307,089	+ 0'22	- 11'16
Mohania	126,567	- 2'25	- 13'96
Bhabhua	170,522	+ 2'49	+ 6'92

as a whole rather than gained in the decade ending in 1891, owing to persistent fever which was never absent since the year 1879. During the next decade the district was visited by famine, while fever continued to cause great mortality. The census of 1901 disclosed a decrease in the population amounting to 97,883 or 4'8 per cent., which was partly the result of the adverse conditions of the preceding years, and partly due to the loss of temporary immigrants. An epidemic of plague broke out in the north-east of the district shortly before the census, and the fact that the number of foreign-born males enumerated in the district decreased by over 45,000 must, in part at least, be ascribed to the panic it caused. The falling off was most marked in the Bhabhua subdivision, where it was due to the unhealthiness of the climate and to the migration of the people to more favoured parts of the district, especially during the famine of 1896-97. Elsewhere the decrease was greatest in the Arrah thana, where it was ascribed to the exodus on account of the plague. The only thanas that gained ground were Sasaram, Bikramganj and Dehri, three of the four thanas forming the Sasaram subdivision. The area under irrigation is greater here than in other parts of the district, and the construction of the Mughalsarai-Gaya Railway caused an influx of labour. On the other hand, Piru thana in the headquarters subdivision, which borders on this tract and which also has a plentiful supply of canal water, was practically stationary.

288. The decade 1901-1910 was a very unhealthy period in Shahabad. Plague was present throughout the ten years, carrying off 68,000 persons, and there were also virulent epidemics of cholera in no less than six years, the mortality being 18,000 in 1910 alone and over 60,000 in the whole decennium. Fever prevailed and was especially virulent in 1905, when the death-rate returned as due to it was no less than 37'8 per mille: the total death-rate for this year reached the appalling figure of 58'65 per mille. Owing to these epidemics, the natural growth of the population was retarded, and the returns show that the net excess of births over deaths was less than 20,000. The agricultural classes, moreover, had to contend against a succession of bad harvests. The decade opened unfavourably, the outturn of crops being less than half the normal, and the strain on the cultivators' resources was all the greater because this was their second bad season in succession.

Good or fair harvests were reaped during the next four years, but in 1906-1907 they were again short, and in the two years 1907-1909 the failure was serious, the outturn of rice being only half the normal. The good rainfall of 1910 however improved the situation and averted a threatened scarcity.

289. The effect of the unfavourable conditions which prevailed is seen in the results of the census, which has brought to light a decrease of 97,036 or nearly 5 per cent. This diminution of population is due largely to the stimulus given to emigration by the stress of bad years, as well as to the continued

SAHARSAH.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	304,950	360,710	336,544	1,096,102
Immigrants	18,647	11,963	26,877	37,080
Emigrants	99,681	76,815	83,579	77,124
Natural population	304,950	360,710	302,246	1,046,220

check of immigration into the district. The number of male emigrants has increased by over 17,000 since 1901, while the immigrant population has declined by over 24,000; the number of foreign-born males enumerated in the district is now only a quarter of what it was in 1901. The loss has been greatest in the Sadar and Buxar subdivisions to the north, where every thana has receded, the rate of decrease varying from 4 per cent. to 12 per cent. The Sasaram and Bhabhua subdivisions to the south are practically stationary, but every thana in them has progressed slightly, except Sasaram and Mohania, both sparsely populated thanas with a large area of hill and jungle.

290. Between 1872 and 1881 there was a growth of population, which was sustained during the next decade, the census of 1891 showing an advance of 3·4 per cent. The greatest gain was in the Begusarai subdivision, but in the Jamui subdivision

MONGHYR.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,132,893	+ 3·10	+ 1·61
Sadar Subdivision	1,094,563	+ 4·16	+ 0·44
Gogoi	422,859	+ 6·01	+ 2·55
Monghyr	104,447	+ 18·78	- 9·31
Jamulpur	20,526	+ 8·37	- 14·41
Buraigach	74,700	- 12·75	Not avail.
Lakhtimari	129,733	+ 9·31	Abn.
Kharagpur	149,092	+ 5·22	+ 6·84
Shakhpura	143,326	+ 1·73	- 7·50
Begusarai Subdivision	651,765	+ 1·37	+ 5·17
Toghris	230,592	- 1·36	+ 7·76
Begusarai	421,243	+ 2·92	+ 3·74
Jamui Subdivision	386,565	+ 3·08	- 0·49
Sikandra	107,418	- 0·92	- 1·90
Jamui	143,396	+ 20·17	+ 6·62
Onkar	135,855	- 7·97	+ 4·70

there was practically no increase and in the north-east of that subdivision there was a heavy loss due to the ravages of fever. At the census of 1901 it was found that the population had only increased by 1·6 per cent., a result attributed to a severe epidemic of plague in 1900-01 and, in a minor degree, to emigration from the district. Monghyr was, however, the only district in South Bihar which escaped a loss of population, a result due to the fact that to the north of the Ganges there is a rich alluvial tract, which attracts immigrants and was free from plague in 1901. The portion south of that river sustained a small loss, an increase in four thanas having been more than obliterated by a heavy loss in the areas where plague had appeared, viz., the town of Monghyr and its environs, and two thanas in the west, to which the epidemic spread from the Patna district.

291. The result of the census of 1911 is an increase of 64,089 or 3·10

MONGHYR.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	1,043,477	1,089,416	1,011,340	1,057,324
Immigrants	36,341	26,798	37,324	41,346
Emigrants	129,450	110,044	96,344	87,579
Natural population	1,138,766	1,142,672	1,070,600	1,096,254

per cent. The preceding decade was, on the whole, healthy. The births outnumbered the deaths in every year except 1907, the net excess being 137,000, or double that returned for any other district in South

Bihar. Plague was present throughout these ten years and affected nearly all parts except some tracts north of the Ganges, but the mortality never reached such a high figure as in other districts of South Bihar. The maximum number of plague deaths was 11,000 in 1905, and the aggregate for the decade was 43,000, or 4,000 less than the number of deaths caused by cholera. Plague also prevailed in the early part of 1911, causing 3,300 deaths in January and February, and was raging in parts of the Sadar and Begusarai subdivisions (particularly in the Sheikhpura, Surajgarh, Gogri, Lakhisarai, Begusarai and Teghra thanas) at the time of the census; but in spite of the great difficulties it caused, the final census was carried out smoothly, and no loss was caused by omissions from the returns. The people have now become accustomed to this disease, and it no longer inspires the same wild terror. They move out of their villages and encamp near the affected area, but do not fly far and wide as they did when it first appeared. The harvests were, on the whole, fair, though the south of the district, particularly the Jamui subdivision, suffered from drought in some years. Though the northern portion of the district is not, as a rule, liable to suffer much from short and unseasonable fall, it is exposed to floods from the overflowing of the Ganges and its affluents. Severe floods occurred in 1904 and 1906, but fortunately that of 1904 took place when most of the *bhadoi* crops had been harvested, and in 1906, when considerable damage was caused in the Gogri and Khagaria thanas, it was not found necessary to institute relief measures, the people being enabled to tide over their losses by means of agricultural loans. The north of the district benefited by the opening of the Mansi-Bhaptiahi line in 1908, and in the same year the Peninsular Tobacco Company opened a factory at Monghyr for the manufacture of cigarettes. This factory employs over 1,000 hands and is the only new industrial concern of any importance.

292. The increase now recorded must be attributed to natural growth. The population has received a comparatively small accretion from outside. On the other hand emigration has developed to a remarkable extent: the number of the district-born who were temporarily or permanently resident outside its limits has risen by nearly 55,000 or 30 per cent. since 1901. At the time of the census there was a large influx of temporary labourers engaged in cutting crops in the *tals* of the Lakhisarai thana. These are low-lying areas which are covered with water during the rains, but are brought under cultivation in the winter season when the water dries up. The crops are ready for harvest about the end of February or beginning of March, when crowds of labourers come and reap them, encamping out in the open until the harvest is complete. Over 8,000 such temporary labourers were enumerated in the Lakhisarai thana, where their presence mainly accounts for the increase of 9 per cent.

293. The Sadar subdivision has a net increase of 4·16 per cent., but its development is by no means uniform. The Kharagpur thana has declined by over 5 per cent., but this decline is more apparent than real, for in 1901 it harboured a considerable number of plague refugees from Monghyr thana, which is now more populous by nearly 19 per cent. than it was in that year. On account of the partial depletion of the latter thana and the temporary addition to the population of the former at the last census, the figures of 1901 are misleading, and it is necessary to go back to 1891 to see how far they have advanced or stood still. Such a comparison shows that Monghyr has grown by 8 per cent., while Kharagpur is practically stationary. Surajgarh to the east of Monghyr shows a falling off of a little under 13 per cent., which is partly due to the incidence of plague and partly to the migration of labourers to the *tals* in Sheikhpura. In the Jamui subdivision to the south the Jamui thana has expanded rapidly owing to the spread of cultivation, but Chakai has lost population, for which emigration is partly responsible, while the Sikandra thana, which was decadent from 1881 to 1901, is stationary. The Begusarai subdivision exhibits only a slight advance, for though the Begusarai thana has developed, Teghra, which has suffered from plague, has lost ground.

NORTH BIHAR.

294. The population of Saran grew steadily until 1891, there being an increase of $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in 1881 and a further advance of 7·4 per cent. in 1891. The next decade witnessed a set-back, for in 1901 the population declined by 2·3 per cent.,

SARAN.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,289,778	-4·94	-2·3
Sadar Subdivision	894,248	-6·64	-5·53
Manjhi...	121,247	-12·57	-8·42
Chapry...	290,096	-2·45	-7·30
Chapry Town...	42,373	-23·36	-
Paras...	212,081	-4·56	-4·99
Masbrak...	133,680	-8·00	-1·96
Henpur...	92,821	-9·79	-10·24
Siwan Subdivision	758,699	-7·15	+0·13
Siwan...	297,359	-14·99	+1·28
Daraul...	213,343	-3·43	+4·11
Basantpur...	248,197	+5·20	+1·11
Gopalganj Subdivision	636,831	+0·28	+0·07
Mirganj...	270,847	+3·22	-0·98
Gopalganj...	263,974	-3·04	+0·26

owing to four causes, viz., famine, a consequent reduction of the birth-rate, plague and emigration. There was famine in 1897, which reduced the vitality of the people and lowered the birth-rate, though it was not directly responsible for any great mortality. By the time of the census the people had recovered from the results of the famine, but unfortunately plague broke out in epidemic form during the winter of 1899-1900 and re-appeared with renewed intensity in the succeeding cold weather.

The decline of population was general in the Sadar subdivision and greatest in those thanas where plague was worst. The Darauli thana in Siwan also declined, but the rest of the district had the same population as in 1891. The conclusion arrived at by Mr. Gait was that, while the general want of progress was due to the adverse balance of migration and to the fact that Saran was unable to support a much greater population than it already possessed in 1891, plague was to blame for the greater part of the decrease that had occurred in the southern part of the district.

295. The most noticeable feature of the last ten years in Saran has been the great increase in mortality, the average death-rate being 40·50 per mille, whereas in the preceding nine years it was under 30 per mille. For this increase plague is partly responsible. This disease is now an annual visitation and never leaves the district altogether except for a short period in the rains. It increases all through the cold weather and reaches its height in March: deaths are numerous in April, but there is usually a decrease in May and a further considerable decrease in June. During the ten years the aggregate number of deaths returned as caused by plague was 166,000, or nearly a fifth of the total mortality. Plague alone, however, will not account for the enhanced mortality, unless, as is quite possible, a large number of deaths from plague were returned as deaths from fever and from other causes. The returns under the head of fever account for two-fifths of the total mortality, and a virulent type of fever was prevalent in 1903, 1905, 1909 and 1910: in each of these years it carried off over 40,000 persons. The birth-rate has also been high, averaging 40·13 per mille, but it has failed to keep pace with the death-rate, and the net result is that the deaths during the decade exceeded the births by nearly 9,000. "The general opinion," writes the Collector, "that the district has become more unhealthy is unquestionably justified. . . . There are no large rivers inside the district, and there are many low-lying *chaurs* and swamps; the pressure of population and extension of cultivation has probably obstructed the existing drainage channels, and in part of the district the closing of the Saran canals has perhaps contributed to the unhealthiness of the tracts they previously drained."

296. The outturn of crops was on the whole good except in 1906, when the district suffered from floods, and in 1907 and 1908, when it was affected by drought. The harvests were average during the years 1901, 1904 and 1905, and were up to or above the average in the remaining four years, viz., 1902, 1903, 1909 and 1910: especially good harvests were reaped in the last year. The Collector (Mr. B. Foley) remarks:—"It is doubtful if the material condition of the people was much affected even during the three bad years. In 1906 and 1908 an attempt was made to open test relief works, but no one attended them. Takavi loans were found sufficient for the people's need. Emigration, which has increased largely during the ten years, now renders the people more or less independent of the agricultural condition of the district. . . . The years of highest mortality, namely, 1903, 1905 and 1910, were years of prosperity, while in the three years 1906 to 1908, during which the crops were bad, there was no remarkable mortality. In a dry year the general health is better, while the poor classes do not depend on their crops in the same way as the people of other districts. There is always an enormous emigration from the district, and though this seems to be unaffected by moderate variations in the conditions of agriculture, anything approaching scarcity drives large numbers away from the district to procure high wages elsewhere, a large proportion of which they remit to their homes."

297. There is no sign of real industrial development, and agriculture still almost entirely monopolizes the energies of the people. The indigo industry has continued to decline, and its decline has helped to swell the number of emigrant labourers. The acreage under this crop decreased steadily from 37,600 acres in 1901 to 9,205 in 1910; six factories were closed entirely, another ceased to grow indigo, and other concerns reduced their establishments. Sugarcane has not yet taken the place of indigo, and its cultivation so far shows no tendency to expand. The cultivation of opium has been steadily reduced, and shortly after the census was discontinued altogether, but the manufacture of saltpetre, which was a declining industry during the preceding ten years, is said to have shown some improvement, though the actual number of refineries decreased from 118 in 1901 to 92 in 1910. There has been a further extension of railway communications within the district. A railway line, 17 miles long, has been constructed between Siwan on the main line of the Bengal and North-Western Railway and Thawe in the northern portion of the district. Another short branch line has connected Daronda on the main line with the grain mart of Maharajganj, while the Chapra-Masrakh Railway line, 26 miles long, has established direct communication between Masrakh and Chapra.

298. In addition to losses by death, the district has lost heavily by migration, the number of the

SEX.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	1,064,333	1,225,445	1,065,117	1,315,997
Immigrants...	12,399	34,835	19,452	27,972
Emigrants...	303,876	80,325	175,498	68,456
Natural population...	1,256,910	1,271,135	1,259,168	1,345,161

district only for a time. The labourers generally go away in November and December, and return in the hot weather, though others return only at intervals of one, two or three years. The annual exodus of the able-bodied is now an established feature. As the Collector remarks:—"The system of annual emigration no doubt had its origin in the inability of the soil to support its population. Having, however, once acquired the habit of emigrating for wages, and having found that it is easy to save money in this way, the people now emigrate yearly as a matter of habit to supplement their incomes, whether agricultural conditions are prosperous or the reverse." At the time of the census the presence of plague (which caused over 8,000 deaths in the two preceding months) most probably helped to swell the numbers of the

emigrants, and also to prevent them returning as early as they might otherwise have done. The net result of these combined influences, viz., an increased mortality, which has not been altogether counterbalanced by an enhanced birth-rate, a greater exodus from the district, and the check of immigration, is a decrease of 119,036 or a little under 5 per cent.

299. In reviewing the results of the census of 1901, Mr. J. H. Kerr remarked in the Saran Settlement Report :—"On the whole, leaving out of account any great economic revolution, of which there are at present no signs, the situation may be summed up thus. Gopalganj is capable of supporting a slight increase of population. Siwan has probably reached its utmost limits, while in the Sadar, and particularly in the densely populated thanas of Manjhi Chapra and Sonpur, with their high rent-rates, decline has already set in. Nor is this to be deplored. On the contrary, it is a matter for congratulation that emigration should be growing in favour in a district where it is so greatly needed, and it is a further relief to the situation that North Bihar contains no body of peasantry more alert or more industrious, or more ready, within limits, to take advantage of improvements calculated to increase the productive powers of the soil." The result of the census is to confirm these conclusions. Gopalganj is the only subdivision with any increase, and even here the Gopalganj thana has lost population. Mirganj, on the other hand, has an increase of over 3 per cent., which is ascribed to its general healthiness and to the comparative absence of plague in the western portion of the thana, from which moreover there is less migration than elsewhere. It is probable also that the opening of the railway from Siwan to Thawe and the consequent development of trade contributed to the increase. Both the Sadar and Siwan subdivisions exhibit a general decline, the only thana which has gained ground being Basantpur, where the increase is due partly to natural growth and partly to the opening of the railway from Daronda to Maharajganj. The greatest decrease has taken place in thanas Manjhi and Siwan, representing 12½ and 15 per cent., respectively, as against the district average of 4·9 per cent.

300. The district of Champaran is still a sparsely peopled district, with ample scope for the extension of cultivation. It developed steadily between 1872 and 1891, owing mainly to immigration. Between 1891 and 1901, however,

the district suffered from a series of lean years, as well as from persistent unhealthiness, while immigration received a sharp check. Scarcity culminated in famine in 1897, when practically the whole district was affected. Though no deaths occurred from starvation, the vitality of the people was lowered, and the sequel of the famine was a reduced birth-rate. These three factors—the unhealthiness of the decade, the diminished fecundity of the people consequent on a series of bad years, and the stoppage of immigration—led to a loss of population in every thana in the district except Bettiah and Adapur;

the latter is a thana with an exceptionally fertile soil, in which a full rice crop was secured even in 1896, when there was a disastrous failure elsewhere.

301. The prosperity of the people appears to have been restored by the end of 1900, and with this recuperation the birth-rate increased rapidly. In the six years ending in 1906 the average birth-rate was 41·85 per mille, as

CHAMPARAN.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,908,385	+ 6·59	- 3·72
Sadar Subdivision	1,101,498	+ 5·85	- 5·37
Motheri	186,155	+ 6·73	- 8·30
Adapur	173,676	+ 4·97	+ 0·39
Dhaka Ramchandra	296,908	+ 10·52	- 4·01
Kumtis	183,331	+ 4·18	- 3·13
Madhuban	103,920	- 0·56	- 4·81
Gobindganj	184,488	+ 4·13	- 11·76
Bettiah Subdivision	806,887	+ 7·60	- 1·32
Bettiah	360,914	+ 5·28	+ 2·62
Bagaha	206,466	+ 3·28	- 0·94
Shikarpur	237,505	+ 13·79	- 1·26

compared with 34·31 per mille in the preceding nine years, and there was an excess of 85,708 births, whereas the number of deaths in 1892—1900 exceeded the births by 1,059. In the second half of the decade there were three years of agricultural depression (1906—1908). In 1906 the north of the district was visited by floods, and later in the year considerable damage was done to the rice crops, while in 1907 and 1908 the outturn was poor owing to scanty and unevenly distributed rainfall. The rice crop was again injured by floods in 1910, but otherwise the harvests were good. Four new railway branches were opened in 1906 and 1907, viz.—(1) from Bettiah to Narkatiaganj, (2) from the latter place to Bhiknathori, (3) from Bairagnia to Shikarpur and (4) from Narkatiaganj to Bagaha. The construction of these lines, besides facilitating trade and helping to develop the resources of the district, afforded employment to a large number of labourers, and a further demand for labour was created by the construction of the Tribeni canal. Taking the decade as a whole, its most conspicuous feature was a low death-rate, viz., 32·66 per cent. (the lowest in Bihar), and a high birth-rate, viz., 42·85 per mille (the highest in North Bihar), the result being an excess of births over deaths amounting to 182,000.

302. The census shows that the loss recorded in 1901 has been more

CHAMPARAN,	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	942,012	964,273	885,807	904,856
Immigrants	42,012	53,506	55,047	51,724
Emigrants	29,409	18,423	16,442	19,620
Natural population	929,409	931,289	947,002	879,757

than made good, the population having been augmented by 117,922 or 6·6 per cent. This gain is to be ascribed mainly to the natural increase of population, in a district where the pressure on the soil is light, during a series of years which were on the whole favourable to development. The gain would have been greater but for

the continued shrinkage of the volume of immigration. There are now 11,000 less immigrants than in 1901, while their number is 40 per cent. less than it was in 1891. Not only are fewer settlers attracted from outside, but an increasing number leave the district for employment elsewhere: the number of persons born in the district but enumerated outside it has risen by nearly 12,000 since 1901. This is somewhat surprising, for the district is but imperfectly developed and requires all the available labour for its own needs, but the north of the district, where there is most room for expansion, has an evil reputation for fever. The wages of field labour, moreover, have remained stationary, and the labourers have come to realize that they can get better terms elsewhere. The immigrants are, however, still twice as numerous as the emigrants, the actual excess being nearly 48,000.

303. The growth has been general throughout the district, except for the Madhuban thana in the south-east, which is stationary. In 1901 this was the most densely populated thana, and it suffered most from the floods of 1906 and 1910. The Magistrate is disposed to suspect that rack-renting may have something to do with the result, and, whether that is a predisposing cause or not, the figures for the sexes show that the thana has lost by emigration, the number of males falling off while the females have added to their number. The rate of increase is fairly uniform in the other thanas of the Sadar subdivision, except in Dhaka which has grown by nearly 11 per cent. This is a fertile rice-growing tract, which has suffered less than others from flood and drought. Both the Motihari and Gobindganj thanas suffered severely in the famine and lost heavily between 1891 and 1901. At this census both show a substantial increase, but neither has quite recovered its former position. In the Bettiah subdivision there is a fair growth in thanas Bettiah and Bagaha, though the percentage of increase in the latter is surprisingly low considering the extensive tracts available for cultivation, while there has been a rapid expansion in the Shikarpur thana, where reclamation is steadily progressing.

304. At each of the censuses held since 1872 there has been an increase of population, but the rate of increase shows a steady falling off, which is not altogether

to be wondered at considering the density of population. In 1881 there was

MUZAFFARPUR.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL --	2,845,514	+3.24	+1.5
Sadar Subdivision --	1,081,475	+2.86	+2.27
Paro --	316,708	+ 5.02	- 2.95
Muzaffarpur --	547,279	+ 0.27	- 5.82
Katra --	217,490	+ 4.79	+ 8.74
Sitamarhi Subdivision --	1,053,739	+6.81	+6.73
Sitamarhi --	312,231	+ 8.38	+ 7.29
Sitamarhi --	369,794	+ 6.93	+ 9.09
Besand --	214,263	+ 7.97	+ 4.09
Papri --	357,211	+ 8.18	+ 3.38
Hajipur Subdivision --	710,300	-1.10	+0.57
Mahua --	299,360	+ 1.96	- 0.26
Lalsan --	124,963	+ 0.81	- 1.00
Hajipur --	286,057	- 5.27	+ 2.99

an advance of 15 per cent., which was partly due to the deficiencies of the first enumeration. In 1891 the percentage of growth fell to 5 per cent., while in 1901 it still further decreased to 1.5 per cent. The slowness of growth in the decade ending in 1901 is due to the fact that the district suffered from flood, famine and disease. The whole district except the south of the Hajipur subdivision was affected by famine in 1897, next year there were heavy floods, and epidemics of cholera broke out in four years carrying off over 76,000 persons. In other respects, however, the public health was fairly good; the floods caused no permanent injury; and, thanks to a succession of good harvests, the effects of the famine were not long felt. By the end of the decade the people had entirely recovered their normal condition; every thana in the great rice-growing tract north of the Bagmati, where the stress of famine was greatest, showed a marked increase, while every thana south of that river lost population. In the former tract the increase was due mainly to immigration; in the latter emigration was active.

305. Since 1901 there has been no famine, but no little distress has been caused by floods. The Sitamarhi subdivision was swept by a high flood in 1902, when great damage was done to the *bhadoi* crop. Except in a small part of the subdivision, however, the winter rice did not suffer appreciably, and there was ample time for replanting even where it had been destroyed. In other parts, the heavy alluvial deposits benefited the flooded lands, and, in spite of the temporary suffering caused by the flood, no relief was either asked for or required. In 1906 there was a much more serious and widespread inundation, which affected about half the entire district: the thanas which suffered most were Paro, Muzaffarpur, Mahua, Katra and Belsand. For some little time there was acute distress, which was aggravated by the high prices prevailing, but in the end the cultivators were able to weather through with the help of loans, and no famine relief had to be provided. The next two years were years of deficient and badly distributed rainfall, which led to partial failures of the crops, but the ample and reasonable fall of 1909 resulted in good harvests, which to a great extent removed the distress caused by the two preceding years. In 1910, however, there was another inundation which did considerable damage to crops in the Sitamarhi subdivision as well as in part of the Sadar subdivision. Loans had to be granted to the distressed cultivators, and the subsidence of the flood was followed by a virulent epidemic of cholera.

306. Speaking generally, the first half of the decade was a period of prosperity, and the latter half was one of depression owing to repeated crop failures. The health of the people was, however, good, the birth-rate being in excess of the death-rate in every year except 1910. As in Saran, the famine of 1897 was followed by greater productiveness, especially during the first five years of the decade, when the ratio of births was consistently above 43 per mille and ranged between that figure and 48 per mille. The result, for the decade as a whole, has been an excess of births over deaths amounting to 200,000. The actual increase disclosed by the census is 89,384 or 3.24 per cent. The difference between the two figures is due to the movements of the people, immigrants from outside falling off by 14,500 and emigrants increasing by no less than 41,000. Every year many thousands of able-bodied labourers leave the district at the beginning of the cold weather in search of work on the roads, railways and fields

in other districts, returning to their homes at the end of the hot weather, in

MUZAFFARPUR.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	1,380,300	1,489,314	1,310,110	1,487,090
Immigrants ...	25,079	49,197	32,300	55,205
Emigrants ...	113,753	81,061	84,507	67,080
Natural population...	1,449,664	1,517,378	1,373,417	1,445,348

time for the agricultural operations which commence with the bursting of the monsoon. This exodus is now an annual affair, and its volume is increasing steadily with the opening of through connection with North Bengal.

307. Both the Sadar and Sitamarhi subdivisions, which suffered from famine in 1897, have added to their population, and the Hajipur subdivision, the south of which was not affected by it, has lost population. The loss in the latter is due to the decline in the Hajipur thana, which has suffered severely from plague. The Sitamarhi subdivision, which is a great rice-growing tract, is the most progressive part of the district, the rate of increase being the same as in 1901. This subdivision attracts settlers not only from Nepal, but also from the south of the district, owing to the fertility of its soil as well to the fact that it is not affected by plague: here the increase has been greatest in Shiuhar, Belsand and Sitamarhi, which march with the Nepal frontier. In the Sadar subdivision the Muzaffarpur thana is stationary on account of the emigration of men to Bengal in search of work, a cause which also has operated very largely in the decrease so noticeable in Hajipur.

308. The first census of Darbhanga was proved to have been wanting in accuracy by a careful census of the head-quarters and Madhubani subdivisions taken in 1874 and 1876 respectively; the increase of 23 per cent. recorded in 1881 must therefore be

DARBHANGA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	2,929,682	+ 0.59	+ 3.95
Sadar Subdivision ...	1,063,549	- 0.16	+ 1.60
Darbhangah ...	455,439	+ 4.88	- 1.36
Baherah ...	347,524	- 2.11	+ 2.74
Roserah ...	260,468	- 0.32	+ 5.09
Madhubani Subdivision ...	1,135,771	+ 3.78	+ 7.85
Baulpati ...	303,123	+ 8.97	+ 8.93
Khasauli ...	271,563	+ 9.72	+ 8.01
Madhubani ...	282,700	+ 2.72	+ 2.96
Phulpur ...	316,286	- 3.17	+ 10.21
Samastipur Subdivision	730,062	- 3.00	+ 1.92
Warisnagar ...	186,227	- 1.97	- 1.13
Samastipur ...	203,409	- 2.34	+ 2.00
Dalsinghsarai ...	260,426	- 4.33	+ 2.91

largely discounted. The rate of progress during the next ten years was 6.5 per cent., but fell to 3.9 per cent. in 1901. This diminution of growth was due to the unfavourable conditions prevailing after 1891. The decade was not very healthy, and in 1892 there was scarcity, necessitating relief measures in the Sadar and Madhubani subdivisions, while in 1897 there was famine, which affected the whole district except the Samastipur and Dalsinghsarai thanas in the Samastipur subdivision. The result of the census of 1901 was to show that, while there was only a slight increase (1.9 per cent.) in the Samastipur subdivision, which was least affected by the famine, the growth was greatest (7.8 per cent.) in Madhubani, where distress was most acute both in 1892 and 1897. It was only 1.6 per cent. in the head-quarters subdivision, where the Darbhanga thana showed a slight decrease. This, however, was due to an unusually large number of persons having been present in Darbhanga town at the time of the previous census; if the urban area is excluded, the thana had a slight increase. The only other thana in the district in which there was any decrease was Warisnagar, where the population declined by 1.13 per cent.

309. The first half of the decade 1901-1910 was, on the whole, a prosperous period for the people of Darbhanga. Crops were fair, and the recovery from the effects of famine was marked by a rapid increase in the birth-rate, which averaged 43.35 per mille in the quinquennium ending in 1905. The death-rate was comparatively low (34.9 per mille), and the result was that in these five years the number of births exceeded that of deaths by 153,000, the excess being 87,000 more than that recorded in the preceding nine years. After 1905 the district had a series of bad years. Heavy floods in July and

August 1906 were followed by a drought in September and October, and their effect on the crops was disastrous. The distress caused by their destruction was accentuated by the poor outturn of the preceding year, and famine ensued. The rainfall in 1907 was about normal, well distributed and timely, but the year 1908 was a year of protracted drought, which injured almost all the crops of the year, and famine had again to be declared. The last year of the quinquennium was the only one in which the people were free from the pressure of scarcity, the outturn of almost all crops being good and prices almost down to the level of 1905-06. The effect of the famines on the birth-rate and the rapidity with which the people recovered are sufficiently

Year.	Births.	Deaths.
1906	108,212	96,793
1907	90,989	90,989
1908	113,651	82,390
1909	118,676	122,788
1910	99,716	100,549
1911	121,167	94,694

apparent from the marginal figures, which also show the number of deaths in each year of the quinquennium and in 1911. The period of greatest distress was in the latter half of 1906, when the first famine broke out: the births next year fell by over 17,000, but quickly rose in 1908 and 1909 to a figure exceeding that attained in 1906. The second famine lasted till the 31st July 1909, distress being most acute in the first five months of the year, and another drop of 19,000 occurred, but next year there was an extraordinary rise of over 31,000. No deaths were caused by starvation, and it is noticeable that from 1906 to 1908 the deaths steadily decreased, the number recorded in 1908 being the minimum of the decade. On the other hand, the maximum was reached in 1909, when the people had to bear the brunt of the second famine.

310. The net excess of births over deaths during the decennium was

DARBHANGA.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	1,412,669	1,517,012	1,410,474	1,498,127
Immigrants	27,160	59,596	35,472	97,101
Emigrants	102,675	73,291	56,448	35,069
Natural population	1,488,184	1,530,816	1,441,444	1,492,099

190,000, but the increase disclosed by the census is less than one-tenth of this figure, being only 17,071 or a little over one-half per cent. The difference between the two figures is due to migration, and in particular to the greatly enhanced number of those born in Darbhanga who were enumerated elsewhere. The exodus of the native-born has now attained large dimensions, rising by more than 65,000 since 1901; the number of male emigrants alone has been nearly doubled. Owing both to the outward movement of the people, and also to their movements from thana to thana inside the district, it is difficult to gauge the actual effect of the two famines of the decade on the population of the affected areas. The whole of the south and west of the district has a diminution of population, while throughout the north-east and north (except in Phulparas in the extreme north-west) there is an increase. The Darbhanga and Benipati thanas, which suffered in a major degree during the first famine and also, though less severely, during the second famine, have substantial increases. The thanas of Bahera and Roserah, in the Sadar subdivision, where famine prevailed in both years, have a decline, but so also have Samastipur and Dalsinghsarai in the Samastipur subdivision, which remained immune. Owing mainly to epidemics of plague and the loss of population caused by emigration, the decline in the two latter thanas is greater than in Warisnagar, the only thana in the Samastipur subdivision in which famine prevailed.

311. No definite conclusions can be drawn as to the effects of famine in different parts, but some broad and general inferences can be made on a

SUBDIVISION.	VARIATION PER CENT.		
	1881-1891.	1891-1901.	1901-1911.
Madhubani	+ 12.0	+ 7.8	+ 8.28
Sadar	+ 8.0	+ 1.8	- 0.16
Samastipur	- 2.3	+ 1.9	- 3.0

survey of the variations during the last 30 years, as shown in the margin. At each of the three censuses the Madhubani subdivision to the north has gained population, but in a diminishing degree: the Sadar subdivision in the centre had become stationary by 1901, and is now decadent. In the Samastipur subdivision in the south the census of 1901 showed that the loss of population had been temporarily checked, but the downward tendency is now again pronounced. The density of population in these three tracts has much to do with the variations in the

rate of progress. The Samastipur subdivision is the most fertile but densely populated part of the district, and its surplus population are seeking relief by emigration. In the Sadar subdivision, which, unlike Samastipur, is practically dependent on one crop (winter rice), the pressure on the soil has become so great that it does not appear capable of supporting a greater population, while Madhubani is approaching the same condition.

312. The progressive decline of the rate of increase, which has been observed in the case of Darbhanga, is equally noticeable in the case of Bhagalpur. In 1881 there was an addition of 7·8 per cent., but the rate of progress was reduced to

BHAGALPUR.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,139,318	+ 2·41	+ 2·77
Sadar Subdivision	598,377	+ 2·24	+ 5·97
Sultanganj	95,198	+ 0·09	+ 3·03
Bhagalpur	185,179	- 2·53	+ 8·54
Coitong	207,964	+ 1·90	+ 8·59
Blipor	110,037	+ 14·55	+ 2·73
Supaul Subdivision	493,671	- 3·37	+ 6·09
Supaul	356,074	- 0·97	+ 3·65
Pratapganj	137,597	- 9·01	+ 12·27
Madhipura Subdivision	509,610	+ 8·99	- 2·81
Bongson	153,703	- 7·58	+ 2·03
Madhipura	295,909	+ 5·03	- 3·78
Kieheganj	160,998	+ 39·45	- 6·29
Banka Subdivision	437,660	+ 0·96	+ 2·40
Amarpur	154,895	+ 1·27	+ 5·48
Katauria	117,481	- 1·73	+ 2·56
Banka	165,284	+ 2·23	- 1·14

3·3 per cent. in 1891 and to 2·8 per cent. in 1901. The increase in the latter year was mainly the result of the development of the Supaul and Sadar subdivisions, for there was only a small advance in the Banka subdivision and the Madhipura subdivision lost ground. The result of the census of 1911 is to show that the district, though still continuing to grow, is developing even less rapidly than in the preceding three decades, the net increment of population being only 50,365 or 2·4 per cent.

313. The decade 1901 to 1910 was fairly healthy, for the birth-rate exceeded the death-rate in all but three

years, viz., 1905, 1906 and 1907, and there was a net excess of births over deaths amounting to 103,000. In the three years above mentioned the death-roll was swollen by epidemics of cholera, small-pox and plague, and especially by cholera, which carried off 17,000 persons in 1906. Its ravages were most severe in the Madhipura and Pratapganj thanas, which lost over 15 per cent. of their population from cholera mortality; here the Kosi river has caused extensive water-logging of the soil, and, wells being scarce, the people resort to the numerous old channels of the Kosi for their drinking water. In the first part of the decade good harvests were reaped and a fair degree of prosperity prevailed, except in 1902 when there was scanty and ill-distributed rainfall. In 1906 floods swept the country round Supaul and Madhipura, and in 1908 the failure of the monsoon brought about one of the worst years of scarcity known in this district. The distress was relieved by the liberal grant of loans—over 20 lakhs were advanced—and by the institution of village relief works, while the readiness of the people to leave their homes for tracts where there was a demand for labour did much to mitigate their difficulties. The scarcity was acutely felt in the western part of the Madhipura and Supaul subdivisions, where famine conditions prevailed and relief works were started. There was also a severe drought in the country south of the Ganges where, however, the harvests of the previous year had been good and the people migrated freely from the affected areas. "The landless labourers cleared out in thousands to look for employment elsewhere. The luxuriant crops in the east of Supaul and Madhipura subdivisions north of the river attracted many: large numbers went into the lands on the Purnea side of the Kosi, and many others went eastwards to get employment in the rice-lands of Bengal proper. It was computed that in August and September about 70,000 people crossed the Ganges from south to north in search of work."* Next year the rainfall was ample and well distributed, the result being excellent crops, but it is reported that the people generally had not fully recovered from the effects of the scarcity by the time the census was taken.

* Bhagalpur District Gazetteer, p. 104.

314. The movements of the people do not appear to have affected the results very materially.

BHAGALPUR.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	1,037,876	1,091,442	1,027,533	1,062,416
Immigrants	64,926	66,379	56,066	49,552
Emigrants	14,923	52,972	66,421	57,814
Natural population	1,076,823	1,094,449	1,036,080	1,069,700

As in other districts of North Bihar, the people are availing themselves more freely of the facilities for travel, and the number of emigrants now exceeds that returned in 1901 by over 43,000. On the other

hand, settlers from outside have also come into the district in increasing numbers : there are 28,000 more than 10 years previously, so that the net loss to the district is only 15,000. The Supaul subdivision, which was the most rogressive part of the district between 1881 and 1901, is the only part of the district which has sustained a loss. Both the thanas included in this subdivision suffered from the scarcity of 1908-09, and as already stated Pratapganj, in which the loss is greatest, had a heavy mortality from cholera in 1906. Both, moreover, suffer from a severe type of malaria ; low-lying areas are inundated in the rains, and the subsidence of the floods is followed by outbreaks of fever and cholera. In the Madhipura subdivision, immediately to the south, there is a decline in the Bongaon thana, which adjoins the decadent portion of Darbhanga, but there is a fair growth in Madhipura, which is partly the sequel of its being opened out by the railway, and Kishanganj to the west had a remarkable increase. This thana borders on the water-logged area, but owing to the fact that the river Kosi has for some years past not shown any marked tendency to shift its channels, there has been a rapid expansion of cultivation in its south-eastern portion, which was till recently a desolate tract of swamp and jungle. Apart, however, from this, the number of persons enumerated in this thana was swollen at the time of the census by the influx of *dohatwars*, i.e., non-resident cultivators, who came with their labourers to cut the crops. Owing to their presence the male population outnumbered the females by over 7,000, this being the only thana in either the Supaul or Madhipura subdivision in which males were in excess. In the Sadar subdivision there is only a slight development, but thana Bihpur has increased by nearly 15 per cent. owing chiefly to the spread of cultivation in an area which previously lay waste. There is a small increase in Colgong, but Bhagalpur has decreased in consequence of plague and the dislocation of trade it has caused, while Sultanganj is stationary. The Banka subdivision has advanced slightly, but the Katoria thana, a sparsely populated tract in the extreme south, has lost ground.

315. The population of Purnea, a sparsely peopled district in which the soil is fertile and in which there are still large areas awaiting development, grew steadily between 1872 and 1891, an increase of 7·8 per cent. being recorded in 1881 and a further increase of 5·2 per cent. in 1891. The next decade

PURNEA.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,989,637	+ 5·96	- 3·6
Sadar Subdivision	942,716	+ 13·30	- 2·65
Purnea	159,704	+ 3·54	- 0·61
Kaiba Amer	126,202	+ 5·95	- 2·73
Damdaha	176,365	+ 19·81	+ 1·68
Korah	118,089	+ 7·97	- 3·31
Gopalpur	80,310	+ 8·37	- 22·30
Kaibwa	149,355	+ 17·95	- 7·98
Katihar	131,641	+ 33·94	+ 2·83
Kishanganj Subdivision	608,688	- 1·90	- 4·85
Kishanganj	145,623	- 3·90	- 3·01
Bahadurganj	206,561	+ 1·47	- 3·45
Islampur	256,503	- 3·91	- 4·79
Araria Subdivision	440,233	+ 5·58	- 3·57
Baniganj	89,909	+ 2·92	- 2·92
Forbanganj	139,052	+ 7·97	- 3·36
Araria	211,679	+ 6·29	- 4·80

witnessed a set-back, the result of the unhealthy conditions prevailing and of virulent epidemics of disease. In 1901 it was found that the population had diminished by 3·6 per cent., the only thanas in which there was any progress being Katihar and Damdaha.

316. In the past decade conditions have been far more favourable, and the number of births exceeded that of deaths in every year except 1905,

1906 and 1907, the aggregate excess being 34,000. From 1905 to 1907 heavy mortality was caused both by fever and cholera, the latter causing 43,000 deaths between October 1905 and June 1907. Next year (1908) the premature cessation of the monsoon led to a partial failure of the crops, and some distress ensued among the small cultivators and field labourers, but, as the Collector remarked :—"The regularity and abundance of the rainfall, the natural moisture of the soil, and, consequent on these conditions, the comparative ease with which the soil is prepared and the crops grown, have all tended to make the typical cultivator of this district a most fortunate being. Well irrigation and the unceasing toil of the typical Central Bihar cultivator are not necessary for him. With such antecedents it is clear that the economic condition of the cultivators in the affected area before the scarcity could not be anything but satisfactory in spite of high prices prevailing." The population generally has reached a high standard of prosperity as compared with other districts of Bihar. Rents are low, for much of the land has been recently brought under cultivation and cultivators are in demand. The soil is fertile, being inundated and enriched by silt nearly every year. The cultivation of jute has expanded steadily, to the profit both of cultivators, middlemen and merchants, and the district generally is being developed by the extension of railway communications. Two new lines have been opened since 1901, one from Forbesganj to Jogbani on the Nepal border and the other from Katihar to Godagari, the latter being an important line which gives direct communication with Lower Bengal.

317. The census shows that since 1901 there has been an addition to

PUURNA.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population —	1,016,421	975,216	959,723	917,606
Immigrants —	117,590	91,179	69,032	31,973
Emigrants —	20,503	17,943	20,615	16,503
Natural population ...	919,536	869,960	911,304	869,436

the population of 112,308 persons or 6 per cent. A large part of this increase is due to the influx of new settlers. The actual number of immigrants has now risen to 200,000, the increase since 1901 being no less than 84 per cent. That most of the new immigrants have come to the district for permanent settlement will be apparent from the close

correspondence between the figures for male and females, the increase in the number of the former being a little under 49,000, while in the case of females it is 42,000. The influx of immigrants has led to very large accretions of population in some thanas, notably Katihar and Damdaha. Katihar, which owes its growth very largely to the development of the railway junction of Katihar, has added 34 per cent. to its population since 1901 and is now more populous by 72 per cent. than in 1891. Damdaha thana in the south-west has grown less rapidly, but has an increase of 20 per cent., the result of cultivation being rendered possible now that the Kosi has swung to the west and the thana is no longer swept by its floods. Here waste land is fast disappearing; what used to be a vast jungle area is now a fertile and well cultivated tract. There is a general increase throughout the west and south of the district, and the only decadent portion is the Kishanganj subdivision in the north-east. This a notoriously unhealthy Tarai tract, which has been steadily losing population since 1891, but even here the Bahadurganj thana, which is an important jute-growing centre, has advanced slightly since 1901.

ORISSA.

318. As in many other districts, the census of 1881 showed a very large addition to the population of Cuttack (16·2 per cent.), but it has been estimated that at least 100,000 persons escaped enumeration in 1872, and that the real rate of

CUTTACK.

growth was 13·6 per cent. A further increase of 7·9 per cent. was registered

CUTTACK.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	2,109,139	+ 2·37	+ 6·46
Sadar Subdivision	1,068,772	+ 3·24	+ 5·43
Cuttack ...	228,195	+ 3·03	+ 4·97
Baukl ...	78,604	+ 4·26	+ 7·96
Salepur ...	291,552	+ 7·19	+ 4·48
Tirtol ...	183,739	+ 1·90	+ 6·78
Jagatsinghpur ...	286,384	+ 0·71	+ 5·40
Kendrapara Subdivision	485,918	+ 4·37	+ 8·33
Kendrapara ...	200,406	+ 7·97	+ 7·09
Patamundi ...	120,362	+ 1·15	+ 10·66
Ani ...	115,160	+ 3·90	+ 9·83
Jajpur Subdivision	554,449	- 0·89	+ 6·33
Jajpur ...	310,080	+ 0·60	+ 4·36
Dharamkuta ...	244,369	- 3·27	+ 8·77

in 1891, which was followed by an advance of 6·5 per cent. in 1901. Throughout these 29 years the district developed steadily, its growth being most rapid in the first decade, when it was recovering from the effects of the famine of 1866. Its development was retarded to some extent in the next decade by the terrible cyclone of 1885, but between 1891 and 1901 there was steady progress, throughout the district.

319. There would probably have been a similar growth of population during the decade ending in 1910, had it not been for a succession of bad agricultural seasons leading to a large increase of emigration. Owing to floods in 1900 and to drought in 1901, the two opening years of the decade were years of short crops. In the next two years excellent harvests were reaped, but the course of the seasons in 1904 was a repetition of 1901, and the outturn was again poor. In 1907 again there were severe floods early in the rains followed by a drought towards their close. The floods caused great distress in the Jajpur and Kendrapara subdivisions, and, when the water receded, a severe outbreak of cholera supervened. The damage to the crops caused by the floods was completed by subsequent drought, and it became necessary to institute relief measures. In the following year scarcity continued, and floods, followed by drought, again reduced the outturn of the crops. The last two years of the decade, however, were exceptionally prosperous, and by the time of the census the people had completely recovered from their distress. The effect of the failure of the harvests on vital occurrences is very marked. In the first two years of the decade the birth-rate was below 38 per mille: it then remained above 42 per mille for five years, but suddenly dropped as the result of scarcity, falling to 36 per mille in 1908 and reaching the minimum (32 per mille) in 1909. In the last year of the decade, with reviving prosperity, it as suddenly rose to the high ratio of 46 per mille. Except in the three years 1901, 1907 and 1908, the birth-rate was always in excess of the death-rate, though there were epidemics of cholera in all but two years, which carried off altogether 100,000 persons: the mortality in 1907 and 1908 alone, when there were epidemics synchronizing with floods, drought and scarcity, accounted for very nearly half the number.

320. Altogether, the births outnumbered the deaths by 96,610, but the census shows that the addition to the population is only about half that number, viz., 48,826 or 2·4 per cent. The difference is due to the exodus

CUTTACK.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	1,601,175	1,107,964	994,165	1,066,147
Immigrants ...	10,349	22,906	11,606	21,339
Emigrants ...	118,577	54,397	81,385	38,476
Natural population ...	1,102,103	1,122,426	1,003,843	1,080,295

of the district born, the number seeking employment elsewhere having risen by no less than 56,000, or 48 per cent., since 1901. The growth of the volume of emigration is due partly to the facilities of communication with the outside world, which the railway has afforded within the past decade, and partly to the stress caused by repeated crop failures. The scarcity of 1907 and 1908 gave a further stimulus to migration. In 1908 the Subdivisional Officer of Jajpur took a rough census and found that 50,000 persons from that subdivision alone had left their homes under the pressure

of scarcity and the pinch of high prices.* The emigrants are mostly able-bodied men, and the males are more than twice as numerous as the females. One indirect result is that while the female population has grown by 4 per cent. since 1901, the increase among males is under 1 per cent.

321. There has been a slight loss of population in two thanas, viz., Patamundi in the east and Dharmsala in the north-west, where the loss is due to emigration. In both thanas there has been an increase of the female population, but the males in Patamundi are less by 3,000 than in 1901, and in Dharmsala, which is traversed by the railway, the decline in their number amounts to 7,000. The same feature is noticeable in the neighbouring thana of Jajpur, and it is on this account that the Jajpur subdivision is stationary. In the south-east of the district also there is little or no progress. Here, too, emigration is responsible, for both the thanas concerned (Tirtol and Jagatsinghpur) have lost part of their male population, while the female population has increased. The greatest advance has been made by the Salepur and Kendrapara thanas, which have enjoyed a considerable amount of prosperity on account of the steady expansion of jute cultivation and the facilities for irrigation, which make them fairly independent of seasonal variations. The increase is all the more noticeable in Salepur, because in 1901 it was already the most densely populated thana in the district. After them, comes Banki, a somewhat thinly populated thana, which has been steadily developing since 1891.

322. When the first census was taken, the people of Balasore were recovering from the famine of 1866, which had decimated their numbers. In 1881 an increase of 23 per cent. was recorded, which was due partly to improved enumeration and partly to a recovery from the losses caused by the famine.

BALASORE.

BALASORE.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,055,568	- 1.68	+ 7.69
Sadar Subdivision	594,936	+ 0.40	+ 8.35
Jallasore	61,886	+ 3.09	+ 7.91
Baligopal	104,522	+ 2.65	+ 8.67
Basia	60,298	+ 0.21	+ 6.00
Balasore	121,636	+ 0.78	+ 6.90
Sore	226,614	- 1.16	+ 8.14
Bhadrakh Subdivision	460,632	- 4.25	+ 7.44
Bhadrakh	196,833	- 3.65	+ 8.98
Basudebpur	78,222	- 4.90	+ 12.0
Dhamnagar	134,623	- 2.91	+ 0.28
Chandbali	61,434	- 6.77	+ 14.08

in Chandbali there was an increase of 11 per cent. due to the development of trade and the reclamation of waste land. During the next decade the public health was good and the condition of the people prosperous, owing to a succession of good harvests. The result was a further increase of 7.7 per cent., in which all parts of the district shared except the Dhamnagar thana, where the destruction of crops by floods shortly before the census had driven a number of the males to seek employment elsewhere. The Chandbali and Basudebpur thana had the greatest expansion; in other parts of the district the rate of growth was remarkably uniform.

323. During the first half of the decade ending in 1910 the crops were below the average except in 1903-04, while there was a serious failure in 1901-02. Though the births exceeded the deaths by 24,000, the quinquennium witnessed a falling off in the birth-rate as compared with the previous five years, the ratio of births declining from 40 to 39 per mille, while the death-rate rose from 31 to 34 per mille. After 1905 the district entered on a series of unhealthy years. In three years, viz., 1906, 1907 and 1908, the deaths exceeded the births, especially in 1908 when the number of deaths was actually double the number of births. Two epidemics of cholera

* The crop failure of the preceding years led to 1,087 persons being recruited under the Emigration Acts in 1903 and 2,657 in 1908: the total for the remaining eight years was only 1,494.

occurred in these three years, the first breaking out in 1907 and being responsible for 11,000 deaths, while the second, which broke out next year, was a terrible visitation which carried off 28,000 people. These epidemics were the result partly of scarcity and high prices, which compelled the poorer classes to resort to dietary of a coarser kind than usual, and partly of the failure of winter and spring rains, which greatly reduced the water-supply.

324. The resources of the people were also severely tried by a succession of bad harvests. The rainfall was scanty in 1905 and 1906, and the crops were consequently short. In 1907 a high flood destroyed the rice crop in the greater part of the Bhadrakh subdivision, and the inundation was followed by a prolonged drought. The combined effect of flood and drought was scarcity, which necessitated the opening of relief works and the distribution of gratuitous relief. The year 1908 also was not a prosperous one. The winter rice over a large part of thanas Dhamnagar and Chandbali was again damaged by floods, while scanty rainfall in October, when the crop was in the ear, seriously affected the outturn over a great part of the district. The damage caused by alternating floods and droughts in these successive years was intensified in its effects by the fact that the district is practically dependent on one crop, viz., winter rice. The distress of the poorer classes is, however, relieved by emigration, which has been facilitated by the opening of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in 1899 and of the Mayurbhanj State Railway in 1904: a third railway connecting Balasore with the capital of the Nilgiri State has also been opened recently, but there is as yet practically no passenger traffic.

325. Taken as a whole, the decade was unfavourable to any growth of

BALASORE.	1911.		1901.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population ...	204,819	250,928	218,768	254,826
Immigrants ...	12,267	20,172	13,225	16,222
Emigrants ...	43,319	39,151	29,094	22,739
Natural population ...	173,767	231,949	176,449	216,365

population. The births outnumbered the deaths by only 2,000; only in one year were the harvests up to the average, and in four years there were serious crop failures. The result of the census is to show that the population has diminished by 18,074 or 1·7 per cent. For this decrease three

factors are responsible, viz., emigration, the prevalence of epidemic disease, and failure of crops resulting in scarcity. The two latter factors have already been referred to, and it will suffice to say that the greater activity of emigration is evidenced by the fact that the number of persons who sought employment outside the district has risen by 21,000 since 1901, and that whereas in that year the excess of females over males in the district was 36,000, it is now 46,000.

326. The only thanas which show any increase are Jellasore and Baliapal in the north, a result which is at first sight somewhat surprising, as they are reputed to be the home of malaria and the most unhealthy part of the district. On the other hand, this area is one of the most prosperous parts of the district. It is for the most part a permanently-settled tract, and the land revenue demand is very light. The agricultural classes are more prosperous than in the centre and south of the district, and not only was the pinch of scarcity less felt, but the ravages of cholera were not so widespread. Even more important, however, is the fact that there is very little emigration from these thanas. On the contrary, they attract settlers. Labourers come to Baliapal from the adjoining subdivision of Contai in the Midnapore district to reclaim waste land and jungle, while Santals and other aboriginals come to Jellasore from the Mayurbhanj State in search of work. In thana Basta, which lies to the south of Jellasore and Baliapal, the population is practically stationary, while thana Balasore, which is to the south of Basta, shows a small decrease. This decrease is to be attributed mainly to emigration, which has brought down the excess of males over females by about 1,000. Soro, the remaining thana of the Sadar subdivision, has also a small loss, which is due to death by disease and emigration. It was the chief sufferer from the cholera epidemic already referred to, and emigration has been active. The Bhadrakh subdivision in the south is mainly responsible for the decrease of population in the district.

Every thana has lost ground, the percentage of decrease varying from 2·9 per cent. in Dhamnagar to 6·8 per cent. in Chandbali. This part of the district suffered most from scarcity, the floods of the Baitarani river having destroyed the crops over a great part of the subdivision in 1907 and 1908. Emigration is also more active than it is to the north, Chandbali being the only thana which does not contribute to the stream of emigrants. Though, however, it has not lost by emigration, this thana has the heaviest decrease owing to the fact that it suffered more than any other from floods, which caused widespread destruction of the crops and were followed by scarcity and virulent epidemics of cholera and other diseases.

327. As in other districts of Orissa, the census of 1881 brought out a large increase of population in Puri amounting to 15·4 per cent. The growth of population was sustained during the ensuing ten years, at the close of which a further advance of 6·3 per cent. was recorded.

PURI.	Population 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	1,023,402	+ 0·60	+ 7·65
Sadar Subdivision ...	655,798	- 0·34	+ 7·25
Puri ...	222,442	+ 2·24	+ 3·73
Puri Town ...	49,011	+ 18·90	+ 71·33
Pipli ...	275,164	+ 0·33	+ 14·61
Gop ...	114,981	+ 0·40	+ 14·89
Khurda Subdivision ...	367,604	+ 2·33	+ 5·39
Khurda ...	261,181	+ 2·71	+ 8·34
Bangor ...	106,423	+ 1·41	+ 8·22

actual increase was 7·6 per cent., but part of this was due to the fact that a religious festival was in progress at Puri at the time when the census was taken, the foreign-born population exceeding that of 1891 by more than 13,000. The Sadar and Pipli thanas had the smallest rate of increase, while in the Gop thana and the two thanas of the Khurda subdivision the addition to population varied from 6 to 8½ per cent.

328. Conditions during the ten years ending in 1901 were no more favourable than in the preceding decade. In 1901 there was a partial loss of the winter rice crop in parts of the Khurda subdivision and also in the country on the borders of the Chilka lake, necessitating relief measures in the latter tract. The crops were good in the following three years, *i.e.*, 1902 to 1904, but the outturn was much below the normal in the years 1905 and 1906, and there was a serious loss of crops in 1907 owing to the early cessation of the monsoon and heavy floods in the north-east. Throughout the year 1908 distress, deepening into famine conditions in limited areas, prevailed, and relief operations had to be carried on in the north-east of the district and in the neighbourhood of the Chilka lake. Fortunately, in the last two years of the decade the harvests were excellent and the prosperity of the people revived. The effect of these years of depression is reflected in the statistics of vital occurrences. In four years (1901, 1902, 1907 and 1908) the deaths outnumbered the births, and in the decade as a whole the excess of births over deaths was only 10,000. The mortality was especially great in 1908, a year of scarcity when the distress of the people was aggravated by an epidemic of cholera, which helped to bring the death-rate to the appalling figure of 59 per mille.

329. The combined effect of disease, scarcity and the stimulus given to emigration by poor harvests was to check the growth of the population, and

PURI.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	506,570	516,822	508,829	510,443
Immigrants ...	17,867	25,772	20,919	22,114
Emigrants ...	16,122	19,397	11,687	17,504
Native population ...	505,096	510,446	497,407	495,833

Between 1891 and 1901 the district continued to develop in spite of adverse influences. The year 1891 witnessed a crop failure, floods and a cyclone; there was scarcity in 1897 necessitating relief measures in the neighbourhood of the Chilka lake and in parts of the Khurda subdivision; while the country round the Chilka was again subject to scarcity in 1900. The

the actual increase brought to light by the census is only 6,000 or only 0·6 per cent. The increase would have been greater had it not been for the adverse balance of migration. As compared with 1901, 6,000

more of the native population were enumerated outside the district, and 9,000 less persons from other districts were present at the time of the census. As already explained, there was a large body of pilgrims in the district in 1901, as the date of the census was synchronous with the Gobind Dwadasi festival, the number in Puri town alone being over 17,085. Special care was taken at this census to separate the pilgrim population from others, and it was found that it only amounted to 7,139, of whom 5,293 were returned for Puri town. The decrease in the number of pilgrims alone may be taken as at least 10,000. This accounts for the apparently large loss returned for Puri town. If the pilgrims at both censuses are excluded, the town has grown at the rate of 7.7 per cent. There has been a small advance in the Khurda subdivision, which was comparatively free from seasonal calamities and should therefore *a priori* have grown more rapidly. The decline in the rate of growth is due to emigration; the addition to the female population in Khurda thana is more than double the addition to males, and in Banpur the male population is a little less than in 1901, whereas the females have added nearly 2,000 to their numbers. In the Puri subdivision there is a slight advance in the Puri thana (excluding the town), but the Pipli and Gop thanas are stationary.

CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.

330. The centre of the Hazaribagh district consists of a small plateau about 2,000 feet high, which slopes down abruptly on all sides except the south-west, where it stretches out into a long ridge as far as the boundary of the Palamau district. The central plateau, which corresponds to the Hazaribagh thana, is surrounded by a lower ring-shaped plateau, which forms the drainage area of a number of rivers. This lower plateau is broken up by small ranges of hills into several main valleys and numerous ravines. The rainfall and agricultural conditions vary greatly from valley to valley, but where the country is much broken by ravines, it is covered with forests which retain moisture, and suffers comparatively little from deficient rainfall. To the south-west is the Barkagaon thana, which comprises some broad valleys; Simaria and Chatra in the west consist partly of ridges and uplands, partly of ravines; Hunterganj thana to the north-west is a valley sloping down to the Gaya district, but the Pratappur police station in its extreme west is an area of ravines and jungle. To the south-east thanas Mandu and Gumian are full of ravines, but Bagodar and Ramgarh are broad valleys. In the Giridih subdivision Dumurhi lies below and receives the drainage from the Paresnath range, while Giridih, Kharagdiha, Dhanwar and Ganwan are undulating uplands.

331. The increase of population between 1881 (when the first reliable census was held) and 1891 amounted to 5.4 per cent., but this was not evenly distributed, for the whole of the north-west of the district lost ground, except the Hunterganj thana, while there was a large growth elsewhere, especially in the Giridih subdivision. During the next decade there was famine in 1897, when distress was general over a broad belt running north and south through the district, the thanas most affected being Barhi, Kodarma, Bagodar, Gumian, Ramgarh, Mandu and Hazaribagh. The addition to the population recorded in

HAZARIBAGH.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	1,288,609	+ 8.39	+ 1.17
Sadar Subdivision ...	835,953	+ 9.97	- 0.31
Barhi ...	59,630	+ 4.66	- 2.31
Hazaribagh ...	101,111	+ 8.81	- 8.21
Bagodar ...	72,198	+ 11.91	- 0.26
Barkagaon ...	61,478	+ 12.92	- 4.94
Ramgarh ...	36,122	+ 17.76	+ 1.41
Gumian ...	35,622	+ 19.22	- 2.67
Mandu ...	36,420	+ 21.22	+ 2.16
Patarbar ...	69,969	+ 21.72	+ 12.55
Chorpara ...	62,532	+ 2.24	- 2.26
Hunterganj ...	47,720	+ 6.42	+ 8.88
Chatra ...	22,191	- 4.48	- 2.88
Simaria ...	37,606	- 0.97	+ 2.89
Kodarma ...	37,977	+ 10.78	+ 2.22
Giridih Subdivision ...	452,656	+ 8.34	+ 3.98
Ganwan ...	44,121	+ 7.52	+ 4.06
Kharagdiha ...	30,808	+ 2.96	+ 0.81
Dhanwar ...	22,238	+ 2.21	+ 2.26
Giridih ...	129,549	+ 10.90	+ 6.93
Dumurhi ...	94,605	+ 12.16	+ 2.55

1901 represented only 1·2 per cent., the smallness of the increase being attributable to the growing volume of emigration and also to the heavy death-rate following the famine of 1897.

332. Between 1901 and 1910 the health of the people was on the whole good. The birth-rate maintained a high level except in the years 1908 and 1909, and the births outnumbered the deaths by no less than 170,000. Good or fair crops were reaped until 1907, when the rainfall was unfavourably distributed, there being a heavy fall early in the season and a premature cessation in September. The rice crop was almost entirely a failure on high lands, and its outturn was diminished in the low lands. The yield both of *rabi* and of the important *mahua* crop was also only about a quarter of the normal. Distress ensued, which amounted to scarcity in some parts, viz., in the Barkagaon thana, the eastern half of the Hazaribagh thana, and the uplands of Simaria and Chatra. Gratuitous relief had to be given, mainly to old people, women and children left without means of support by the labourers and small cultivators, who migrated in large numbers to the coal-fields and elsewhere. Others were provided with loans, with the help of which they were able to tide over their difficulties. The rainfall next year was favourable, and good crops were reaped. By October 1909 all signs of scarcity had disappeared, and normal conditions were re-established.

333. The material condition of the people appears to have improved considerably during the last 20 years. It is reported: "Labourers and petty agriculturists formerly found it very difficult to get the bare necessities of life. They have now got over the stage of actual want, and in many instances, after defraying all expenses, they are able to live up to a fairly high standard and to indulge in small luxuries previously unknown to them. This change is very noticeable among the aborigines. Whereas formerly they depended solely upon the edible fruits and roots of the jungles for their subsistence for at least two or three months in the year, they now never, ordinarily, miss their food grain diet." The mica mines at Kodarma and the coal mines of Giridih furnish employment to many thousands, and the wages obtained there alleviate distress arising from the shortage of the crops in their neighbourhood. The demand for labour, it should be added, varies very largely according to the state of the market: the average labour force in the mica and coal mines was 18,000 in 1901, rose to 52,000 in 1906, and fell to under 7,000 in 1910. Except in the neighbourhood of the commercial and industrial centres, the people are poor, and the margin between sufficiency and exigency is often narrow.

334. The increase of population disclosed by the census is 110,648 or 9·4 per cent., which is due to natural growth among a people largely composed of prolific semi-aboriginals. It cannot be said that the movements of the people have affected the census results to any appreciable extent. The number of immigrants is almost exactly the same as in 1901, while the emigrant population has fallen off by only 6,000. The number of those

HAZARIBAGH.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	879,105	659,906	570,122	607,889
Immigrants	21,875	30,236	19,469	22,414
Emigrants	77,490	67,040	83,572	66,794
Natural population	823,490	623,102	537,123	559,509

born in the district who left it in order to find employment elsewhere reached a very high figure in 1901, and emigration has since been facilitated by the opening of the Grand Chord line. The drain on the available labour varies from year to year according to the outturn of the crops, the exodus being stimulated by bad harvests and checked by good crops; there is no doubt that it would have been greater at the time of the census had it not been for agricultural prosperity. A good index to the extent to which the latter influences emigration is afforded by the returns of coolies recruited for Assam, which show that in 1910-11 the number was only 684, whereas it was 3,465 in 1907-08, a year of scarcity. Every thana in the district has increased its population, except Chatra and Simaria in the west: acute distress was experienced in the upland tracts of these two thanas in

1908, and both have lost slightly. The greatest progress is observable in the south, where four thanas have grown rapidly, the ratio varying from 17·7 to 21·5 per cent. The advance has been slower in the north, where Barhi and Chorparan have a proportional growth of under 5 per cent. and also in the Giridih subdivision. Both the Giridih and Kodarma thanas have an increase of over 10 per cent., though at the time of the census the coal and mica mines were employing a smaller labour force than usual.

335. In spite of the drain caused by increasing emigration, the population of Ranchi grew steadily between 1881 and 1901, the increase being 6·7 per cent. in the first and 5·2 per cent. in the second decade. The growth during the ten

years ending in 1901 was retarded by several years of bad harvests and general depression, actual famine prevailing in some parts in 1897 and 1900, when the stream of emigration was greatly increased. After allowing for the effects of emigration, it was estimated that the true increase of population was about 13 per cent.

The decade ending in 1910 was a period of agricultural prosperity broken only by one bad year. In the first five years good crops enabled the people to recoup from the effects of the famine of 1900. A bumper harvest followed in 1906, leading to heavy exports, but the people, with the improvidence characteristic of aboriginals, squandered their gains and were left with few resources to tide them over the impending scarcity. The failure of the monsoon in 1907 led to a failure of the crops, the stock of food-grains was reduced to a very low limit, and distress became general. Famine

RANCHI.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION, 1901-1911.
DISTRICT TOTAL	1,387,516	+ 16·80
Sadar Subdivision	526,172	+ 15·25
Lohardaga	27,831	+ 17·87
Kura	31,809	+ 18·16
Burra	23,033	+ 3·30
Mandla	34,309	+ 7·59
Bero	29,741	+ 11·22
Lapang	22,249	+ 13·71
Ranchi	165,034	+ 18·28
Ormanjhi	30,134	+ 19·26
Augora	29,610	+ 14·73
Billi	30,820	+ 21·82
Khunti Subdivision	349,633	+ 16·46
Karra	36,811	+ 19·30
Torpa	56,315	+ 11·30
Khunti	77,076	+ 14·08
Bonda	32,022	+ 20·90
Sonahatu	42,900	+ 13·45
Tamar	102,507	+ 21·44
Gumla Subdivision	511,711	+ 18·68
Bishunpur	26,142	+ 20·06
Chainpur	24,404	+ 17·29
Ghagra	25,511	+ 19·63
Sisai	61,458	+ 14·91
Gumla	46,331	+ 22·29
Raidih	26,180	+ 16·23
Palto	26,761	+ 14·01
Bazla	34,329	+ 12·67
Bano	31,312	+ 20·90
Kochhira	43,720	+ 22·21
Kochhaga	60,524	+ 18·29
Kurdeg	33,757	+ 32·94

was declared in the Kurdeg, Kochhaga, Chainpur, Bishunpur, Gumla and Ghaghra thanas, relief works were opened in Sisai thana and part of Sonahatu, and test works in Burra and part of Tamar; but elsewhere the people managed to hold out with the assistance of loans, which were freely granted. The crop of 1908 was fair, and made it possible to bring the famine operations to a close in September. The mortality in this year was heavy, for distress lowered the general vitality of the people and diminished their power of resistance to disease. Cholera and small-pox appeared in an epidemic form, causing nearly 10,000 deaths between them, and the death-roll from fever was also heavy. The two last years of the decade were, however, a period of agricultural prosperity, and the effects of the famine had disappeared by the time the census was taken. The birth-rate throughout the decade was very much higher than in the preceding ten years, rising from 38·3 to an average of 44·5 per mille. It was in excess of the death-rate in every year but 1908, and the net result was an excess of births over deaths amounting to 196,000.

336. The total addition to the population is 199,591 or 16·8 per cent., a very large increase, which must

be attributed to the increased prosperity of the people, the high birth-rate natural to prolific aboriginal races, and, improved enumeration in tracts previously difficult of access. The balance of migration is heavily

RANCHI.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	676,752	710,763	577,180	610,744
Emigrants	17,169	16,475	17,030	15,094
Immigrants	160,188	145,121	142,910	123,241
Natural population	819,771	839,409	703,060	728,891

against the district, and the opening of the Purulia-Ranchi Railway has helped to swell the number of emigrants. Emigrants outnumber immigrants by 271,666 as against 220,517 in 1891, and the aggregate of the district-born who were enumerated elsewhere is now 30,058 more than it was ten years previously. The increase in the number of the latter is all the more noticeable, because 1910 was a year of good harvests, which should have reduced the stream of emigrants, whereas the census of 1901 took place after a year of scarcity when many thousands more than usual left their homes.* The security that has been assured to the raiyat by the settlement of the district is said to have brought back to their homes many cultivators who would otherwise have settled in Assam, but it does not appear to have checked in any way the general exodus.

337. The increase of population has been general throughout the district, the percentage being above 10 per cent. in all thanas except Burmu and Mandar. The thanas in which famine was declared have developed to an astonishing extent, the increase in them being nowhere below 17 per cent., while Kurdeg has added nearly one-third to the number of its inhabitants. Nowhere has the growth of population been so rapid as in this latter thana and the adjoining thanas of Kochdega, Kolebira and Bano. The average increase of 22·5 per cent. in these four thanas, writes the Deputy Commissioner, has been "the result of a tendency among aboriginal cultivators to escape from the more settled and landlord-ridden villages of the north and centre of the plateau to the jungles in the south. The movement used formerly to be a continuous advance southwards, but the abolition of *bethbegari* during the decade has rendered the position of the raiyat in Ranchi infinitely superior to that of his brethren in Gangpur, and has arrested further movement across the border." The only other thanas of the district with an increase exceeding 20 per cent. are Silli, Tamar, Bundu, Gumla and Bishunpur. The first three are among the most prosperous thanas of the district and reaped the greatest benefit from the rise in the price of lac during the first six years of the decade; the two last suffered severely from the famine of 1900, and many of their inhabitants must have left the district when the census of 1901 was taken.

338. Palamau added 8·3 per cent. to its population between 1881 and 1891, but in the next ten years the rate of progress was greatly diminished, the census of 1901 showing an increase of only 3·8 per cent. This result was, in a large

PALAMAU.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1881-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	687,267	+ 10·92	+ 3·83
Balumath	72,907	+ 13·66	+ 3·91
Dultongunj	124,870	+ 18·28	+ 1·90
Garhwa	107,674	+ 13·46	+ 7·15
Ranka	47,336	+ 20·90	+ 2·96
Chhotatargur	48,637	+ 11·03	+ 5·93
Jatan	91,490	+ 4·08	+ 6·13
Husainabad	110,593	+ 7·62	+ 6·90
Latehar	51,609	+ 22·06	+ 1·94
Matuadam	32,247	+ 19·44	+ 3·23

measure, due to the fact that in 1896 and 1899 there were crop failures which culminated in famine. Two thanas, viz., Balumath and Latehar in the south-east, lost ground, while the north of the district displayed the greatest advance. The first six years of the decade ending in 1910 were on the whole prosperous, and the people, whose condition had been reduced by a succession of bad or inferior crops, made a distinct recovery from the effects of the previous lean years. The crops were good, except in 1904-05, and the birth-rate high; in fact, in each of the last three of these six years it ranged above 50 per mille and was higher than in any other district of the province. Altogether, there was an excess in this period of 65,000 births over deaths, or thrice the excess of the preceding nine years. In the remaining four years of the decade the births were in excess by 3,000 only, as a consequence of the adverse conditions prevailing in the three years 1907-09, in each of which deaths outnumbered births. Short rainfall and

* In the famine year of 1907-1908 the number of coolies recruited for Assam rose to 4,148, the number in the preceding year being only 777. The return for 1901 shows a total of 4,474 recruited from both Ranchi and Palamau; separate figures for Palamau are not available, but the proportion of emigrants from that district was never very large.

deficient harvests were experienced in 1907 and 1908, and in both years epidemics of cholera supervened, accounting in all for 15,500 deaths. In other respects, the decade was a period of development. The Barun-Daltongunj Railway was opened in 1902, thus bringing Palamau into direct communication with both Northern India and Bengal, and this gave a great stimulus to trade and commerce. There was also a boom in the lac market, which did not a little to bring money into the cultivators' pockets. The district abounds in *nalas*, *kusum* and *bair* trees, which had for a long time past been regarded as of no particular economic value. The people now realized that they could, with little labour and cost, be turned into a source of profit. They were thus able to supplement their resources materially, and a number of lac factories were established in different parts of the district.

339. The excess of births over deaths in the ten years was 68,585, and the increment of population recorded at the census closely corresponds with this figure, being 67,667 or 10·9 per cent. The balance of migration is only slightly against the district, the outflow of population being less than the influx by 11,500. Compared with 1901, how-

PALAMAU.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	341,612	346,634	306,202	312,397
Immigrants ...	13,986	11,942	19,399	18,990
Emigrants ...	18,964	16,612	14,690	17,521
Natural population ...	346,634	352,325	300,999	311,978

ever, the movements of migrants have made a considerable difference, for emigrants have increased by 5,000, while immigrants are 13,000 fewer in number.

The increase has been general throughout the district, except in the Husainabad thana in the north, where there is a considerable decline. Part of this may be ascribed to the fact that at the last census the construction of the Barun-Daltonganj Railway through the thana caused a temporary increase of its population. Part may also be ascribed to mortality from cholera : plague also made its appearance more than once, but caused very little mortality. In all but one of the other thanas the increase is over 10 per cent., and in the south of the district away from the railway (in thanas Ranka, Mahuadand and Latehar) it varies from 19 to 31 per cent. All these are sparsely inhabited thanas, and the actual variation is not very great : in 1901, moreover, there appears to have been considerable temporary migration in consequence of scarcity.

340. Manbhum, which has long been the least difficult of access of all the Chota Nagpur districts, and whose coal-fields have attracted outside labour, has been developing very rapidly since 1881. In 1891 the addition of population amounted to 12·8 per cent., and this was followed by a further increase of 9·1 per cent. in 1901. The growth during the last decade would undoubtedly have been greater had it not been for acute scarcity in 1897 and the adverse balance of migration. Emigration to the tea districts was active throughout the decade and reached large proportions in 1896 and 1897 ; there was also a movement of the labouring classes to the Raniganj coal-field in Burdwan, but this was small compared with the movement of coolies to

MANBHUM.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	1,547,576	+ 18·92	+ 9·05
Sadar Subdivision ...	1,163,434	+ 13·59	+ 5·39
Jhalda ...	190,085	+ 18·27	+ 0·87
Parulla ...	967,125	+ 15·70	+ 11·81
Baghmundi ...	46,674	+ 17·24	+ 6·90
Chandil ...	109,903	+ 11·74	+ 6·51
Barababhum ...	143,999	+ 10·49	+ 4·88
Manbhum ...	90,902	+ 18·06	+ 10·43
Raghunathpur ...	133,618	+ 10·58	+ 2·65
Gaurangpur ...	58,636	+ 11·19	+ 0·19
Parsi ...	47,665	+ 17·01	+ 2·12
Cheer ...	117,940	+ 16·47	+ 0·77
Dhanbaid Subdivision ...	384,122	+ 38·61	+ 25·16
Gobindpur ...	45,075	+ 18·06	+ 4·27
Jheria ...	153,383	+ 75·30	+ 75·14
Topechanchi ...	99,833	+ 44·00	+ 30·24
Niraha ...	69,420	+ 10·48	+ 7·00
Tundi ...	36,412	+ 18·31	+ 4·10

Assam, where half the emigrant population was enumerated in 1901. Altogether, there was a net loss of 30,000 persons by migration, and it was estimated that had it not been for this loss there would have been a natural increase of between 11 and 12 per cent.

341. During the ten years ending in 1910 a great stimulus was given to the progress of the district by the development of the coal mines. During the first part of the decade the number of labourers in the mines was more than doubled, and in the second it rose again by two-thirds. High-water mark was reached in 1908, after which there was a falling off due to the state of the coal market. In spite of this, the industrial census shows that nearly 80,000 persons were employed in the collieries at the time of the census. There was also a "boom" in the lac trade, which was followed by a "slump" in 1908, but notwithstanding this the number of factories increased from 52 in 1900-1901 to 118 in 1909-10, when they gave employment to nearly 6,000 persons. The bulk of the people are agriculturists, who are compensated more or less for a failure of their harvests by the lac crop. Their harvests were good during the first half of the decade, but owing to deficient rainfall were very short in 1907-1908. The outturn was, however, excellent in the remaining years. The public health was, on the whole, good except for epidemics of cholera, which swept over the Jheria coal-field during several years. In 1908 there was a particularly virulent epidemic, which caused no less than 12,000 deaths; even this figure probably falls far short of the actuals, as the coal-field area in the Jheria and Topchanchi thanas was for some time reduced to a state of panic, and the returns were defective. The disease spread rapidly through the field, and panic-stricken coolies hurrying away from the infected collieries spread the disease into all parts of the district. The total death-rate during the decade was low, the average being only 26·5 per mille, and the net excess of births over deaths was 167,000.

342. The census shows that the number of inhabitants is now 246,212, or 18·9 per cent. more than in 1901. The increment is partly due to the natural growth of population and partly to migration being in favour of the district. A very remarkable change in the flow of migration inwards and outwards

MANBHUM.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	788,337	739,089	633,536	648,028
Immigrants ...	82,606	60,170	27,391	24,728
Emigrants ...	50,465	63,027	64,915	71,057
Natural population ...	756,398	703,496	600,860	694,357

has taken place in the last ten years, owing mainly to the influx of outside labour to the collieries and to the fact that local labourers prefer the good wages offered there to the prospects of distant employment. The number of persons who have come into

the district has risen by 80,000 and is now more than double what it was in 1901, while the number of emigrants has diminished by 21,000. The result of the tide of migration setting into the district instead of away from it, is that, whereas in 1901 emigrants outnumbered immigrants by nearly 74,000, the latter are now in excess by 27,000.

No less than two-fifths of the total increase is accounted for by the two thanas of Jheria and Topchanchi, which contain most of the collieries. Their expansion in the last 20 years, during which the bulk of them were opened, has been extraordinary, for Jheria has trebled its population, while Topchanchi has an increase of 88 per cent. Excluding these two thanas, Manbhumi has had a proportional growth of a little under 13 per cent. since 1901. This advance has been general and fairly uniform, for no thana has an increase of less than 10 per cent. or of more than 18·3 per cent.

343. The census which has recently been concluded shows that the population of Singhbhum is more than 50 per cent. what it was 30 years ago. The recorded growth would have been even greater but for emigration to the Feudatory

SINGHBHUM.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	694,394	+ 13·17	+ 12·48
Chakradharpur ...	112,134	+ 9·34	+ 17·96
Ghatigaon ...	235,721	+ 16·10	+ 15·28
Chalbasa ...	271,924	+ 8·59	+ 9·36
Monoharpur ...	34,565	+ 85·22	+ 15·89

States of Orissa and also to the tea districts of Assam and Jalpaiguri. In spite of this drain, there was an increase of 20 per cent. in 1891 and another advance of 12·5 per cent. in 1901.

The effects of scarcity in 1900 lingered for a little

time, the birth-rate being as low as 30 per mille in 1901, but it rose to 46 per mille in 1903. Until 1907 the condition of the people continued to be prosperous, but in that year there was a partial failure of the crops and some stress was felt in 1908, when cholera, that common concomitant of scarcity, broke out. In the decennium as a whole there was an excess of 87,000 births over deaths. The ten years under review were not only prosperous from an agricultural point of view, but also ushered in an era of industrial development. The Tata Iron and Steel Company opened large works at Sakchi in Dhalbhum, a railway being at the same time built from Kalimati to Gurumaisini in Mayurbhanj. Iron mines were also opened in Dhalbhum and in the Buda and Notu hills of the Kolhan by the Bengal Iron and Steel Company, a light railway being constructed for the carriage of ore from the hills to the main line at Manoharpur. "There is," reports the Deputy Commissioner (Mr. A. W. Cook), "a constant stream of cooly labour to the railways, mines and iron works, and among the coolies are included a large proportion of raiyats with small holdings. The off-season is spent at these centres, and at sowing and harvest time the workers return to their fields. The importance of this boon to the labourers and the poorer classes of raiyats cannot be over-estimated. They are provided with money to tide over the period from sowing to harvest, and, as a consequence, are no longer forced to have recourse to *mahajans* for their living expenses during this period."

344. The increase of population now recorded, viz., 80,815 or 13·2 per cent., must be attributed to the natural fecundity of a people with a large aboriginal element, the opening out of the district by the railway, and its more recent industrial development. The increase would have been greater but for the loss by migration. There has been, it is true, an influx of labourers and artisans to the iron works, mines and railways, and the concentration of labour in large centres has been accompanied by an increase in the number of traders who supply their wants. Owing mainly to this cause, the number of immigrants has increased by 13,000, but this increase is more than counterbalanced by the greater exodus from the district. The scarcity of 1907-08 drove many out of the district—the number of coolies recruited for Assam in this and the next year was greater than the aggregate for the preceding six years. Apart from this, the people, having realized how cheap and easy it is to travel by rail, and what good wages can be earned elsewhere, have learnt the habit of temporary migration. Emigrants are now more numerous by 42,000 than in 1901, and outnumber the immigrants by 56,000.

345. The increase is by no means uniformly distributed and varies very

SIXTHURUM.	1911.		1901.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population ...	341,297	353,787	302,425	311,154
Immigrants ...	21,027	39,521	14,238	18,044
Emigrants ...	50,433	45,909	31,393	33,037
Natural population ...	210,812	279,558	215,182	223,437

largely in different areas. The greatest fluctuation between the percentage of growth in 1901 and 1911 is noticeable in thanas Manoharpur and Chakradharpur. In the former the ratio has risen by almost 20 per cent., in the latter there is a deficit of about 9. This is due mainly to

movements between the two thanas. It is reported that on the census day a large number of residents of the Chakradharpur thana were working at the works of the Bengal Iron and Steel Company, as well as in Manoharpur and its neighbourhood. In Ghatsila (Dhalbhum) the rate of growth has been slightly accelerated, while in the Chaibasa portion of the Kolhan it has slightly fallen off. The explanation is that a number of persons from the Kolhan left for employment in the iron works at Sakchi in Dhalbhum as well as at Gurumaisini in Mayurbhanj.

346. The census of the Sonthal Parganas both in 1872 and 1881 was admittedly incomplete—in 1881 an army of 4,500 men had to be sent into the district to prevent an outbreak, and the first reliable census was that of 1891. The census of 1901 showed an increase of only 3·2 per cent., but it was estimated that but for emigration there would have been an advance of at least 10 per cent.

SONTHAL PARGANAS.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL ...	1,882,973	+ 4.05	+ 3.19
Dumka Subdivision ...	416,004	- 0.21	+ 3.1
Dumka ...	377,713	- 1.25	+ 4.5
Dumka Damin ...	38,291	+ 25.67	- 26.77
Godda Subdivision ...	387,160	- 0.81	+ 1.39
Godda ...	122,657	- 11.06	+ 12.22
Poreya ...	81,668	+ 3.90	- 3.27
Mahaganj ...	98,018	- 0.07	+ 6.22
Godda Damin ...	100,823	+ 10.67	- 12.37
Deoghar Subdivision ...	306,477	+ 3.05	+ 4.68
Deoghar ...	103,381	+ 0.79	+ 2.88
Sarwan ...	41,275	+ 8.37	+ 4.21
Madhupur ...	83,029	+ 2.55	+ 8.79
Sarath ...	78,190	+ 2.55	+ 8.79
Jamtara Subdivision ...	205,646	+ 8.35	+ 9.25
Pakaur Subdivision ...	237,635	+ 7.95	+ 3.6
Pakaur ...	94,891	+ 14.92	+ 8.24
Pakuria P. S. ...	24,254	+ 4.96	+ 2.13
Manoharpur L. O. P. ...	82,931	+ 4.03	+ 1.1
Pakaur Damin ...	68,559	+ 4.03	+ 1.1
Rajmahal Subdivision ...	310,051	+ 12.05	+ 0.11
Rajmahal ...	67,163	+ 18.96	- 6.66
Barharwa ...	40,084	+ 0.92	- 9.49
Sahibganj ...	28,516	+ 44.69	- 4.82
Rajmahal Damin ...	174,288	+ 2.88	+ 4.82

behind, the birth-rate fell from 44 per mille in 1904 to 34 per mille in 1908, and sunk to 31 per mille next year; but after this, good crops and the fall of prices brought about a rapid recovery. In spite of these adverse conditions, there was, according to the returns, an excess of 190,669 of births over deaths during the whole decade.

347. The census shows that the total addition of population is only 73,236 or 4 per cent. To repeat the remarks made in the last census report regarding the ratio of increase recorded in 1901:—"This is a surprisingly small rate of development in a healthy district with a prolific population. The statistics of migration supply the necessary explanation." In that year the number of persons born in the Sonthal Parganas but enumerated elsewhere was 226,008: it has now reached the astonishing figure of 321,283, an increase of 95,000 in 10 years. There are, moreover, 5,000 less immigrants in the district than in 1901, and the emigrants outnumber the immigrants

by 215,000. There is, in fact, an army of emigrants pouring forth from the district year by year, and spreading over the Barind in Malda and Dinajpur, the rice-fields in other Bengal districts, and the coal-mines in Manbhum and Burdwan.

SONTHAL PARGANAS.	1911.		1901	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Actual population ...	933,425	949,548	896,273	913,364
Immigrants ...	48,306	58,331	55,191	58,294
Emigrants ...	162,101	159,182	115,894	110,114
Natural population ...	1,047,160	1,050,899	969,076	965,144

348. The Dumka and Godda subdivisions, which suffered most from the succession of bad years (1905-1908), show a slight decrease, the result of emigration. The decline in both is confined to the thanas outside the Damin (except the hilly area of Poreya), while there has been a substantial addition to the inhabitants of the Damin. The Deoghar subdivision was also affected by scarcity, but to a smaller degree, and has grown slightly: thanas Deoghar (with Sarwan) and Madhupur, which suffered most, are practically stationary, but Madhupur thana is more populous by 8.4 per cent. The Jamtara and Pakaur subdivisions, which were still less affected by poor harvests and high prices, have a normal growth (8.35 and 7.95 per cent. respectively), in which all parts share. The Rajmahal subdivision is the most progressive part of the district: the greater part of its increase (12 per cent.) is due to natural growth, but part is due to the fact that there was a large labour force, mainly of up-country coolies, employed in the Lower Ganges Bridge quarries in 1911, and that Sahibganj, the increase in which appears *prima*

facie abnormal, was partially deserted in 1901 on account of an epidemic of plague.

349. The increase in the Damin since 1901 amounts to 11·9 per cent.,

SUBDIVISION.	VARIATION PER CENT. SINCE 1901.	
	Damin.	EXTER Damin.
Dumka	+23·67	- 3·38
Godda	+10·67	- 4·77
Pakaur	+ 4·93	+ 9·73
Rajmahal	+ 6·58	+ 19·6

whereas in the remainder of the district it is only 2·8 per cent. A certain amount of growth in the Damin may be expected, for the population consists of prolific aborigines, mainly Santals, who have been benefited by special agrarian legislation. "To that legislation is due the unhampered extension of cultivation, the controlled

enhancement of rent, and the general protection of weak and ignorant cultivators, who would otherwise have become the prey of their wiler and stronger neighbours, and have sunk into the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the more advanced races round them."* On the other hand, a large percentage of increase is not to be expected in the Damin, which loses heavily by emigration and which consists mainly of hills, where cultivation is neither so advanced nor so widespread as in the plains. The cultivated area has, it is true, increased by 36 per cent. in 30 years, but the increase in the zamindari estates amounts to 84 per cent. When the figures for different tracts are examined, there are the most remarkable variations, as shown in the marginal table. In the Pakaur and Rajmahal subdivisions the increase in the Damin is less than in the country outside it, as is only natural, for the latter tract (except for part of Maheshpur and Pakauria thanas) consists of fertile alluvial soil. The population of the Pakaur and Rajmahal thanas was, moreover, temporarily swollen by the presence of imported coolies and masons working in the Lower Ganges Bridge quarries near Tudkipur (Rajmahal) and Pakaur, while the addition in the Sahibganj thana, as already explained, is due to its being partially evacuated in 1901. In the Dumka and Godda subdivisions, however, the results are exactly the reverse. In the former subdivision, the Damin lost 26·77 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, and now has a gain of 25·67 per cent., though the rest of the subdivision has a decrease. In Godda, the Damin lost 12·27 per cent. at the last census and now has advanced by 10·67 per cent., whereas there is a decrease of 4·77 per cent. outside the Damin. In both subdivisions, emigration from the Damin is active, and *a priori* large increases in this area are not to be expected. The explanation appears to be that there was some confusion about the boundaries of the Damin in 1901 and that part of its population was included in the country outside it. It is safer therefore to compare the present results with those of 1891, according to which the Dumka and Godda Damin have a decrease of 8·6 and 3 per cent. respectively (the result chiefly of emigration), while the country outside the Damin has an increase of 4·1 and 2 per cent., respectively.

350. In Angul the census of 1901 showed an increase of 12·85 per cent., but while the Angul subdivision added 23 per cent.

ANGUL.

to its population, the Khondmals lost 3 per cent.

There had been some distress in the Angul subdivision in 1897 owing to

ANGUL.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
DISTRICT TOTAL	199,451	+ 3·93	+ 12·85
Sadar Subdivision	125,233	- 1·93	+ 23·13
Khondmals Subdivision	74,218	+ 15·58	- 3·22

the partial failure of the crops. After this, the people had a series of bad years, which exhausted their resources and culminated in general scarcity in 1900-01. This was most felt in the Khondmals, specially by those who depended for their sustenance on jungle produce,

such as yams and edible bulbs. There were again short harvests in 1902-03, but next year, with bumper crops, all signs of distress disappeared. The prosperity of the people continued till 1908, when there was again scarcity. The failure of the rains, in the latter part of 1907 caused great damage to the winter rice, and the *rabi* crops also suffered. There was a fair mango

* H. McPherson, *Sonthal Parganas Settlement Report*.

crop in the Angul subdivision, but it failed in the Khondmals, while the *mahua* crop was a failure in both areas. The failure of these two crops seriously affected the poorer classes and aboriginal races, who live on them for about three months in the year. For three successive years, these and other crops had suffered more or less, but it was not until 1908 that the accumulative effect of all these partial failures, coupled with the prevailing high prices, began to show itself and to necessitate relief measures. About three-fourths of the district was affected; the distressed classes were mainly Pans and labourers, the numbers requiring relief being augmented by the families of Pans who had absconded. The distress was never very acute, and it was not necessary to declare famine. In the Angul subdivision, however, considerable mortality was caused by cholera, which was introduced from Dhenkanal; the deaths due to it in this year represented no less than 10 per mille of the population of the subdivision.

351. The census of 1911 shows that, while there is a total addition

ASO'.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	98,372	101,079	91,935	95,976
Immigrants	7,972	10,779	5,563	13,169
Emigrants	9,355	11,594	2,594	4,184
Natural population	96,989	100,264	89,868	92,951

of 7,540 or 3·9 per cent., the results of the preceding census in the two subdivisions are reversed. The Angul subdivision, which had a large growth between 1891 and 1901, has lost ground, while the Khondmals, which declined slightly in that decade, has advanced rapidly. Probably part of the increase in the Khondmals must be ascribed to an improvement in the methods of enumeration, and part to the natural fecundity of the Khonds. There have been no widespread epidemics, and even 1908, when there was scarcity, was a healthy year, the drought causing a diminution of malaria. Moreover, though the hill and jungle areas in which the Khonds live were most affected by the drought, the Khonds, being accustomed to live on jungle produce, experienced less distress than the poorer cultivators and labourers in the plains of Angul. In the latter subdivision, the loss is partly due to the mortality caused by cholera and partly to loss from emigration, the Pans having migrated to Assam and elsewhere in considerable numbers. In the district, as a whole, the emigrants now outnumber the immigrants, whereas the reverse was the case in 1901. Inquiries made in 1908 showed that 1,276 persons emigrated to the tea gardens, and, according to the census returns, the total number of emigrants to places outside the district is or more than treble the number returned in 1901.

352. In Sambalpur, as in other districts of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, the first reliable census was that of 1891, which disclosed a growth of 11·7 per cent. The development of the district received a severe check in the next decade owing to the

SAMBALPUR.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION, 1901-1911.
DISTRICT TOTAL	744,193	+ 16·46
Sadar Subdivision	302,039	+ 10·08
Mundher	15,660	+ 38·07
Dhama	80,125	+ 9·62
Sambalpur	50,262	+ 9·40
Saman	28,832	+ 14·62
Katarbaga	34,306	+ 6·21
Lalkera	41,122	+ 3·45
Jharugra	41,838	+ 12·08
Rampalia	31,844	+ 18·18
Mura	27,882	+ 7·93
Bargarh Subdivision	442,154	+ 21·27
Amalbhons	36,220	+ 12·54
Astarira	46,878	+ 12·73
Bheran	46,785	+ 12·81
Barpali	39,550	+ 19·27
Bargarh	51,509	+ 18·07
Bhadi	30,566	+ 17·50
Sohela	35,619	+ 23·79
Bijepur	23,559	+ 20·42
Meichhamunda	31,192	+ 27·40
Goatlat	33,222	+ 27·48
Padampur	31,310	+ 27·48
Jagdalpur	35,077	+ 42·48
Falkmai	19,436	+ 70·21

famine of 1900 and the mortality caused by epidemics of fever, cholera and small-pox during the famine—the death-rate for this year rose to the appalling figure of 108 per mille. The result was that the census of 1901 showed an addition to the population of only 3·3 per cent. The Sambalpur subdivision suffered little, and the east and north of the Bargarh subdivision were not seriously affected; but distress was very acute in the south-west of the latter and especially in Borsambar.

The birth-rate of 1901, which was only 30 per mille, was abnormally low in consequence of lowered vitality and reduced fecundity, while, owing to the previous clearance made by famine and disease among the old and weakly, the death-rate reached the minimum ever recorded

(19.56 per mille). The recovery from the effects of the famine was, however, rapid, for next year the birth-rate rose abruptly to 46.65 per mille and throughout the succeeding years it continued at a very high level. The death-rate on the other hand was uniformly low except in 1908, and the combined effect of a high birth-rate and a low death-rate was an excess of births amounting to 104,000 in the decade. The people, moreover, had a succession of good agricultural seasons, except in 1901-03 and 1907-1908, when crops were short in consequence of capricious and unevenly distributed rainfall. On the whole, the decade was one of steady and peaceful progress. "In every direction," writes the Deputy Commissioner, "there are evidences of increasing prosperity. New villages have been settled, and new lands are being brought under cultivation. Agriculture has improved as well as extended. Facilities for irrigation have increased. The value of land has gone up appreciably. The railway has developed the trade of the country, and agricultural produce has commanded better prices than ever it did before. Indebtedness has not increased. The standard of living has not appreciably risen, but ideas of comfort have begun to take hold of the people. Coarse Ganda cloths are being given up in favour of those of finer texture; more people now use shirts and shoes; gold and silver ornaments are coming into greater use. Tiled houses are now quite common, and even pucca houses are not so rare as they used to be. Bicycles too are very much more largely used every year."

353. The census shows the effect of these influences, and testifies to the

SAMBALPUR.	1911.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	365,552	378,441	312,888	325,110
Immigrants*	19,700	23,701	39,073	32,087
Emigrants*	88,108	85,419	48,509	56,333
Natural population	437,944	440,359	333,318	345,554

outnumbering immigrants by 130,000. Figures are not available showing the number of immigrants that were enumerated in 1901 in the present district, but those for the district as then constituted (which extended over 1,136 square miles more than it now does) will serve for purposes of comparison. They show that there are now nearly 19,000 less immigrants, but 66,000 more emigrants. Part of the decrease of the former may be due to the reduction of area. The large rise in the number of the latter is striking evidence of the extent to which the people of Sambalpur have moved out of the district.

354. All parts of the districts are progressive, but while the Sambalpur subdivision, which was more or less immune from the famine of 1900, has an increase of 10 per cent., the Bargarh subdivision, which was seriously affected by it, has grown more than twice as rapidly. In this latter subdivision there has been an extraordinary development in Borasambar (where distress was most acute), for the four thanas constituting it, *viz.*, Melchhamunda, Gaisilat, Padampur and Paikmal, have percentages of increase varying from 27 to 70 per cent. In this area the revival of agricultural prosperity has resulted in an expansion of the area under cultivation, which has attracted new settlers. In the first two thanas, the rate of progress has been uniform (27.5 per cent.), while in Jagdalpur (42.5 per cent.) the waste and jungle are being fast cleared away and new villages established. The very remarkable increase in Paikmal (70 per cent.) is partly due to the same causes and partly to incomplete enumeration in 1901, when very few literate men were available to work as enumerators. In the Sambalpur subdivision, the most progressive thana is Mundher, which records a growth of 28 per cent., also largely the result of waste and jungle being brought under the plough. Elsewhere the increase is fairly evenly distributed, the least advance being noticeable in Katarbaga and Laikera. Both these thanas are situated close to the border of the Bamra State, and

* The 1901 figures of immigrants and emigrants for the district as now constituted not being available, those for the district as then constituted have been given.

during the dry season many of their inhabitants leave their homes to work in the Bamra forests.

355. Between 1891 and 1901 the Orissa Feudatory States added 9·5 per cent. to their population, every State recording an increase except Baud in the south and Sonpur and Patna in the east. Baud sustained a slight loss owing to

ORISSA STATES.	Population, 1911.	PER CENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901—1911.	1891—1901.
TOTAL	3,796,563	+ 19·64	+ 9·48
Attharbi	45,813	+ 6·92	+ 19·93
Talcher	66,301	+ 9·24	+ 14·73
Mayurbhanj	729,316	+ 19·47	+ 14·58
Nilgiri	68,714	+ 3·39	+ 18·26
Keonjhar	364,792	+ 27·63	+ 13·18
Pai Lohara	25,890	+ 14·39	+ 13·46
Dhenkanal	270,175	+ 1·27	+ 14·85
Athmalik	33,768	+ 31·98	+ 28·94
Hindol	49,840	+ 5·94	+ 34·25
Narsingpur	23,964	+ 0·33	+ 17·03
Barambe	41,429	+ 8·28	+ 17·93
Tigiria	33,240	+ 2·73	+ 10·11
Khondpara	73,821	+ 6·20	+ 9·74
Nayagarh	151,293	+ 7·47	+ 19·44
Ranpur	46,956	+ 0·26	+ 14·96
Barpalla	37,033	+ 9·74	+ 14·01
Baud	113,441	+ 28·55	+ 1·43
Bamra	128,016	+ 11·94	+ 18·22
Rairakhol	31,729	+ 18·00	+ 32·29
Sonpur	215,701	+ 27·08	+ 12·99
Patna	408,716	+ 47·15	+ 16·29
Kaibhandi	418,967	+ 19·33	+ 7·13
Gangpur	303,839	+ 27·18	+ 24·79
Botsi	55,809	+ 32·33	+ 19·17

have, on the whole, been good and there has been, writes the Political Agent,

ORISSA STATES.	Male.	Female.
Actual population	1,893,588	1,913,975
Immigrants	142,310	167,230
Emigrants	26,374	46,923
Natural population	1,766,422	1,805,668

through Gangpur and Bamra and the East Coast section of the same railway, enabled to obtain a highly profitable market for their produce." Immigrants are attracted by the areas awaiting development and the easy terms on which land can be acquired, and outnumber the emigrants by 224,000; details are given in the marginal statement.

356. In discussing the variations which have occurred, it will be convenient to divide the 24 States into 4 groups according to locality. The first group consists of the north-eastern States of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Nilgiri. Mayurbhanj has progressed rapidly since 1901. Its economic resources have been developed, it has been opened up by roads and railways, and its trade has expanded greatly. A narrow-gauge railway has been built connecting the capital Baripada with the Bengal-Nagpur Railway line, and another line has been constructed from the works of the Tata and Iron Steel Company at Sakchi (in Singhbhum) to the mines at Gurumaisini. There was some scarcity in 1908, and relief operations had to be instituted, but otherwise the decade was one of agricultural prosperity, new areas being reclaimed and the cultivation in the older settled tracts improving steadily. The increase in the whole State amounts to 19·47 per cent. and all parts have contributed to it. The ratio of increase is least in the Bamanghati subdivision (7·66 per cent.) where there was scarcity in 1908 accompanied by epidemics of cholera and small-pox: it is greatest in Panchpir (35·5 per cent.), a jungly backward tract which has attracted immigrants and in which the census of 1901 was not quite complete. In Keonjhar the percentage of increase is 27·6 per cent., but Nilgiri has grown very slightly, viz., by 3·4 per cent. This latter State suffered from severe

epidemics of disease and scarcity in 1900, which stimulated emigration. In Sonpur and Patna there was a heavy loss of 13 and 16 per cent. respectively, which was directly due to famine in the year preceding the census, in consequence of which a number of people left their homes. The census now concluded shows a general advance except in Dhenkanal and Ranpur, the aggregate addition to the population being 623,168 or 19·64 per cent. This large increase is partly due to more accurate enumeration, but is mainly the result of natural growth among hardy and prolific races. The crops

epidemics of cholera in 1907 and 1908, while there was a partial failure of the crops both in 1905-1906 and 1907-1908.

357. The second group consists of the Gangpur and Bonai States to the north-west, both of which have an increase, amounting to 27·18 per cent. in Gangpur, and to 52·3 per cent. in Bonai. The former State has benefited greatly from the railway which passes through it, and it has had excellent crops except in 1908. The inducements offered to immigrants by the large cultivable area lying waste and the small rents charged for holdings have, moreover, led to an influx of settlers from Chota Nagpur. The extraordinary increase in Bonai must be ascribed partially to incomplete enumeration in 1901, and partly to the opening up of the State, the railway being only 12 miles beyond its border. The land is being rapidly reclaimed, and as the State is very sparsely inhabited, there is ample room for expansion.

358. The western block comprises Bamra, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Patna and Kalahandi, all of which were transferred from the Central Provinces in 1905. In Bamra, Rairakhol and Kalahandi, the proportional growth varies from 12 to 19·5 per cent. The increase in Bamra would have been greater, had it not been that at this census a number of people were away working in manganese mines in Gangpur, and that in 1901 the number of persons enumerated in the State was enhanced by 2,000 or more owing to the presence of a large marriage party hailing from Pal Lahara and elsewhere. The rate of growth has been far more rapid in Sonpur (27 per cent.) and Patna (47 per cent.), where it marks a recovery from the famine of 1900, during which there was heavy mortality, while many of the inhabitants died or migrated to Sambalpur. The emigrants returned with the revival of agricultural prosperity, which continued almost unabated through the decade. Sonpur has been opened up by roads connecting it with Sambalpur and Rairakhol, while Patna has benefited by immigration, especially in the south-east and west, where large areas are available for reclamation.

359. The central States consist of Baud, Athmallik, Talcher and Pal Lahara, in which the ratio of increase varies from 9·5 per cent. to 31·9 per cent. The latter percentage returned for Athmallik, a sparsely populated State which gains by immigration. The ratio of increase for Baud (28·55) is very little less, but this State was partially depleted in 1901 as a result of severe scarcity. The remaining States consist of a block to the south-east on or near the borders of Cuttack and Puri, viz., Athgarh, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Narsinghpur, Baramba, Tigiria, Khondpara, Nayagarh, Ranpur and Daspalla, all of small size except Dhenkanal and Nayagarh. Dhenkanal has lost ground slightly, owing to scarcity in 1908 and mortality from cholera and other diseases. The number of recorded deaths in that year was treble the annual average for the remainder of the decade. Emigration was stimulated by the distress, and the result is seen in the figures for the sexes, the females having a slight increase in their numbers while males have decreased. The same phenomenon is observable in Ranpur, where the population is stationary. Narsinghpur has only advanced slightly, while the slow progress made by Tigiria is accounted for by the fact that it is more densely populated than any of the other States. In the other States of this group, the increase of population is fairly uniform, varying only from 5·6 to 9·7 per cent.

CHOTA NAGPUR STATES.

CHOTA NAGPUR STATES.	Population, 1911.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION.	
		1901-1911.	1891-1901.
TOTAL	148,646	+ 5·36	+ 9·10
Beraikela	109,794	+ 5·02	+ 11·40
Kharsawan	38,852	+ 6·32	+ 3·02

360. The Chota Nagpur States consist of the two small States of Kharsawan and Saraikela, both of which lie to the north of the Singhbhum district. The increase of population registered in these two States is natural and calls for no special remarks.

SIKKIM.

361. The State of Sikkim recorded an increase of 28,556 or 93·8 per cent. in 1901. This phenomenal increase was partly due to the greater accuracy of the census, the enumeration of 1891 being admittedly incomplete, and partly to immigration, for settlers from Nepal flocked in to cultivate the

SIKKIM.	1901.		1901.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Actual population ...	47,039	42,861	20,795	28,219
Immigrants ...	16,470	12,350	12,327	11,607
Emigrants ...	1,279	1,768	1,046	1,142
Natural population ...	30,288	31,270	18,504	16,690

areas awaiting reclamation. No less than 22,720 persons, or 38·5 per cent. of the total population, were returned as born in Nepal, and the greater majority of them were new-comers, who had crossed the border since 1891. The census recently concluded has brought to light a further addition of 28,906, or 49

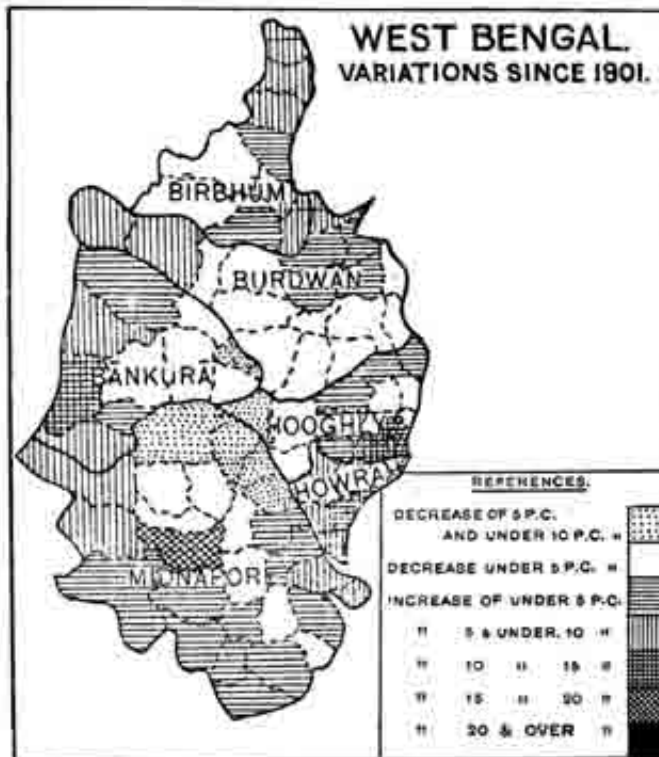
per cent. An analysis of the returns of birthplace shows that the immigrant population has increased by 5,000, while the number of persons born in Sikkim who were enumerated outside the State is greater by 1,255: the large increase cannot therefore be ascribed to any greatly enhanced influx into the State. At the same time, the fact that the number of immigrants is greater than in 1901 shows that the influx of settlers has continued and that the number of new-comers more than makes up for loss by death among the earlier immigrants. Part of the increase is due to natural growth among hardy and prolific races, such as the Nepalese, and part to the greater completeness of the census, which was for the first time carried out by an organized census staff: in 1901 only persons who had houses in Sikkim were enumerated, and not non-residents such as graziers and Nepalese in search of work.

362. Altogether 25,610 persons, or 2,890 more than in 1901, were returned as born in Nepal, but instead of forming 38·5 per cent. of the total population, they now represent 29 per cent. The number of those born in Sikkim has risen from 34,010 to 58,085, or by 71 per cent., owing partly to their including the children of immigrants from Nepal who have settled in Sikkim: the native-born now form two-thirds of the population instead of half as in 1901. The number of Lepchas has risen from 7,982 to 9,031, and of Bhotias from 8,184 to 12,414, of whom 10,250 are Sikkim Bhotias. These indigenous races account for nearly a quarter of the population, and practically all the remainder are Nepalese, among whom the Khambus (Jimdars) are the most numerous, having 15,872 representatives.

SUMMARY.

263. West Bengal, *i.e.*, the Burdwan Division, had advanced but slightly since 1901, its net increase representing only 2·8 per cent. The most progressive district is Howrah, where there is an addition of 10·9 per cent., mainly the result of immigration stimulated by industrial activity in the city of Howrah and its neighbourhood. In the district, as a whole, immigrants represent one-fifth of the total population, and in the city of Howrah more than two-thirds of the inhabitants are immigrants from outside districts. This city accounts for a fourth of the total increase, and has grown more rapidly than the rest of the districts. Outside its limits the increase is due partly to natural growth and partly to immigration. In all the other districts the rate of increase is below 4 per cent. This figure is nearly reached by Hooghly, which, like Howrah, receives a large number of immigrants, their proportion to the total population being 17 per cent. The Serampore subdivision, which adjoins the Howrah and, like it, is an industrial centre, has grown at very nearly the

same rate as that district, but the Sadar subdivision is now more populous by only 1·16 per cent., and the Arambagh subdivision has sustained a loss. Both these latter subdivisions are unhealthy and decadent: the population of



the former is very little more than in 1891, while that of the latter is less by nearly 8,000. Hooghly is closely followed by Birbhum with an increase of 3·7 per cent., due not to emigration, but to natural growth. Here the accession of population is unevenly distributed between the north and south of the district, for the Rampur Hat subdivision to the north has an increase of 6·7 per cent. spread over all its thanas, while the Sadar subdivision has advanced very slightly. Bankura has lost heavily by emigration, the number of persons born in the district but enumerated outside it being 20 per cent. more than in 1901 and

equal to 15 per cent. of the district population. Moreover, while the Sadar subdivision records a gain of 4·9 per cent., the Vishnupur subdivision has lost 3·1 per cent. The latter is a malarious and unhealthy tract in the deltaic rice plain, and its population has decreased at every census except that of 1901. Midnapore has an increase of only 1·2 per cent., the general growth of population being affected by the loss sustained in the Ghatal subdivision in the north-east. The latter, which suffered greatly from epidemic disease and also lost by emigration, has decreased by 7·3 per cent., but the other subdivisions have ratios of increase varying from 1·75 to 3·1 per cent. The population of the Burdwan district, which has suffered from epidemic and endemic diseases, is stationary. The Asansol subdivision in the north-west has added 4·7 per cent. to its population, mainly owing to the influx of labourers to the coal-fields, and the Katwa subdivision in the north-east has a growth of 3·3 per cent. The remainder of the district, which lies along three great rivers, Ajay, Damodar and Bhagirathi, has lost population, only two (Sahebganj and Manteswar) out of 11 thanas having any addition to the number of their inhabitants.

364. Briefly, the two purely alluvial districts (Hooghly and Howrah) owe their increase mainly to the influx of population attracted by the prospects of employment in industrial and manufacturing concerns and by their proximity to Calcutta. The alluvial tracts elsewhere, which are remote from Calcutta, and which have no large industries and manufactures, have suffered from persistent unhealthiness and are more or less decadent or stationary, *e.g.*, the Vishnupur subdivision of Bankura, the Ghatal subdivision of Midnapore, the Hooghly district with the exception of the Serampore subdivision, and the Sadar and Kalna subdivisions of Burdwan. In the lateritic area, however, there has been a small advance, *e.g.*, in the Birbhum district, the Sadar subdivision of Bankura and the Asansol subdivision of Burdwan.

365. Central Bengal owes its increase of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. entirely to the accession of population in the 24-Parganas, Calcutta, and Murshidabad. There is an actual loss of population in the remainder of the division, where there are no large industries to attract labour from outside. Both Jessore and Nadia, two

unhealthy districts lying entirely in the deltaic rice plain, have declined, while Murshidabad,



which is not entirely alluvial, has a small increase, due to the lateritic area to the west of the Bhagirathi. The 24-Parganas is now more populous than it was in 1901 by 17 per cent. It has gained very greatly by immigration, the immigrant population being nearly one-fourth of the total population. All parts of the district have added to their numbers, but nowhere has there been greater progress than in the suburban municipalities and the Barrackpore subdivision, where the growing demand for labour has resulted in an increase of 45 and 42 per cent., respectively. In rural areas great progress has been made in the northern thanas, through

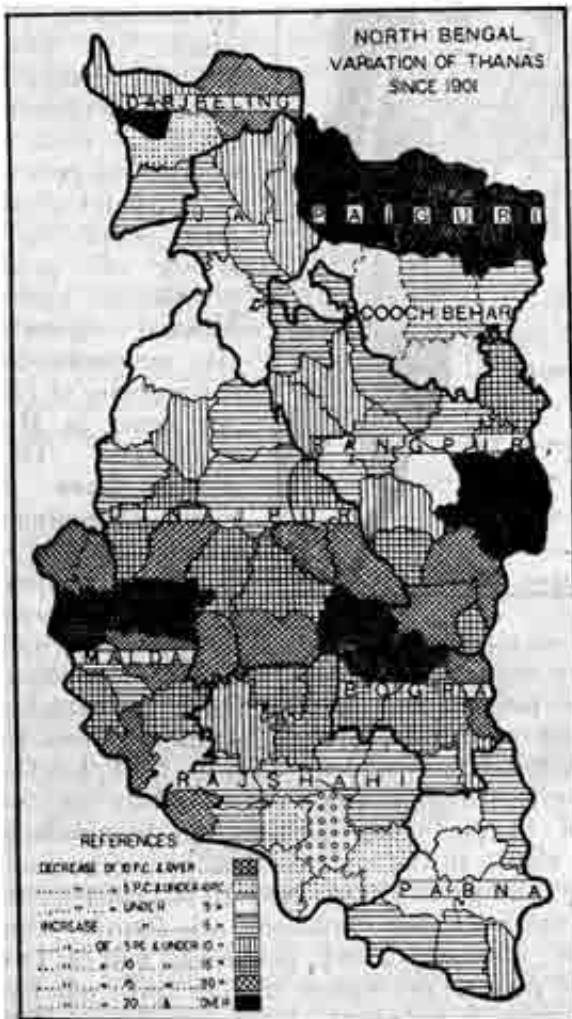
which the Barasat-Basirhat Railway runs, and in the country to the south, where the development is due to the reclamation of the Sundarbans. In the city of Calcutta the percentage of increase has fallen from 24 per cent. to 5·7 per cent., owing partly to the tendency of immigrants to settle in the suburbs rather than in the city itself. This movement has been stimulated by the clearance of insanitary overcrowded *bastis* in Calcutta, the improved suburban traffic service and the development of large industries in its neighbourhood. The reduction in the rate of increase is also partly due to the census of 1901 having been more complete than its predecessor, as a result of which an unnaturally large increase was registered. Murshidabad has added 2·9 per cent. to its population, but while the Jangipur and Kandi subdivisions have grown fairly rapidly, the growth in the Lalbagh subdivision is slight and the Sadar subdivision has lost ground. Nadia and Jessore have sustained a loss, both being unhealthy areas with an unenviable reputation and no manufactures to attract immigrants. The history of both is, as already stated, a dismal record of disease and decline.

366. In North Bengal the most rapid growth of population has taken place in Bogra, which has been growing steadily since 1872 and now records an increase of 15·2 per cent. The increase is due mainly to natural growth among a population largely composed of Muhammadans. It is closely followed by Jalpaiguri, which has gained 14·8 per cent. nearly entirely from the influx of immigrants. In this district there is a small natural growth in the east, a fairly large increase in the centre, where it is the result partly of natural causes and partly of immigration, and a remarkable increase in the Alipur subdivision, where immigrants are fast taking up the available waste land. The tract known as the Western Duars has nearly trebled its population since 1901, but in Mainaguri and Damdim to the west, where nearly all the waste land has now been taken up, the ratio of increase has fallen. The two latter thanas have apparently nearly reached the limit of their expansion, and consequently new settlers are pouring into the more distant and less developed lands of the Alipur subdivision. The population of the latter will probably

have a diminished rate of growth henceforward, as the area of cultivable land outside the reserved forest is now comparatively small. Malda has developed almost as rapidly as Jalpaiguri, but its development is due to natural growth. The past decade in this district has been one of peaceful progress stimulated by the opening of the Katihar-Godagari Railway. All parts of the district share in the increase except Nawabganj, where land has been diluviated and the cultivators have moved to other places. Rangpur, which in 1901 had an increase for the first time in its history, has a further addition of 10·7 per cent. The health of the people has improved since the earthquake of 1897, and the extension of railway communications has stimulated immigration. All parts of the district are progressive, but the greatest advance has been made in the Kurigram and Gaibandha subdivisions, where many new settlers have come to the *char* lands from Sirajganj and Mymensingh.

367. The increase of 7·7 per cent. in Dinajpur is the combined result of

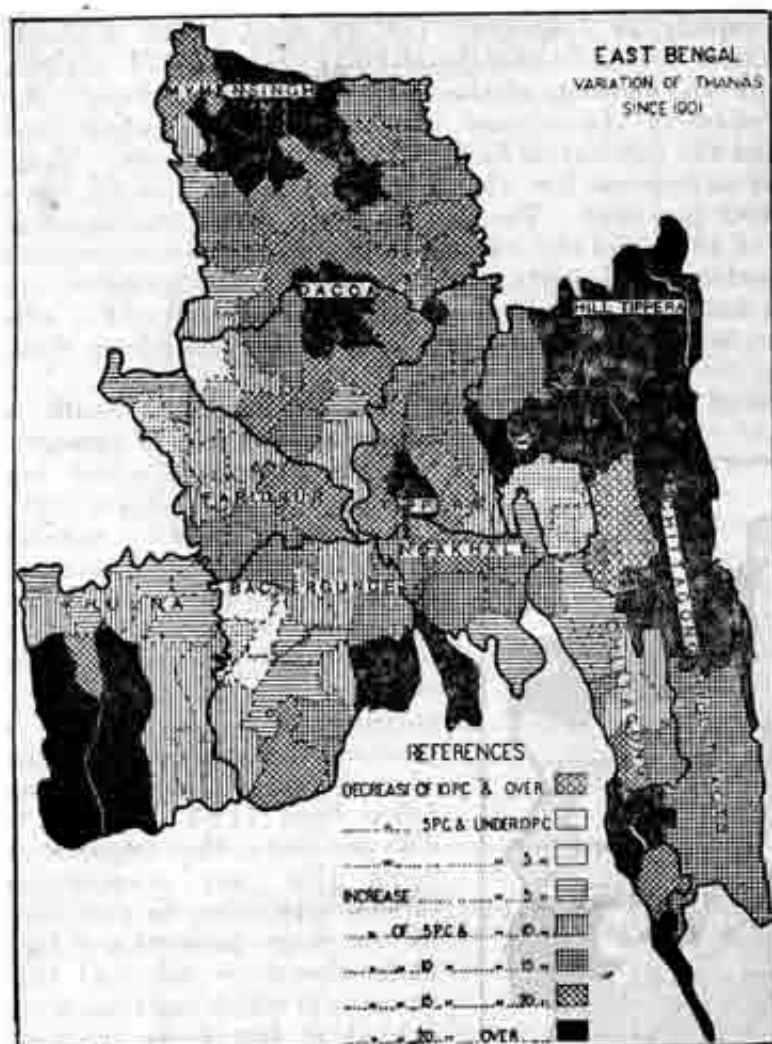
natural growth and of immigration, the volume of which has swollen very much since 1901. Immigrants now number 197,000 or over 11 per cent. of the total population. The increase has been most rapid in the Balurghat subdivision to the south, while the Thakurgaon subdivision to the north is practically stationary. The rate of progress in Darjeeling has fallen from 11·55 per cent. to 6·65 per cent., the explanation being that any considerable further expansion is precluded by the large proportion of land under forest or tea, and that the area in which cultivation can extend is fast being reduced. The growth is greatest in the Darjeeling subdivision, where immigrants have come into Jor-bungalow and Kalimpong. The Siliguri subdivision has a slight increase, but the Kurseong subdivision has lost population. Cooch Behar has had an increase of population (4·6 per cent.) for the first time since 1881. This increase is due partly to natural development and partly to immigration, which has been stimulated by railway communications; four lines of



railway intersect the State. Rajshahi, which had an addition of only 1·6 per cent. in 1901, has a further small increase of 1·4 per cent. The greatest advance has been made in the *ganja*-growing thanas in the Naogaon subdivision (14 and 13 per cent.) and in the Barind, where the percentage of increase varies from 4½ to 17 per cent. The Naogaon subdivision has developed rapidly, and the Sadar subdivisor very slightly, but the Nator subdivision, an ill-drained malarious area, is steadily declining. Pabna is now practically stationary owing to persistent unhealthiness and the loss it has sustained by emigration. The Sirajganj subdivision has lost ground, and there is only a slight increase in the Sadar subdivision.

368. East Bengal as a whole has added 12 per cent. to its population, and all parts of it, whether densely or sparsely inhabited, are progressive. The greatest progress

has been made by the State of Hill Tippera, where the large increase of 32½



per cent. is recorded. The area available for cultivation in this State has led to an influx of colonists; over three-fifths of the net gain is due to the increase in the number of immigrants.

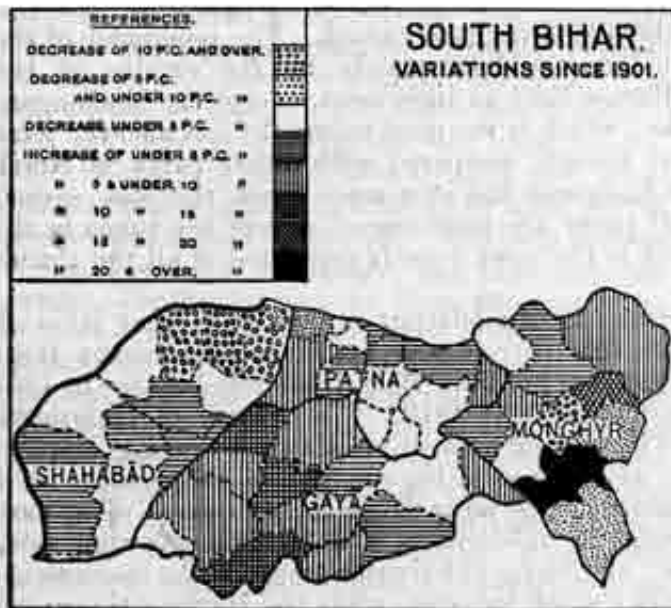
The Chittagong Hill Tracts, a remote tract with few attractions for the people of more civilized districts, owes its increment of 23 per cent. to the natural growth of a hardy aboriginal people in a series of prosperous years. Natural growth also accounts for the increase of 15½ per cent. in Mymensingh. This district has a teeming Musalman population, and is now more populous by 92 per cent.

than in 1872. Least progress has been made in the Tangail subdivision, which suffers from malaria, and has lost by emigration as well as from a virulent epidemic of cholera in 1905. The proportional growth (14·7 per cent.) in Tippera is also accounted for by natural causes, for the district has lost by migration. All parts of the district are more populous than in 1901, but the ratio of increase is greatest in the south and diminishes slightly as one proceeds northwards. The gain of 14 per cent. in Noakhali is similarly independent of migration; all parts share in the increase, but owing to land being swept away and reformed by the great rivers, and to the consequent movements of the people, some extraordinary variations are found. One thana has a gain of only 4 per cent., another of 36½ per cent., and of two thanas which supported over 1,000 persons per square mile in 1901, one has added 20 per cent. and another only 2 per cent. to its numbers. The district of Dacca, with an increment of 12 per cent., has 62 per cent. more inhabitants than in 1872. The balance of migration has been against it, but all parts have gained ground, except on the western boundary where diluviation has caused the inhabitants to move across the Padma to alluvial accretions in Faridpur and Pabna. The Manikganj subdivision consequently has only a small increase. Munshiganj, in spite of its dense population, has again an increase of over 9 per cent., while the Sadar and Narayanganj subdivisions have grown even more rapidly than in the preceding decade.

369. Chittagong, in which the rate of increase was reduced to 4·9 per cent. in 1901 on account of the disastrous cyclone of 1897, has now fully recovered. The most progressive thanas are those which suffered most in that year, but the whole of the south, where cultivation is expanding, has large gains, and considerable progress has been made in the north where trade has been stimulated by the railway. There is again an increase of 9 per

cent. in Khulna, the percentage varying from '01 in the north-east to 26 per cent. in the south-west. The most progressive thanas are those to the south-west, which owe their development to the spread of cultivation along the fringe of the Sundarbans: the least progressive are those to the north-west and north-east, which are more malarious than the rest of the district. Elsewhere there has been a fairly uniform development. The most extraordinary progress has been made in Paikgachha thana, which is now more populous by 80 per cent. than in 1881: the development of this tract is due to the driving back of the jungle and the settlement of new cultivators. Faridpur has continued to make steady progress. The gain is greatest in the Madaripur subdivision, which is a healthy locality with fertile alluvial accretions to which immigrants are attracted. The Goalundo subdivision is stationary owing to the loss sustained by one thana, but elsewhere there is a fair rate of increase. The growth of population in Backergunge was retarded during the last half of the decade, for it suffered from a failure of crops in 1905 and from floods and a cyclone in 1909. The ratio of increase is, however, very nearly the same as in 1901. There has been a rapid expansion in the Dakshin Shahbazpur subdivision, where new colonists are pouring in, and also in the Sundarbans area in Patuakhali, where cultivation is spreading; but the Pirojpur subdivision has remained stationary.

370. Two of the districts of South Bihar (Gaya and Monghyr) have added to their population since 1901, and two (Shahabad and Patna) have sustained a loss. In Patna there is a slight decrease (nearly 1 per cent.), for which the



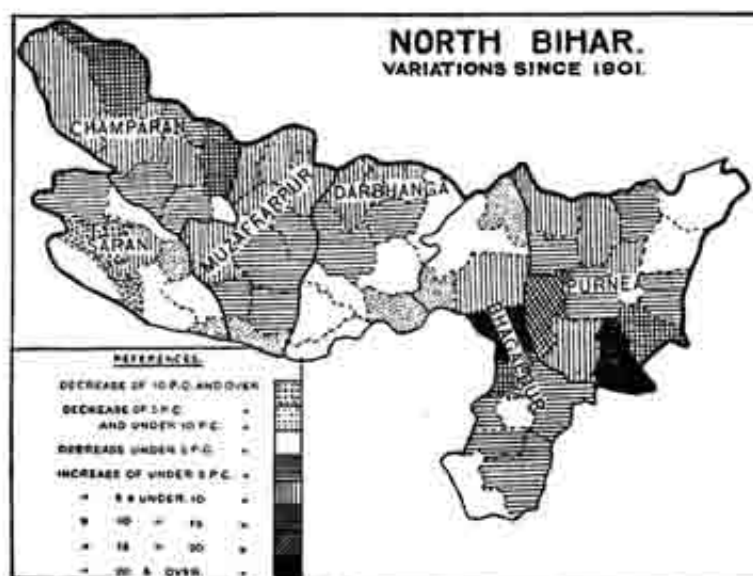
mortality due to disease is mainly responsible; the plague death-rate alone was 8.7 per mille during the decade. All parts of the district are decadent or stationary, except one thana to the south and the Barh subdivision on the east; in the latter the increase was mainly the result of an influx of labourers who came to cut crops. Gaya, which declined by 3.7 per cent. in 1901, has recovered its position, the ratio of increase being 4.8 per cent. Its advance is principally attributable to the fact that in 1901 the popu-

lation was reduced by a virulent epidemic of plague, which caused many deaths and still more desertions. There has since been a general development throughout the district, only two thanas having a decrease. Shahabad, on the other hand, which lost 4.7 per cent. of its population between 1891 and 1901, has another falling off of 4.9 per cent. In the north there is a general loss of population, and the south is practically stationary. It has suffered both from plague and endemic fever; not only has a series of bad agricultural years stimulated emigration, but the immigrant population is steadily diminishing. Monghyr has advanced by 3.1 per cent., the result of natural growth: were it not for the large number of persons who left the district during the cold weather for work elsewhere, the percentage of increase would have been far greater.

371. All the districts of North Bihar have added to their population, except Saran which has declined by 5 per cent. This district has suffered severely from persistent

NORTH BIHAR.

fever as well as from the ravages of plague, which has carried off 166,000 or

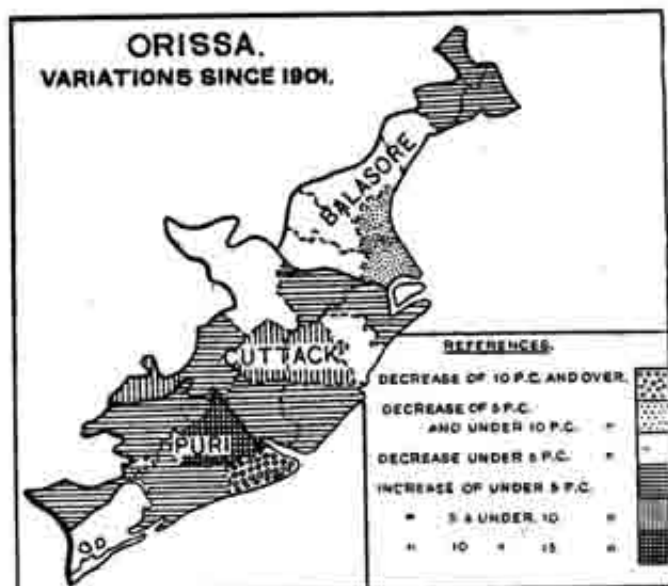


7 per cent. of the population. Emigration has, moreover, become increasingly popular; the number of those who were absent from their homes at the time of the census was no less than 292,000 or over one-eighth of the total population. Signs of over-population are apparent. The most densely populated subdivisions (Sadar and Siwan) are decadent, and

the Gopalganj subdivision, where the pressure on the soil is not so heavy, is practically stationary. The greatest advance has been made in Champaran (6·6 per cent.) and Purnea (6 per cent.), both sparsely populated districts which attract immigrants by reason of the fertile areas awaiting development and the low rents at which land can be obtained. The remainder of the districts of North Bihar lose more or less heavily by the exodus of the district born. All parts of Purnea have an increment, except the Kishanganj subdivision in the north-east, which is the most unhealthy but also the most populous part of the district, though, compared with other parts of North Bihar, the density is low. Champaran has now made good the loss caused by the famine of 1897: all parts are progressive, except one thana in the south-east (Madhubani) which is the most densely populated of all the thanas and has lost by emigration.

372. The rate of increase in Muzaffarpur is only half what it is in Champaran, but conditions in this district were not favourable to any large expansion. It suffered from severe floods in 1906, from crop failures in 1907 and 1908, and from another inundation in 1910. The volume of emigration has also been swollen by the increasing number of labourers seeking employment outside the district: at the time of the census 195,000 persons, or 7 per cent. of the total population, were away from their homes. The most progressive tract is the Sitamarhi subdivision, a fertile rice-growing area, which gains by immigration: the Sadar subdivision loses by the movements of its inhabitants and has only a small increase, while the Hajipur thana has a decline, the combined result of plague mortality and emigration. The proportional growth in Bhagalpur (2·4 per cent.) is a little less than in Muzaffarpur. Here the Banka subdivision is stationary, while the Supaul subdivision has sustained a loss owing to scarcity in 1908-09 and heavy mortality from cholera and fever. The Sadar subdivision in the centre of the district has a small increase, while the Madhupura subdivision has advanced by 9 per cent. owing to the expansion of cultivation in areas formerly swept by the Kosi. In the Darbhanga district the percentage of increase has fallen at each census since 1881, and is now under 1 per cent. The Madhubani subdivision, which is the least populous part of the district, has a small increase; the Sadar subdivision is practically stationary, and Samastipur, where the pressure on the soil is greatest, is decadent. The district suffered from two famines in the decade, but these famines do not appear to be responsible for any loss of population. The leading factor appears to be congestion of the population and consequent quickening of emigration. The number of emigrants is 58 per cent. greater than in 1901, and is little less than that returned for Muzaffarpur.

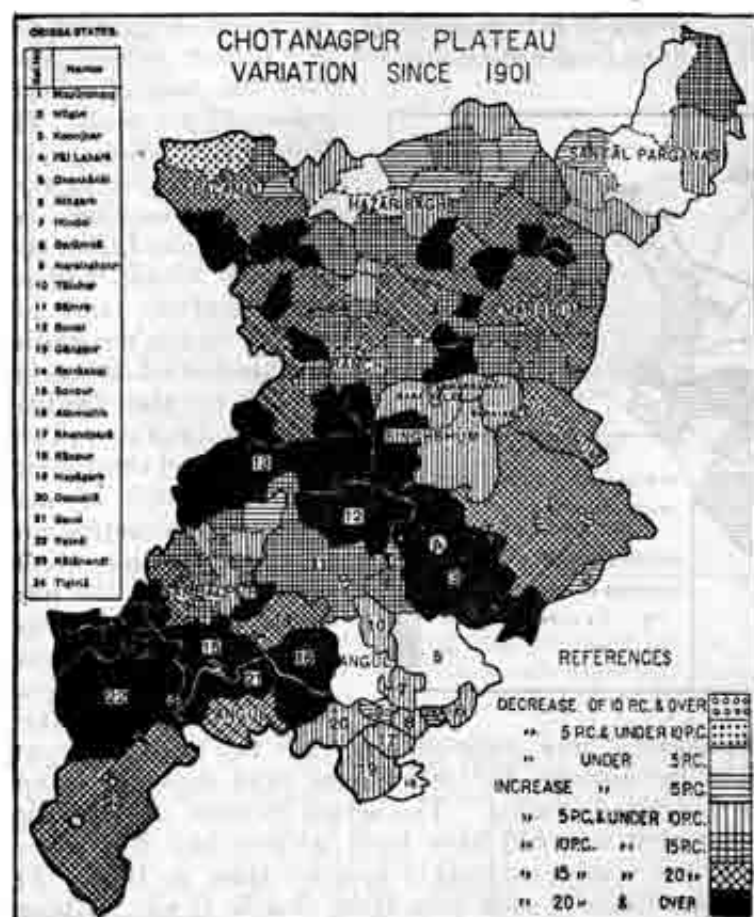
373. In 1901 Orissa recorded an advance of 7 per cent., but the percentage of increase is now reduced to 1 per cent. owing to floods, scarcity, increased emigration and epidemics of disease. The most progressive district is Cuttack, where however the rate of growth is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The Sadar and Kendrapara subdivisions have both developed, but there is a decline in the Jajpur subdivision, which suffered from scarcity and lost heavily by the emigration of able-bodied labourers. Owing to the facilities afforded by the railway, the exodus of the district-born in search of more remunerative employment is becoming an annual occurrence and the number of emigrants has risen rapidly: they now account for 173,000, or 8 per cent. of the district population.



In Puri the course of the seasons was unpropitious, and the natural growth of population was checked by disease. In 1908 famine was declared in two localities, and elsewhere distress prevailed. The actual increase of population was a little over $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but it would have been greater had it not been that the number of pilgrims was considerably smaller than in 1901. The effect of short crops and hard times is seen even more clearly in the Balasore district, where cholera synchronized with scarcity and the pressure of high prices stimulated emigration. There is progress in the north, but the centre of the district is stationary, and there is a loss of population throughout the south. The explanation of these variations lies in the fact that emigration is most active in the centre and south, where also the people suffered most from floods and drought, the consequent destruction of their crops, and a virulent epidemic of cholera. The north of the district had not the same calamitous seasons to face, and instead of sending out emigrants, attracted new settlers.

374. No part of Bihar and Orissa has developed so rapidly as the Chota Nagpur Plateau, which is now more populous by 14 per cent. than it was in 1901. This large increase is partly due to more complete enumeration in tracts, difficult of access, where literate enumerators are comparatively scarce, and partly to natural growth among prolific aboriginal races. They lead simple healthy lives, and are not fettered by caste restrictions, or troubled by prudential considerations regarding their ability to support offspring without inconvenience to themselves. The land, though infertile and unable to support any great population, is still very thinly peopled. There is ample room for a larger population, and the inhabitants are in any case not entirely dependent on their crops, for they subsist largely on jungle products. The greatest increase has been recorded in the Orissa States, where the population exceeds that returned in 1901 by 20 per cent. Part of the increase must be ascribed to the greater accuracy of the present census, but apart from that there has been a remarkable development owing to various causes, such as the natural fecundity of the people, recovery from famine, the influx of cultivators attracted by the low rents charged for cultivable waste or imperfectly cultivated land, and the opening up of the country by the railway. At the previous census only three States recorded a decrease, viz., Baud, Sonpur and Patna, where it was directly due to famine in 1900 and consequent emigration. All three States have now increments, viz., 27 per cent. in Sonpur, 28 per cent.

in Baud and 47 per cent. in Patna, figures which serve to show the extent



to which they lost from the famine of 1900 (by deaths, desertions and reduced fecundity), and how greatly they have expanded during a series of good years. The only States which have deteriorated since the last census are Dhenkanal and Ranpur; the former suffered from scarcity and disease in 1908, while both have lost by emigration. Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar on the north-east have advanced rapidly, and the same is the case with Gangpur and Bonai on the north-west: the phenomenal increase (52 per cent.) returned for Bonai is due partly

to improved enumeration and partly to immigration and the development of its resources. The central States and also the western States near Sambalpur have made rapid progress. The least advance has been made by the south-eastern States in the neighbourhood of Cuttack and Balasore.

375. The district of Manbhum is now more populous by 19 per cent. than it was in 1901, this large addition to its population being mainly due to the expansion of the collieries. Two-fifths of the total increase has taken place in thanas Jheria and Topchanchi, which contain most of the coal mines: in the rest of the district the ratio of increase averages 13 per cent., and is very evenly distributed. The progress made by Ranchi (17 per cent.) is all the more noticeable, because it has lost heavily by the exodus of its inhabitants to centres where employment is better paid than it is locally: the number of emigrants is now 305,309 or 22 per cent. of the total population. All parts of the district have gained ground, but the greatest advance has been made by the Gumla subdivision (in the south): the gain here is the result of a movement from the north and centre of the district to undeveloped tracts where land is available on easy terms. The percentage of increase ($16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) in Sambalpur is nearly as great as in Ranchi. In 1901 this district was suffering from the effects of the famine of 1900, but it quickly recovered, and the present increase is the consequence of revived prosperity, expansion of cultivation and, in some areas, improved enumeration. Singhbhum owes its increase to the natural fecundity of its people during a series of good years, and to the development of the district by the railway and industrial enterprise; but for the number (105,634 or 15 per cent. of the total population) of the district-born that were temporarily or permanently resident outside its boundaries at the time of the census, its growth would have been greater. In Palamau the decade witnessed a recovery from the effects of famine, and the steady progress made by the district resulted in an increase of 11 per cent. There has been a decline in the north, which is more apparent than

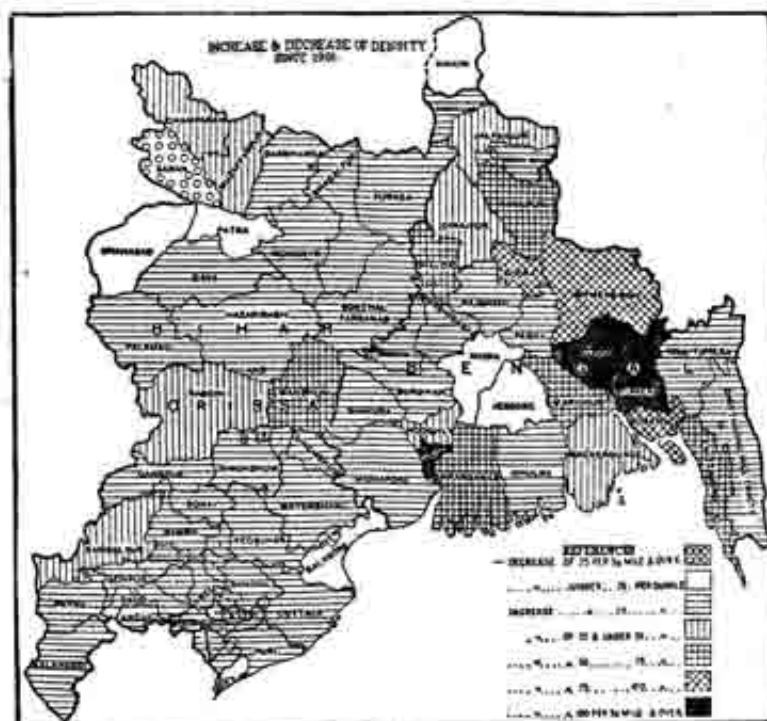
real, and a rapid expansion in the thinly peopled tracts to the south. Hazaribagh has a natural increase, to which all parts of the district contribute except two thanas to the west, which suffered from scarcity in 1908 and have declined slightly.

376. The population of the Sonthal Parganas, which grew by 3 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, has a slightly accelerated rate of growth (4 per cent.). Its inhabitants are pouring out, in ever increasing numbers, in search of employment elsewhere, and this drain, temporary though it mostly is, affects the census results very materially. The number of persons born in the Sonthal Parganas who were enumerated outside it was over one-sixth of the total population: had their number been the same as in 1901, there would have been an increase of 9·3 per cent. Angul, which was affected by scarcity in 1908, has a gain of only 4 per cent.; while there is a slight decline in the Angul subdivision, the Khondmals have developed rapidly, thus reversing the results of the last census. The Chota Nagpur States have a natural increase of 5 per cent., which calls for no remarks.

377. The State of Sikkim, which grew by 94 per cent. between 1891 and 1901, now records another addition of 49 per cent. The explanation of this large increase is partly the incompleteness of the previous census, partly continued immigration from Nepal, and partly the natural fecundity of the people, of whom three-fourths are Nepalese.

VARIATION OF POPULATION IN RELATION TO DENSITY.

378. Statistics of the variation in the population of districts since 1872 in relation to density



will be found in Subsidiary Table I at the end of this chapter, while statistics showing the variation since 1891 (both actual and proportional) of thanas classified according to density are given in Subsidiary Table IV. In Bengal it is noticeable that during the last 20 years the addition of population in the most populous areas has been greater than in the most sparsely populated. In the last decade the gain in areas

with a density of 1,050 or more has been nearly equal to that of thanas where there are under 150 persons per square mile, while in the previous decade it was 405,000 more. This is due partly to the influx of population into the cities of West and Central Bengal, and partly to natural growth in the fertile rice-growing areas of East Bengal. Here, for instance, Dacca, which in 1901 had 952 persons to the square mile, registers a gain of 12 per cent., and Tippera, which had 848, of nearly 15 per cent. To East Bengal the remarks recorded by Mr. Beverley in the Bengal Census Report of 1872 are specially applicable: "In a country like Bengal, where a large proportion of the land yields two crops a year, where the diet of the people consists almost entirely of rice, where there are no preventive checks to the increase of the

population, and where the only positive check is disease, we must expect to find a population far in excess of what we are accustomed to meet with in the West. An Indian population, indeed, would seem to be limited only by the extent of cultivable land in each district."

In Bihar and Orissa the greatest expansion of population has taken place in the most sparsely inhabited areas, *i.e.*, thanas with under 150 persons per square mile: these thanas all lie in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and have grown by 20 per cent. since 1901. The increase is due to the natural growth of the prolific and hardy races of the plateau, and to the spread of cultivation in parts where the land lay waste for want of cultivators. At the other end of the scale, *i.e.*, in thanas containing 1,050 persons or more per square mile, there was a loss in 1901 and again in 1911. Both North and South Bihar have shared in this loss, but since 1901 it has been far greater in North Bihar. In several localities in this latter tract it appears that the limit which the land can support has been reached, and that the people are transferring themselves to places where the pressure on the soil is not so heavy.

379. The stage of congestion appears to have reached in parts of three districts, *viz.*, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Saran, where the dependence of the people on their harvests is not relieved by the presence of any large industries. The cultivation and manufacture of indigo formerly furnished employment to many thousands, but this industry is only a shadow of what it was. The area under indigo cultivation in these three districts was 156,400 acres in 1901, but had fallen to 51,200 acres in 1910-11, and it may be estimated that 50,000 persons had to find employment in other directions. The monopoly of agriculture and the increase of population have reduced the cultivators' holdings to a small size. In Darbhanga and Saran the settlement has shown that the average size of the cultivators' holding is only a little over $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres which is, however, well above the area ($2\frac{1}{2}$ acres) of a subsistence holding, *i.e.*, a holding from the produce of which an agricultural family can manage to subsist in *normal* years. The estates of the landlords are, moreover, generally exiguous, owing to the extreme length to which subdivision of proprietary interests has been pushed. These three districts are the home of petty proprietors often in little better circumstances than the cultivators, who have in many cases been forced from their lands to make room for them. In Muzaffarpur there are, on the average, $5\frac{1}{2}$ estates to a village, each proprietor holding 12 acres, of which only 9 acres are cultivated. In Saran the average area held by a proprietor is 14 acres, but shares are so small that a fraction equal to a 59-millionth part of an estate is recognised. In Darbhanga the estates are far larger, nearly half the district being included in the property of the Maharaja of Darbhanga or other large landlords, but the average is as low as 8 acres in the Samastipur subdivision, where the proprietor is little more than an ordinary cultivator. The petty proprietor has hitherto been able to meet the wants of his growing family and the further subdivision of property it entails by raising his tenants' rents or by ousting them from their lands and bringing them under his own cultivation; but the record-of-rights which has now been prepared is rendering this process more difficult.

Fortunately the pressure on the soil is relieved by emigration. In addition to those who have permanently left the district and made homes elsewhere, large numbers migrate annually during the cold weather to work in the mills or on the roads, railways and fields elsewhere. Their remittances contribute to the support of their households while they are away, and on their return in the hot weather the family's resources are augmented by their savings. In the famine year of 1896-97 over 15 lakhs were paid by money-order in Muzaffarpur, and a very large proportion represented remittances sent by emigrants to their homes. The amount thus remitted has been more than doubled, the total value of money-orders paid in the district during 1901 amounting to 34 lakhs of rupees. The amount remitted by money-order in Saran is still greater, aggregating nearly $51\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in the latter year: altogether 17 lakhs, or one-third of the total, were paid in the first quarter of the year, when temporary emigration is most active, the average amount per money-order being Rs. 15.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—VARIATION IN RELATION TO DENSITY, SINCE 1872.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION, INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (—).				NET VARIATION, 1872—1911.	MEAN DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE.				
	1901—1911.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1872—1881.		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	+ 6.7	+ 4.9	+ 7.5	+ 11.9	+ 34.7	433	405	386	359	321
Bengal	+ 8.0	+ 7.7	+ 7.5	+ 6.7	+ 33.5	551	510	473	440	412
WEST BENGAL	+ 2.8	+ 7.2	+ 4.0	— 2.8	+ 11.3	607	591	551	530	545
Burdwan	+ 0.4	+ 10.1	— 0.2	— 6.2	+ 3.5	373	370	377	378	372
Birbhum	+ 3.7	+ 13.9	+ 0.2	— 3.0	+ 9.9	334	312	334	352	386
Baokura	+ 3.0	+ 4.4	+ 3.7	+ 3.8	+ 17.6	434	426	408	397	370
Midnapore	+ 1.3	+ 6.0	+ 4.6	— 1.1	+ 10.9	544	538	507	485	480
Hoochly	+ 3.9	+ 1.4	+ 6.1	— 12.4	— 2.6	310	302	370	331	342
Howrah	+ 10.9	+ 11.4	+ 13.1	+ 6.2	+ 48.4	1,356	1,388	1,437	1,324	1,247
CENTRAL BENGAL	+ 4.5	+ 5.2	+ 3.2	+ 11.3	+ 26.8	634	607	577	559	500
24 Parganas	+ 17.1	+ 9.9	+ 11.9	+ 6.9	+ 53.9	302	329	300	319	326
Calcutta	+ 5.7	+ 24.3	+ 11.4	— 2.3	+ 41.6	28,002	26,494	21,322	19,135	19,792
Nadia	— 3.4	+ 1.9	— 1.2	+ 10.9	+ 8.4	340	324	340	353	336
Murshidabad	+ 3.9	+ 6.6	+ 3.0	+ 1.04	+ 13.0	640	622	584	572	547
Jessore	— 3.0	— 4.9	— 3.6	+ 33.9	+ 21.1	601	620	646	643	430
NORTH BENGAL	+ 8.0	+ 5.7	+ 4.1	+ 5.3	+ 25.1	522	484	458	440	418
Rajshahi	+ 1.4	+ 1.9	— 0.8	+ 1.9	+ 4.1	284	258	249	253	243
Dinajpur	+ 7.7	+ 7.7	+ 3.8	+ 0.9	+ 18.0	438	337	376	366	362
Jalpaiguri	+ 14.9	+ 10.7	+ 17.2	+ 39.0	+ 110.6	309	269	258	198	143
Darjeeling	+ 8.6	+ 11.6	+ 43.3	+ 63.4	+ 179.5	328	314	192	134	82
Rangpur	+ 10.7	+ 4.2	— 1.3	— 2.6	+ 10.8	646	618	594	603	619
Boysa	+ 10.3	+ 11.9	+ 11.2	+ 7.9	+ 53.4	734	626	563	500	472
Faridkot	+ 0.5	+ 4.3	+ 3.9	+ 0.2	+ 17.9	772	768	736	700	655
Malda	+ 13.9	+ 3.3	+ 14.2	+ 8.0	+ 48.5	439	484	430	374	326
Cooch Behar	+ 4.8	— 2.1	— 3.9	+ 13.2	+ 11.3	154	434	443	461	407
EAST BENGAL	+ 12.1	+ 10.5	+ 14.1	+ 17.0	+ 56.8	516	460	417	365	329
Khulna	+ 9.1	+ 8.4	+ 9.0	+ 3.2	+ 30.6	247	263	247	237	220
Dacca	+ 11.9	+ 10.6	+ 14.6	+ 14.4	+ 62.2	1,086	1,002	961	763	697
Mymensingh	+ 15.3	+ 12.7	+ 13.6	+ 29.9	+ 92.3	724	637	558	469	377
Faridpur	+ 8.7	+ 8.2	+ 9.9	+ 8.5	+ 37.7	634	738	716	540	394
Backergunge	+ 6.0	+ 8.4	+ 13.2	+ 0.7	+ 28.7	333	494	464	400	407
Tippura	+ 14.7	+ 18.9	+ 17.7	+ 7.9	+ 73.1	972	848	712	606	562
Noakhali	+ 14.0	+ 13.1	+ 23.0	— 2.3	+ 54.9	793	694	614	499	411
Chittagong	+ 17.0	+ 4.9	+ 12.9	+ 9.4	+ 33.8	606	543	518	444	459
Chittagong Hill Tracts	+ 33.3	+ 16.2	+ 8.6	+ 46.9	+ 121.0	30	34	31	30	14
Hill Tippera	+ 39.3	+ 26.1	+ 42.7	+ 17.7	+ 551.2	96	42	34	33	2
Bihear and Orissa	+ 5.1	+ 1.8	+ 7.8	+ 16.4	+ 36.2	344	327	321	299	252
NORTH BIHAR	+ 1.9	+ 0.1	+ 8.9	+ 14.0	+ 23.2	646	634	633	598	524
Baran	— 4.9	— 3.2	+ 7.4	+ 10.3	+ 10.3	603	696	619	653	774
Champaner	+ 6.6	— 3.7	+ 8.0	+ 19.3	+ 32.5	540	507	527	488	408
Muzaffarpur	+ 3.2	+ 1.6	+ 3.0	+ 13.0	+ 26.6	337	306	294	251	240
Darbhanga	+ 0.8	+ 3.9	+ 8.3	+ 23.1	+ 37.1	673	670	637	706	684
Shahdolpur	+ 3.4	+ 3.8	+ 3.3	+ 7.4	+ 17.2	408	494	481	466	432
Surma	+ 6.0	— 3.6	+ 3.2	+ 7.8	+ 15.9	398	378	300	370	343
SOUTH BIHAR	+ 0.7	— 3.6	+ 2.7	+ 10.9	+ 10.5	515	512	531	517	466
Patna	— 0.9	— 8.4	+ 1.0	+ 12.8	+ 3.2	774	765	857	849	754
Gaya	+ 4.8	— 3.7	+ 0.8	+ 9.1	+ 10.9	485	437	454	451	412
Shahabad	— 4.9	— 4.8	+ 3.6	+ 14.0	+ 9.1	427	443	471	445	391
Monghyr	+ 3.1	+ 1.6	+ 3.4	+ 8.2	+ 17.5	344	327	319	302	263
ORISSA	+ 0.9	+ 7.1	+ 6.8	+ 17.7	+ 35.8	509	504	471	441	374
Cuttack	+ 3.4	+ 6.0	+ 7.9	+ 16.2	+ 36.7	377	384	350	491	422
Balasore	— 1.7	+ 7.2	+ 3.2	+ 22.7	+ 36.7	308	310	276	494	370
Puri	+ 0.6	+ 7.6	+ 6.3	+ 13.4	+ 32.4	410	407	373	336	303
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	+ 14.01	+ 6.4	+ 14.3	+ 34.1	+ 86.1	186	163	153	134	100
Hazaribagh	+ 9.4	+ 1.2	+ 5.4	+ 43.1	+ 68.9	194	185	166	157	110
Ranchi	+ 16.8	+ 3.2	+ 4.7	+ 30.1	+ 70.8	195	167	159	149	114
Palaman	+ 10.9	+ 3.8	+ 3.2	+ 30.0	+ 62.2	140	126	121	112	86
Manbhum	+ 18.9	+ 9.1	+ 12.6	+ 29.0	+ 88.6	373	314	298	255	198
Siogbhum	+ 13.2	+ 12.0	+ 20.7	+ 42.4	+ 118.2	178	158	140	117	92
South Parganas	+ 4.0	+ 3.2	+ 11.9	+ 24.3	+ 49.5	345	331	321	297	230
Angul	+ 3.9	+ 12.6	+ 5.7	+ 103.2	+ 154.5	119	114	101	96	47
Sambalpur	+ 16.3	+ 3.2	+ 11.7	+ 25.8	+ 68.9	193	167	162	143	113
Orissa Feudatory States	+ 19.6	+ 9.3	+ 33.9	+ 41.1	+ 132.7	133	113	103	92	54
Chota Nagpur States	+ 5.4	+ 9.1	+ 19.3	+ 16.8	+ 60.5	247	224	215	190	134
Sikkim	+ 49.0	+ 93.8	—	—	—	31	21	11	—	—
CITIES—										
Calcutta	+ 5.7	+ 24.3	+ 11.4	— 2.3	+ 41.6	28,002	26,494	21,322	19,135	19,792
Howrah	+ 10.9	+ 35.2	+ 39.4	+ 4.0	+ 112.9	20,285	18,473	13,870	10,648	9,858
Cumtup-Chitpur	+ 18.2	+ 29.7	+ 19.3	+ 3.8	+ 89.9	14,224	12,338	9,669	8,090	7,806
Manicktollah	+ 60.0	+ 15.0	— 41.3	— 10.9	— 0.4	10,731	9,470	8,254	14,073	15,787
Garden Reach	+ 60.6	+ 1.0	+ 134.2	+ 34.3	+ 389.3	13,322	8,297	8,312	3,664	3,723
Dacca	+ 21.0	+ 10.9	+ 4.1	+ 14.2	+ 58.2	15,917	13,157	11,962	11,491	10,088
Patna	+ 1.0	— 18.4	— 3.8	+ 7.4	— 14.3	15,124	14,376	13,355	12,352	11,658
Gaya	— 30.0	— 11.3	+ 3.2	+ 14.2	— 25.3	6,340	8,911	10,048	9,362	8,353
Bhaagpur	— 1.9	+ 9.6	+ 1.3	+ 4.4	+ 13.7	8,261	8,418	7,878	7,352	7,364

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—VARIATION IN NATURAL POPULATION.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	POPULATION IN 1911.				POPULATION IN 1901.				VARIATION PER CENT. (1901-1911) IN NATURAL POPULATION. INCREASE (+) DECREASE (-)
	Actual population.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Natural population.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	84,740,935	—	—	84,820,761	79,439,033	—	—	79,320,977	+ 6.9
Bengal^a	46,305,642	1,970,778	583,610	44,918,474	42,881,776	—	—	41,740,887	+ 7.6
WEST BENGAL	8,467,314	441,566	413,585	8,439,333	8,240,076	345,077	331,170	8,228,169	+ 2.6
Burdwan	1,536,371	179,590	126,336	1,489,611	1,339,716	136,247	94,414	1,488,783	+ 1.1
Birbhum	936,473	69,079	50,309	955,243	902,290	60,606	47,361	959,038	+ 3.7
Bankura	1,138,670	40,182	173,304	1,005,548	1,116,411	82,334	146,316	1,033,359	+ 2.8
Midnapore	3,821,201	75,623	171,772	3,725,052	3,789,114	40,661	134,340	3,794,435	+ 1.5
Hooghly	1,090,097	185,309	149,509	1,025,897	1,049,041	159,714	123,861	1,032,188	+ 2.9
Howrah	943,602	189,964	40,322	793,244	860,514	144,820	38,396	799,900	+ 6.9
CENTRAL BENGAL	8,078,555	1,006,226	300,028	7,372,354	7,730,775	761,046	230,245	7,199,974	+ 2.4
24 Parganas	2,434,104	401,622	139,246	2,176,480	2,078,339	295,367	118,960	1,971,992	+ 10.1
Calcutta	896,067	629,242	88,148	1,337,161	1,447,296	357,139	36,280	1,385,977	+ 5.5
Nadia	1,617,846	73,155	153,479	1,537,522	1,586,261	50,010	123,737	1,723,008	+ 2.5
Murshidabad	1,372,274	73,671	107,253	1,348,692	1,233,194	71,096	76,696	1,246,784	+ 4.7
Jessore	1,759,264	59,772	73,312	1,745,724	1,813,135	47,038	71,134	1,837,333	+ 3.6
NORTH BENGAL	10,731,254	925,820	131,876	9,937,310	9,940,594	—	—	9,335,170	+ 6.5
Rajshahi	1,480,587	95,087	38,726	1,436,948	1,460,384	70,179	35,613	1,466,017	+ 1.4
Dinajpur	1,647,863	197,043	33,480	1,611,426	1,544,435	123,003	17,163	1,435,035	+ 4.3
Jalpaiguri	807,660	285,258	30,999	862,919	786,398	184,222	17,426	615,599	+ 7.0
Darjeeling	865,550	117,168	10,416	738,266	549,117	224,391	5,694	130,420	+ 21.8
Naugpur	2,385,330	179,490	61,533	2,303,297	2,134,116	109,416	54,169	2,089,861	+ 8.1
Bogra	863,567	63,148	32,376	768,241	658,504	97,997	10,756	631,362	+ 13.8
Pabna	1,428,296	64,900	102,667	1,390,529	1,431,309	49,040	64,805	1,438,860	+ 2.1
Maidan	1,054,139	118,671	41,508	993,960	981,734	97,887	25,764	810,611	+ 14.3
Cooch Behar	592,922	55,142	36,936	511,928	566,374	44,843	32,343	524,674	+ 3.5
EAST BENGAL	19,028,519	309,591	379,130	19,098,058	16,970,331	251,261	260,504	16,979,574	+ 12.5
Achinsa	1,866,766	34,730	39,847	1,861,649	1,559,042	65,717	35,862	1,518,930	+ 11.4
Dacca	2,960,402	114,521	177,903	3,032,824	2,644,435	60,299	129,447	2,584,687	+ 12.5
Myromingh	4,526,422	161,396	146,069	4,541,749	3,918,102	119,016	80,443	3,838,657	+ 16.4
Faridpur	2,121,914	96,323	81,469	2,136,768	1,951,945	73,483	70,470	1,964,970	+ 7.6
Backergunge	2,429,911	61,418	45,069	2,445,260	2,391,748	59,985	39,019	2,377,779	+ 8.2
Tippura	2,430,138	60,360	95,797	2,434,701	2,117,991	46,752	56,299	2,116,768	+ 16.5
Noskhali	1,309,090	22,844	45,348	1,337,182	1,141,728	19,343	23,543	1,158,968	+ 14.9
Chittagong	1,604,433	14,701	99,837	1,589,397	1,559,350	11,539	106,037	1,447,948	+ 9.8
Chittagong Hill Tracts	353,620	8,298	1,371	360,689	124,762	6,964	1,671	119,769	+ 24.2
Hill Tippera	229,513	81,663	1,372	147,578	178,323	63,894	159	129,563	+ 15.2
Bihar and Orissa	38,435,293	449,712	1,916,706	39,902,287	36,557,257	—	—	37,580,090	+ 6.2
NORTH BIHAR	14,102,314	310,517	582,513	14,374,310	13,834,300	—	—	13,985,053	+ 2.8
Saran	2,289,778	46,934	284,201	2,520,511	2,408,843	66,424	244,024	2,597,334	+ 2.7
Champaran	1,908,285	95,618	47,823	1,950,686	1,790,468	106,781	36,077	1,719,739	+ 8.2
Muzaffarpur	2,845,514	73,286	194,814	2,723,986	2,746,130	87,708	162,527	2,831,965	+ 5.1
Darbhanga	3,028,682	86,744	175,066	3,039,460	3,019,000	2,912,411	20,580	2,933,548	+ 2.9
Bhagalpur	2,129,516	135,907	167,897	2,107,526	2,088,933	107,338	124,305	2,100,770	+ 3.1
Purnea	1,999,637	198,849	36,448	2,194,936	1,877,329	106,003	37,418	1,899,748	+ 1.2
SOUTH BIHAR	7,767,682	158,371	645,604	8,254,915	7,716,175	180,809	521,890	8,077,266	+ 2.2
Patna	1,809,831	95,106	173,915	1,691,022	1,834,743	25,440	142,816	1,684,618	+ 0.4
Gaya	2,129,498	61,594	204,564	2,395,656	2,039,933	46,114	173,469	2,167,288	+ 5.3
Shahabad	1,865,680	60,607	176,296	1,981,983	1,969,696	63,012	169,712	2,028,496	+ 2.8
Monghyr	2,122,898	93,139	239,704	2,355,741	2,068,804	88,099	184,119	2,166,944	+ 5.2
ORISSA	4,188,109	59,955	231,502	4,359,656	4,151,239	69,585	151,654	4,233,308	+ 3
Cuttack	2,100,130	33,244	172,874	2,345,159	2,060,213	22,044	116,729	2,144,128	+ 4.9
Balasore	1,034,598	22,439	72,476	1,085,613	1,073,643	29,467	31,763	1,095,938	+ 0.2
Puri	1,053,402	42,440	35,220	1,080,622	1,017,284	63,033	28,991	992,243	+ 2.2
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.	12,377,188	435,105	955,612	12,897,695	10,855,543	—	—	11,284,473	+ 14.3
Hamirbagh	1,288,309	41,631	144,541	1,391,319	1,177,961	41,883	150,368	1,288,434	+ 8.2
Ranchi	1,387,316	33,648	305,309	1,625,272	1,187,925	32,076	370,331	1,431,120	+ 15.9
Palamanu	687,267	25,030	37,461	749,758	610,600	24,838	32,210	612,372	+ 14.0
Manbhum	1,647,576	142,776	119,492	1,680,854	1,301,364	62,119	135,972	1,379,517	+ 10.5
Singbhum	694,394	49,858	105,634	849,886	613,579	38,890	63,930	646,519	+ 17.1
South Parganas	1,882,973	106,697	221,583	2,211,253	1,890,727	111,535	226,008	1,924,260	+ 9.0
Angul	199,441	18,648	61,117	269,206	191,911	21,322	6,476	176,457	+ 14.2
Sambalpur	744,193	42,401	173,527	960,121	838,992	47,871	80,894	879,015	+ 30.1
Orissa Feudatory States	3,790,243	290,740	73,397	3,953,190	3,173,390	231,503	35,606	3,037,488	+ 17.7
Chota Nagpur States	148,646	18,738	1,888	176,262	141,079	14,727	2,429	129,771	+ 1.6
Sikkim	87,920	29,835	3,443	61,528	59,014	26,004	2,188	36,198	+ 70.0

^a Column 4 includes 41,396 persons enumerated in other provinces and 30,024 persons enumerated outside India, who were returned as born in Bengal, but whose district of birth is not known.

^b Column 4 includes 15,711 persons enumerated outside India, who were returned as born in Bihar and Orissa, but whose district of birth is not known.

^c Owing to changes of area in Sambalpur, the Orissa Feudatory and Chota Nagpur States, figures for immigrants and emigrants are not available and proportional figures have had to be taken.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—COMPARISON WITH VITAL STATISTICS.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	IN 1901-1910 TOTAL NUMBER OF—		NUMBER PER CENT. OF POPULATION OF 1901 OF—		EXCESS (+) OR DEFICIENCY (-) OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS.		INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) OF POPULATION OF 1911 COMPARED WITH 1901.	
	Births.	Deaths.	Births.	Deaths.	Actual number.	Proportional figures.	Natural population.	Actual population.
1	2	3	4	5	6 (a)	6 (b)	7	8
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.*	29,351,442	25,373,322	38'10	33'80	+3,978,120	+ 8'30	+ 4,867,479	+4,852,293
Bengal†	15,797,344	13,728,296	37'60	32'67	+2,069,048	+ 4'93	+ 3,098,714	+3,312,532
WEST BENGAL	2,758,647	2,665,820	33'48	32'35	+ 92,827	+ 1'13	+ 213,164	+ 227,238
Burdwan	494,407	514,569	32'38	33'37	- 20,162	- 1'31	- 16,538	- 3,635
Barinam	332,151	303,402	33'70	30'65	+ 28,749	+ 2'05	+ 32,561	+ 35,193
Banars	400,596	342,418	33'88	30'67	+ 58,178	+ 3'21	+ 34,477	+ 22,359
Midnapore	331,370	278,308	33'39	31'42	+ 53,062	+ 1'97	+ 43,850	+ 32,087
Hooghly	330,348	368,064	31'49	34'30	- 37,716	- 2'41	- 31,198	- 41,066
Howrah	379,677	383,979	32'91	30'32	+ 46,696	+ 1'99	+ 64,620	+ 92,968
CENTRAL BENGAL	2,615,322	2,652,421	33'83	34'31	- 37,099	- 0'48	+ 172,380	+ 347,780
24 Parganas	666,628	667,054	32'07	32'28	- 426	- 0'01	- 109,774	- 335,743
Calcutta	140,199	235,723	17'72	31'88	- 145,524	- 17'16	- 17,890	- 48,271
Nadia	651,655	645,766	39'30	38'94	+ 5,888	+ 0'36	+ 43,036	+ 40,432
Mumtazabad	656,762	485,634	41'76	36'28	+ 171,128	+ 5'48	+ 63,902	+ 139,093
Jessore	590,085	600,214	32'54	33'41	- 10,129	- 0'87	- 65,450	- 54,891
CENTRAL BENGAL (EXCLUDING CALCUTTA).	2,465,123	2,356,688	35'81	34'24	+ 108,435	+ 1'57	+ 145,280	+ 299,509
NORTH BENGAL*	3,789,336	3,398,633	40'43	36'24	+ 392,703	+ 4'19	+ 582,768	+ 764,682
Rajshahi	613,340	552,074	41'99	39'85	+ 61,266	+ 2'14	+ 19,229	+ 20,003
Dinajpur	684,391	634,785	43'08	40'77	+ 49,606	+ 2'31	+ 62,565	+ 121,018
Jalpaiguri	292,580	268,234	27'35	26'06	+ 24,346	+ 0'99	+ 42,862	+ 116,534
Darjeeling	40,434	50,569	34'29	39'33	- 10,135	- 4'03	- 28,388	- 16,433
Bangur	664,330	734,525	60'31	64'11	- 70,195	- 0'39	- 109,314	- 231,915
Bogra	316,403	255,473	41'76	39'25	+ 60,930	+ 1'51	+ 114,632	+ 130,063
Pabna	476,677	447,915	33'54	34'33	- 7,238	- 0'79	- 29,692	- 7,191
Madia	411,574	513,390	36'71	33'54	+ 78,184	+ 1'17	+ 116,194	+ 122,455
Cooch Behar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
EAST BENGAL*	6,634,039	5,613,422	39'79	30'07	+1,620,617	+ 9'92	+ 2,069,711	+1,972,832
Khulna	501,600	408,420	40'02	32'59	+ 93,180	+ 7'43	+ 188,874	+ 115,123
Dacca	1,066,228	806,988	40'23	30'32	+ 259,240	+ 9'90	+ 335,061	+ 315,967
Mymensingh	1,474,951	1,006,842	37'70	33'70	+ 468,109	+ 13'00	+ 638,365	+ 604,520
Faridpur	760,741	679,181	40'00	34'80	+ 80,560	+ 3'20	+ 153,780	+ 162,971
Backergunge	922,940	793,102	40'40	34'61	+ 129,838	+ 5'79	+ 141,769	+ 137,159
Tippore	810,665	635,082	38'28	29'17	+ 175,583	+ 15'11	+ 245,707	+ 312,147
Noakhali	527,828	561,274	46'19	51'67	- 33,446	- 4'52	- 171,666	- 160,363
Chittagong	544,858	424,176	40'52	31'54	+ 120,682	+ 8'01	+ 141,611	+ 155,163
Chittagong Hill Tracts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hill Tippera	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bihaar and Orissa*	13,554,098	11,645,026	41'01	35'23	+1,909,072	+ 8'78	+ 1,758,037	+1,239,761
NORTH BIHAR	5,592,915	4,892,069	40'43	35'36	+ 700,846	+ 5'07	+ 389,257	+ 268,014
Baran	968,378	979,477	40'13	40'30	- 11,099	- 0'17	- 70,279	- 119,036
Champaran	767,180	664,899	42'33	37'61	+ 102,281	+ 10'19	+ 140,940	+ 117,992
Muzaffarpur	1,178,654	979,101	42'36	35'21	+ 200,553	+ 7'27	+ 149,977	+ 93,384
Darbhanga	1,182,745	979,765	39'29	33'40	+ 202,980	+ 6'55	+ 103,437	+ 17,071
Bhagalpur	605,435	702,902	38'36	43'65	- 107,467	- 4'91	- 65,368	- 30,385
Purnea	717,223	682,987	36'20	36'08	+ 14,236	+ 1'02	+ 22,474	+ 112,304
SOUTH BIHAR	3,292,705	3,177,530	42'67	41'18	+ 115,175	+ 1'49	+ 177,659	+ 51,507
Patna	680,060	771,713	40'63	47'50	- 91,653	- 6'87	- 6,822	- 15,111
Gaya	925,927	896,042	44'95	41'24	+ 29,885	+ 3'29	+ 113,380	+ 90,340
Shahabad	807,255	787,560	41'18	40'12	+ 19,695	+ 1'00	+ 57,147	+ 97,036
Monmoyr	899,573	702,196	43'47	36'84	+ 197,377	+ 6'63	+ 112,604	+ 84,089
ORISSA	1,624,448	1,515,872	39'13	36'52	+ 108,576	+ 2'61	+ 126,348	+ 36,870
Cuttack	645,327	743,717	41'08	36'39	+ 98,610	+ 4'69	+ 104,431	+ 48,826
Balasore	404,776	404,719	37'28	37'20	+ 88	+ 0'19	+ 222	+ 18,074
Puri	371,945	361,436	36'50	33'43	+ 3,509	+ 0'97	+ 22,240	+ 9,118
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU*	3,044,030	2,059,555	41'42	28'02	+ 984,475	+ 13'40	+ 1,049,062	+ 883,370
Hazaribagh	548,164	378,945	46'63	32'17	+ 169,219	+ 14'45	+ 105,085	+ 110,648
Ranchi	529,194	332,740	44'55	28'01	+ 246,454	+ 16'54	+ 228,062	+ 190,591
Palamou	296,909	285,394	47'32	36'82	+ 111,515	+ 11'07	+ 65,848	+ 67,667
Manbhum	311,945	345,112	39'34	35'58	- 33,167	- 2'24	- 140,075	- 240,319
Singbhum	237,226	139,941	37'08	22'81	+ 107,285	+ 14'22	+ 100,351	+ 80,815
South Parganas	678,927	488,358	37'52	26'38	+ 190,569	+ 10'14	+ 173,329	+ 73,236
Angul	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bambalpur	250,665	146,237	39'32	23'39	+ 104,428	+ 16'94	+ 102,304	+ 103,291
Prison Prisons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chota Nagpur States	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* In the calculation for each Province and natural division those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III-A.—RATIOS OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND INCREASE.

YEAR.	BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.			BENGAL.			BIHAR AND ORISSA.		
	RATIO PER 1,000 OF POPULATION OF 1901.			RATIO PER 1,000 OF POPULATION OF 1901.			RATIO PER 1,000 OF POPULATION OF 1901.		
	Births.	Deaths.	Excess of births over deaths.	Births.	Deaths.	Excess of births over deaths.	Births.	Deaths.	Excess of births over deaths.
1901	39.2	31.5	+ 7.7	37.7	30.3	+ 7.4	41.2	32.1	+ 9.1
1902	40.9	33.7	+ 7.1	39.1	32.1	+ 7.0	42.1	32.1	+ 10.0
1903	39.7	33.7	+ 6.0	36.7	32.3	+ 4.4	43.0	33.6	+ 9.4
1904	42.4	33.9	+ 10.5	40.9	33.2	+ 7.7	46.0	33.5	+ 12.5
1905	40.0	35.1	+ 4.9	37.5	36.5	+ 1.0	42.9	40.3	+ 2.6
1906	38.1	35.3	+ 2.8	35.4	33.3	+ 2.1	41.5	37.7	+ 3.8
1907	38.1	34.7	+ 3.4	35.9	33.6	+ 2.3	41.0	38.9	+ 2.1
1908	38.4	34.1	+ 4.3	37.9	31.9	+ 6.0	39.1	41.7	- 2.6
1909	39.5	32.1	+ 7.4	39.3	31.2	+ 8.1	39.7	33.2	+ 6.5
1910	38.6	33.5	+ 5.1	37.7	31.4	+ 6.3	42.3	36.6	+ 5.7
Average per annum for 10 years	39.7	34.2	+ 5.5	37.9	32.9	+ 5.0	42.1	36.1	+ 6.0
Average for 1905-1908	38.8	36.2	+ 2.6	36.8	33.8	+ 3.0	41.1	39.4	+ 1.6
Average for the remaining 6 years	40.4	32.9	+ 7.5	38.5	32.2	+ 6.3	42.8	33.9	+ 8.9

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—VARIATION BY THANAS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO DENSITY.

(a) ACTUAL VARIATION.

NATURAL DIVISION.	Decade.	VARIATION IN THANAS WITH A POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE AT COMMENCEMENT OF DECADE OF—							
		Under 150	150—200	200—450	450—600	600—750	750—900	900—1,050	1,050 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	1891 to 1901	+ 374,988	+ 532,342	+ 521,214	+ 599,360	+ 494,933	+ 544,012	+ 155,842	+ 449,766
	1901 to 1911	+ 964,681	+ 508,224	+ 627,292	+ 246,343	+ 343,718	+ 280,792	+ 292,643	+ 235,110
Bengal	1891 to 1901	+ 86,636	+ 251,218	+ 414,128	+ 620,486	+ 532,460	+ 463,964	+ 179,470	+ 491,743
	1901 to 1911	+ 323,713	+ 184,005	+ 543,455	+ 260,379	+ 260,814	+ 215,916	+ 152,469	+ 317,589
West Bengal	1891 to 1901	—	+ 24,075	+ 119,795	+ 166,777	+ 137,718	+ 9,015	+ 11,730	+ 100,877
	1901 to 1911	—	+ 10,304	+ 23,874	+ 27,247	+ 8,119	+ 25,903	—	+ 101,463
Central Bengal	1891 to 1901	—	+ 23,671	+ 39,810	+ 18,620	—	13,326	+ 44,435	+ 40,134
	1901 to 1911	+ 138,004	+ 23,023	+ 19,636	—	37,842	+ 19,982	+ 42,280	—
North Bengal	1891 to 1901	+ 81,768	+ 127,732	+ 96,915	+ 78,776	+ 117,874	+ 30,597	—	+ 21,140
	1901 to 1911	+ 91,857	+ 60,130	+ 297,393	+ 110,644	+ 123,346	+ 36,700	—	+ 5,460
East Bengal	1891 to 1901	+ 24,850	+ 95,720	+ 137,603	+ 275,311	+ 290,394	+ 388,757	+ 127,734	+ 140,364
	1901 to 1911	+ 94,302	+ 100,339	+ 302,953	+ 160,240	+ 107,414	+ 91,033	+ 177,456	+ 149,321
Bihaar and Orissa	1891 to 1901	+ 288,382	+ 281,124	+ 107,086	— 21,126	— 37,527	+ 80,048	— 23,628	— 41,977
	1901 to 1911	+ 641,168	+ 324,219	+ 283,837	— 14,036	+ 82,904	+ 64,876	+ 140,174	— 82,279
North Bihar	1891 to 1901	—	— 3,023	— 28,056	— 3,481	— 5,346	+ 82,888	+ 35,076	— 21,278
	1901 to 1911	—	+ 72,006	+ 89,670	+ 55,803	+ 47,632	+ 1,576	+ 64,333	— 60,738
South Bihar	1891 to 1901	—	— 4,597	— 34,664	— 60,837	— 92,112	— 16,430	— 60,327	— 30,436
	1901 to 1911	—	+ 48,669	+ 20,359	— 78,512	+ 33,128	— 1,339	+ 64,734	— 23,066
Orissa	1891 to 1901	—	+ 27,824	+ 94,211	+ 34,740	+ 38,697	+ 36,610	+ 12,123	+ 30,34
	1901 to 1911	—	+ 10,620	— 80,666	— 3,009	— 7,037	+ 64,889	+ 11,185	— 9,828
Chota Nagpur Plateau	1891 to 1901	+ 388,362	+ 335,920	+ 75,364	+ 8,422	+ 17,113	—	—	— 508
	1901 to 1911	+ 641,168	+ 192,725	+ 304,398	+ 17,782	+ 10,901	—	—	+ 2,833

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—VARIATION BY THANAS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO DENSITY—
concluded.

(b) PROPORTIONAL VARIATION.

NATURAL DIVISION.	Decade.	VARIATION IN THANAS WITH A POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE AT COMMENCEMENT OF DECADE OF—							
		Under 150.	150—300.	300—450.	450—600.	600—750.	750—900.	900—1,050.	1,050 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	1891 to 1901	+ 11'1.	+ 6'2	+ 5'0	+ 4'3	+ 3'7	+ 4'6	+ 1'9	+ 8'8
	1901 to 1911	+ 20'6	+ 6'2	+ 7'5	+ 2'0	+ 2'3	+ 2'7	+ 2'5	+ 4'7
Bengal ...	1891 to 1901	+ 36'0	+ 13'1	+ 8'0	+ 6'6	+ 5'9	+ 7'4	+ 5'4	+ 11'6
	1901 to 1911	+ 22'0	+ 13'0	+ 10'4	+ 3'3	+ 2'4	+ 3'6	+ 2'6	+ 7'9
West Bengal	1891 to 1901	—	+ 8'2	+ 8'9	+ 2'7	+ 8'9	+ 2'6	+ 1'9	+ 10'1
	1901 to 1911	—	+ 4'2	+ 2'5	+ 1'2	+ 0'5	+ 2'6	+ 0'3	+ 8'2
Central Bengal	1891 to 1901	—	+ 41'0	+ 12'7	+ 0'9	+ 0'8	+ 2'9	+ 7'0	+ 15'9
	1901 to 1911	+ 14'3	+ 11'9	+ 7'4	+ 2'0	+ 1'0	+ 5'6	+ 2'9	+ 11'2
North Bengal	1891 to 1901	+ 87'4	+ 19'3	+ 4'8	+ 3'4	+ 4'2	+ 3'2	+ 0'3	+ 8'8
	1901 to 1911	+ 34'8	+ 9'1	+ 11'6	+ 5'8	+ 4'4	+ 4'7	+ 1'4	+ 2'1
East Bengal...	1891 to 1901	+ 17'2	+ 11'5	+ 12'8	+ 11'8	+ 10'3	+ 10'4	+ 8'1	+ 9'1
	1901 to 1911	+ 27'7	+ 20'7	+ 17'3	+ 11'4	+ 2'6	+ 2'1	+ 2'9	+ 8'0
Bihar and Orissa	1891 to 1901	+ 9'2	+ 4'2	+ 2'0	+ 0'5	+ 0'9	+ 1'4	+ 0'3	+ 4'9
	1901 to 1911	+ 20'0	+ 4'3	+ 5'0	+ 0'3	+ 2'0	+ 1'4	+ 2'5	+ 7'9
North Bihar	1891 to 1901	—	+ 0'9	+ 1'8	+ 0'2	+ 0'3	+ 1'6	+ 0'7	+ 2'9
	1901 to 1911	—	+ 10'8	+ 6'1	+ 2'3	+ 2'4	+ 0'1	+ 1'5	+ 7'2
South Bihar...	1891 to 1901	—	+ 0'5	+ 2'0	+ 2'4	+ 5'3	+ 1'5	+ 7'2	+ 11'0
	1901 to 1911	—	+ 5'2	+ 1'6	+ 2'8	+ 1'7	+ 0'2	+ 11'0	+ 14'2
Orissa	1891 to 1901	—	+ 7'1	+ 8'4	+ 6'2	+ 6'1	+ 4'9	+ 4'9	+ 71'3
	1901 to 1911	—	+ 2'3	+ 2'3	+ 0'5	+ 2'6	+ 6'7	+ 2'0	+ 18'9
Chota Nagpur Plateau	1891 to 1901	+ 9'2	+ 6'0	+ 5'4	+ 2'8	+ 7'1	—	—	+ 2'4
	1901 to 1911	+ 20'0	+ 4'1	+ 11'4	+ 5'1	+ 8'1	—	—	+ 44'9

CHAPTER III.

BIRTHPLACE.

380. This Chapter deals with the subject of migration and is based on the statistics of birthplace contained in Imperial Table XI. Supplementary statistics will be found in the following Subsidiary Tables at the end of the chapter :—

INTRODUCTORY.

Subsidiary Table I—Shows the number of immigrants in each district.

Subsidiary Table II—Shows the number of emigrants from each district.

Subsidiary Table III—Gives proportional figures of migration to and from each district.

Subsidiary Table IV—Shows the volume of migration between the natural divisions compared with 1901.

Subsidiary Table V—Shows the volume of migration between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and other parts of India.

Subsidiary Table VI—Shows migration to and from border districts.

381. Before proceeding to discuss the statistics, it may be explained that five different types of migration may be distinguished, viz.—

TYPES OF MIGRATION.

(1) *Casual migration*, or the minor movements between adjacent villages. These affect the returns only when the villages in question happen to lie in different districts, being separated by some natural or artificial boundary. There is generally an excess of females in such cases owing to the fact that it is the common practice for Hindus to take a wife from another village, and that young married women often go to their parents' home for their first confinement.

(2) *Temporary migration*, due to journeys on business, visits to fairs and places of pilgrimage, and the temporary demand for labour created by the construction of new roads and railways. As an example of the manner in which this kind of migration affects the returns, it will suffice to mention the presence of a large body of pilgrims in Puri at the time when the census was held, and the collection of thousands of labourers for the construction of the Lower Ganges bridge works in the districts of Nadia and Pabna.

(3) *Periodic migration*, such as the annual migration which takes place in Bihar and Orissa. In this Province many thousands of labourers leave their homes during the cold weather in order to find employment elsewhere and rejoin their families after a few months when they have saved enough to satisfy their needs, if not their wishes. The movement may be from one part of a district to another, in which case there is no record of it in the returns. In other cases, however, the movement is from one district to another and the returns are materially affected. The number of persons who move from place to place in this way is often very large, e.g., 15,000 temporary labourers were engaged in cutting *rabi* crops in one thana of the Patna district when the census was taken.

(4) *Semi-permanent migration*—The people of one place reside and earn their living in another, but retain their connection with their own homes, where they leave their families and to which they return in their old age, and at more or less regular intervals in the meantime. This kind of migration is evidenced by the excess of males in the emigrant population, and is becoming more common as commerce and industry extend and the avenues open to labour or clerical employment grow wider.

(5) *Permanent migration*, i.e., where overcrowding drives people away, or the superior attractions of some other locality induce people to settle there.

In this case the sexes are more or less equally represented, the new colonists bringing their wives and families with them. It is most common in sparsely populated tracts, such as the Sundarbans, the Orissa States and the Brahmaputra *chars*, where there is plenty of cultivable land available at low rentals.

382. It must be clearly understood that the census merely shows the number of persons present in each locality on one day in the year. This fact is of especial importance in considering the statistics of migration, for the census is held at a time when the poorer classes, who furnish the bulk of migrants, have no special inducements to keep them at homes. By the beginning of March, when the census takes place, nearly all the crops are off the ground in Bihar and Chota Nagpur, and there is little or no work in the fields. The landless labourers and poorer cultivators begin to leave their homes in the cold weather, after the rice has been harvested, to find employment either on the land in districts where the harvest comes later, or on the roads and railways, in mines, mills, factories, docks, etc. The greatest exodus takes place in November and December, when there is a large demand for labour in reaping the winter rice crop of Bengal. Many return after December or January when that crop has been reaped, but others stay on in different kinds of employment. As a rule, there are few left after May, for they go back before the breaking of the rains to cultivate their own fields. If, therefore, the census was held in January, the number of those enumerated outside their own district would be greater, and if it was held in June it would be far smaller.

383. The movements of the people in the two Provinces dealt with in this Report present a sharp contrast, for Bengal gains largely by immigration, whereas emigration causes a heavy, though temporary, drain on Bihar and Orissa. In Bengal

the immigrants from other parts of India number 1,839,000, but it sends out only 553,000 emigrants. In Bihar and Orissa, on the other hand, there is a comparatively small influx from other Provinces, but the exodus of the native-born has attained very large dimensions. It receives an accession of only 410,000 from other parts of India, while it sends out 1,901,000 of its inhabitants. The contrast between conditions in the two Provinces is further illustrated by the marginal statement.

from which it will be seen that in Bengal immigrants are nearly four times as numerous as emigrants, while Bihar and Orissa has only 1 immigrant to every four emigrants.

384. The Bihari, swarthy aboriginal of Chota Nagpur and, to a minor extent, the Oriya are adventurous and strike far afield, but the Bengali favours neither distant provinces nor distant districts either within or outside Bengal. If we exclude those who were enumerated in contiguous districts of other Provinces, the aggregate of emigrants from Bengal is reduced to 270,000. Even within the ring-fence of his own Province, the Bengali does not care to go far away from his native village, though, wherever he goes, he enjoys much the same climate and finds himself among men of the same race and language. Those who were either temporarily or permanently resident at the time of the census in non-contiguous districts represented only 6 per mille of the population. On the other hand, in Bihar and Orissa, with its medley of races and languages and its great diversity of climate, the proportion of emigrants to contiguous districts is only about half of that returned for distant places.

385. Bengal gains no less than 1,087,000 persons by the balance of migration between it and Bihar and Orissa. The number of Bengali emigrants present in the latter Province at the time of the census was only

CONDITIONS AT THE TIME OF THE CENSUS.

	NO. PER MILE OF POPULATION.	
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
IMMIGRANTS	43	12
Immigrants from contiguous districts ...	9	7
Ditto from other places ...	34	5
EMIGRANTS	13	49
Emigrants to contiguous districts ...	7	18
Ditto to other places ...	6	31

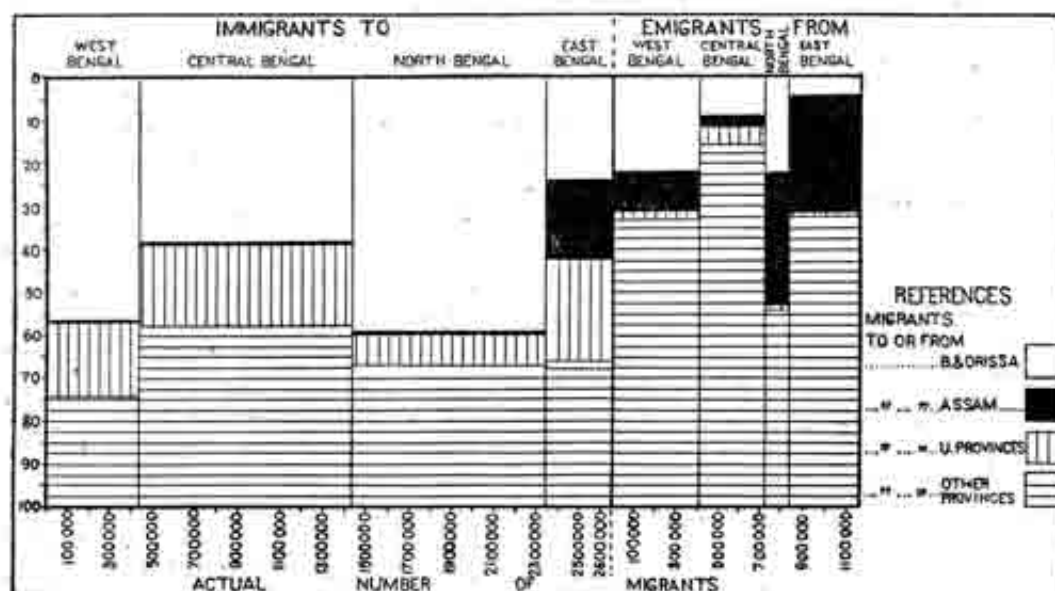
MOVEMENTS BETWEEN THE TWO PROVINCES.

165,000, of whom 133,000 were enumerated in the adjoining districts of

BORN IN	ENUMERATED IN				
	Bengal.	West Bengal.	Central Bengal.	North Bengal.	East Bengal.
BIHAR AND ORISSA	1,252,371	250,294	386,666	541,395	74,016
North Bihar	233,746	24,688	24,408	143,042	41,810
South Bihar	296,468	44,368	174,806	83,446	23,533
Orissa	123,750	37,318	77,906	5,140	4,077
Chota Nagpur Plateau	478,407	111,907	40,546	319,796	4,496

Purnea, the Sonthal Parganas, Manbhum, Singhbhum and Balasore. The immigrants to Bengal from Bihar and Orissa were nearly 8

times as many, amounting to 1,252,000, or one-thirtieth of the total population, among whom there were 8 males to every female. An account will be given later in this chapter of the movements to and from each natural division, but may be anticipated by the marginal statement. West Bengal receives one-fifth, Central Bengal one-third, North Bengal over two-fifths, and East Bengal only 6 per cent. of the emigrants. Of those enumerated in West Bengal, nearly half come from the Chota Nagpur Plateau, 59,000 being born in the Sonthal Parganas. Central Bengal draws mainly on Bihar, and especially South Bihar, while the great majority of the emigrants to North Bengal come from North Bihar and the Chota Nagpur Plateau, the former contributing one-third and the latter three-fifths of the total number.



386. The difference between the two Provinces is due partly to racial characteristics, partly to climate, and partly to economic and industrial conditions. The Bengali has a very different character from that of the Bihari, and in particular of the Bhojpuri people, who have been described by Sir G. Grierson as "an alert and active nationality, with few scruples and considerable abilities. Dearly loving a fight for fighting's sake, they have spread all over Aryan India, each man ready to carve his fortune out of any opportunity which may present itself to him. As fond as an Irishman is of a stick, the long-boned, stalwart Bhojpuri, with his staff in hand, is a familiar object striding over fields far from his home. Thousands of them have emigrated to British Colonies and have returned rich men; every year still larger numbers wander over Northern Bengal and seek employment, either honestly, as *palki*-bearers, or otherwise as dacoits. Every Bengal zamindar keeps a *posse* of these men, euphemistically termed *darwans*, to keep his tenants in order. Calcutta, where they are employed, and feared, by the less heroic natives of Bengal, is full of them." The second great cause of difference is the higher standard of prosperity attained by the Bengali. It is on this account that he can employ foreign labour instead of working himself. It is a commonplace that now-a-days the sons of middle class cultivators despise the manual work

which their fathers did as a matter of course, but this attitude would be impossible unless they had sufficient means to maintain it.

387. Some allowance must also be made for the weakening effects of climate. The harvesting of the great winter rice crop of Bengal takes place at the height of the fever season, and in some districts the ravages of fever are so widespread that it is difficult to procure enough local labourers.* The combined effect of easy circumstances, the ravages of fever and, to some extent also, religious orthodoxy is that immigrants are largely recruited for two classes of labour, viz., work involving hard physical labour and tasks that are regarded as degrading. The big-boned Bihari and the small but wiry aboriginal are consequently being employed more and more as earth-workers, *palki*-bearers, scavengers and leather workers. Besides this, the up-country-men is preferred for posts in which some power of control and physical strength are necessary, such as that of *darwan*, *chaprasi*, railway servant, etc.

388. Lastly, the industrial development of Bengal has naturally created a great demand for labour, which is not fully supplied from local sources. It is unnecessary to dwell on this aspect of the question at any length, as reference has already been made to the vast strides made in Bengal during the last decade, and to the backward condition of Bihar and Orissa. Suffice it to say, that the special industrial census shows that in Bengal industrial concerns employing 20 hands or more have a total labour force of over 606,000, whereas in Bihar and Orissa the number is only 180,000. Coal-mining is, in fact, the only industry of great importance in the latter Province; if it be excluded, the number employed in industrial concerns is only 94,000. Indigo is now only a shadow of what it was and furnishes employment to less than one-ninth of the number working on the tea gardens in Bengal, while there is no such industry as that of jute, which in Bengal requires 200,000 men to man the mills. The labour force of these large organized industries is being drawn more and more from the United Provinces, from Bihar and Orissa, and even from Madras, and the native-born Bengalis are yielding place to immigrants.

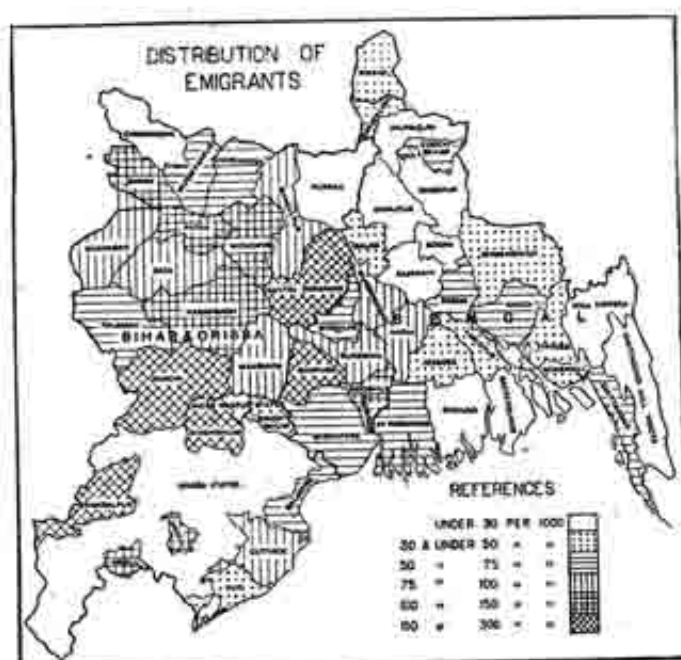
389. The extent of the movements of the people in each natural division will be sufficiently realized from the marginal statement. These figures show that the preceding remarks regarding the contrast between the two Provinces apply to every division. In all the divisions of Bengal the gain from distant places is greater than from contiguous districts, but the reverse is the case in Bihar and Orissa. In Bengal again the emigrants to contiguous districts outnumber those who move to distant places in every division but East Bengal, where the numbers are equal. The exceptional position of this latter division is due to Dacca, the quick-witted inhabitants of which supply fresh recruits, year after year, to the ranks of the professional classes in distant parts of the

NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER PER 100,000 OF ACTUAL POPULATION.					
	IMMIGRANTS FROM—			EMIGRANTS TO—		
	Total.	Contiguous districts.	Other places.	Total.	Contiguous districts.	Other places.
BENGAL	43	8	35	13	7	6
West Bengal	52	21	31	49	37	12
Central "	125	39	86	37	25	12
North "	85	24	61	12	10	2
East "	18	7	9	20	10	10
BIHAR AND ORISSA	12	7	5	49	18	31
North Bihar	22	16	6	41	19	22
South "	20	17	3	83	24	59
Orissa	14	8	6	56	19	37
Chota Nagpur Plateau	35	28	7	77	24	53

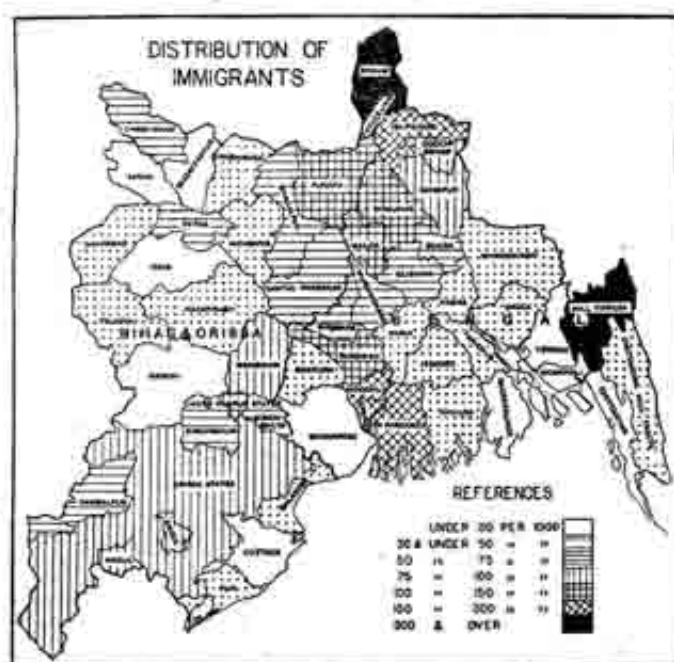
distant places in every division but East Bengal, where the numbers are equal. The exceptional position of this latter division is due to Dacca, the quick-witted inhabitants of which supply fresh recruits, year after year, to the ranks of the professional classes in distant parts of the

* Cf. Hooghly District Gazetteer, page 170.—“There is a general complaint of the insufficiency of the supply of labour. During the winter months, the labour question often becomes acute, and instances have been known of crops rotting on the fields and looms stopping for want of workers. The difficulties caused by the deficiency of labour are further aggravated by epidemics of malarial fever that break out from November to February, reducing the number of workers and diminishing the working capacity of those who survive.” Also see Jessore District Gazetteer, page 84.—“It is said that owing to the unhealthiness of the district there has been a decline in the number of skilled labourers for some years past, and that the supply of agricultural labourers is unequal to the demand, especially during the fever season, so much so that land sometimes remains uncultivated for want of men to till it.”

country. In Bihar and Orissa, on the other hand, every division contributes more emigrants to remote areas than to adjoining districts.



390. In Bengal there are only ten districts of which the emigrant exceeds the immigrant population, viz., Bankura and Midnapore in West Bengal, Nadia, Jessore and Murshidabad in Central Bengal, Pabna in North Bengal, and Dacca, Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong in East Bengal. The excess in these districts is greatest in the comparatively healthy district of Bankura (129,000) and least in the notoriously unhealthy district of Jessore (13,500).



Bankura is also easily first from a relative point of view, for its emigrants constitute 15 per cent. of its total population : in no other district does the proportion reach 7 per cent., and it falls to 4 per cent. in Jessore. Of the districts which benefit by immigration the greatest gainers are the 24-Parganas and Jalpaiguri, where the immigrants outnumber the emigrants by 262,000 and 245,000, respectively : the case of Calcutta, where the excess is over half a million, is exceptional. Proportionately, however, the foreign-born population

is greatest in Darjeeling, where it represents $44\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population, and it is least in Chittagong, where it is 1 per cent. only.

391. In Bihar and Orissa there are only four districts where immigrants outnumber emigrants, viz., Manbhum, where the excess is due to the influx of labourers to the coal mines, Puri, where it is accounted for by pilgrimage to the shrine of Jagannath, and Champaran and Purnea, two sparsely populated districts which still depend on new comers from other districts for the development of their arable waste. There is also a preponderance of immigrants in the Chota Nagpur and Orissa States, the excess over emigrants (224,000) being especially great in the Orissa States, where extensive areas of cheap cultivable land are attracting colonists from adjoining areas. The actual number of immigrants in the Orissa States (300,000) is far above that returned for any district, only four having over 100,000, viz., Purnea (199,000), Manbhum (143,000), Bhagalpur (136,000) and the Sonthal Parganas (107,000). The Chota Nagpur States, however, have relatively the largest foreign-born population, viz., 13 per cent., and then Purnea with 10 per cent.; the third place is shared by Angul and Manbhum, each of which have a ratio of 9 per cent.

No district sends out so many emigrants as the Sonthal Parganas, the number born in it but enumerated elsewhere being 321,000. It is closely followed by Ranchi (305,000), after which comes Saran (284,000). Two more districts have an aggregate of over 200,000 emigrants, viz., Monghyr (240,000) and Gaya (208,000), and ten of 100,000 to 200,000. The proportion of emigrants to the total population is over 20 per cent. in Sambalpur (23) and Ranchi (22), over 15 per cent. in the Sonthal Parganas (16) and Singhbhum (15), and over 10 per cent. in Saran, Patna and Angul. It falls below 5 per cent. only in Puri (3.5), Champaran (2.5), the Orissa States (2), Purnea (1.9), and the Chota Nagpur States (1.3). No district is less dependent on others than Cuttack, where the foreign-born population represents under 2 per cent.

392. Before proceeding to discuss the movements of the people to and from other parts of India, reference may be made to three great streams of migration inside the two provinces. The first which may be mentioned is that from the Chota Nagpur

INTERNAL MOVEMENTS.

CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.

Plateau, where the number of those enumerated outside the district or State of birth aggregates 955,000, or 8 per cent. of the total population. The main trend is in two directions, viz., into the Orissa Feudatory States and into Bengal and Assam. There is an increasing influx of new settlers into the Feudatory States, to which Ranchi and Singhbhum to the north and Sambalpur to the south-east have contributed altogether 145,000. The sexes are very evenly divided, and it is clear that the emigrants are cultivators, who have been attracted by the wide stretches of arable land to be got at cheap rates. The great majority of the emigrants, however, go to distant places, altogether 874,000 being enumerated in other provinces. Nearly all of these find their way to Bengal or Assam. Assam contains over a quarter of a million emigrants from the Plateau, and Bengal no less than 476,000. Of these latter 246,000 hail from the Sonthal Parganas, while 99,000 persons born in Ranchi are engaged in clearing land or cultivating tea in Jalpaiguri.

393. The readiness of the people of the Chota Nagpur Plateau to migrate is explained by three factors, viz., that the aboriginal inhabitants are multiplying rapidly, they pursue an uneconomic system of cultivation, and they have thriftless habits. The operation of these three factors is well explained in the report on the settlement of Ranchi by Mr. J. Reid, I.C.S., whose account of conditions in Ranchi are equally applicable to other parts of the Chota Nagpur Plateau. "It is sometimes said that the aborigines have no strong ties to bind them to their homes, and that this explains the apparent ease with which they emigrate. This view seems to me to be incorrect. Both Mundas and Oraons possess a very deep attachment for their homes and fields in this district; especially, as is often the case, if they are the pioneers, or descendants of the pioneers, who cleared the lands which they cultivate. The pride with which a Munda or Oraon tells one that he is a descendant of the original founders of the village (a *bhuinhar* or *khuntkattidar*) is unmistakeable. The

aborigines, in fact, cling with remarkable tenacity to their homes and fields. It is not uncommon to find that a Munda or an Oraon will persist in cultivating the ancestral fields long after he has been ejected from them by the Courts, and I have known numerous cases in which individual aborigines underwent imprisonment five or six times for persisting in their attempts to get back the ancestral lands. Large numbers of those who emigrate to Assam and the Duars return, if they are able to save a little money, and buy back the farms which they had lost or some land in the vicinity. This, in fact, is often the object with which they emigrate.

"Only the severest economic pressure will drive the aboriginal from his native wilds. The causes are not far to seek. The soil of the district is, on the whole, extremely poor and infertile. The methods of cultivation practised are primitive and antiquated. The needs of the Munda and Oraon are few; but he is not industrious, and is generally heedless of the morrow. He spends whatever little savings he may have in the local liquor shop, and whenever a period of stress occurs, he has no margin to fall back upon. It is true that new areas are being constantly cleared and opened up, and that the available food-supply is being constantly increased. The increase in cultivation does not, however, keep pace with the increase in the population. The primitive aboriginal does not care to cultivate more than is necessary for his own immediate needs; nor does he make provision for bad seasons by increasing the area under cultivation and thereby making up the deficiency in outturn, even if lands are available."

394. The main features of emigration from Bihar are similar to those of Chota Nagpur. Its volume is very great, there being one and a quarter million enumerated outside the districts in which they were born. The majority move to distant places; less than half a million were present in adjoining districts, whether in Bihar and Orissa or outside it. Emigration is most active in South Bihar, the emigrants from which constitute 8 per cent. of the population, a ratio double that of North Bihar. The periodic exodus of the people is growing rapidly, the number of persons absent from their districts at the time of the census being 279,000 more than in 1901. One great body makes its way to Calcutta and the metropolitan districts of Howrah, Hooghly and the 24-Parganas, where employment is found in the mills and factories. Districts which hitherto had but a small share in this movement are now contributing to it largely. For example, the number in those industrial centres hailing from the three adjoining districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Monghyr has risen in the last ten years from 47,000 to 84,000. The other direction in which the current of migration sets is eastwards, and its volume is swelling with the facilities of intercommunication afforded by through lines of railway. Purnea, with its extensive areas of cheap cultivable land, is the first to benefit by the outflow. Even in the last ten years the number of emigrants to this district from the four districts to the west (Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur and Monghyr) has nearly been doubled, rising from 68,000 to 130,000: over two-thirds of these come from the neighbouring districts of Monghyr and Bhagalpur, and the proportion of the sexes shows that the majority are permanent settlers.

395. With this exception the exodus is mainly periodic, just as it is in Chota Nagpur. It owes its origin to different causes, however, for it cannot be said that the people of Bihar are multiplying rapidly, are careless in their husbandry or thriftless in their habits. On the contrary, the population has been stationary during the last 20 years, the cultivators are alert and industrious, and the large amounts remitted to their homes by emigrants absolve them of the suspicion of thriftlessness. There is, however, a host of landless labourers—the number of those returned at this census as dependent on agricultural labour is 4,680,000, or over one-fifth of the total population. Besides this, the holdings of a considerable proportion of the cultivators are so small that they are insufficient to support them, and they have necessarily to eke out their livelihood by labour: the settlement shows a million of landless labourers and petty cultivators in Saran and Darbhanga alone. There are no large local industries to engage the energies of this large population of workers, and agriculture requires comparatively few hands

during the greater part of the cold weather. They are thus free to emigrate, and know that good wages can be acquired during a temporary absence from their homes. Access to the labour centres is cheap and easy, there are no hardships to be undergone, and last and greatest of all, there is the knowledge that a few months of work will not only help to support their families at the slack time of the year, but also provide a reserve against hard times, and save them from reducing the standard of comfort or further subdividing their holdings. Briefly, as stated by the Collector of Saran—"The people having once acquired the habit of migrating for wages, and having found that it is easy to save money in this way, now emigrate annually as a matter of habit to supplement their incomes."

396. The third great movement of population is taking place in East Bengal, where there is a rush for land along the Brahmaputra to the north-east and in Hill Tippera

EAST BENGAL.

to the south-east. The movement in the former area is determined by the abundance of *char* lands on the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra in the districts of Rangpur and Goalpara (in Assam). These cheap and fertile lands are attracting a growing number of cultivators from the lower reaches in the densely populated districts of Bogra, Pabna, Mymensingh and Dacca, where the riparian lands suffer from diluvion. Those who have lost their land by the ravages of the river, or whose holdings are reduced by subdivision to a size which means reduction in their standard of comfort, are shifting northwards to Rangpur and Goalpara, where there is abundance of land to be had on easy terms, and where the pressure on the soil does not lead to the same competition for it. Prior to 1901 the movement did not go further than Rangpur and had attained no great dimensions. Since 1901, the influx into that district has increased enormously, and the emigrants have overflowed across the provincial frontier into Goalpara. The number of immigrants from the four southern districts to Rangpur and Goalpara has risen from 35,000 to 123,000, the increase in Goalpara alone being 51,000.

In the south-east the current of migration is flowing into Hill Tippera, a sparsely peopled State which depends for development on immigrants, for the aboriginal population live chiefly by the nomadic practice of *huming* and wood-cutting. It is now being filled up by Musalmans from the adjoining district of Tippera on the east and from Sylhet on the west. The aggregate of immigrants from these two districts is 61,000, or over one-fourth of the State population, of which Tippera contributes seven-twelfths and Sylhet five-twelfths. The new-comers from the latter district promise to furnish a greater proportion of permanent colonists, for the sexes are fairly equally divided, whereas there are two males to every female among the immigrants from Tippera.

397. The number of persons born in Nepal, who were resident outside its limits at the time of the census, is 168,291, of whom 106,727 are found in Bengal, 35,954 in Bihar and Orissa and 25,610 in Sikkim. The emigrants from Nepal to Bihar and Orissa diminish in number as one proceeds from west to east, prac-

MIGRATION TO AND FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

NEPAL.

tically all being found in Champaran (13,929), Muzaffarpur (7,408), Darbhanga (8,542), Bhagalpur (3,050) and Purnea (2,709). There are two females to every one among them, a proportion which shows that the migration is casual and due to matrimonial arrangements. The Nepalese have few inducements to settle among an alien people in the closely cultivated and populous districts of North Bihar, but are colonizing the hilly tracts of Sikkim and Darjeeling, where they find a climate like that of their own country and men of their own race and language. In Sikkim the immigrants from Nepal account for over one-fourth of the population; in Darjeeling they number 70,000, or three-tenths of the population. They are attracted to the latter district not only by the prospects of agriculture, but also by the demand for labour on the tea gardens; about one-third of the total number are actual workers in tea gardens. The proportion is even higher in Jalpaiguri, where over a half of the aggregate number (34,000) are tea garden employes.

Between 1891 and 1901 the number of Nepalese immigrants decreased slightly, but since 1901 it has risen by 7,000. This increase is due almost

entirely to the greater influx into Sikkim and Jalpaiguri: in the latter district the immigrant population is nearly twice as numerous as it was ten years ago. Immigration into the border districts of Bihar and Orissa has waned, and there has been a further decline in Darjeeling, where the original settlers are dying off: though immigration still continues, the number of new comers is not great enough to fill their places. Its continuance is due to the pressure of the population on the soil in Eastern Nepal and the impoverishment of the soil there. "There is apparently in that country no forest reserved by Government. The land is in consequence over-cultivated, cattle are scarce, and the soil is insufficiently manured. In some parts fuel is very difficult to procure, and dung being burnt as fuel lessens still further the supply of manure available for the fields."*

398. There is but little immigration from Bhutan, a country with undeveloped resources which, so far from having any surplus population, calls for colonists. There

BHUTAN AND TIBET.

has been no appreciable increase in the number of immigrants from that country who still number under 2,000. As no census has been conducted in Bhutan, statistics of migration from British districts and States are not available, but it is believed that it attracts a steadily growing number of colonists from the west. It is known that a certain number of Lepchas and others from Darjeeling have moved across the frontier. "Abundant forests, untrammelled by restrictions, enable them to follow their wasteful, though ancient, system of *jhuming*. Any such as the grip of the money-lender presses beyond endurance can emigrate to Bhutan, which is the El Dorado of the Eastern Himalayas, now that the milder form of Government lately introduced by the Bhutanese Chiefs has induced thousands of Nepali cultivators to clear the vast and fertile jungles of that country."† Immigration from Tibet is even smaller in volume, the aggregate of immigrants being only a little over 1,500, nearly all of whom were enumerated in Darjeeling. Small as the number is, it is considerably larger than in 1901, partly in consequence of the freer intercourse with Tibet which followed the Tibet Mission and partly because the Dalai Lama was staying in Darjeeling at the time of the census.

399. The number of emigrants from Afghanistan, who are mostly itinerant hawkers, has fallen from 4,363 to 3,367, of whom 2,710 are found in Bengal and 657 in Bihar and

AFGHANISTAN AND CHINA.

Orissa. Nearly one-third of the total number were enumerated in Calcutta and the adjoining districts of Howrah and the 24-Parganas. There has been an increase of 668 immigrants from China, which has brought up the aggregate to 3,107. Practically the whole of the increase has occurred in Calcutta, where all but 88 of the Chinese residents were born in China. Small settlements are also found in the 24-Parganas (211), Jalpaiguri (214) and Darjeeling (162). Few bring their wives with them, and the males outnumber the females by 8 to 1.

400. The statistics compiled under the Colonial Emigration Act show

THE COLONIES.

that during the decade 11,667 persons were recruited for the colonies, of whom more than half came from Bihar, 3,473 being residents of Shahabad and 1,109 of Patna.

Emigration to the colonies is not apparently growing in favour, there being a decrease of 5,000 compared with the previous decade. As is well known, a considerable number of the emigrants return home with their savings after a period of labour in the colonies: the proportion of returned emigrants to outgoing emigrants during the decade was approximately one to two. Statistics of emigration to different colonies will be found in Subsidiary Table II at the end of this chapter; the marginal table shows the Colonies in which

Colony.	Number.
Bengal.	
Mauritius ...	19,691
Straits Settlements ...	3,300
Federated Malay States ...	3,059
Fiji ...	2,641
Ceylon ...	1,561†

Bihar and Orissa.

Natal ...	15,026
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more than 1,000 from either province were enumerated.

* C. A. Bell, Kalimpong Settlement Report, page 8.

† C. A. Bell, Kalimpong Settlement Report, page 17.

‡ Includes 1,099 persons on vessels which put in at Colombo shortly after the census.

401. The marginal statement shows the number of persons born in the chief European countries and in Africa, America and Australasia. Nearly half of those who had their birth in Europe are temporary or permanent residents of Calcutta,

BORN IN—	ENUMERATED IN—	
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
Europe ...	13,503	2,801
United Kingdom ...	12,179	2,572
England and Wales ...	8,969	2,059
Scotland ...	2,393	314
Ireland ...	814	199
Germany ...	305	148
France ...	175	26
Africa ...	232	30
America ...	312	66
Australasia ...	306	40

7,630 being enumerated there. No district contains more than 1,000, except the 24-Parganas (1,725), Darjeeling (1,570) and Patna (1,038). Their presence in the first district is due to industrial enterprise, in Darjeeling to the tea gardens and European schools as well as to its containing a military station, and in Patna to there being a European regiment in cantonments at Dinapore. Since 1901 the number of persons born in Europe and enumerated in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa has increased by 3,032, to which Calcutta contributes 929 in spite of a large reduction in the number of European sailors and firemen enumerated in vessels lying in the port. The greatest gain has been from England, the number born there rising by 3,148, while the increase of Scotchmen hailing from Scotland is, surprising to relate, only 465. A heavy decrease of 733 is recorded for those born in Ireland, which is, however, merely due to the fact that an Irish regiment was stationed in Calcutta in 1901, and that there was no such regiment in either Bengal or Bihar and Orissa at this census.

402. Between 1891 and 1901 the number of emigrants to Assam from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa increased by 86,000. There has since been a further rise of 89,000, bringing the aggregate up to 593,000, or 42 per cent. more than in 1891. Of these, 194,000 persons were born in Bengal, which is a heavy loser by the interchange of population, for it receives only 67,000 immigrants from Assam. There are, as already explained, two inter-provincial movements in progress. Musalman cultivators are steadily moving from Dacca, Mymensingh and Pabna in quest of land along the fertile *char* lands in Goalpara, which also receives immigrants from the adjoining Bengal district of Rangpur. The number of the emigrants from these four districts is now 70,000, or 50,000 more than in 1901. The other movement is from Sylhet into the State of Hill Tippera; during the last decade the influx of these new settlers has developed considerably, and they now aggregate 26,000 or 10,000 more than in 1901. There is also an ebb and flow between Sylhet and the adjoining districts of Tippera and Mymensingh, from which Sylhet is the gainer by 12,000.

The exodus from Bengal is small in comparison with that from Bihar and Orissa, from which no less than 399,000 persons have gone to Assam. All parts of Bihar and Orissa contribute to this number, but the emigrants from the Chota Nagpur Plateau (281,000) far outnumber those from the remainder of the province. The emigrants are nearly all tea-garden coolies, for whom Chota Nagpur is the favourite recruiting ground. The drain has been greatest on Ranchi, which has sent out 92,000 emigrants. Hazaribagh has contributed 56,000, Manbhum 55,000 and Singhbhum 22,000. Outside the Chota Nagpur Plateau emigration to Assam is most active in Cuttack (27,000) and Saran (19,000).

403. Burma gains heavily from Bengal, the number of emigrants enumerated in it being 135,756, while Bengal receives only 2,600 from Burma. This is, however, not a real gain, for the emigration is merely periodic, labourers flocking southwards from Chittagong and other districts to cut the rice crops in Arakan and returning to their homes when the harvest is over. Altogether 64,000 persons born in Chittagong were present in Burma at the time of the census, and only 4,000 of them were females. Large as this number is, it is

15,000 less than in 1901, when emigration was stimulated by the scarcity and suffering caused by a cyclone and subsequent hard times. The Burma census returns furnish no information regarding the birth districts of other emigrants from Bengal.

404. Nearly half of the emigrants from Chittagong were found in the Akyab district, where, however, their number is 14,000 less than in 1901. The decrease is attributed by Mr. Morgan Webb, Superintendent of Census Operations in Burma, partly to the fact that the census was held later than in 1901, and partly to immigration being checked by the systematic assessment of the immigrants to a capitation-tax. "The later date on which the census was taken in 1911 (the 10th March, against the 1st March 1901) must have had a considerable effect in reducing the numbers recorded. The first half of March is the period when the immigrants are returning to their homes in large numbers after the completion of harvest operations. A postponement of the record by ten days in the busiest portion of the emigration season would cause a marked reduction in the number of immigrants to be entered. But this could not account for the whole of the large decrease." The principal cause of the greater portion of the decrease is in his opinion the stringent assessment of a capitation tax on agricultural labourers who find employment in Akyab. He concludes—"The migration is seasonal, and consequently the later date of the census of 1911, at a time when the immigrants were returning to their homes, resulted in a small record; it is fluctuating, so that marked changes in numbers were to be anticipated; it has been subjected in the past few years to a heavy taxation from which it had hitherto been largely exempt; its decline was foretold four years before the census was taken; and, finally, so far as the records of actual migration are available, they suggest that emigration is proceeding more rapidly than immigration. Apart entirely from a genuine decrease, it is probable that immigrants, fearing assessment to the tax, avoided being entered in the enumeration records."

405. The number of emigrants to Burma from Bihar and Orissa is 8,392, of whom 5,389 were born in Shahabad. Their presence in Burma is due to their having been recruited for the development of two estates, which were granted to private capitalists in order to stimulate migration to sparsely populated areas. One of these is an estate of 27,506 acres at Kyauktaga in the Pegu district which was leased to Mr. Mylne of the Bihia Estate in Shahabad; the other is a grant of 15,000 acres at Zeyawaddy in the Toungoo district made in 1894 to Rai Bahadur Jai Prakash Lal, C.I.E. On the Kyauktaga grant most of the settlers are agriculturists from the United Provinces, but on the Zeyawaddy grant the majority are from Bihar, Shahabad district supplying 3,494 of the total (5,065). "In both grants the immigrants live in self-contained Hindu villages, influencing but little, and influenced but little by, the Burmese life surrounding them. They have maintained their caste system and rules with greater success than the majority of Hindu immigrants into Burma, who are necessarily brought more closely into contact with the disintegrating influence of Burmese life and opinion."

406. The movements between the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa mainly affect contiguous districts and States. Altogether 129,000 persons who were born in the latter province were present in the Central Provinces at the time of the census, of whom nearly 100,000 were emigrants from Sambalpur, while 13,000 were inhabitants of Ranchi and Palamau, who had moved across the frontier into the adjoining Tributary States. The balance of migration is heavily against Bihar and Orissa, for the immigrants from the Central Provinces number only 53,000, of whom 19,000 were enumerated in Sambalpur and 25,000 in the Orissa Feudatory States. Sambalpur, therefore, loses 81,000 by the exchange, while the Orissa States have a gain of 22,000: the even distribution of the sexes among the immigrants to the latter shows that they are permanent settlers. The migration between Bengal and the Central

* Burma Census Report, 1911, pp. 80-1.
 id., p. 76.

Provinces calls for no special remarks. Bengal receives 21,000 persons, and its emigrants number only 6,000. The excess of immigrants is due simply to the demand for labour in a rich country with large manufactures.

407. The volume of migration to and from Madras is comparatively small, and does not extend far beyond adjoining districts and States. It is decidedly in favour of Bihar and Orissa rather than of Madras, for the latter sends 35,508 persons to Bihar and Orissa and receives only 1,428 persons in exchange. Six-sevenths of the immigrants were enumerated in the Orissa States, Puri and Angul, which lie along the border line, and all but 10,000 of them were emigrants from Ganjam. The Orissa States gain most, there being an influx of 19,000 persons, attracted by the prospects of cultivation in a sparsely peopled territory, while less than 1,000 persons left for Madras. Bengal has a net gain of nearly 8,000 from Madras, the immigrants being generally temporary absentees from their homes. They number altogether 14,343, of whom 8,000 were enumerated in the 24-Parganas and Calcutta: in Titagarh alone there were over 3,000 mill-hands from Ganjam and Vizagapatam.

408. The interchange of population in Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces is more even, there being a balance of only 19,000 in favour of the former province. The immigrants from the United Provinces number altogether 124,000, of whom nearly two-thirds were enumerated in districts contiguous to the districts in which they were born, viz., in Shahabad (28,035), Saran (24,503), Palamau (1,592) and Champaran (26,561). The current of immigration sets more strongly into North Bihar, which contains altogether 69,000 immigrants, while South Bihar has only 38,000. Only 17,000 immigrants are found outside Bihar. The aggregate of persons born in Bihar and Orissa, but enumerated in the United Provinces, is 105,000, of whom 94,000 hail from the four border districts already mentioned. There is but little emigration except from Bihar, the aggregate number of those born in other districts (excluding the border district of Palamau) being barely 1,000. The greatest gainer by the movements of the people across the boundary is Champaran, in which the immigrants exceeds the emigrants by 19,000. The heaviest loser is Saran, from which 53,000 persons have moved to the United Provinces, while only 24,500 have come from that province. Shahabad is scarcely affected by the movements of the people across the frontier line, immigration and emigration nearly counterbalancing one another. During the last decade the emigrants from this district have decreased by nearly 12,000, while the immigrants from the United Provinces are less numerous by 14,000. There has also been a notable change in the movements of the people to and from Saran. The number of those who have found a temporary or permanent home in Ballia has fallen by 5,000, but on the other hand there has been an increase of nearly 20,000 among those who have transferred themselves to Gorakhpur: the emigrants from Saran to this latter district now outnumber the immigrants by 24,000.

409. There is not much to attract an immigrant from the United Provinces in the cultivating districts of Bihar, where conditions are much the same as in his own home, and there is not the incentive of better wages awaiting the temporary labourer. The greater number of those in quest of lucrative employment therefore make their way to Bengal, where 406,000 of them were enumerated at this census; among these there were two males to every female. More than half of the total number were found in Calcutta and the industrial districts of Hooghly, Howrah and the 24-Parganas—the cities of Howrah, Calcutta and the Suburbs alone contain 155,000, or 16,000 more than are found in the whole of North and East Bengal. Bengal makes a very poor return to the United Provinces, sending only 26,000 of its inhabitants there, so that its net gain is 380,000. The Bengali emigrants belong to two main classes, viz., persons in clerical and other employment, and pilgrims to the sacred shrines. It is on this account that females, who generally predominate in pilgrimages, outnumber the males.

Immigrants enumerated in—	Number.
West Bengal	70,634
Central	106,899
North	83,034
East	76,199
Total	406,666

410. Statistics of migration to and from each district will be found in Subsidiary Tables I, II and III at the end of this chapter. It is therefore not proposed to go into any detail in the account of migration between different parts of the two provinces, but to sketch briefly its main features.

411. West Bengal, from the point of view of migration, comprises two very different tracts. In Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah there are large organized industries which call for labour, and in each of them the immigrant population is large. The remaining districts are agricultural, and contain stretches of sterile soil, inhabited to a great extent by races of aboriginal descent. These supply much of the labour required by the richer cultivators of the alluvial flats, and by the mill and factories lining the banks of the Hooghly. Both in Midnapore and Bankura the emigrant population outnumbers the immigrant, but in Birbhum, which adjoins the Sonthal Parganas and receives part of its overflow, immigrants are in excess.

412. Burdwan owes its large immigrant population of 180,000 persons to its collieries, iron foundries and other manufactures. It draws mainly on the adjoining districts, and in particular on Bankura (45,000), the Sonthal Parganas (27,000) and Manbhum (12,000). The influx from the Sonthal Parganas is double as great as in 1901, but the number hailing from Manbhum has fallen greatly owing to the rapid development of the Jheria coal-field, which wants all the labour it can get. Altogether 82,000, or about one-half of the immigrants, come from Bihar and Orissa and non-contiguous parts of other provinces, and only 11,000 from non-contiguous districts of Bengal. Half the emigrants go to contiguous districts, their movement being of the usual casual character, which is determined mainly by marriage relations; of the remainder one-third are found in Calcutta. Birbhum gains mainly from the adjoining districts, notably the Sonthal Parganas, the balance in its favour being nearly 17,000: were it not for this, the emigrants would outnumber the immigrants.

413. The emigrants from Bankura are $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as numerous as those from Birbhum, and constitute 15 per cent. of the total population. No district in Bengal sends out such a large number in proportion to its population, and only three districts in Bihar and Orissa (Ranchi, Sambalpur and the Sonthal Parganas). The exodus is however mainly periodic, and most of it is directed to the alluvial districts of West Bengal, for which the people have a distinctive name, viz., *namal*, i.e., the lowlands. No less than 70,000, or two-fifths of the total number, are found in the adjoining districts of Burdwan and Manbhum, from which Bankura receives only 30,000 immigrants: the latter are mostly casual visitors, females being in excess by 16,000. Bankura is also a heavy loser to Hooghly to the extent of 48,000 persons. Emigration from Midnapore is growing in volume owing to the railway extensions, and the increase in the number of male emigrants since 1901 is the same as in Bankura, viz., 20,000. The current sets mainly into Hooghly, the 24-Parganas and Calcutta, which account for three-fifths of the total number. There is also a small overflow into Mayurbhanj, which gains 9,000 cultivators at the expense of Midnapore. The immigrants from outside Bengal outnumber those born in the province, there being 28,000 from Bihar and Orissa, 7,000 from the Central Provinces, 6,000 from the United Provinces and 3,000 from Madras.

414. Migration to and from Hooghly is very materially affected by its proximity to Calcutta, which draws largely on the district, and its own need of labour for agriculture as well as for industries. Its position is consequently somewhat unique, for next to Bankura and Midnapore it sends out a larger proportion of emigrants, and next to Howrah it receives a larger proportion of new-comers, than any other district in Bengal. It loses no less than 83,000 persons to Calcutta, Howrah and 24-Parganas, in which half its emigrants are found. It gains mainly from Bankura and from Bihar and Orissa. Bihar sends it 29,000, Orissa 8,000 and Chota Nagpur 13,000. The foreign-born population in Howrah now amounts to 190,000, or 4,000 more than in Hooghly. Like that district, it depends on outside sources for the labour required by its mills and factories, and it is noticeable that Bengal supplies it with less immigrants than outside provinces. No less than

109,000 persons come from outside Bengal, and the majority are Hindustanis, 39,000 coming from Bihar and 47,000 from the United Provinces: Orissa alone accounts for 14,000.

415. The difference between conditions in Calcutta and 24-Parganas, with their important commercial and industrial interests, and those prevailing in the agricultural districts of Western Bengal is strikingly exemplified in the census returns. In Calcutta and the 24-Parganas immigrants largely outnumber emigrants, while the reverse is the case in Murshidabad, Jessore and Nadia. Extraordinary as it may appear, the outflow from the latter three districts to the industrial centres is comparatively small, in spite of their proximity: only one-tenth of those enumerated outside the districts in which they were born have found their way to Calcutta and the 24-Parganas.

416. Calcutta itself may be regarded as an epitome of India, for it draws on all parts of it for its heterogeneous population. The aggregate of persons born in Calcutta and resident there is barely three-tenths of the population; if we also exclude those born in the 24-Parganas, the number contributed by the whole of Bengal (194,000) constitutes only about one-fifth. The province of Bihar and Orissa sends 10,000 more than this latter number, mostly labourers and artisans from South Bihar (109,000), North Bihar (46,000) and Orissa (41,000). Even the division last named accounts for more than all the districts of Eastern Bengal. Altogether 90,000 come from the United Provinces, or double the number from Eastern Bengal and Assam, and 21,000 from Rajputana. As many of its inhabitants come from the Punjab (9,000) as from the Chittagong Division, and double as many from Europe (7,630, as from the Rajshahi Division. Of individual districts, next to the 24-Parganas, Calcutta receives most immigrants from Hooghly (48,000), Gaya (41,000), Patna (29,000) and Cuttack (27,000). A further account of the constitution of its immigrant population will be found in the last paragraph of this chapter.

417. The foreign-born population in the 24-Parganas has increased by no less than 176,000 during the last ten years, and now amounts to 402,000 or 16½ per cent. of the total population. As in the case of Calcutta, it is recruited from far afield, 84,000 coming from the United Provinces, 57,000 from South Bihar, 34,000 from Orissa and 14,000 from the Chota Nagpur Plateau. Eastern Bengal and Assam can claim only 9,000, while Madras accounts for 5,000 and the Central Provinces for 2,000. The great majority are engaged in industrial and manufacturing concerns, but the reclamation of the Sundarbans in the south attracts a number of cultivators and labourers not only from Midnapore but also from Chota Nagpur.

418. The movements of the people in the remaining districts of Central Bengal call for only a brief notice, as conditions are much the same as in 1901 and the figures show very little change. There is, however, one new feature, viz., that the opening of the railway from Katihar to Godagari has led to a small but noticeable northward movement from Murshidabad. The number of persons from that district enumerated in Malda has risen from 12,000 to 27,000, and the movement has not stopped there but has extended to Purnea. In 1901 the latter district contained under 1,000 persons born in Murshidabad, but the number is now 5,000.

419. In all parts of North Bengal the last decade has witnessed a substantial increase in the number of immigrants, the increment ranging from 10,000 in Cooch Behar to 77,000 in Jalpaiguri, which is closely followed by Rangpur (69,000). Emigration has also developed with the extension of railway communications. The rise in the number of emigrants is shared in by all districts except Rangpur, where there is a slight falling off, but except in Bogra and Pabna it is not great. The most prominent features of migration in this part of the province are (1) the excess of immigrants over emigrants, the only exception being Pabna, where the emigrants outnumber the foreign-born population by 38,000, and (2) that immigrants from distant places are more numerous than those from contiguous localities in all but three districts, viz., Rajshahi, Pabna and Malda. Pabna is the only district from which there is any considerable emigration to non-contiguous districts, but the

distance covered by the emigrants is not great, for they merely move northwards to the Brahmaputra *chars* in Rangpur and Goalpara. Pabna has sent 24,000 emigrants to the former and 15,000 to the latter; and as the sexes are fairly well balanced, they seem to have left Pabna to set up new homes in those two northern districts. The districts which have the largest gains from distant places are Darjeeling, where $41\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population are foreign-born, and Jalpaiguri, where the ratio is 29 per cent.

420. The chief factors which cause the influx from distant places are briefly as follows. There are extensive cultivable wastes in the Barind, an elevated tract which comprises a considerable area on the confines of Dinajpur, Malda, Rajshahi and Bogra. These wastes are being steadily reclaimed, but the local labour supply is not sufficient, and is also not so expert in pioneer work as the Santals and other aborigines from outside districts. The rich alluvial *chars* of the Brahmaputra in Rangpur and Goalpara attract Musalman cultivators from the more congested tracts along the lower reaches of the same river, where, moreover, the land is more subject to diluvion. The districts affected by this movement are Pabna, in a major, and Bogra, in a minor, degree. Lastly, the tea industry in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri is carried on almost wholly by foreign labour, and elsewhere the development of the jute and tobacco trade is increasing the demand for labour, which is not fully met from local sources.

421. There is a steady annual influx of labourers from Bihar and United Provinces, who find employment in different kinds of labour, *e.g.*, as domestic servants, police-constables, jail warders, railway servants, field-labourers, leather-workers, *palki*-bearers, scavengers, etc. No less than 183,000 come from North Bihar and 63,000 from the United Provinces. The largest drafts of labourers, however, are obtained from the Chota Nagpur Plateau, and in particular the Sonthal Parganas and Ranchi. The former has sent over 160,000 of its people to the four districts containing the Barind, *viz.*, Dinajpur (74,000), Malda (48,000), Rajshahi (14,000) and Bogra (4,000), and to the tea-garden districts of Jalpaiguri (20,000) and Darjeeling (4,000). Ranchi has sent 99,000 persons to Jalpaiguri and 7,000 to Darjeeling, where they find employment on the tea-gardens. Among these immigrants the sexes are fairly balanced, and the migration may therefore be regarded as semi-permanent. Many of the tea-garden coolies, it is true, leave the tea-gardens yearly for their homes, but the majority settle down and go home for an occasional visit only. The population of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri is also largely recruited from Nepal, those born in Nepal numbering 70,000 in the former and 34,000 in the latter. Jalpaiguri has further received 27,000 immigrants from Cooch Behar, giving in return only 9,000 emigrants: as the immigrants have an excess of males and the emigrants an excess of females, it may fairly be inferred that the gain of Jalpaiguri consists largely of temporary labourers.

422. In Hill Tippera and five of the nine districts included in East Bengal, *viz.*, Khulna, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Backergunge and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the foreign-born population exceeds the emigrant population, but except in Hill Tippera the excess is not large, varying only from 5,000 to 16,000: in Hill Tippera, where one-third of the population is foreign-born, the excess amounts to 80,000. In the division, as a whole, the immigrants from contiguous districts (86,000) are nine times as numerous as those from other parts of the province (9,000), but their aggregate is only about a third that returned for immigrants from Assam, Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces (243,000). In Mymensingh and Chittagong only do the immigrants from distant places exceed those from contiguous places. Proportionately, the immigrants from neighbouring districts are most numerous in Khulna, which receives 34,000 persons from Backergunge and Jessore but gives them only 16,000. The causes of immigration are much the same as in North Bengal, *viz.*, the insufficiency of the local labour force for handling the jute trade, and the comparative wealth and high standard of comfort of the people, which enables them to employ imported labour.

423. There are two main currents of immigration. The first is the great influx of labourers from Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces, from which Dacca, Mymensingh and Faridpur have received 35,000, 75,000 and 12,000

immigrants respectively. These immigrants are chiefly Hindus, the number of Musalmans who come for employment, chiefly as coachmen, cart-drivers and railway servants, being very small. The Mundas, Oraons and Santals, who figure so largely among the immigrants into North Bengal, are rare in East Bengal, and the majority of the foreign-born are functional castes, such as Chamar, Muchi, Kurmi, Kahar, Nuniya, Kandui, Mallah and sweeper castes. There has been a considerable increase in the number of immigrants from Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces, which is shared by almost all the districts, but is specially marked in Dacca and Mymensingh. In the former, immigration was stimulated to some extent by the city of Dacca being made the capital of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and by the amount of building work in progress while it held that position.

424. The second movement is the influx of cultivators into Hill Tippera from Tippera and Sylhet, the former having sent 35,000 persons and the latter nearly 26,000 persons to that State. Tippera has sent 5 females, and Sylhet 10 females, to every 12 males, from which it appears that the immigrants from the former include a much smaller proportion of permanent settlers than those from Sylhet. The number of persons enumerated in this State but born in Tippera has increased nearly three-fold since 1901, while the immigrants from Sylhet have grown by 10,000.

425. There are only four districts in which the outflow exceeds the influx, viz., Dacca, Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong. Emigration is least active in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Hill Tippera, where the aboriginal inhabitants have no incentive to leave their homes. The main currents of emigration, excluding the usual movements to adjacent places, are (1) from Dacca and Mymensingh to Rangpur and Goalpara and (2) from Chittagong to Burma. Dacca and Mymensingh have sent 19,599 males and 14,317 females to Rangpur, and 22,954 and 17,142 females to Goalpara, while Chittagong has sent 60,261 males and only 3,707 females to Burma. The sex proportions show that, while the emigrants to Rangpur and Goalpara include a large proportion of permanent settlers, there are very few among those enumerated in Burma. Nor is this to be wondered at, for the emigrants to Rangpur and Goalpara are cultivators who leave their homes in the riparian tracts along the Jamuna to settle in the fertile alluvial land on the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra, whereas the emigrants to Burma are merely labourers attracted by the high wages paid for harvesting crops in Burma. In Dacca, which has the highest density in East Bengal, the excess of emigration over immigration may be attributed partly to the increasing pressure on the soil and partly to its educated inhabitants not finding sufficient remunerative employment near their homes. No less than 63,000 find employment in distant parts of Bengal as clerks, lawyers, doctors, traders, boatmen, shop-keepers, etc. Altogether, 18,000, or nearly half the total number from the whole of East Bengal, were enumerated in Calcutta and its suburbs.

426. Emigration causes a heavy drain on all the districts of North Bihar, except Champaran and Purnea to the extreme north-west and east, respectively. These are two sparsely peopled districts, with large areas awaiting reclamation or further development, which attract immigrants from the neighbouring districts in search of land on easy terms. In addition to receiving 14,000 persons from Nepal, Champaran benefits largely by immigration from the surrounding districts of Muzaffarpur, Saran and Gorakhpur: the net gain is 14,000 from Muzaffarpur, 19,000 from Saran, 17,000 from Gorakhpur and 2,000 from other districts of the United Provinces. In Purnea the foreign-born population is proportionately twice as large as in Champaran, representing 10 per cent. of the total population. The immigrants come mainly from the east, and in particular from Bhagalpur, from which it receives 72,000, Darbhanga (25,000) and Monghyr (23,000). It also receives part of the overflow from the Sonthal Parganas and gains slightly from Malda, but loses by migration to the three Bengal districts of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur. In all the other districts of North Bihar immigration is growing in volume. Nowhere, however, is it so great as in Saran, the immigrants from which number no less than 284,000 or one-eighth of the population. In the

remaining three districts the number varies from 168,000 in Bhagalpur and 176,000 in Darbhanga to 195,000 in Muzaffarpur, the percentages to the total population being 8, 6 and 7 respectively. More than two-fifths of the emigrants from Bhagalpur find their way to Purnea, and a large proportion of the remainder spread into North Bengal. This latter tract is also the favourite resort of sturdy labourers from the other districts, and contains more than half the emigrants from North Bihar who were enumerated in Bengal. An increasing number, however, are following the example of the Saran emigrants (who, as remarked in the last report, are more catholic in their choice of a temporary

BORN IN—	ENUMERATED IN—				Total.
	Hooghly.	Howrah.	24-Parganas.	Calcutta.	
Saran ...	8,751	7,425	26,026	14,710	57,125
Muzaffarpur ...	3,512	3,769	9,844	17,359	33,980
Darbhanga ...	1,746	1,963	2,523	9,014	15,575
Total ...	14,009	13,356	38,223	41,092	106,680

home), and find employment in the metropolitan districts. The most noticeable feature of the history of the last ten years is the extent to which temporary migration is increasing in favour, the rise in the number of emigrants varying from 44,000 in Bhagalpur to 65,000 in Darbhanga.

427. Emigration to Calcutta and the metropolitan districts is even more popular in South Bihar, three-tenths of the absentees from Patna, Gaya and Shahabad being enumerated there. The stream of migration from Monghyr is setting

BORN IN—	ENUMERATED IN—				Total.
	Hooghly.	Howrah.	24-Parganas.	Calcutta.	
Patna ...	4,058	7,067	13,651	29,017	54,773
Gaya ...	3,682	5,036	12,897	41,221	62,506
Shahabad ...	3,102	8,955	21,012	20,865	53,914
Monghyr ...	2,191	3,754	10,129	18,263	34,389
Total ...	14,193	24,823	57,189	109,386	205,591

steadily in the same direction, but though the number has been doubled since 1901, it is still only one-seventh of the total number of emigrants. The people of South Bihar also show greater readiness to make their homes in Assam than those of North Bihar. Altogether 36,000 emigrants from the latter division were enumerated

in Assam, of whom 19,000 were born in Saran, but as there was only one female to every five males, the great majority were obviously only temporary absentees. The number of those who have gone from South Bihar to Assam is however 46,000, and there are two women to every three men, from which it is clear that a large proportion settle down in the country. Of this number, 15,000 were born in Shahabad, 13,000 in Monghyr, 13,000 in Gaya and 5,000 in Patna. Assam and the metropolitan districts thus account for a quarter of a million of the emigrants, and the remainder are found mainly in contiguous districts. The interchange of population with the United Provinces is practically even, but is of small account, except in the border district of Shahabad; the other three districts send only 6,000 to that province and receive 10,000. Gaya loses to Chota Nagpur on the south and in particular to the adjoining districts of Hazaribagh and Palamau, while Monghyr, which has relations mainly with North Bihar, gains slightly from Darbhanga on the west, but loses heavily to Bhagalpur, Purnea and the Sonthal Parganas on the east, its aggregate loss amounting to 58,000.

428. In Cuttack and Balasore there is a large excess of emigrants over immigrants, but in Puri the foreign-born population predominates slightly. The actual excess in the last district, however, amounts only to 7,920, and special inquiries show that the total of pilgrims in the district at the time of the census was 7,139, so that the district is really unaffected by the movements of the people. The pressure of hard times in Cuttack and Balasore has led to a large number of labourers and small cultivators leaving their homes for a time in order to obtain employment elsewhere, and so supplement the resources of their families. The number of emigrants from Cuttack is 173,000 and represents 8 per cent. of the population. In Balasore the actual number, though largely increased since 1901, has not reached the same figure, but proportionately is very little less, viz., 7 per cent. The people mainly go to distant

places, more than half of the emigrants from Cuttack being found in Calcutta and its vicinity or in Assam, and over half of those from Balasore in the former locality. One-third of the emigrants from Cuttack were enumerated in Calcutta, Hooghly, Howrah and the 24-Parganas, their number having risen during the last ten years from 40,000 to 64,000. These, however, are merely temporary absentees, who return home after a period of labour in the mills and factories, or in domestic service or as gardeners or day-labourers. Those who go to the tea-gardens in Assam, however, take women with them, and settle down either as tea-garden coolies or as cultivators when their contracts have expired. No less than 27,000 of the people of Cuttack were enumerated in Assam. The inhabitants of Balasore have not shown the same readiness, or have not been considered so suitable, for recruitment for Assam, in which there were only 2,000 of them at the time of the census. They are flocking more and more to Calcutta and the metropolitan districts—the number employed there has more than doubled during the decennium, and now amounts to nearly 39,000. There is also an interchange of population with Midnapore, the balance of which is slightly against Balasore. Altogether 23,000 cultivators and others have left the district for the Orissa Feudatory States, more especially to Mayurbhanj, but only 9,000 have moved into Balasore from the Orissa States, so that the district sustains a loss of 14,000 on this account.

429. The volume of emigration from the districts of the Chota Nagpur

CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.

Plateau is one of the most remarkable features of the census, the proportion of emigrants to the district population being under 10 per cent. only in Manbhum ($7\frac{1}{2}$) and Palamau ($5\frac{1}{2}$), while it varies from 10 to 17 per cent. in Angul (10·6), Hazaribagh (11), Singhbhum (15) and the Sonthal Parganas (17). The maximum is reached in Ranchi and Sambalpur, where it is 22 and 23 per cent. respectively. Emigration is proceeding along four main lines, viz. (1) to Assam, (2) to North Bengal, (3) to the Orissa Feudatory States and (4) to the Central Provinces, of which an account will be given later in the section

DISTRICT.	1911.	1901.
Ranchi	91,000	92,000
Hazaribagh	56,000	69,000
Manbhum	55,000	70,000
Sonthal Parganas	33,000	21,000
Singhbhum	22,000	18,000
Palamau	2,000	7,000

dealing with the different districts. From the marginal statement it will be seen that in some districts the tide of emigration to Assam is ebbing, but that the exodus from Singhbhum and the Sonthal Parganas has increased in volume. The small increase in the case of Palamau is probably more apparent than real, owing to the fact that in 1901 many of the emigrants returned their district

of birth as Lohardaga, the old name for Ranchi, of which it was a subdivision till 1891, and so were grouped with those born in Ranchi.

430. Large as is the number of emigrants from Manbhum, it is exceeded

MANBHUM.

by the number who have been attracted from other districts by the good wages obtainable in the coal-fields. In 1901 emigrants outnumbered immigrants by 74,000, but the immigrants are now in excess by over 27,000. During the last 10 years the emigrants have decreased by 21,000, the total now returned being 115,500. The immigrants, on the other hand, have had an addition of 81,000, or over 100 per cent., bringing up their total to nearly 143,000. Of these, 57,000 come from Bengal, nearly 26,000 being born in the adjoining district of Bankura, the immigrants from which have doubled their numbers since 1901. There are 30,000 immigrants from Bihar, and nearly all the remainder come from Chota Nagpur, chiefly from the adjoining district of Hazaribagh. The checking of emigration, which is due to the local demand for labour, is responsible for the falling off of emigration to Assam by 15,000 and for the decrease of 19,000 in the number of natives of Manbhum who were enumerated in Burdwan. Ten years ago the Raniganj coal-field drew a large number of labourers from Manbhum, but now that the Jheria field has been developed, there is no need for the coal-cutters to move far from their homes.

431. In the Orissa Feudatory States the immigrants outnumber those enumerated outside the States in which they were born by no less than 224,000, and the absence of

ORISSA FEUDATORY STATES.

any great disparity between the sexes show that the great majority of the

DISTRICT.	Net gain.
Ranchi	43,121
Singhbhum	2,435
Sambalpur	39,797
Angul	7,922
Cuttack	12,520
Patna	5,196
Balasore	15,708
Ganjam	12,097
Vizagapatnam	6,337

new-comers have left their homes for good. There has been a great gain at the expense of all adjoining British districts, the balance in favour of the Orissa States being as shown in the margin. The largest gain is registered by Gangpur on the north-west, in which there are 39,000 immigrants from Ranchi and nearly 12,000 from Sambalpur. Patna and Bamra also gain at the expense of Sambalpur, which has sent 21,000 persons to the former and

11,000 to the latter. On the south-east Mayurbhanj gains both from Singhbhum and Balasore, 26,000 emigrants from the former and 12,000 from the latter being enumerated in it. The adjoining State of Keonjhar receives 15,000 persons from Singhbhum, nearly 4,000 from Cuttack and 2,000 from Balasore. The number of emigrants from the Orissa States aggregates only 75,000, of whom 61,000 were enumerated in the adjoining British districts shown in the marginal statement above. There is but little emigration to distant places, but 6,000 persons were enumerated in Assam, of whom 4,435 were natives of Kalahandi and 993 of Gangpur.

432. "The Santals," wrote Mr. Gait in 1901, "are spreading east and north, and the full effect of the movement is not exhausted in the districts that adjoin the Sonthal

SONTHAL PARGANAS.

Parganas, but makes itself felt even further away, in those parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Bogra which share with Malda the elevated tract of *quasi-laterite* known as the Barind. These wanderings of the Santals have hitherto been confined to a laterite soil, and they are said to be averse to the payment of rent. In what direction they will spread when they have finished their work of reclamation in the Barind it is impossible yet to conjecture. The future alone can show whether they will then accept the inevitable and settle down as permanent rent-paying cultivators, or move further afield, overcoming their dislike to alluvial soil, or retrace their steps and rove once more in the infertile uplands of the Chota Nagpur Plateau." The outward movement has been still further accelerated during the last ten years, but it is noticeable that the Santals are now spreading southwards, as well as to the north and east, and that they are beginning to make their homes in purely alluvial tracts.

DISTRICT.	Number.	Increase since 1901.
Dinajpur	74,281	25,791
Malda	48,402	5,837
Rajshahi	13,867	7,186
Bogra	3,545	1,645
Total	139,995	40,448
Jalpaiguri	19,639	9,077
Darjeeling	3,641	880
Total	23,280	9,757
Purnea	20,453	14,820
Rangpur	5,371	1,528
Rihagajpur	18,699	6,960
Total	42,523	23,308
Burdwan	27,375	13,353
Birbhum	24,982	2,370
Murshidabad	14,933	5,362
Hooghly	2,000	1,231
Total	72,593	20,396

In Purnea, for example, there has been an increase of nearly 15,000, while 2,000 are now found in Hooghly and over 5,000 in Rangpur. The districts of the Barind contain 140,000, and the tea-garden districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling 23,000. Over 42,000 have found their way to other northern districts, while more than 72,000 are found to the south-east in four districts of the Burdwan Division. The marginal statement shows the actual number enumerated in the districts included in each of these groups and the increase since 1901. There is but little emigration to the east, the districts of Manbhum, Hazaribagh and Monghyr containing only 8,000 persons born in the Sonthal

Parganas.

433. The movements of the people in Sambalpur are unique in character,

OTHER DISTRICTS OF THE CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.

so far as the province of Bihar and Orissa is concerned, for there is a large outflow to the Central Provinces. Out of the 174,000 emigrants, nearly 100,000 are found in the Central Provinces, 18,000 being enumerated in Raipur. In return, however, Sambalpur receives only 19,000 from the Central Provinces, the balance against it being thus 81,000. There is also a heavy drain owing to the movements of cultivators and labourers to the Orissa

States, which receive 56,000, but return only 16,000 to Sambalpur. Of the emigrants from Ranchi, 199,000 are found in the tea gardens of Assam and Jalpaiguri; the number in the latter district has risen by 19,000 since 1901. Of the remaining emigrants, 39,000 have, as already stated, crossed the border to the sparsely populated State of Gangpur, while 5,000 were enumerated in the Central Provinces States. The volume of migration to and from Palamau is small. It loses to the Central Provinces States, especially Jashpur, and also to Mirzapur in the United Provinces, the aggregate loss being 7,000. It gains exactly the same number, however, from Gaya. The interchange of population is even smaller in the case of Angul, which loses to the Orissa States, and more especially to Athmallik: all but 2,000 of its emigrants were enumerated in the Feudatory States. The last of the districts to be mentioned is Singhbhum, in which emigration has been stimulated by the opening of the railway. There has been an increase of 42,000 immigrants, 9,000 of which is accounted for by the rise in the number of coolies enumerated in Assam. That province contains one-fifth of the emigrants, while nearly two-fifths have made their way into the adjoining States of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar.

434. Special statistics which were compiled for the most numerous

CONSTITUTION OF THE IMMIGRANT
POPULATION OF CALCUTTA.

castes among the immigrants to Calcutta throw an interesting light on the character of its foreign-born population. Their aggregate number is 290,000, and of the 24 districts from which they are drawn, nine are in Bengal, nine in Bihar and Orissa, four in United Provinces and two in Rajputana. The area covered is large, and the figures may be taken as typical of the immigrant population. There are only two females to every five males: two-thirds of the latter are actual workers, but only one-fourth of the females are actually engaged in any occupation. Prostitutes alone account for one-fourth of the female workers, and their number is equal to one-seventh of the female immigrants of adult age. Altogether 15 per cent. of both sexes are under 15 years of age. Half the women and two-thirds of the men are adults, *i.e.*, aged 15 to 40: at this age period there are three males to every female. Trade engages the energies of 19 per cent. of the male workers, while 14 per cent. are employed in domestic service, 13 per cent. are day-labourers and 7 per cent. are clerks. Domestic service accounts for the largest proportion of female workers, *viz.*, 42 per cent., and then come prostitutes with 25 per cent. Brahmans represent nearly one-fifth of the total number of immigrants, and the Kayasths are the next largest caste, representing about one-seventh. The aggregate of the three trading castes of Agarwala, Mahesri and Subarnabanik is equal to only 5 per cent., and is exceeded by that returned for four of the lower castes, *viz.*, Chamar, Chasi Kaibartta, Goala and Kahar. The returns for the Brahmans show to what an extent the absence of home surroundings loosens the ties of orthodoxy and tradition, for of the male workers one-fifth are traders and one-seventh are clerks—there are nearly as many Brahman clerks as there are Kayasths. Four per cent. of the priestly class are day-labourers or coolies, and only 9 per cent. returned priesthood as their occupation or means of livelihood.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—IMMIGRATION (ACTUAL FIGURES).

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION WHERE ENUMER- ATED.	BORN IN (000'S OMITTED).																	
	District (or Natural Division).			Contiguous districts in Province.			Other parts of Province.			Apart from parts of other Provinces, etc.			Non-contiguous parts of other Pro- vince, etc.			Outside India.		
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
BENGAL	44,335	22,425	21,910	—	—	—	—	—	—	381	195	186	1,458	1,104	354	131	79	62
WEST BENGAL	8,026	3,989	4,037	73	33	40	11	7	4	110	54	56	246	178	68	3	2	1
Burdwan	1,359	678	681	86	37	49	11	6	5	39	20	19	43	39	4	6	5	1
Birbhum	871	435	436	26	10	16	3	2	1	28	15	14	7	5	2	11	1	1
Bankura	1,092	549	543	31	7	24	12	4	8	12	4	8	27	19	8	7	6	1
Midnapore	2,746	1,370	1,376	23	10	13	4	2	2	17	7	10	31	21	10	3	2	1
Hooghly	904	448	456	109	50	59	8	4	4	—	—	—	69	53	16	33	28	5
Howrah	753	373	380	70	39	31	10	7	3	—	—	—	109	79	30	1	2	2
CENTRAL BENGAL	7,072	3,580	3,492	293	170	123	59	44	15	17	9	8	621	490	131	16	13	3
94-Parganas	2,032	1,030	1,002	138	78	60	19	12	7	—	—	—	242	183	59	24	2	4
Calcutta	257	137	120	104	58	46	179	115	64	—	—	—	344	278	66	13	10	3
Nadia	1,545	775	770	49	20	29	6	3	3	—	—	—	17	14	3	2	1	1
Murshidabad	1,296	639	657	41	17	24	5	3	2	15	8	7	14	11	3	16	14	2
Jessore	1,698	871	827	50	23	27	4	2	2	—	—	—	6	5	1	75	57	18
NORTH BENGAL	9,805	4,985	4,820	160	95	65	21	15	6	202	106	96	431	309	122	112	64	48
Rajshahi	1,385	698	687	150	87	63	10	7	3	—	—	—	35	23	12	14	12	6
Dinajpur	1,490	770	720	35	19	16	18	12	6	7	3	—	136	95	41	2	18	12
Jaipur	637	337	300	33	18	15	25	15	10	3	2	1	168	96	72	36	22	14
Darjeeling	148	72	76	3	1	2	3	2	1	10	5	5	27	18	9	74	49	24
Rangpur	2,207	1,129	1,078	49	26	23	40	24	16	1	2	—	88	75	13	5	4	1
Bogra	921	485	436	28	15	13	7	4	1	—	—	—	27	19	8	2	1	1
Pabna	1,364	679	685	34	19	15	5	4	1	—	—	—	25	21	4	16	12	4
Madda	885	434	451	35	17	18	4	3	1	55	28	27	24	16	8	55	54	5
Cooch Behar	538	280	258	24	11	13	7	5	2	2	1	1	21	19	2	58	54	4
EAST BENGAL	18,719	9,458	9,261	88	44	42	9	5	4	52	27	25	180	127	53	17	13	4
Khulna	1,312	679	633	47	25	22	3	2	1	—	—	—	4	3	1	1	1	1
Dacca	2,846	1,403	1,443	64	32	32	10	5	5	—	—	—	39	32	7	6	5	1
Mymensingh	4,365	2,228	2,137	64	30	34	7	4	1	12	6	6	77	60	17	2	18	14
Faridpur	2,025	1,018	1,007	79	42	37	5	3	2	—	—	—	12	10	2	11	10	5
Backergunge	2,368	1,198	1,170	39	20	19	16	14	2	—	—	—	5	4	1	1	1	1
Tippura	2,359	1,204	1,155	40	20	20	3	2	1	8	4	4	10	8	2	9	7	5
Noakhali	1,279	633	646	12	6	6	10	6	4	—	—	—	7	6	1	1	1	1
Chittagong	1,459	710	749	5	3	2	6	4	2	8	4	4	7	5	2	3	3	1
Chittagong Hill Tracts	148	78	70	4	3	1	1	1	—	3	2	—	3	2	—	55	53	2
Hill Tippera	148	71	77	45	21	24	2	1	1	26	14	12	7	4	3	12	10	2

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—IMMIGRATION (ACTUAL FIGURES).

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION WHERE RES- IDENTIFIED.	BORN IN (000'S OMITTED).																		
	District (or Natural Division).			Contiguous districts in Province.			Other parts of Province.			Contiguous parts of other Province, etc.			Non-contiguous parts of other Province, etc.			Outside India.			
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
BIHAR AND ORISSA	37,986	18,585	19,401	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	257	116	139	152	97	55	40	15	25
NORTH BIHAR	13,792	6,713	7,079	162	72	90	7	4	3	68	29	39	37	23	14	36	12	24	
Bara	2,243	1,093	1,191	20	4	16	13	8	5	23	6	17	3	2	1	10	1	9	
Chhapra	1,813	900	913	51	21	30	2	1	1	24	12	12	4	3	1	14	2	6	
Muzaffarpur	2,772	1,335	1,437	59	18	41	2	1	1	—	—	—	4	3	1	8	2	6	
Darbhanga	2,843	1,388	1,455	68	18	50	6	4	2	—	—	—	4	3	1	8	2	6	
Bhagalpur	2,003	992	1,011	100	42	58	20	14	6	—	—	—	13	8	5	3	1	2	
Purnea	1,791	899	892	92	49	43	74	50	24	13	6	7	16	10	6	3	2	1	
SOUTH BIHAR	7,609	3,753	3,856	104	41	63	2	1	1	30	10	20	21	13	8	17	14	3	
Patna	1,517	771	746	81	31	50	8	5	4	—	—	—	9	6	3	11	1	1	
Gaya	2,098	1,029	1,069	55	18	37	2	14	6	—	—	—	5	3	2	12	9	3	
Sheikhpur	1,805	886	919	28	7	21	2	1	1	26	7	19	4	3	1	1	9	1	
Munghyr	2,040	1,007	1,033	79	27	52	6	4	2	—	—	—	7	3	2	3	2	1	
ORISSA	4,128	1,986	2,140	26	7	19	2	14	6	7	3	4	25	13	12	2	1	1	
Cuttack	2,076	991	1,085	26	6	20	7	5	2	—	—	—	7	4	3	7	4	3	
Balasore	1,073	492	581	21	7	14	7	5	2	8	3	3	24	17	7	10	4	3	
Puri	880	489	491	27	9	18	12	8	4	5	2	3	10	6	4	7	4	3	
CHOTA NAAGPUR PLATEAU.	11,942	5,901	6,041	180	89	101	21	14	7	153	77	76	70	48	22	11	7	4	
Hazaribagh	1,247	606	639	34	16	18	3	3	1	—	—	—	4	3	1	12	9	3	
Ranchi	1,354	660	694	19	11	8	9	6	3	9	5	4	4	3	1	2	1	1	
Palamu	661	328	333	21	11	10	7	4	3	3	2	1	2	1	1	5	4	1	
Manbhum	1,405	706	699	45	19	26	36	20	10	23	14	9	38	24	14	2	1	1	
Singbhum	644	320	324	26	9	17	9	6	3	6	3	3	9	6	4	13	8	5	
South Parganas	1,776	853	891	50	20	30	14	9	5	29	11	18	13	8	5	104	64	40	
Angul	181	90	91	11	4	7	18	16	2	5	2	3	2	1	1	10	6	4	
Sambalpur	701	346	355	16	6	10	3	2	1	14	6	8	10	6	4	13	1	3	
Orissa Feudatory States	3,497	1,740	1,757	229	106	123	10	5	4	47	23	24	13	8	5	—	—	—	
Chota Nagpur States	130	64	66	18	8	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	1	—	—	—	
SIKKIM	58	29	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	1	8	7	1	26	14	12

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—EMIGRATION (ACTUAL FIGURES).

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION OF BIRTH.	ENUMERATED IN (000'S OMITTED).																	
	DISTRICT OR NATURAL DIVISION.			CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS IN PROVINCE.			OTHER PARTS OF PROVINCE.			CONTIGUOUS PARTS OF OTHER PROVINCE, ETC.			NON-CONTIGUOUS PARTS OF OTHER PROVINCE, ETC.			OUTSIDE INDIA.		
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
BENGAL	44,335	22,425	21,910	...	...	...	...	...	...	314	186	128	239	169	70	31	23	8
WEST BENGAL	8,026	3,989	4,037	232	141	91	12	7	5	83	43	40	88	54	34	'01	'01	...
Burdwan	1,359	676	681	62	29	42	35	21	14	7	3	4	22	14	8	'003	'003	...
Birbhum	871	435	436	26	11	15	7	4	3	12	4	4	5	3	2	...	...	...
Bankura	1,092	549	543	104	50	54	15	9	6	26	10	8	30	19	11	...	...	...
Midnapore	2,748	1,370	1,376	89	49	40	37	23	14	29	12	17	16	8	8	...	...	...
Hoochly	904	448	454	84	43	41	51	25	10	...	...	...	14	10	4	'002	'009	...
Howrah	753	373	380	30	17	13	2	1	1	...	...	...	8	5	3	'005	'003	...
CENTRAL BENGAL	7,072	3,580	3,492	194	95	99	35	22	13	9	4	5	80	36	24	'5	'5	'003
24 Parganas	2,032	1,030	1,002	122	62	60	5	3	2	...	...	...	12	7	5	'004	'004	...
Calcutta	257	137	120	48	25	23	10	5	5	...	...	...	30	16	12	5	5	'003
Nadia	1,545	775	770	93	47	46	36	22	13	...	...	...	6	4	2	...	...	...
Murshidabad	1,296	639	657	74	34	40	16	10	4	8	3	3	9	5	4	...	...	...
Jessore	1,698	871	827	51	25	26	18	13	5	...	...	...	4	3	1	...	...	...
NORTH BENGAL	9,805	4,985	4,820	46	25	21	7	5	2	60	31	29	17	12	5	...	...	...
Rajshahi	1,385	696	687	33	16	17	3	2	1	...	...	...	3	2	1	...	...	...
Dinajpur	1,490	770	720	16	7	9	2	1	1	3	1	2	3	2	1	...	...	...
Faizpur	637	337	300	17	7	10	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...
Darjeeling	148	70	78	3	1	2	1	1	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	...	...	...
Rangpur	2,207	1,129	1,078	42	21	21	2	1	1	16	9	7	18	12	6	...	...	...
Bogra	921	465	456	22	11	11	2	1	1	...	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...
Pabna	1,364	679	685	52	29	23	32	19	12	...	...	...	18	11	7	...	...	...
Mahla	886	434	451	21	11	10	2	1	1	10	8	5	2	1	1	...	...	...
Cooch Behar	538	290	248	32	17	15	6	3	2	15	8	7	2	1	1	...	...	...
EAST BENGAL	18,719	9,458	9,261	112	62	50	68	53	15	79	56	23	120	93	27	'5	'5	...
Khulna	1,312	672	640	33	16	16	5	3	2	...	...	...	13	1	2	...	...	...
Dacca	2,846	1,403	1,443	87	45	42	63	49	14	...	...	...	27	20	7	'002	'009	...
Mymensingh	4,365	2,225	2,140	86	44	42	10	8	2	21	11	10	40	25	17	'01	'01	...
Faridpur	2,025	1,018	1,007	56	28	28	21	10	5	...	...	...	5	3	2	'003	'008	...
Backergunge	2,368	1,189	1,179	29	17	12	12	9	3	...	...	...	3	2	1	'01	'01	...
Tippura	2,369	1,204	1,164	73	38	35	5	4	1	13	6	7	5	3	2	2	2	...
Noakhali	1,279	635	644	37	20	17	8	7	1	31	20	3	33	21	12	'1	'1	...
Chittagong	1,489	710	779	13	9	4	9	7	1	...	...	...	47	28	19	...	...	...
Chittagong Hill Tracts	148	79	70	1	1	1	02	01	01	2	1	1	001	001	00	...	...	...
Hill Tippura	148	71	77	1	1	1	012	007	006	...	...	...	18	12	6	...	...	...

* The figures for contiguous districts of Burma are not available. The figures for Bengal in columns 14-16 include 41,399 emigrants (30,824 males and 10,575 females) who did not state the district in which they were born. There in columns 17-19 include 30,024 persons (21,820 males and 8,204 females) enumerated outside India (as noted below) who were returned as born in Bengal, but whose district of birth was not returned. All of these are, therefore, left out of account in the figures for individual districts.

	Total.	Male.	Female.		Total.	Male.	Female.
1. Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	1	1	...	10. Mauritius	19,601	13,355	6,246
2. Basutoland	4	4	...	11. Natal	442	287	155
3. Cape of Good Hope	6	6	...	12. Northern Rhodesia	4	4	...
4. Ceylon	562	407	155	13. Southern	24	22	2
5. Federated Malay States	2,069	2,784	375	14. Scotland	20	20	...
6. Fiji	2,641	1,801	840	15. Seychelles	11	7	4
7. Hongkong	25	21	4	16. Straits Settlements	2,800	2,971	329
8. Johore	312	208	104	17. Transvaal	14	12	2
9. Malta	3	3	...	18. Uganda	8	8	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—EMIGRATION (ACTUAL FIGURES).

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISIONS OF BIRTH.	ENUMERATED IN (000% OMITTED)—																	
	DISTRICT OR NATURAL DIVISION.			CONTIGUOUS DISTRICTS IN PROVINCE.			OTHER PARTS OF PROVINCE.			CONTIGUOUS PARTS OF OTHER PROVINCE, ETC.			NON-CONTIGUOUS PARTS OF OTHER PROVINCE, ETC.			OUTSIDE INDIA.		
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	37,986	18,585	19,401	...	...	...	...	...	...	709	375	334	1,191	845	346	16	11	5
NORTH BIHAR ...	13,792	6,713	7,079	116	47	69	12	9	3	152	89	63	302	261	41	'02	'02	...
Barran ...	2,243	1,052	1,191	44	24	20	16	14	4	50	15	35	171	150	21	'02	'02	...
Champaran ...	1,813	900	913	17	5	12	3	2	1	7	3	4	20	19	1	...	...	...
Muzaffarpur ...	2,772	1,388	1,436	88	23	85	22	16	6	...	...	...	85	74	11	'002	'001	...
Darbhanga ...	2,643	1,358	1,457	92	33	60	32	23	9	...	...	...	52	47	5	'001	'001	...
Idangpore ...	2,003	992	1,011	126	37	60	2	1	1	...	...	...	39	26	13	'001	'001	...
Purnea ...	1,791	899	892	8	4	4	17	11	6	25	13	12	4	3	1	...	...	...
SOUTH BIHAR ...	7,609	3,753	3,856	156	70	86	77	41	36	28	5	23	384	276	108	'02	'02	...
Patna ...	1,517	771	746	83	20	43	17	10	7	...	...	...	94	65	29	'01	'01	...
Gaya ...	2,098	1,039	1,060	75	29	46	31	13	16	...	...	...	99	73	26	'007	'007	...
Shahabad ...	1,808	886	919	24	10	14	25	16	9	26	4	23	100	70	30	'003	'003	...
Monohyr ...	2,040	1,007	1,032	113	42	71	32	18	14	...	...	...	94	70	24	...	...	...
ORISSA ...	4,128	1,988	2,140	64	27	37	8	6	2	14	8	6	145	121	24	'01	'01	...
Cuttack ...	2,076	991	1,085	59	26	33	6	4	2	...	...	...	107	88	19	'01	'01	...
Balasore ...	1,023	492	531	28	9	19	2	1	1	9	3	6	33	30	3	...	...	...
Puri ...	980	499	491	24	7	17	1	0	1	'04	'03	'01	10	8	2	'001	'001	...
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU ...	11,942	5,901	6,041	81	29	52	'2	'1	'1	213	105	108	661	355	306	...	...	...
Hazaribagh ...	1,247	608	639	53	22	21	3	2	1	...	...	...	88	53	35	...	...	...
Ranchi ...	1,354	690	664	69	33	36	12	6	6	5	3	2	230	122	107	...	...	...
Palamu ...	661	328	333	13	5	8	4	2	2	10	6	4	10	5	5	...	...	...
Manbhum ...	1,405	708	697	25	7	18	3	2	1	23	9	14	63	37	26	...	...	...
Singbhum ...	644	320	324	69	32	37	3	2	1	6	3	3	30	15	15	...	...	...
South Parganas ...	1,776	885	891	48	20	28	3	2	1	119	60	59	156	83	74	...	...	...
Angul ...	181	90	91	19	8	11	6	4	2	...	...	...	11	7	4	...	...	...
Sambalpur ...	701	346	355	56	27	29	25	13	6	31	15	16	84	44	40	...	...	...
Orissa Feudatory States ...	3,497	1,740	1,757	61	19	42	'04	'08	'03	7	3	...	7	4	3	...	...	...
Chota Nagpur States ...	130	64	66	3	1	2	'005	'003	'001	...	...	...	15	6	9	...	...	...
SIKKIM ...	58	29	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1	2	'4	'2	'2	...	...	...

The figures in columns 17 to 19 against Bihar and Orissa include 15,711 persons (10,866 males and 4,845 females) emigrated outside India (as noted below) whose district of birth is not known and who are, therefore, left out of account in the figures for individual districts:—

	Total.	Male.	Female.		Total.	Male.	Female.
1. Cape of Good Hope ...	190	179	11	4. Scotland ...	5	5	...
2. Natal ...	15,026	9,749	5,277	5. Transvaal ...	487	420	67
3. Orange Free State ...	3	2	1				

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—PROPORTIONAL MIGRATION TO AND FROM EACH DISTRICT.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER PER MILLE OF ACTUAL POPULATION OF—						NUMBER OF FEMALES TO 100 MALES.			
	IMMIGRANTS.			EMIGRANTS.			IMMIGRANTS.		EMIGRANTS.	
	Total.	From contiguous districts.	From other places.	Total.	To contiguous districts.	To other places.	From contiguous districts.	From other places.	To contiguous districts.	To other places.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BENGAL	43	8	35	13	7	6	95	34	69	40
WEST BENGAL	52	21	31	49	37	12	110	39	72	62
Burdwan	117	41	36	82	45	37	116	37	374	63
Birbhum	69	36	11	54	41	13	143	48	154	80
Bachara	41	37	4	154	114	40	226	37	93	39
Midnapore	27	14	13	61	42	19	131	49	93	73
Hoojly	171	100	71	137	77	60	116	34	97	43
Howrah	201	74	127	43	33	10	80	39	76	63
CENTRAL BENGAL	125	39	86	37	25	12	74	27	105	64
24-Parganas	165	37	108	57	30	7	78	33	96	72
Calcutta	714	110	598	98	33	45	78	30	90	77
Nadia	45	30	16	84	36	26	144	37	97	57
Murshidabad	55	41	14	78	60	19	127	37	121	70
Jessore	34	28	6	42	29	13	122	37	122	24
NORTH BENGAL	86	34	52	12	10	2	80	45	89	46
Rajshahi	64	31	30	26	22	4	68	48	101	59
Dinajpur	117	22	92	14	11	3	91	59	184	55
Jaipur	294	41	253	23	21	2	87	71	150	55
Darjeeling	441	42	392	39	35	14	83	74	81	27
Rangpur	75	31	34	26	24	2	92	39	94	36
Bogra	64	39	35	26	23	3	107	44	103	67
Pabna	45	34	21	72	37	35	77	21	80	69
Mahla	118	90	28	41	27	4	100	45	95	58
Cooch Behar	93	45	48	61	57	4	117	19	90	85
EAST BENGAL	16	7	9	20	10	10	94	28	62	29
Khulna	40	34	6	29	24	5	95	13	114	40
Dacca	39	22	17	60	29	31	94	22	57	32
Mytenshah	36	17	19	35	24	11	69	29	94	62
Fardpur	45	37	8	38	28	12	84	25	68	34
Backergunge	25	16	9	19	12	7	40	17	71	37
Tippes	25	20	5	39	35	4	69	23	70	20
Chittagong	18	10	8	37	28	9	111	31	48	6
Chittagong Hill Tracts	12	4	8	66	60	6	56	43	19	4
Hill Tippera	41	31	10	6	5	1	18	35	87	87
	356	214	42	6	5	1	60	69	103	43
BIHAR AND ORISSA	12	7	5	49	18	31	118	72	89	41
NORTH BIHAR	22	16	6	41	19	22	127	103	97	16
Surat	21	19	2	124	41	83	238	73	139	16
Champaran	50	39	11	25	15	19	127	130	200	11
Munshapur	26	21	5	68	31	37	223	149	276	18
Darbhanga	30	23	7	60	31	29	277	106	181	20
Bhagalpur	64	47	17	78	59	19	186	52	119	59
Purnea	100	55	47	19	16	3	90	56	100	39
SOUTH BIHAR	20	17	3	83	24	59	164	57	146	45
Patna	57	30	7	108	39	69	180	35	215	48
Gaya	28	25	3	95	35	60	208	56	159	47
Sehahad	33	27	4	95	38	57	275	57	224	47
Monghyr	44	37	7	112	53	59	192	53	170	44
ORISSA	14	8	6	56	19	37	254	86	126	12
Cuttack	16	12	4	82	28	54	219	81	126	23
Balasore	31	28	3	69	36	33	192	42	129	14
Puri	42	32	10	35	24	11	194	63	241	23
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	35	28	7	77	24	53	107	47	120	56
Hazaribagh	32	37	5	112	41	71	115	34	139	64
Ranchi	24	15	9	220	35	185	180	60	104	86
Palaman	36	34	4	55	35	20	89	57	110	79
Manbhum	92	44	48	75	22	43	141	37	189	98
Singbhum	72	46	26	152	108	44	176	88	114	98
Seothal Parganas	57	43	15	171	87	84	154	59	106	90
Angul	94	84	10	106	97	9	167	24	136	60
Ranbajpur	58	40	18	233	117	116	151	74	106	87
Orissa States	79	75	4	20	18	2	112	80	210	67
Chota Nagpur States	126	130	6	13	2	11	114	59	113	123
SIKKIM	339	34	305	39	34	5	92	60	109	66

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV—MIGRATION BETWEEN NATURAL DIVISIONS (ACTUAL FIGURES) COMPARED WITH 1901.

BENGAL.

NATURAL DIVISIONS IN WHICH BORN.	NUMBERS ENUMERATED (000'S OMITTED) IN NATURAL DIVISIONS.				
	West Bengal.	Central Bengal.	North Bengal.	East Bengal.	TOTAL.
1	2	3	4	5	6
TOTAL ... { 1911 1901 ...	442 154	1,006 487	926 318	310 194	2,683 1,153
West Bengal ... { 1911 1901 ...	[n,020] [7,895]	222 191	6 7	2 5	244 204
Central Bengal ... { 1911 1901 ...	75 60	[7,072] [6,977]	96 74	59 82	230 195
North Bengal ... { 1911 1901 ...	2 1	20 21	[9,800] [5,891]	22 26	54 47
East Bengal ... { 1911 1901 ...	7 5	94 75	79 43	[18,719] [16,707]	179 123
Outside the Province { 1911 1901 ...	358 29	629 200	745 194	214 101	1,976 584

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

NATURAL DIVISIONS IN WHICH BORN.	NUMBERS ENUMERATED (000'S OMITTED) IN NATURAL DIVISIONS.				
	North Bihar.	South Bihar.	Orissa.	Chota Nagpur Plateau.	TOTAL.
1	2	3	4	5	6
TOTAL ... { 1911 1901 ...	311 262	158 154	60 51	438 284	964 751
North Bihar ... { 1911 1901 ...	[13,792] [13,553]	99 75	302 528	29 30	128 108
South Bihar ... { 1911 1901 ...	131 119	[7,500] [7,556]	776 960	101 88	233 200
Orissa ... { 1911 1901 ...	109 95	141 197	[4,198] [4,032]	71 69	72 62
Chota Nagpur Plateau { 1911 1901 ...	28 25	17 16	24 20	[11,042] [9,493]	81 52
Outside Province ... { 1911 1901 ...	145 134	59 52	3 2	224 104	450 331

The figures within brackets show the number born in and enumerated in each natural division.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—MIGRATION BETWEEN THE PROVINCE AND OTHER PARTS OF INDIA.

Total.

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CHAPTER III.—BIRTH PLACE.

PROVINCE OR STATE.	IMMIGRANTS TO—					EMIGRANTS FROM—					EXCESS (+) OR DEFICIENCY (-) OF IMMIGRANTS OVER EMIGRANTS.			
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.			Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.			Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.	
	1911.	1911.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	1911.	1911.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	1911.	1911.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Ajmer-Merwara	653	143	796	464	+ 332	289	112	401	235	+ 6	+ 364	+ 31	+ 395	+ 69
Andamans and Nicobars	80	13	93	158	+ 65	1,279	898	3,163	2,457	+ 293	+ 1,199	+ 573	+ 2,073	+ 2,399
Assam	87,089	3,142	70,231	58,296	+ 11,935	193,575	298,864	502,439	503,576	+ 39,366	+ 126,696	+ 205,722	+ 222,208	+ 455,350
Ditto State	221	29	241	...	+ 241	300	503	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Baluchistan	97	19	116	...	+ 116	122	62	185	...	+ 185	+ 26	+ 43	+ 69	...
Ditto (Agency Tracts)	19	...	19	...	+ 19	2	1	2	...	+ 2	+ 17	+ 1	+ 18	...
Baroda States	124	108	232	124	+ 98	231	150	482	916	+ 434	+ 208	+ 42	+ 250	+ 782
Bengal ... ..	...	105,333	...	...	...	...	1,353,943	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ditto States ... ..	...	61	...	...	...	...	18,429	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bihar and Orissa	1,248,401	...	...	...	...	132,400	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ditto States	3,970	...	...	...	...	11,984	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bombay (including Aden)	5,949	5,209	8,161	5,399	+ 2,762	6,377	870	7,353	5,402	+ 3,751	+ 438	+ 1,236	+ 898	+ 1,293
Ditto States	2,578	1,229	3,807	1,296	+ 2,511	497	350	877	...	...	+ 2,081	+ 649	+ 2,320	...
Burma	2,600	173	2,773	1,664	+ 1,109	135,766	8,292	144,168	154,998	+ 13,850	+ 33,156	+ 8,219	+ 141,375	+ 145,334
Central India Agency	3,161	2,610	5,771	25,116	+ 16,345	1,004	1,115	2,119	4,194	+ 4,077	+ 2,157	+ 2,495	+ 4,622	+ 16,930
Central Provinces and Berar	19,378	36,455	57,833	46,734	+ 11,099	2,442	93,674	102,316	44,650	+ 39,746	+ 15,836	+ 60,219	+ 44,383	+ 17,820
Ditto States	1,499	14,181	15,780	12,536	+ 3,244	2,256	29,984	32,180	...	...	+ 627	+ 15,743	+ 16,400	...
Coorg	8	2	8	5	+ 3	8	3	9	18	+ 9	+ 3	+ 3	+ 1	+ 13
Hyderabad	244	304	448	652	+ 248	717	77	734	290	+ 444	+ 473	+ 187	+ 288	+ 373
Kashmir	293	83	376	325	+ 51	131	79	310	186	+ 124	+ 165	+ 4	+ 166	+ 157
Madras (including Laccadives)	14,240	25,469	49,729	26,605	+ 23,034	6,237	1,401	7,938	9,324	+ 1,386	+ 7,708	+ 24,088	+ 41,791	+ 17,325
Ditto States	103	19	122	954	+ 832	196	27	183	...	...	+ 1,703	+ 51	+ 81	+ 17,325
Cochin	46	5	51	...	+ 51	22	25	47	...	...	+ 26	+ 22	+ 4	...
Travancore	54	25	79	...	+ 79	294	2	286	...	...	+ 70	+ 24	+ 56	...
Mysore	428	304	632	621	+ 11	413	59	472	415	+ 67	+ 19	+ 145	+ 160	+ 206
North-West Frontier Province	1,034	331	1,365	...	+ 1,365	272	22	294	...	...	+ 294	+ 162	+ 1,091	...
Ditto (Agencies and Tribal areas) ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	12	2	14	...	...	+ 14	+ 2	+ 14	...
Punjab	17,264	4,883	22,447	18,437	+ 4,010	2,780	1,151	4,971	7,074	+ 1,610	+ 12,374	+ 3,892	+ 17,476	+ 10,289
Ditto States	1,012	415	1,427	1,008	+ 419	239	254	493	...	...	+ 772	+ 161	+ 934	+ 29,688
Rajputana Agency	26,659	15,188	31,947	40,572	+ 11,375	1,332	308	1,133	884	+ 351	+ 25,923	+ 14,796	+ 50,719	+ 2,188
Sikkim	2,504	12	2,366	2,186	+ 1,178	2,002	189	2,341	...	...	+ 309	+ 177	+ 132	...
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	604,198	123,604	328,002	495,802	+ 23,199	25,859	105,061	130,720	128,991	+ 1,309	+ 378,539	+ 18,743	+ 297,253	+ 267,949
Ditto States	1,498	439	1,937	1,187	+ 800	160	20	180	...	...	+ 1,338	+ 419	+ 1,757	...
Total British Territory	1,781,286	374,012	741,564	641,655	+ 99,909	530,595	1,849,487	992,738	868,584	+ 167,281	+ 1,250,691	- 1,475,475	+ 251,175	- 139,383
Total Native States	55,263	35,763	87,005	87,546	+ 541	21,992	51,546	43,126	...	...	+ 33,271	+ 15,379	+ 43,679	...
French Settlements	1,608	80	1,688	1,012	+ 674	...	...	...	10,999	+ 10,999	+ 1,606	+ 80	+ 1,686	+ 9,957
Portuguese Settlements	735	9	764	690	+ 74	...	...	...	...	...	+ 755	+ 9	+ 764	+ 690
India (unspecified)	108	44	152	...	+ 152	...	...	...	...	...	+ 108	+ 44	+ 152	...

The figures for 1901 refer to Bengal as constituted in that year.

* Excludes 34,510 persons born and enumerated in Sikkim.

† Figures for French and Portuguese settlements are not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—MIGRATION BETWEEN THE PROVINCE AND OTHER PARTS OF INDIA.

British Territory.

PROVINCE OR STATE.	IMMIGRANTS TO—					EMIGRANTS FROM—					EXCESS (+) OR DEFICIENCY (-) OF IMMIGRANTS OVER EMIGRANTS.			
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.			Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.			Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.	
	1911.	1911.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	1911.	1911.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	1911.	1911.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Ajmer-Merwara	630	141	791	443	+	348	380	113	401	...	+	281	+	290
Andaman and Nicobar	80	13	99	136	-	60	1,371	873	5,093	...	-	1,141	-	3,000
Assam	86,390	3,136	39,439	28,969	+	10,470	191,612	393,698	564,310	...	-	135,372	-	544,888
Ditto State	135	20	155	...	+	155	300	503	803	...	-	153	-	848
Baluchistan	97	15	112	...	+	112	133	62	185	...	-	26	-	73
Ditto (Agency Tracts)	19	...	19	...	+	19	2	1	3	...	+	17	+	16
Baroda States	124	99	223	109	+	114	333	150	482	...	-	208	-	330
Bengal ... ..	...	153,361	...	...	...	...	1,229,361	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ditto States ... ..	...	49	...	...	...	...	18,430	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bihar and Orissa	1,229,361	...	...	...	...	153,361	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ditto States	3,563	...	...	...	...	11,962	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bombay (including Aden)	3,923	1,882	7,806	5,246	+	2,560	6,347	767	7,104	...	-	424	+	702
Ditto States	2,475	849	3,324	1,382	+	2,042	495	862	...	...	+	1,960	+	2,461
Burma	2,596	133	2,721	1,646	+	1,105	134,989	8,329	143,377	...	-	122,889	-	160,638
Central India Agency	2,191	3,076	5,237	8,588	-	3,151	1,004	1,047	2,051	...	+	2,137	+	4,198
Central Provinces and Berar	18,010	19,743	37,759	24,736	+	13,023	8,540	93,785	97,325	...	+	14,476	-	29,565
Ditto States	1,599	7,883	9,482	7,196	+	7,287	2,332	22,291	31,345	...	-	632	-	22,061
Coorg	2	5	7	5	+	2	6	2	5	...	-	3	+	3
Hyderabad	244	193	437	643	+	206	717	17	734	...	-	472	+	297
Kashmir	292	81	374	322	+	52	131	79	210	...	+	132	+	164
Madras (including Laccadives)	13,170	16,796	29,965	20,271	+	9,694	6,537	436	6,963	...	+	8,633	+	23,002
Ditto States	103	19	122	355	-	143	166	27	163	...	-	92	-	61
Cochin	45	3	57	...	+	51	22	25	47	...	+	25	+	4
Travancore	54	26	70	...	+	70	124	2	236	...	+	70	+	56
Mysore	497	190	617	614	+	3	412	29	471	...	+	14	+	146
North-West Frontier Province	1,011	321	1,332	...	+	1,332	272	22	294	...	+	739	+	1,038
Ditto (Agencies and tribal areas) ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	2	14	...	+	12	+	14
Punjab	17,482	4,088	21,570	16,170	+	5,398	2,762	1,147	4,399	...	+	13,730	+	16,669
Ditto States	1,012	270	1,282	1,001	+	281	325	264	489	...	+	777	+	893
Rajputana Agency	35,744	13,622	49,366	37,924	+	11,471	735	398	1,134	...	+	35,008	+	48,388
Sikkim	3,354	...	3,354	2,187	+	1,179	3,002	...	3,241	...	+	302	+	125
United Provinces of Agra and Outh	299,078	123,104	391,882	485,737	+	28,855	25,578	104,993	130,571	...	+	274,000	+	391,111
Ditto States	1,480	437	1,917	1,020	+	897	160	20	180	...	+	1,320	+	1,737
Total British Territory	1,724,877	321,747	663,292	580,390	+ 82,902	527,613	1,833,249	977,530	...	...	+ 1,197,264	- 1,511,502	- 314,238	...
Total Native States	54,132	26,930	77,051	55,957	+ 21,094	21,978	50,825	42,401	...	...	+ 32,154	- 23,895	+ 34,650	...
French Settlements	1,606	79	1,685	1,019	+	673	...	...	...	...	+	1,606	+	1,685
Portuguese Settlements	732	9	741	671	+	70	...	...	...	...	+	732	+	741
India (unspecified)	100	44	140	...	+	140	...	...	...	...	+	100	+	140

The figures for 1901. refer to Bengal as constituted in that year.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—MIGRATION BETWEEN THE PROVINCE AND OTHER PARTS OF INDIA.

Native States.

PROVINCE OR STATE	IMMIGRANTS TO—					EMIGRANTS FROM—					EXCESS (+) OR DEFICIENCY (−) OF IMMIGRANTS OVER EMIGRANTS			
	Bengal	Bihar and Orissa	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa			Bengal	Bihar and Orissa	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa			Bengal	Bihar and Orissa	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	
	1911.	1911.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	1911.	1911.	1911.	1901.	Variation.	1911.	1911.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Ajmer-Merwara	2	2	5	22	17	38	14	72	—	—	+	2	+	2
Andaman and Nicobars	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Assam	30,799	7	30,600	19,307	+ 11,499	1,943	9,166	8,129	—	—	+	28,336	+	22,877
Ditto State	84	—	88	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	88	+	88
Bhuchlavan	—	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto (Agency Tracts)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Baroda States	—	3	3	36	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bengal	—	11,962	—	—	—	—	3,962	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto States	—	2	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bihar and Orissa	18,420	—	—	—	—	49	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto States	8	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bombay (including Aden)	26	319	345	162	+ 192	30	119	149	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto States	103	380	483	8	+ 470	3	12	14	—	—	+	101	+	409
Burma	4	19	22	18	4	771	—	771	—	—	—	767	—	749
Central India Agency	—	554	554	14,728	14,194	—	68	68	—	—	—	—	—	—
Central Provinces and Berar	1,342	18,712	30,074	21,098	+ 1,024	2	8,869	4,891	—	—	+	1,360	+	15,183
Ditto States	—	6,208	6,298	12,341	7,042	4	632	537	—	—	—	4	+	6,661
Coorg	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hyderabad	—	11	11	19	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kashmir	—	2	2	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Madras (including Laccadives)	1,070	18,894	19,764	8,424	+ 12,340	—	975	975	—	—	+	1,070	+	18,789
Ditto States	—	—	—	689	689	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cochin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Travancore	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mysore	1	14	15	7	8	1	—	1	—	—	+	33	+	33
North-West Frontier Province	28	30	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto (agencies and tribal areas)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Punjab	82	797	879	267	+ 612	28	44	72	—	—	+	34	+	807
Ditto States	—	45	45	4	41	4	—	4	—	—	—	4	+	41
Rajputana Agency	—	1,636	2,461	2,647	196	1	—	1	—	—	+	914	+	2,440
Sikkim	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	4,820	1,700	6,320	12,076	6,756	81	68	149	—	—	+	4,339	+	6,171
Ditto States	18	2	20	117	97	—	—	—	—	—	+	18	+	30
Total British Territory—	56,409	52,265	78,272	61,265	+ 17,007	2,982	16,238	15,209	—	—	+	53,427	+	63,063
Total Native States	1,131	8,833	9,954	31,569	+ 21,635	14	721	725	—	—	+	1,117	+	9,229
French Settlements	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	1
Portuguese Settlements	—	—	—	19	4	—	—	—	—	—	+	23	—	23
India (unspecified)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

The figures for 1901 refer to Bengal as constituted in that year.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—MIGRATION TO AND FROM BORDER DISTRICTS, BENGAL.

Enumerated in—	Born in the districts of the contiguous Province of—	POPULATION.			Born in—	Enumerated in the districts of the contiguous Province of—	POPULATION.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.			Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
MIDNAPORE	Bihar and Orissa	26,408	14,610	11,798	MIDNAPORE	Bihar and Orissa	20,194	8,258	11,939
	Contiguous Districts	15,682	8,385	7,297		Contiguous Districts	19,206	7,618	11,594
	Balassore	9,379	5,028	4,351		Balassore	8,163	3,814	4,349
	Manbhum	811	408	403		Manbhum	3,439	2,077	1,362
	Singbhum	5,672	3,354	2,318		Singbhum	7,604	2,791	4,813
	Other Districts	10,546	8,325	2,221		Other Districts	958	643	315
	Bihar and Orissa States	1,589	804	785		Bihar and Orissa States	10,126	5,065	5,061
	Mayurbhanj	1,058	749	309		Mayurbhanj	9,938	4,972	4,965
	Other States	531	56	476		Other States	188	92	96
BANKURA	Bihar and Orissa	13,618	4,960	8,658	BANKURA	Bihar and Orissa	28,802	19,379	9,423
	Manbhum	11,149	3,687	7,462		Manbhum	25,533	17,544	7,989
	Other Districts	1,869	1,273	696		Other Districts	3,269	1,835	1,434
BURDWAN	Bihar and Orissa	67,667	39,317	28,350	BURDWAN	Bihar and Orissa	10,511	4,867	5,644
	Contiguous Districts	38,932	20,410	18,522		Contiguous Districts	7,185	3,888	3,297
	Sonchal Parganas	27,378	15,276	12,102		Sonchal Parganas	3,539	1,421	2,118
	Manbhum	11,554	6,184	5,370		Manbhum	3,646	1,467	2,179
	Other Districts	28,935	18,907	10,028		Other Districts	3,326	1,979	1,347
BIRBHUM	Bihar and Orissa	32,977	16,030	16,947	BIRBHUM	Bihar and Orissa	14,114	5,532	8,582
	Sonchal Parganas	28,282	12,607	15,675		Sonchal Parganas	11,696	4,074	7,622
	Other Districts	4,695	3,423	1,272		Other Districts	2,418	1,458	960
MURSHIDABAD	Bihar and Orissa	23,811	13,978	9,833	MURSHIDABAD	Bihar and Orissa	13,791	6,245	7,546
	Sonchal Parganas	14,933	7,378	7,555		Sonchal Parganas	7,636	3,098	4,538
	Other Districts	8,878	6,600	2,278		Other Districts	6,155	3,147	2,998
MALDA	Bihar and Orissa	71,613	39,190	32,423	MALDA	Bihar and Orissa	17,432	8,063	9,369
	Contiguous Districts	55,317	28,163	27,154		Contiguous Districts	16,121	7,449	8,672
	Sonchal Parganas	48,402	24,975	23,427		Sonchal Parganas	6,824	3,144	3,680
	Purnea	6,915	3,190	3,725		Purnea	9,297	4,315	4,982
	Other Districts	16,296	11,022	5,274		Other Districts	1,311	604	707
DINAJPUR	Bihar and Orissa	132,568	81,175	51,393	DINAJPUR	Bihar and Orissa	4,337	2,200	2,137
	Purnea	7,243	3,566	3,677		Purnea	2,976	1,104	1,872
	Other Districts	125,325	77,609	47,716		Other Districts	1,361	1,096	265
JALPAIGURI	Bihar and Orissa	162,452	91,856	70,596	JALPAIGURI	Bihar and Orissa	1,753	943	810
	Purnea	3,282	1,779	1,503		Purnea	685	340	345
	Other Districts	159,170	90,077	69,093		Other Districts	1,068	603	465
	Assam	889	672	217		Assam	1,869	1,025	844
	Goalpara	320	189	131		Goalpara	1,818	994	824
	Other Districts	569	483	86		Other Districts	51	31	20

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—MIGRATION TO AND FROM BORDER DISTRICTS, *BENGAL—continued.*

Enumerated in—	Persons in the districts of the contiguous Province of—	POPULATION.			Born in—	Enumerated in the districts of the contiguous Province of—	POPULATION.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.			Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
DARJEELING	Bihar and Orissa	28,339	17,700	10,639	DARJEELING	Bihar and Orissa	743	530	213
	Purnea	7,305	4,078	3,227		Purnea	185	96	89
	Other Districts	21,034	13,622	7,412		Other Districts	558	434	124
	Sikkim	2,974	1,423	1,551		Sikkim	2,993	1,555	1,438
COOCH BEHAR	Assam	3,293	1,927	1,366	COOCH BEHAR	Assam	1,677	912	765
	Goalpara	2,615	1,351	1,264		Goalpara	1,526	795	731
	Other Districts	678	576	102		Other Districts	151	114	37
RANGPUR	Assam	1,780	1,144	636	RANGPUR	Assam	16,691	9,429	7,262
	Contiguous Districts	1,067	500	567		Contiguous Districts	15,882	8,727	7,155
	Goalpara	1,036	485	551		Goalpara	15,304	8,288	7,016
	Garo Hills	31	14	17		Garo Hills	578	339	239
	Other Districts	713	544	169		Other Districts	809	702	107
MYMENSINGH	Assam	13,065	6,483	6,582	MYMENSINGH	Assam	58,358	32,410	25,948
	Contiguous Districts	12,826	6,342	6,484		Contiguous Districts	21,485	11,455	10,030
	Garo Hills	797	480	317		Garo Hills	4,249	2,312	1,937
	Sylhet	12,029	5,862	6,167		Sylhet	17,216	9,340	7,876
	Other Districts	239	141	98		Other Districts	36,893	20,657	16,236
TIPPERA	Assam	8,372	3,460	4,912	TIPPERA	Assam	16,281	8,326	7,955
	Sylhet	8,187	3,371	4,816		Sylhet	15,153	7,349	7,804
	Other Districts	185	89	96		Other Districts	1,128	127	291
HILL TIPPERA	Assam	27,506	14,860	12,646	HILL TIPPERA	Assam	286	117	169
	Contiguous Districts	26,309	14,190	12,119		Contiguous Districts	271	104	165
	Sylhet	25,549	13,813	11,736		Sylhet	265	101	164
	Lushai Hills	760	377	383		Lushai Hills	6	0	1
	Other Districts	1,197	570	627		Other Districts	18	11	7
CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS	Assam	617	329	288	CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS	Assam	804	425	379
	Lushai Hills	452	205	247		Lushai Hills	803	454	379
	Other Districts	165	124	41		Other Districts	1	1	—
	Burma	28	16	12		Burma	—	—	—
	Northern Arakan	—	—	—		Northern Arakan	—	—	—
	Other Districts	28	16	12		Other Districts	—	—	—
CHITTAGONG	Burma	1,026	508	518	CHITTAGONG	Burma	63,968	30,261	3,707
	Akyab	845	409	436		Akyab	30,521	17,715	12,806
	Other Districts	181	99	82		Other Districts	33,447	12,546	901

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—MIGRATION TO AND FROM BORDER DISTRICTS, BIHAR AND ORISSA.

Enumerated in—	Born in the districts of the contiguous province of—	POPULATION.			Born in—	Enumerated in the districts of the contiguous province of—	POPULATION.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.			Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
PURNA	Bengal	20,819	10,175	10,644	PURNA	Bengal	27,281	14,418	12,863
	Contiguous Districts	13,143	5,760	7,383		Contiguous Districts	24,745	12,811	11,934
	Darjeeling	165	96	89		Darjeeling	7,305	4,076	3,229
	Jalpaiguri	685	269	416		Jalpaiguri	3,282	1,779	1,503
	Dinajpur	2,976	1,104	1,872		Dinajpur	7,243	3,566	3,677
	Malda	9,297	4,313	4,984		Malda	6,915	3,190	3,725
	Other Districts	7,676	4,413	3,263		Other Districts	2,536	1,307	729
SONTHAL PARGANAS	Bengal	34,006	14,280	19,726	SONTHAL PARGANAS	Bengal	245,903	128,118	117,785
	Contiguous Districts	29,695	11,067	18,628		Contiguous Districts	118,995	60,124	58,871
	Malda	6,824	3,144	3,680		Malda	48,402	24,073	24,329
	Murshidabad	7,636	3,926	3,710		Murshidabad	14,933	7,275	7,658
	Birbhum	11,696	4,074	7,622		Birbhum	28,282	12,607	15,675
	Burdwan	3,539	1,421	2,118		Burdwan	27,376	13,276	14,100
	Other Districts	4,311	2,713	1,598		Other Districts	126,908	67,964	58,944
MANBHUM	Bengal	67,373	40,609	26,764	MANBHUM	Bengal	31,602	13,795	17,807
	Contiguous Districts	32,618	21,110	11,508		Contiguous Districts	23,514	9,229	14,285
	Burdwan	3,646	1,467	2,179		Burdwan	11,554	5,134	6,420
	Bankura	25,533	17,366	8,167		Bankura	11,149	3,887	7,262
	Midnapore	3,439	2,077	1,362		Midnapore	811	408	403
	Other Districts	24,755	19,499	5,256		Other Districts	8,088	4,366	3,722
SINGHBHUM	Bengal	11,326	4,763	6,563	SINGHBHUM	Bengal	13,505	6,328	7,177
	Midnapore	7,604	2,721	4,883		Midnapore	5,672	2,304	3,368
	Other Districts	3,722	2,042	1,680		Other Districts	7,833	3,974	3,859
BALASORE	Bengal	9,044	3,419	5,625	BALASORE	Bengal	39,793	31,754	8,039
	Midnapore	8,163	3,314	4,849		Midnapore	9,379	3,623	5,756
	Other Districts	881	105	776		Other Districts	30,414	28,131	2,283
PURI	Madras	6,322	2,835	3,487	PURI	Madras	675	277	398
	Ganjam	5,558	2,417	3,141		Ganjam	42	31	11
	Other Districts	764	418	346		Other Districts	633	246	387
ANGUL	Madras	5,289	2,427	2,862	ANGUL	Madras			
	Ganjam	5,255	2,425	2,830		Ganjam			
	Other Districts	4	2	2		Other Districts			
SAMBALPUR	Central Provinces and Berar.	13,687	6,604	7,083	SAMBALPUR	Central Provinces and Berar.	86,388	45,767	40,621
	Rajpur	8,580	4,356	4,224		Rajpur	18,330	9,330	9,000
	Other Districts	5,107	2,248	2,859		Other Districts	68,058	36,437	31,621
	Central Provinces States	5,066	1,707	3,359		Central Provinces States	13,045	5,512	7,533
	Rajgarh	1,617	573	1,044					
	Other States	3,449	1,134	2,315					

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—MIGRATION TO AND FROM BORDER DISTRICTS, BIHAR AND ORISSA—concluded.

Enumerated in—	Born in the districts of the contiguous Province of—	POPULATION.			Born in—	Enumerated in the districts of the contiguous Province of—	POPULATION.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.			Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
RANCHI	Central Provinces States	923	511	412	RANCHI	Central Provinces States	5,218	2,688	2,530
	Jagpur	844	472	372					
	Other States	79	39	40					
PALAMAU	Central Provinces States	1,825	1,002	823	PALAMAU	Central Provinces States	7,254	4,188	3,066
	Bartola	1,797	983	814					
	Other States	28	19	9					
	United Provinces	1,577	877	700		United Provinces	3,112	1,542	1,570
	Mirzapur	996	470	526		Mirzapur	2,848	1,439	1,389
	Other Districts	581	407	174		Other Districts	264	83	181
SHAHABAD	United Provinces	28,035	8,450	19,585	SHAHABAD	United Provinces	30,267	6,393	23,874
	Contiguous Districts	25,754	6,974	18,780		Contiguous Districts	26,645	4,518	22,126
	Mirzapur	2,510	1,019	1,491		Mirzapur	4,839	1,391	3,448
	Benares	3,551	1,288	2,263		Benares	8,143	1,635	6,508
	Ghazipur	10,169	2,731	7,438		Ghazipur	8,509	700	7,809
	Balla	9,574	2,120	7,454		Balla	5,154	845	4,309
	Other Districts	2,281	1,476	805		Other Districts	3,622	1,874	1,748
SARAN	United Provinces	24,503	7,016	17,487	SARAN	United Provinces	53,099	17,080	36,019
	Contiguous Districts	22,511	4,153	18,358		Contiguous Districts	49,818	14,938	34,880
	Balla	3,496	2,209	1,287		Balla	6,286	657	5,629
	Gorakhpur	19,045	4,944	14,101		Gorakhpur	43,532	14,281	29,251
	Other Districts	1,992	1,368	624		Other Districts	3,281	2,142	1,139
CHAMPARAN	United Provinces	26,559	13,877	12,682	CHAMPARAN	United Provinces	7,102	3,059	4,043
	Gorakhpur	23,911	12,116	11,795		Gorakhpur	6,854	2,927	3,927
	Other Districts	2,648	1,761	887		Other Districts	248	132	116
ORISSA FEUDATORY STATES	Bengal	11,514	6,141	5,373	ORISSA FEUDATORY STATES	Bengal	3,680	2,093	1,587
	Midnapore	10,094	5,047	5,047		Midnapore	1,558	803	755
	Other Districts	1,720	1,094	626		Other Districts	2,092	1,290	802
	Madras	18,687	9,380	9,307		Madras	975	562	413
	Contiguous Districts	17,461	8,695	8,766		Contiguous Districts	47	38	11
	Ganjam	12,087	6,368	5,719		Ganjam	47	38	11
	Vizagapatam	5,374	2,312	3,062		Vizagapatam	47	38	11
	Other Districts	1,226	595	631		Other Districts	928	526	402
	Central Provinces and Berar.	18,674	9,287	9,387		Central Provinces and Berar.	2,762	1,260	1,502
	Rajpur	13,688	6,697	6,991		Rajpur	2,762	1,260	1,502
	Other Districts	4,986	2,590	2,396		Other Districts	—	—	—
	Central Provinces States	6,298	3,114	3,184		Central Provinces States	—	—	—
	Contiguous States	5,562	2,747	2,815					
	Balgarh	3,536	1,705	1,831					
	Jashpur	2,026	992	1,034					
	Other States	736	317	419					

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION.

PART I.—STATISTICAL.

435. Statistics for all religions are contained in Imperial Table VI, while Tables XVII and XVIII give figures for the denominations, races and ages of Christians. The following subsidiary tables, in which the statistics are illustrated by means of proportional figures, will be found at the end of this chapter.

Subsidiary Table I—Showing the general distribution of the population by religion.

Subsidiary Table II—Showing the strength of the main religions in each district and natural division at each of the last four censuses.

Subsidiary Table III—Showing the numbers and variations of Christians in each district and natural division.

Subsidiary Table IV—Showing the distribution of Christians by race and sect.

Subsidiary Table V—Showing the Christian races distributed by sect and the Christian sects distributed by race.

Subsidiary Table VI—Showing the distribution of the urban and rural population by religion in each natural division.

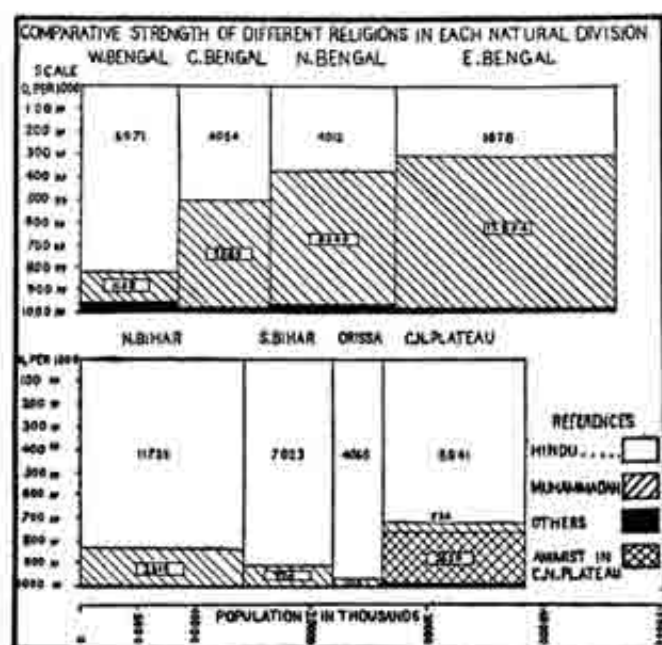
436. The general distribution of the people by religion at this and the last

RELIGION.	BENGAL.			BIHAR AND ORISSA.		
	Number.		Variation per cent., 1901— 1911.	Number.		Variation per cent., 1901— 1911.
	1911.	1901.		1911.	1901.	
Hindus	20,945,379	20,150,941	+ 3.9	21,749,018	20,559,099	+ 5.8
Musulmans	24,327,229	21,947,960	+ 10.4	3,693,439	3,540,301	+ 4.0
Animists	720,790	442,594	+ 63.1	2,720,209	2,281,414	+ 19.2
Buddhists	246,968	216,506	+ 14.0	1,927	342	+ 459.6
Christians	192,748	108,596	+ 77.7	368,262	172,498	+ 112.5
Jains	4,782	2,329	+ 105.8	4,028	2,626	+ 53.0
Brahmins	2,958	2,898	+ 2.0	940	818	+ 14.8
Sikhs	2,221	228	+ 882.4	2,226	81	+ 2740.6
Jews	1,908	1,914	+ .3	25	32	- 22.4
Confucians	1,048	178	+ 484.4	—	—	—
Parsis	611	358	+ 71.5	85	33	+ 157.6
Aryas	20	—	—	4,085	—	—
Others	—	48	—	770	2	+ 38,400

the other religions being but poorly represented. Animists, Buddhists and Christians, taken together, number only a little over 1,100,000, and the aggregate for all other religions is under 16,000. The distribution of religions in Bihar and Orissa is very different. Hindus form an overwhelming majority, representing 82.6 per cent. of the total population, and then come, *longo intervallo*, the Musalmans with 9.6 per cent. and Animists with 7 per cent. Christians account for over a quarter of million, or more than double the number found in Bengal, but no other religion has even 5,000 adherents.

437. The instructions regarding the entry of religion in the schedules were that the religion which each person returned was to be entered, and that when a person belonged to an aboriginal tribe and had no recognized religion (i.e., was not a Hindu, Musalman, Christian, Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Parsi, etc.), the name of the tribe was to be entered. All persons whose tribal name was entered in the schedules were taken to be Animists. It was specifically laid down that the answer which each man gave about his religion was to be accepted, but it is recognized that these orders were not always carried out. As Mr. Gait said in 1901, it is fashionable to call oneself a Hindu, and many semi-aboriginals lay claim to be Hindus, though Hindus scout their pretensions. In some parts Hindu enumerators refused to entertain claims which they considered preposterous, and would not enter the aspirants as Hindus. The practical difficulties which arise over this question may be realized from the report of Mr. M. G. Hallett, I.C.S., late Subdivisional Officer of Gumla in Ranchi. "One of the chief difficulties which arose in connection with the filling up of the census schedules in this part of

Chota Nagpur was in regard to the entry in the column of religion. Much



doubt was felt, and many questions were asked both by supervisors and enumerators as to whether certain castes should be classified as Hindus or Animists. The general rule issued on this point was to the effect that every person who called himself a Hindu was to be entered as such. In the case of Oraons, Kharias, Mundas, Asurs and other purely aboriginal tribes, there was no difficulty. I only came across two instances in which an Oraon claimed to be a Hindu: one was a Sub-Inspector of Police, and the other was a man who had risen above

other members of his tribe and become the proprietor of two or three villages. Such persons were naturally recorded as Hindus, but in the case of other Oraons, apart of course from the converts to Christianity, the entry was Animist. The difficulty arose in dealing with castes which are, as it were, on the border line. I allude in particular to such castes as Chik, Ghasi, Turi, Lohar, Gond, Dom and others. If you ask a person of these castes the straight question 'What is your religion,' he will probably reply that he is a Hindu, or again if you ask him 'Are you a Hindu,' he will probably reply in the affirmative. If, however, you prosecute your inquiries further, and try to find out whether he observes any of the tenets of Hinduism, you will soon discover that his first answer was given merely as the result of ignorance, and that his superstitious and religious customs are much more closely allied to the Animistic religion of the Oraon and Munda than to the religion of the Hindu. The entry in column 3 depended therefore to a large extent on the individual supervisor or enumerator. He interpreted the general order on the subject according to his own religion. The Hindus, such as they are, of these parts look down upon the border-line castes, and are not willing to admit that they are Hindus. Hence the enumerator who was a Brahman or Kayasth or Rajput would record these persons as Animists. On the other hand, when the enumerator was an educated Christian, Oraon or Munda, he would record them as Hindus, accepting their bare statement. It was thus practically impossible to secure uniformity in this entry. Nor would a uniform entry be correct. In the more out-of-the-way parts of the district these castes are undoubtedly more Animistic in their religion than in the more civilized parts, and again individuals in these castes who have risen at all in the social scale have undoubtedly more claim to be regarded as Hindus."

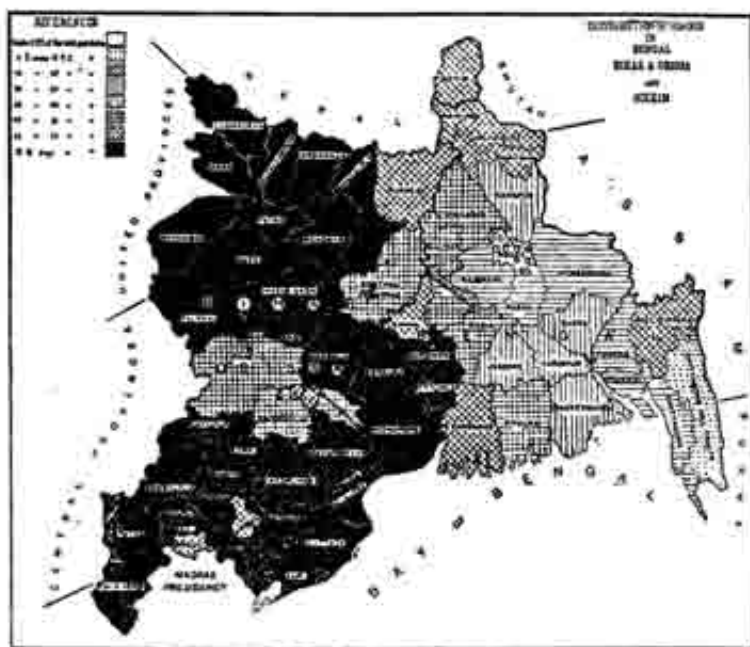
438. In Bengal the Hindu element steadily diminishes as one proceeds eastwards. The most distinctively Hindu districts are found in West Bengal (the Burdwan Division), where Hindus represent 82 per cent. of the total population.

In Central Bengal the proportion falls to 51 per cent., while in North Bengal it is only 37 per cent., the minimum of 31 per cent. being reached in East Bengal. West Bengal contributes one-third of the total Hindu population of the province, and East Bengal a little over a quarter, while Central and North Bengal each account for under a fifth. Proportionately, the greatest number of Hindus is found in Midnapore (88 per cent.), and the smallest in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (9 per cent.). Altogether, there are only ten districts in which Hindus outnumber Musalmans, viz., the six districts of West Bengal, the 24 Parganas in Central Bengal, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri in North Bengal, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts: in the district last named, however, the Hindus are largely outnumbered by both Animists and Buddhists. The

Hindu community is in a majority in the States of Cooch Behar and Hill

Tippera, and also in Calcutta, where it represents over two-thirds of the total population.

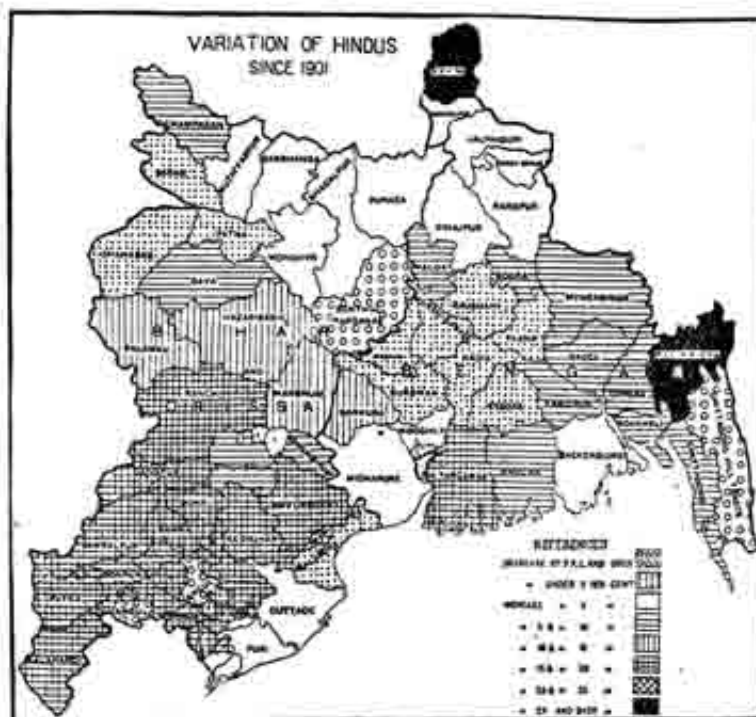
In Bihar and Orissa over one-third of the total Hindu population is found in North Bihar, where Hindus number nearly 11½ millions, or more than the aggregate for both South Bihar and Orissa. Proportionately, however, they are in greatest strength in Orissa, the holy land of Hinduism,



where 97 out of every 100 inhabitants belong to that religion. South Bihar comes next with 90 per cent., while the Chota Nagpur Plateau comes last with 72 per cent. In Ranchi and Singhbhum the Hindus are outnumbered by the Animists, but elsewhere they preponderate. Excluding these two districts, the sparsest Hindu population is found in Purnea (56·6 per cent.) and then in the Chota Nagpur States (57 per cent.).

439. In Bengal the Hindus have increased by nearly 4 per cent. since 1901, the ratio of increase being 2·3 per cent. less than it was in the preceding decade. They have made the greatest advance (6·6 per cent.) in East Bengal, where

their proportionate strength is least, but where the people generally seem to have unusual procreative energy.



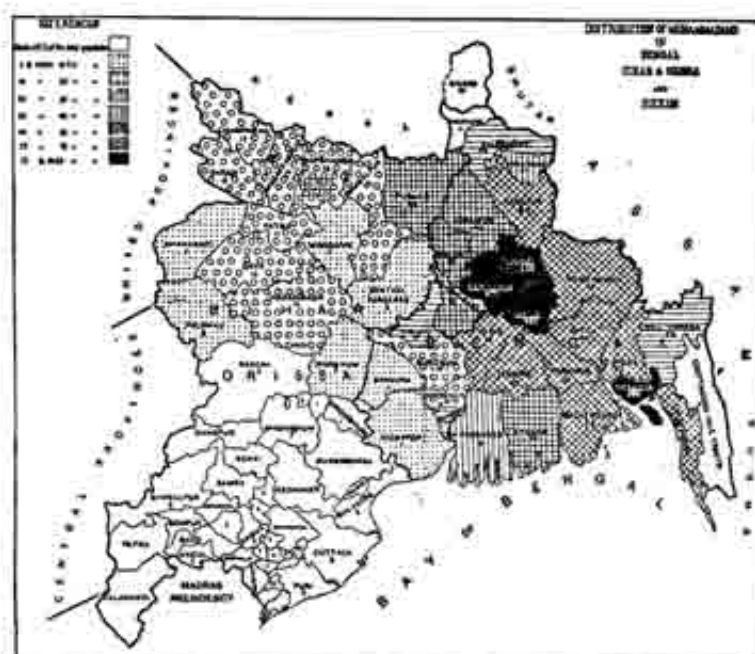
Central Bengal comes next with an improvement of 5·2 per cent., and then North Bengal with a little under 3 per cent. West Bengal, where Hindus are in greatest strength, shows the least progress, the ratio of increase being under 2 per cent. In all the districts of this Division the Hindus have increased less rapidly than members of other religions, so that their proportionate representation in

the total population has fallen since 1901.

The Hindu population of Bihar and Orissa has grown at exactly the same rate as that of Bengal. The greatest expansion is in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where it is 12 per cent.; as will be shown later, the increase would have been even greater, had it not been that many who were entered as Hindus in 1901 were returned as Animists at this census. Elsewhere, there

has been a very slight growth, for North Bihar registers an increase of a little over 1 per cent., South Bihar of a little under 1 per cent., and Orissa of only half per cent.

440. Musalmans predominate throughout Bengal, except in the south-west, the extreme north and the extreme south-east of the Presidency. To the south-west, in West Bengal, they constitute only 13 per cent. of the population and are in a small

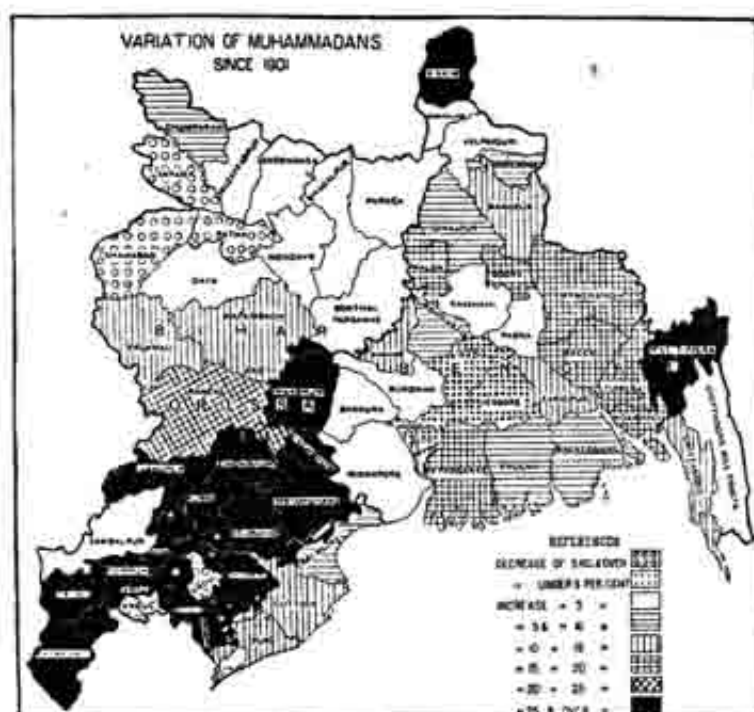


minority compared with Hindus : in one district (Bankura) they are outnumbered by the Animists, and in Midnapore they only slightly exceed the latter. In Central Bengal they represent 48 per cent. of the population, but if Calcutta is excluded, 50 per cent. : in this city the population is mainly composed of immigrants from outside, among whom Hindus predominate, there being

five of them to every two Musalmans. Islam prevails over Hinduism in three of the four districts of the Division, the exception being the 24-Parganas, where, however, 282,761, or nearly one-eighth of the inhabitants, are Hindu immigrants from outside. Both in Calcutta and in the metropolitan districts (24-Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly) the Hindu community is largely recruited by immigration, there being 1,009,772 Hindus, but only 346,899 Musalman immigrants : in other words, there are approximately three Hindus to every one Musalman in the immigrant population. The preponderance of Musalmans is more pronounced in North Bengal, where their proportion to the total population is 59 per cent. They are in a minority in Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Dinajpur and the State of Cooch Behar ; in the remaining districts they account for 50 per cent. (Malda) to 82 per cent. (Bogra) of the inhabitants. In East Bengal as a whole they are more than twice as numerous as the Hindus, and in Noakhali and Chittagong they outnumber the latter by more than 3 to 1. They are in a minority in Hill Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, while in Khulna they are only slightly more numerous than the Hindus ; elsewhere their distribution is fairly uniform, the proportion varying only from 63 per cent. in Faridpur to 77 per cent. in Noakhali. East Bengal contains more than half the aggregate number of Muhammadans in the whole Presidency, North Bengal a little over a quarter and Central Bengal slightly less than a sixth.

441. In Bihar and Orissa the Musalmans form a small minority. Purnea alone contains nearly a quarter of the total number : the figures for this district bring up the proportionate strength of the Musalman population in North Bihar to 16 per cent. Champaran follows next with 15 per cent., and there are only seven other districts in which the ratio is 10 per cent. or more, viz., Saran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, Patna, Gaya and Hazaribagh. It is somewhat remarkable that the followers of the Prophet are relatively more numerous in North Bihar, which has been from ancient times the home of Hinduism and Brahman domination, than in South Bihar, where there are old Muhammadan centres such as Patna and Monghyr. In Orissa, where the Afghans ruled for several centuries, they cannot claim more than 2·7 per cent. of the population, which is less than the figure returned for the Chota Nagpur Plateau (4·3 per cent.). In the latter Division there are approximately 17 Hindus and 5 Animists to every Musalman. The Kishanganj subdivision of Purnea is the most distinctively Musalman part of the province, Islam being the religion of two-thirds of its inhabitants.

442. In Bengal as a whole the Musalmans have increased by 10·4 per cent. since 1901. Their advance has been greatest in the tracts where they are at numerous, viz., East Bengal, where the rate of growth is 14·6 per cent., and North Bengal, where it is 8·2 per cent. Far less progress has been made in West Bengal and Central Bengal, where the increment represents 4·9 per cent. and 3·1 per cent., respectively.



The rate of increase in Bihar and Orissa is only 4 per cent. In all parts of this Province Musalmans have progressed, except South Bihar, where there is a falling off of 20,654 or 2·8 per cent. The decline is accounted for by the losses sustained by the Musalmans

living in towns, who have decreased by 22,976, or 15 per cent., owing to epidemics of plague and other diseases. In the Chota Nagpur Plateau the Musalmans are now more numerous by 17·5 per cent. than in 1901, and in Orissa by 10·4 per cent., but in North Bihar they have increased by only a little over 3 per cent.

443. In Bengal the Musalmans are increasing more rapidly than the Hindus, the percentage of increase among them during the last decennium being nearly thrice as great as it is among their Hindu neighbours. This is no new feature, but has been in operation for the last 30 years.

RELATIVE GROWTH OF MUSALMANS AND HINDUS.

	VARIATION PER EXT., 1901-1911.		VARIATION IN PROPORTION PER MILL OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1901-1911.	
	Hindu.	Musلمان.	Hindu.	Musلمان.
Bengal	+ 3·9	+ 10·4	- 17·7	+ 11·5
West Bengal	+ 1·7	+ 4·9	- 8·6	+ 2·7
Central Bengal	+ 0·3	+ 3·1	- 3·5	+ 6·3
North Bengal	+ 2·9	+ 8·2	- 16·5	+ 1·9
East Bengal	+ 6·8	+ 14·6	- 16·2	+ 13·8
Bihar and Orissa	+ 3·9	+ 4·0	- 2·9	- 1·0
North Bihar	+ 1·2	+ 3·2	- 5·9	+ 2·3
South Bihar	+ 0·8	- 2·8	+ 1·7	- 2·3
Orissa	+ 0·6	+ 10·4	- 3·6	+ 2·4
Chota Nagpur Plateau	+ 18·1	+ 17·5	- 12·8	+ 1·3

During that period the Hindus of Bengal have added only 16 per cent. to their numbers, while the followers of the Prophet have an addition of 29 per cent. Nowhere have the latter made such progress as in East Bengal, where they are more numerous by 50½ per cent. than they were in 1881; the corresponding ratio for Hindus is a little under 26 per cent. The only area in which the Hindus are increasing more rapidly than the Musalmans is Central Bengal, where the balance is turned in their favour by the immigration of Hindus from up-country to Calcutta and the 24-Parganas. The causes of the relatively more rapid growth of Musalmans were examined by Mr. Gait in 1901, and his conclusion was that it was due not to conversion but to greater fecundity. The contributory causes were found to be (1) the greater frequency of widow re-marriage, (2) less disparity in the ages of husband and wife, (3) a more nutritious dietary and (4) greater prosperity.

444. In Bihar and Orissa there is practically no difference between the percentages of increase for members of the two religion since 1901, but this is partly due to the losses sustained by death among the Musalmans living in

towns. The figures for the Chota Nagpur Plateau are, moreover, misleading, for many who were returned as Hindus in 1901 are now returned as Animists. It is safer therefore to take a longer period for purposes of comparison. Taking the 30 years 1881—1911, we find that the ratio of increase among Musalmans has been 11 per cent., or only about 3 per cent. more than among Hindus. In South Bihar the adherents of Islam have decreased by over 7 per cent., whereas the Hindu community is stationary; but in every other division the growth of Musalmans has been relatively greater.

445. The most interesting points brought out by an examination of the figures for the last decennium is (1) that the growth of the Hindu population has been exactly the same in Bihar and Orissa as in Bengal and (2) that the growth of the Musalman population in Bihar and Orissa is very little greater than that of the Hindus in either Province and far below that of the Bengal Musalmans. The Bihari Musalman is in little better circumstances than his Hindu neighbour, though he has the advantage of more nourishing food. He is however a poor man compared with his co-religionist of East Bengal, and there is this further important difference that he favours early marriage, whereas the latter does not. The deleterious effects of early marriage are too well known to require explanation, and it will be sufficient to quote figures to show the difference in this respect between the Hindus and Musalmans of Bengal and the similarity between followers of those two religions in Bihar and Orissa. Out of every 100 Musalman females aged 10—15 in Bengal only 56 per cent. are married, whereas the proportion for Hindu females is as high as 67 per cent. In Bihar and Orissa, however, early marriage is nearly as common among the Musalmans as among the Hindus, the proportion of married women to the female population of this age period being 51 and 54 per cent., respectively.

446. Further light is thrown on the causes of the greater rapidity of growth among the Musalman community by the statistics for women at the child-bearing age, *i.e.*, 15 to 40. From the marginal statement, showing the percentage of unmarried, married and widowed to the total number of women at this age, it will be seen that there is a great difference between the social practices of Hindus and Musalmans in Bengal. There the number of married women among Musalmans is 11 per cent. greater than

	HINDU.			MUSALMAN.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
Bengal ...	54	76	22	54	67	11
Bihar and Orissa ...	54	94	13	51	63	12

among Hindus, while there is a corresponding deficiency of Musalman widows. These differences are due to the greater prevalence of widow marriage among the followers of Islam. A very different state of affairs is found in Bihar and Orissa. In this Province there is very little difference between the proportional figures for Hindus and Musalmans, owing presumably to the greater prevalence of widow-marriage among the low castes and semi-Hinduized aboriginals, who bulk largely in the population.

To this it should be added that in Bengal the actual number of women who are married, and have therefore the power to contribute to an increase of population, is much greater among the Musalmans, whereas in Bihar and Orissa Musalman married women are an insignificant minority. In Bengal there are approximately four married Musalman women to every three married Hindu women at the child-bearing age. It

therefore follows that, if their fecundity were equal, the actual increase of the Musalmans would exceed that of the Hindus by about one-third. In Bihar and Orissa, on the other hand, the disproportion is very great, there being about 55 Hindu married women to every 6 Musalman married women. In view of their small numbers, and of the fact that the proportion per cent. of married women among them is almost exactly the same as among the Hindus, there is little prospect of the Musalmans in this Province multiplying more than the Hindu community.

447. The fecundity, however, of the Hindus is not so great as that of the Musalmans. Proof of this proposition, if any is required, is afforded by the marginal figures

	NUMBER OF MARRIED WOMEN AT THE AGE OF 15—40.	
	Hindu.	Musalman.
Bengal ...	3,236,185	1,155,266
Bihar and Orissa ...	1,462,207	620,496

showing the number of children who were under 10 years of age at the time

PROVINCE AND DIVISION.	NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 10—		
	PER 100 MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15—40.		MUSALMANS (COLUMN 2) PER 100 HINDUS. (COLUMN 3)
	Muslimans.	Hindus.	
1	2	3	4
Bengal ...	188	171	110
West Bengal ...	151	158	97
Central Bengal ...	156	160	101
North Bengal ...	194	194	100
East Bengal ...	194	179	109
Bihar and Orissa ...	176	165	107
North Bihar ...	177	161	110
South Bihar ...	162	160	101
Orissa ...	172	151	114
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	190	153	104

of the census (*i. e.*, children born between 1901 and 1911 who were living at the time of the census) per 100 married females aged 15—40. It will be seen that the proportion of children among Musalmans is higher than among Hindus in every natural division except North Bengal, where it is the same, and West Bengal, where a large number of the Hindus are of aboriginal descent. It may fairly be inferred that the relative excess of children in the Muhammadan community is due to their greater fecundity. It may be added that the Animists are far more prolific,

the number of children of the same age to 100 married females aged 15 to 40 being 200 in Bengal and 223 in Bihar and Orissa. To sum up the main conclusions briefly, the absolute growth of Musalmans, in Bengal must be greater than that of the Hindus, because of (1) their numerical superiority, (2) their greater fecundity and (3) the larger number of married females at the child-bearing age. Their rate of growth must also be greater on account of the last two factors, and also because of social practices which favour reproduction, viz., widow marriage and, to a small extent, polygamy.

448. In order to ascertain whether there is any difference between the physique of Hindus and Musalmans which might throw light on their comparative physical powers, statistics have been compiled of the heights and weights of healthy prisoners, aged 20 to 45, on their admission to jail: prisoners were selected for the purpose, as there is no other means available either of getting a reliable record of age, weight and height, or of knowing that the persons examined are in good health. The result is to show that there is little difference between members of the two religions.

The figures, however, may be of some anthropological interest and are, therefore reproduced in the margin, together with figures for aboriginal races, such as Khandhs (Khonds) Mundas, Oraons and Santals. Briefly they show that Hindu and Musalman males are almost exactly on the same level, both as regards height and weight, but that the aboriginal is a

smaller and lighter man. Among the women, Hindus and aboriginals closely approximate, but the Musalman woman is both shorter and lighter than either.

The results for males, it may be added, are in consonance with the results of 28,000 observations made by Lieutenant-Colonel W. J. Buchanan, I.M.S., Inspector-General of Prisons, Bengal. As a result of these observations he deduced a formula showing what should be approximately the relation of weight to height in healthy adult male Bengalis and Beharis between the ages of 25 and 45. He took 100 lbs. to be the approximate standard weight of a man 5 feet high, and pointed out that the weight should increase 3 lbs. for every inch above that height up to 5 feet 7 inches.* This standard was intended for Hindus and Musalmans and does not apply to aboriginals.

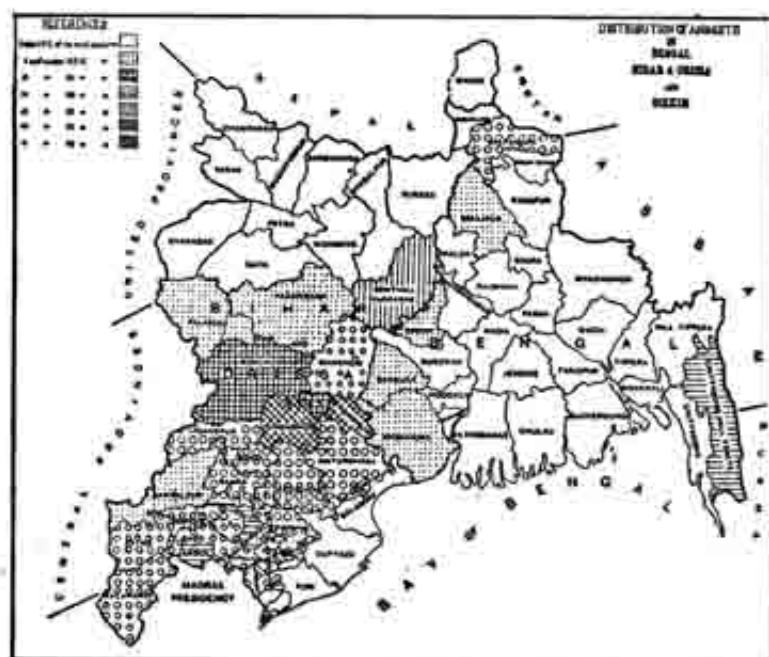
449. Animism is a term applied, for want of a better, to that amorphous form of religion of which the basis is "the belief which explains to primitive man the constant movements and changes in the world of things by the theory that every object which has activity enough to affect him in any way

* *Manual of Jail Hygiene*, 1900

is animated by a life and will like his own."* It peoples the world with spirits, which have the power to influence man directly. They may be wandering spirits incapable of being represented by idols, or they may be resident in some object or body, either animate or inanimate: the latter becomes a 'fetish,' endowed with power to protect or injure man. According to Tiele, "the religions controlled by Animism are characterized first of all by a varied, confused and indeterminate doctrine, an unorganised polydæmonism, which does not, however, exclude the belief in a supreme spirit, though in practice this commonly bears but little fruit; and in the next place by magic, which but rarely rises to the level of real worship. . . . In the Animistic religions, fear is more powerful than any other feeling, such as gratitude or trust. The spirits and the worshippers are alike selfish. The evil spirits receive, as a rule, more homage than the good, the lower more than the higher, the local more than the general. The allotment of their rewards or punishments depends not on men's good or bad actions, but on the sacrifices and gifts which are offered to them or withheld."† The spirits are mostly malevolent, for the rude mind with difficulty associates the idea of power and benignity. Man lives surrounded by spirits inimical to his health and well-being, who must be periodically propitiated, either in order to ward off their hostility or to induce them to relinquish their victims. The Animist has consequently a firm belief in the functions and supernatural powers of sorcerers. The latter are not strictly priests, but merely diviners and exorcists: they do not form an organized order, nor is their function hereditary.

The number of spirits requiring proficiency is constantly being added to, and the process shows the recaptivity of the primitive mind to modern conditions. The Sauria Paharia of the Sonthal Parganas, for instance, ascribes epidemics of small-pox or cholera to evil spirits having been brought into his country by train. He exercises them by constructing a rude model of a train, which he wheels through the village into the jungle, thus symbolically casting the evil spirit out of the village. The Oraons again believe in a spirit known as Murkuri, i.e., the thumper, which is believed to be imminent in Europeans. If illness or fever attacks a Oraon after he has been patted on the back by an ignorant, but sympathetic, European, he firmly believes that Murkuri has passed from the body of the European to his own.

450. Nearly half the total number of Animists in Bengal are residents of West Bengal, where nearly 300,000 (the majority of whom are Santals) are found in the lateritic districts of Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapore. The other Animistic centre



consists of Malda, Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri, where there are over 238,000. Those in Malda and Dinajpur are mostly Santals from the Sonthal Parganas, who have migrated to the Barind, which is fast being cleared away by them. In Jalpaiguri they are chiefly tea-garden coolies from Chota Nagpur. The only other districts in which Animists are found in any considerable

* W. Crooke, *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1907, Vol. I, p. 431)

† *Outlines of the History of Ancient Religions*, p. 10.

strength are Mymensingh and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where they consist for the most part of Koches and Tiparas respectively.

In Bihar and Orissa the Animistic element is far stronger, the Animists numbering 2,720,288. Out of this number, however, all but 70,128 are inhabitants of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, which is a remote tract, the refuge of aboriginal races, over which neither Hindu civilization nor the Musalman power obtained any hold. They are found in greatest strength in the Sonthal Parganas and Ranchi, which between them contain nearly half the total number, but proportionately they are most numerous in Singhbhum, where they represent 56 per cent. of the population.

451. The number of Animists in Bengal has risen since 1901 by no less than 65 per cent. Here it is due almost entirely to immigration. In Hooghly, for instance, the

number of Animists has increased eight-fold, viz., from 2,766 to 21,288, but only 2,851 were born in the district and 18,437 were new-comers, the great majority being Santals from Midnapore and Bankura, and nearly all the remainder Oraons from Ranchi. In Birbhum their number has risen to 54,592, but about two-thirds of them are Santal immigrants from the Sonthal Parganas. The immigration of Santals is also mainly responsible for the large increases in Malda, Rajshahi and Dinajpur, while in Jalpaiguri the addition of 88,769 is the combined result of natural growth, immigration, and the entry of the religion of aboriginal tribes being changed from Hindu to Animist. This change also accounts for the increase in Mymensingh, where the Garos are now returned as Animists, and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where similar returns were made for the Murungs, Kukis and Khamis, and also, to a large extent, for the Tiparas.*

452. In Bihar and Orissa the Animists have increased by 438,874 or 19·2 per cent. The increase is due partly to the natural growth of hardy and prolific aboriginals, and partly to variations of practice in recording their religion. The effect of these variations may be very clearly seen from the

DISTRICT.	Animists.		Hindus.	
	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1901-1911.	1901-1901.
Hazaribagh	+ 124	+ 113	+ 173	+ 147
Palamau	+ 87	- 302	- 65	+ 286
Manbhum	+ 564	- 599	- 618	+ 202
Singhbhum	+ 999	- 1039	- 124	+ 86
Sonthal Parganas	+ 391	- 648	- 401	+ 479
Angul	+ 671	+ 2306	- 675	- 2214

marginal figures, showing the increase or decrease per mille in the proportion of Animists and Hindus to the total population of six districts in the Chota Nagpur Plateau. These figures sufficiently indicate how the results are affected by the difficulty of distinguishing Hindus from Animists, and by the different standards adopted at each census. In four of the six districts, viz., Palamau, Manbhum, Singhbhum and the Sonthal Parganas, the proportional strength of the Hindus increased in 1901, and there was a corresponding decrease among Animists: the results are now exactly the reverse. In Hazaribagh, on the other hand, Animists increased at the cost of the Hindus in 1901, but at this census the tendency was to record aboriginals or semi-aboriginals as Hindus; consequently, the Hindus have recovered their position. The only district in which the practice appears to have been uniform is Angul, where aboriginals were consistently returned as Animists both in 1901 and 1911; the result is that since 1891 the proportional strength of Animists has risen from 2 to 290 per mille, while that of Hindus has fallen from 997 to 708 per mille.

In Manbhum the Animists have doubled their numbers since 1901, the actual increment being 106,868, or nearly a quarter of the total increase for the province. All but 11,436 of them were born in the district, and the increase, which appears *prima facie* extraordinary, must be ascribed to the greater strictness of enumerators regarding the entry of religion. The increase in the Sonthal Parganas is a little under 100,000 (16 per cent.), while Ranchi and Singhbhum have additions of 11 and 15 per cent., respectively. In all three districts the census was carried out with great care, and the results must be attributed to a more correct entry of the religion of aboriginal tribes. The only district in Chota Nagpur in which there has been a decrease is Hazaribagh, where Animists have declined by

* Altogether 16,957 Tiparas were returned as Animists in this district, but not one in Hill Tippera.

15 per cent. This decline may point to the absorption of aboriginals by Hinduism, natural in a district which borders on Bihar, an ancient home of Brahmanism, and in which the inhabitants are mostly semi-Hinduized ; more probably, however, it should be ascribed to the standard of the enumerators being different from that of 1901. Outside the Chota Nagpur Plateau, the advance of Animists is greatest in Purnea, where 29,971 were enumerated as against 295 in 1901 : one-third of these were immigrants from the Sonthal Parganas. Their growth in Bhagalpur (from 3,060 to 22,515) is little less remarkable but here it is not dependent on immigration, the number of Animist immigrants being under 3,000, of whom 2,000 came from the Sonthal Parganas.

453. A small minority of the Buddhists are Chinese, who have settled in Calcutta. Practically all the remainder are found in three widely separated tracts, viz., in the south-east of Bengal, in the extreme north of that province, and in Orissa. Their

	1911.	1901.
Chittagong Division	173,194	149,759
Bacharkunge	8,424	7,220
Hill Tippera	5,297	5,399
Total	188,019	162,958
Darjeeling	47,300	44,044
Sikkim	26,915	20,544
Jaipalgarh	8,004	6,291
Total	84,874	70,879
Cuttack	161	2
Puri	273	—
Orissa States	1,451	712
Total	1,885	719

distribution is shown in the marginal statement, from which it will be seen that, so far from losing ground, Buddhism is making headway. The history of Buddhism in these three tracts is very different. In the south-eastern tract Buddhism is, to some extent, a survival of early Buddhism, which was introduced by Buddhists from Bengal or Bihar in the 10th century. When the Musalman conquest took place, a number of the Buddhists fled to the hills in the interior, where they converted the hill tribes. The majority of the Buddhists, however,

are Maghs, mostly the descendants of Arakanese pirates who settled in Bengal during the 17th and 18th centuries, or of peaceful cultivators who migrated to Chittagong and the neighbouring districts at two different periods, viz., in 1638, when a revolution took place in Arakan, and at the close of the 18th century, when Arakan was conquered by the Burmese. The descendants of these later immigrants are known as Roang (i.e., Arakan) Maghs. There is also another class known as Rajbansi or Barua Maghs, who are the offspring of Magh mothers and Bengali fathers and have followed their mothers' religion. Their Buddhism is strongly tinged both with Animism and Hinduism, but during the last half century there has been a revival, due to the preaching of Buddhist priests from Burma, and a Buddhist association has been started in order to preserve the purity of their faith.

454. The Buddhism of the northern area is also a curious mixture. Its adherents belong to three different races, viz., the Nepalese, Bhotias and Lepchas. The Buddhism of the Nepalese dates back to the days when it was the religion of Northern India, but it is overlaid with Hinduistic and Animistic beliefs and practices. The Buddhists of Nepal took over the whole body of Animistic deities, both benevolent and malignant, while from the Hindus they adopted not only Saivism but also Saktism, with Tantric mysticism and the esoteric cult of female deities. The Buddhism of the Bhotias and Lepchas was introduced by Lamas from Tibetan monasteries, who travelled south and converted the people. In it can be traced the pre-Buddhistic beliefs of the Tibetans known as the Bonpo religion, which is little more than demonolatory. "The rites of religion are chiefly valuable in averting the anger or malice of an evil spirit, and all sickness is caused by such possession. The *Bongtino* or sacrificial priest is the cunning expert who indicates the offended demon, and prescribes the proper sacrifice of cow or pig or goat or fowl needed to appease him. As a perpetual offering to ward off danger, each household keeps a little basket containing rice and a small silver coin."* If the family's resources are so exhausted that they cannot keep the basket full, they will, in simple faith, deposit a few grains of rice, wrapped up in a leaf, as a pledge to be redeemed when better days come.

* Rev. J. Graham D.D., *On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands.*

455. The Buddhists in Orissa are nearly all Saraks, of whom 1,833 returned their religion as Buddhism, their distribution being as shown in the margin. Attention was first drawn to the Buddhistic Saraks of Orissa by Mr. Gait in the Bengal Census Report of 1901, in which he pointed out that Sarak is derived from *Sravaka*, the Sanskrit word for "a hearer," which was used by the Buddhists for the second class of monks, who mainly occupied the monasteries. At the census of 1901 only the Saraks of Baramba were shown as Buddhists, the others being entered as Hindus, though those of Tigiria and Cuttack claimed to have the same religion as their caste fellows. The Saraks, who are also known as Saraki Tantis, are mostly weavers, though some have taken to cultivation. They worship Buddha, together with the Brahmanic deities, and eat neither flesh nor fish. They neither employ Brahman priests nor observe Hindu festivals, but have a festival of their own on the full moon day of Baisakh and Kartik, the latter being the anniversary of the day of Buddha's birth, death and attainment of Nirvana.

456. The number of Sikhs enumerated in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is 4,499, or 13 times as many as in 1901. Of the total number 932 are immigrants enumerated in Calcutta, and 1,185 (or over half the aggregate for Bihar and Orissa) are inhabitants of Shahabad, the greater number (1,071) belonging to the town of Sasaram. An old Sikh community has been established in this town for many generations. They are Agraharis by caste and mostly traders by occupation, and have traditions pointing to migration from the Punjab, while their physique and features point to a northern origin. There has been a revival of Sikhism among them since 1901,* as a result of which the Sikh tenets have been more strictly observed. A school has been started at which instruction is given in the Sikh scriptures, and many of their neighbours have embraced their religion. Altogether, 548 Agraharis were recorded as Sikhs, and the remainder belong mainly to castes of artificers and traders, notably Kaseras, Sonars and Kasarwanis. There is another small community of Sikhs in Patna city, where one of the sacred shrines of the Sikhs commemorates the birth-place of Guru Govind Singh. A third isolated section is found in Hazaribagh, where there is a Sikh temple (*sangat*) at Chatra, the founder of which is said to have been a descendant of a disciple of Nanak himself. A further note on the Sikhs of Bihar will be found in the second part of this chapter.

457. Since 1901 the number of Jains has risen from 7,831 to 11,411, of whom 6,782 were enumerated in Bengal and 4,629 in Bihar and Orissa. The great majority are Marwari immigrants engaged in mercantile pursuits, who leave their wives at home: there are approximately eight males to every three females. There are comparatively few indigenous Jains, though Bihar was the birth-place of their religion. Its founder, Mahavira, was born at Vaisali (the modern Basarh in the district of Muzaffarpur), spent a great part of his life in Bihar proclaiming his doctrines, and died at Apapuri (the modern Pawapuri in the Patna district). Ancient Jain shrines in Patna city, Rajgir and Pawapuri still attract Jain pilgrims, and there are small Jain colonies there and also in Hazaribagh, where the Parasnath mountain commemorates the Nirvana of Parsvanath, the 24th Jaina: nearly one-fourth of the Jains in Bihar and Orissa were enumerated in the two districts of Patna and Hazaribagh. The Jains appear once to have had a number of settlements in the neighbourhood of Parasnath, notably in Manbhum and Singhbhum. Jain traditions refer to the travels of Mahavira in the surrounding territory, and local legend also attests their presence, for the people still speak of the rule of the Sarawaks or Saraks and point to the temples they built. Jain remains are found in Manbhum, while in Singhbhum their copper mines may be seen in different parts of the country. These early Jains were the *Sravaka* or Jain laymen engaged in secular pursuits, and their descendants are still known as Saraks, though they no longer follow the Jain religion.†

* In 1901 they were returned as Hindus.

† See Bengal Census Report of 1901, pp. 427-8, Muzaffarpur District Gazetteer, pp. 13-14, Patna District Gazetteer, pp. 20, 21, 61, 215, Singhbhum District Gazetteer, pp. 23-25, Manbhum District Gazetteer, pp. 48-52, and Notes on the Geography of Old Bengal by M. M. Chakravarti, J. A. S. B., 1908, pp. 285-6.

There are three main sects of Jains known as Digambars, Svetambars and Sthanakdwasis. The Digambars hold that all the Tirthankars went about naked and that Mahavira himself prescribed absolute nudity, at least for ascetics (*sadhus*). They do not clothe their images and they divest themselves of their upper garments when eating; they also believe that women cannot attain Nirvana. The Svetambars, on the other hand, hold the doctrine of nudity, but assert that the use of white clothes was prescribed. They decorate their images with clothes and jewellery, and do not deny women the hope of salvation. The Sthanakdwasis (also known as Dhundias) are an offshoot of the Svetambars, who differ from them mainly in denouncing idolatry, with its accompanying ritual and ceremony, and in denying the efficiency of pilgrimages as a means of shaking off the bondage of *karma*. In their view man can only attain spiritual development and final emancipation by self control, purity of conduct and self-sacrifice.

458. The number of Brahmos in both provinces is 3,543 or only 372 more than in 1901, a fact which shows that this sect is attracting few fresh recruits. The actual numbers, however, give no idea of the extent to which the Brahmo doctrines have spread. Though they have not permeated, they have profoundly influenced the intellectual Hindus of Bengal, and many thousands are Brahmos at heart, but not in name. With the diffusion of higher ideas, for which the Brahmo Samaj is partly responsible, and with the spread of English education and more frequent intercourse with Europe and America, the modernist Hindu feels no particular necessity to secede from the main body of his co-religionists and enrol himself as a Brahmo. There is now a considerable body of persons, calling themselves or called by others Neo-Hindus, among whom there is a place for a monotheist who desires to throw off the trammels of caste and to put his views of social reform into practice. There is greater tolerance towards the heterodox, and among the latter the spirit of revolt which led to the establishment of the Brahmo Samaj is dying out. The present tendency is for Brahmos to be re-absorbed in the main body of Hindus. Those who still proclaim themselves Brahmos are mainly townsmen; only 574 Brahmos were enumerated in rural areas, and 1,529, or 43 per cent. of the total number, were inhabitants of Calcutta.

There are three sections of Brahmos, viz., the Adi Samaj, the Nababidhan Samaj and the Sadharan Samaj. The Adi Samaj, or "original association", lays greater stress on renunciation of idolatry than on social reforms, and keeps to the caste system so far as possible, i.e., so far as it does not conflict with religious belief. Its members call themselves Theistic Hindus, the main differences between them and other Hindus being that they are monotheists. The Nababidhan Samaj or New Dispensation, founded by Keshab Chandra Sen, is less conservative and more eclectic. It does not find inspiration only in Hindu works, but in the scriptures of other religions. The most progressive and influential section is the Sadharan (common) Samaj, which repudiates caste distinctions and holds advanced views regarding social practices, such as the zenana system, the position of women, etc. This is, in fact, much more of a distinct sect than the other two branches, and most Brahmos belong to it. Altogether 2,444 or over two-thirds of total number of Brahmos returned their caste as Brahmo, i.e., they disclaimed the Hindu caste system, and most of them may be assumed to be members of the Sadharan Samaj. Of the remainder, more than half were Kayasths, and less than one-fourth were Baidyas; the members of other castes numbered only 237.

459. The Arya Samaj is a sect which has made its appearance in the local returns of religion since the last census, and now numbers 4,085. As is well known, this sect was founded by Dayananda Saraswati, who inculcated monotheism and proclaimed the infallibility of the Vedas. The Aryas claim the latter as authority for their tenets, and their aim is to purge Hinduism of what they consider later accretions. They repudiate polytheism, idolatry and the sacrifice of animals, and, on the social side, denounce the evils of early marriage, have no objection to the remarriage of widows, and advocate the reform of the caste system. The Samaj has practically no adherents in Bengal, but has made headway in Bihar notably in Patna, where four-fifths of the total number are found. The establishment of the Samaj in this district owes its origin to Dayananda

Saraswati himself. He first visited Patna and Dinapore in 1872, and discussed religious subjects, such as the attributes of God, the worship of idols and the marriage of children, with the local Pandits. He is said to have spoken in Sanskrit and made but little impression in the limited and conservative circle he addressed. Five or six years later he revisited Dinapore and delivered a series of lectures decrying polytheism, idol-worship, infant marriage, enforced widowhood, prostitution, the use of intoxicants, the eating of flesh, gambling, litigation, dishonesty in its various forms, etc. At the same time he inculcated monotheism, salvation by one's own actions (*karma*), chastity, adult marriage, vegetarianism, total abstinence from wine, etc. This time he preached in Hindi, the local vernacular, and succeeded in winning a number of converts. An Arya Samaj was established at Dinapore, and the new doctrines thence spread to Bankipore and villages in the interior. Some schools and an orphanage called the "Dayananda Orphanage" have been established at Dinapore, but the majority of the Aryas are found in the Phulwari thana, which accounts for 2,575, or over three-fourths of the total number (3,363) in the district. Unlike the United Provinces, where the Samaj is largely recruited from the educated classes, and where the higher castes preponderate among its members, the Aryas of Patna are mostly members of the lower castes, such as Kurmis, Kahars, etc.; its doctrines have found favour with only a limited number of Hindus and Musalmans of the higher classes. The explanation is that the theory of the submergence of caste in the Arya community appeals most to the lower classes, who regard the new system as improving their position and bringing them on a level with the upper classes. Moreover, the custom of widow marriage was already an established custom with many of them, and the sanction given to this practice by the new faith was no small attraction.

460. The Kumbhipatia sect, which has hitherto not found a place in the returns for religion in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, appears to have first attracted notice about 1874.

KUMBHIPATIAS.

The leader of the sect at this time was one Mukund Das, who spent some years at Puri as an Achari Vaishnava, and between 1840 and 1850 established himself at Joranda near the Kapilas hill in the Dhenkanal State. There he led a life of austerity, tending the sick pilgrims who came to the shrine. After living in retreat for many years, he appeared as the apostle of a new faith. He proclaimed that the idols worshipped by the Hindus were merely stone and wood, and that the worship of such destructible articles was of no avail. The Creator of the Universe was Alekh or Mahima, a spiritual being without form, omnipresent and omniscient, and the road to salvation lay in his worship. The former of these two names means the inexpressible or indescribable, while the latter signifies glorious. Mukund himself became known as the Mahima Guru or Mahima Swami, and his disciples as the Kumbhipatias, because they, like Mukund Das himself, used the bark (*nat*) of the *kumbhi* or yellow cotton tree (*Cochlospermum gossypium*) to cover their nakedness. He also denounced the caste system, and would eat food cooked by any one except a Raja, a Brahman, a Bhandari and a Dhoba—the Raja because he was responsible for the sins committed in the State, the Brahman because he accepted gifts from sinful persons, the Bhandari because he shaved sinners, and the Dhoba because he washed their clothes. He would not enter anybody's house, but used to take his food on the public road in a broken earthen pot. He moved about from village to village, never staying more than one night at one place. He taught his disciples and followers to bathe early in the morning and to make obeisance to Alekh at sunrise and again at sunset, turning their faces to the sun and prostrating themselves seven times in the morning and five times in the evening. He also enjoined them not to eat anything after sunset and before sunrise, and not to take any medicine in case of illness. He died in 1875 and was buried at Joranda in Dhenkanal. As he was regarded as an incarnation of the deity and believed to be immortal, his death came as a shock to his followers. Some renounced the new faith, but others remained faithful, and fresh life was given to the cult by a new leader called Bhima Bhoi.

461. Bhima Bhoi was born about 1855 and belonged to a poor Kandh (Khond) family in Sonpur, being employed as in his boyhood as a cattle herd. Though born blind and unable to read and write, he was possessed of considerable natural powers and had no small poetical ability. On attaining

maturity he began to compose verses, in the form of prayers to the deity, which his followers regarded as inspired and committed to writing. These verses are in easy flowing Oriya, and it is said that their style would do credit to a scholar. At an early age he became a follower of Mukund Das, and on his death became one of the leaders of the sect. His disciples increased rapidly, especially in Sambalpur, where men of all classes and castes, except the Brahmans, embraced the new faith: a few Brahmans also threw away their sacred threads, but such cases were exceptional. In 1880 Bhima Bhoi signalized his crusade by an outrage committed in the Jagannath temple. He was inspired by the belief that if the image of Jagannath was destroyed, it would convince the Hindus of the futility of their religion and they would embrace the true faith. In obedience to his command, a body of Kumbhipatias, mostly residents of Sambalpur, marched to Puri, and tried to break into the shrine of Jagannath. A struggle ensued, in which one of them was killed. Some of his followers fell away, partly on account of this failure and partly because of the conduct of Bhima Bhoi himself. A woman with whom he consorted became pregnant, and Bhima Bhoi endeavoured to deceive his followers by telling them that the woman would give birth to Arjun, who would root out all unbelievers. When the child was born, they found, to their surprise, that the woman had given birth to a girl. Bhima accounted for this by saying that it had been revealed to him that the child would be a female, who would destroy the unbelievers by means of her charms. The child, however, died a few days later. Bhima then gave out that she was a fairy, who quitted this world because she found it filled with vice. He was now deserted by a number of his followers, who formed a separate faction, but was still adored and honoured by the remainder. He eventually died in 1895 at Khaliapali in the Sonpur State, which is a centre of the cult.

462. The Kumbhipatias are divided into two sections, viz., the Sannyasis who are ascetics, and the Ashrikas or laymen. The former renounce the world and are celibates. Their life is modelled on that led by their master, the Mahima Swami. Like him, they beg from door to door, have no caste, and take their food only during the day-time at an open place beside a public road. They eat food cooked by people of any caste except a Raja, Brahman, Bhandari and Dhoba, and will not stay anywhere for more than a day, or beg twice from the same house. They do not bathe, have long matted hair, and wear only a girdle of bark or cloth. The Ashrikas or laymen do not renounce the world or married life, but, like certain monastic orders, wear clothes coloured with *geru* (yellow ochre). They do not observe Hindu ceremonies and will not eat anything between sunset and sunrise. They do not kill any animal for food, but eat fish, and the flesh of goat and deer, if supplied by others. They remain in caste and observe caste restrictions, except as regards eating together, for one Kumbhipatia will eat with another without distinction of caste. A Kumbhipatia may marry one of the same caste who is not a Kumbhipatia, but where their number is sufficient, the Ashrikas in each caste tend to form a separate community, having no intercourse with the other members of the caste. Their marriage ceremonies are very simple. The marriage is performed on the road outside the bride's house and is accompanied by oblations to Alekh and invocations of that sacred name. They bury their dead in a sitting posture with the face to the east. Mourning lasts ten days, and on the eleventh day the family undergoes a ceremony of purification. They change their cooking pots, and wash their whole body, including their teeth, and all their garments with water in which cowdung has been steeped; they also drink the urine of a calf mixed with cowdung water.

463. In several respects there appears to be traces of Buddhism in the cult. Bhima Bhoi himself called his *guru*, the Mahima Swami, an *avatar* of Buddha, and several indications of a Buddhist belief have been brought to light by Babu Nagendra Nath Basu in his recent book *Modern Buddhism in Orissa*. According to information gathered by him, even the attack on the Puri temple was due to the desire to bring to light the image of Buddha, and he points out that the scriptures of the sect are full of Buddhist references, such as the statement—"In the Kaliyuga the devotees are passing their lives in disguise, though they have not yet seen the form of the incarnation of Buddha, in the hope that the *gaddi* (seat) of the Sunya will be established in the Province of Bihar. The Alekh will, through his creative

power, assume the form of a human being, in the incarnation of Buddha, for the good of his devotees, who will thus attain emancipation." Briefly his conclusion is: "The Mahimadharmists of the Garhjats of Orissa are simply Buddhists. Like other Buddhists of the Mahayana School they are passing their days in the firm belief and hope that Buddha will again be incarnated." The traditions of the Kumbhipatias, as well as their present practices, point to some connection with the early Buddhists or Jains. They say that in the early ages saints, who did not cover their nakedness with so much as a rag or the bark of a tree, came to the hilly tracts of Orissa and were merciful to the sinners who lived like beasts in the forests, tending their sick and distressed: this, it will be remembered, was also the practice of Mukund Das. They, at length, gave up the cult of nakedness in obedience to a Mahima Guru, who bade his disciples wear the bark of the *kumbhi* tree. The fact that the Kumbhipatias now wear the yellow garb of the Jains and Buddhists, and, like the Jains, do not take any meal after sunset, lend colour to the conjecture that the nude sages of the tradition were Digambara Jains: Jains, as is well known, were common in parts of Chota Nagpur and Orissa at an early period.

464. It is extremely difficult to obtain reliable information regarding the esoteric beliefs of the sect, as they are revealed only to the initiated, but from the enquiries made by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar of Sambalpur, who succeeded in gaining the confidence of some Kumbhipatias, they appear to be as follows. The soul of the father is reincarnated in his son. To attain salvation, one should not be reborn. Man is sinful, because he does not repress his sexual instincts. Perfection is attained when one is free from all sexual desire. Every morning the Kumbhipatias have to give themselves up to absorbed contemplation on the organs of generation, without any feeling of such desire. For the specially initiated, strict celibacy is essential.* Others may marry and beget children, but they must only have intercourse with their wives at periods favourable for the fertilization of the ovum. If they observe this rule, though they beget children and must therefore be born again, they will be free from sexual passion, and attain salvation at the next birth. Initiation confers a secret virtue by which man and woman are rendered incapable of procreation, even though there may be sexual union. God is an unseen power manifested by the organs of generation, but is not to be identified with them or their functions. God is, in fact, an omnipresent creative energy, but is not visible or expressible, and is therefore called Alekh. These doctrines are certainly not Buddhist but phallic.

465. The history and practices of the sect reveal a strong antagonism to Hinduism and the Brahmans. Mukund Das appealed to the lower and middle classes, decried the caste system, and inveighed against the forms of worship practised by orthodox Hindus. Bhima Bhoi, himself of low caste, is said to have openly reviled the religious system of the Hindus, and, whatever his motive, attacked the temple of Jagannath. The Kumbhipatias do not worship the Hindu gods and goddesses, and will not eat food cooked in the house of a Brahman. Some, like the Jains, will not bathe, not because there is any fear of their inadvertently taking life, but because they declare that true purity is purity of mind, and Brahmanic ablutions are of no avail. They do not cremate their dead, as they do not believe in the purity of fire, but bury them. Men of all castes are admitted into their ranks. Though they only marry within their castes, they do not observe other caste restrictions among themselves.

466. The total number of Kumbhipatias who returned their religion as such at the census was only 755, of whom most were residents of Sambalpur, Angul and the States of Athgarh, Keonjhar and Dhenkanal. There is reason, however, to believe that their number is much greater than would appear from the returns. From Balasore it is reported that Alekh worship has spread among the lower class Oriyas. A number of monasteries (*maths*) of the sect are also said to be in existence in Cuttack, as well as in a number of the Orissa States, viz., Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Baud, Daspalla, Talcher, Sonpur, Pal Lahara, Athmallik, Rairakhol and Kalahandi. The total number of Kumbhipatias has, in fact, been estimated at not less than 25,000.†

* Bhima Bhoi himself had two children (both still alive), a boy and a girl, and explained to his horrified followers that he brought them into the world in order to create an ideal man and an ideal woman.

† Nagendra Nath Basu, *Modern Buddhism in Orissa* (1911), pp. 170—2.

The chief centre of pilgrimage is Joranda, where the Mahima Guru died and was buried. Here an annual gathering is held on the full moon-day of Magh, when the faithful Mahimas and also orthodox Hindus make offerings at his tomb. The offerings chiefly consist of money, tobacco, cigars, *ghi* and cocoanuts. The Guru was very fond of smoking, and hence tobacco and cigars are considered the most acceptable offerings. The cigars, after being offered, are distributed to the votaries, who smoke them as *prasad*.

467. The members of the sect belong to a number of different Oriya castes, the most strongly represented being Chasas, Koltas, Khairas, Gandas and Gondas: only three Brahmans returned themselves as Kumbhipatias. The cult is known indiscriminately as Alekh, Mahima or Kumbhipatia, the meanings of which have already been explained. The term Kumbhipatia, however, is, in some places, a misnomer. The Mahima Guru is said to have told his 64 disciples that they could wear cloth instead of bark. After his death the followers of Bhima Bhoi and Gobind Das (another disciple) took to clothes dyed yellow, while others kept to the old custom. Others again wore the yellow robe, but put a bark girdle round the waist.

468. One section, also called Alekh, which is reported from Puri, is said to be distinct from other sections, but their doctrines seem much the same. Their founder is said to have been one Artratan Das, who flourished about 60 years ago. Like Bhima Bhoi, he preached the doctrines of Alekh, the formless one, and denounced idolatry. He similarly composed religious poems, besides giving utterance to mysterious sayings (*malika*). When disease, drought, etc., come, the people refer to these sayings as prophetic. His immediate followers were given a staff and long conical cap to wear, and these insignia are worn by their modern successors. He set up a number of *gadis* or seats of the formless deity, which appear to consist merely of shapeless mounds of earth. Offerings made there were eaten together by his disciples without regard to caste distinctions, and this practice is still kept up to some extent.

469. The Birsaitis form, according to the census returns, a microscopic sect in Chota Nagpur, but there is reason to believe that their number is really greater, for in one district, at least, those Mundas who described themselves as Birsaitis were entered in the schedules as Animists. The founder of the cult was one Birsa, a Munda, who was educated in the German Mission School at Chaibasa. He was apparently at first a Lutheran Christian, but apostacized: as will be shown later, he derived a number of his ideas from the Christian teaching he had received. In 1895, while still a youth, he appeared in Ranchi as the preacher of a new faith, and his doctrines, which were largely political, spread rapidly owing to the agrarian unrest prevalent among the Mundas. For many years the latter had been seething with discontent in consequence of the encroachments of Dikkus, i.e., foreigners (Hindus or Musalmans), who ousted them from their lands and robbed them of cherished rights. There had been persistent agitation among them, as a result of which they put forward claims extending to the absolute proprietorship of the soil, subject only to payment of Government revenue. Their rights, it was urged, were those of the first-comers inherited from their forefathers, the transmission of such rights being exemplified in the story of Abraham. This agitation—the *Sardari Larai*, as it was called—was at its height when Birsa came on the scene. By representing himself as divine, he obtained unbounded influence, and under his control the movement assumed a two-fold character, political and religious. He tried to stem the progress of Christianity among the aborigines by forming a new religious sect or caste, to include, among others, perverts from Christianity. The main object of the movement however remained the same, viz., the assertion of the supposed ancient rights of the aborigines in the soil and over the jungles, the motive idea being that by an organised revolt they would be able to upset the authority of Government, and, by the institution of a reign of terror, compel submission to their demands.

470. Birsa took advantage of a violent thunderstorm, when lightning struck the ground near him, to declare that he had received a divine message—an idea prompted, no doubt, by his memory of God speaking to the Israelites from Mount Sinai amid thunder and lightning. He followed this up by

various tricks which invested him with a reputation for supernatural powers. He shut himself up in his house and gave out that he ate only once in eight days, being sustained miraculously from heaven. He said that he was going up to heaven and would not be seen again on earth for so many days, during which, of course, he hid himself. He next proclaimed himself an incarnation of the deity (Bhagwan), who had come as the saviour of all persons who joined his standard; those who did not join him were doomed to destruction. As a visible proof of his pretensions, he painted himself with turmeric and showed himself at a window in the dusk, after which it was given out that his body frequently changed into the colour of gold, this being supposed to be a sign of divinity. He also claimed divine powers of healing. A mother brought him her sick child; Birsa mumbled some prayers and laid his hand on the child's head. The child actually recovered, though not immediately, and the mother declared that it was caused by Birsa's prayer—in fact, that he had performed a miracle. People flocked in from all parts, bringing their sick, and in many cases their dead, but Birsa performed no more miracles: to account for his failure, he told the people that their faith was too weak. In a few months the bulk of both the Oraon and Munda population in Ranchi were convinced Birsais, and Christians even became disciples of the new redeemer.

471. His preaching was a strange medley of admonitions in favour of purity and asceticism, and of injunctions to his followers to defy the Government and its officers. The worship of idols and devils must be abandoned. There is but one God, he said, and to him alone worship is due. This doctrine appealed to the Mundas, as they said it was an economical religion, saving them the expense of sacrifices. Thursday (Brihaspati, which he translated as the birthday of Birsa) was set aside for the worship of God, and work was forbidden, as on the Christian Sunday. Birsa had no definite ritual, but prayed to God in a style based on his recollections of Christian prayers. His followers had to wear a sacred string, the *paitha*, as a distinctive mark, men round the neck and women in their hair. When questioned by his followers on the subject of marriage, he said that they could not have more than one wife, but took two wives himself. He inveighed against the sins of stealing, lying, murder, etc., and ordained that white pigs and white fowls were unclean; when he issued a proclamation that they should be destroyed, his orders were obeyed in the Munda households throughout the district. He also foretold a deluge which would destroy all but those round him. It was wasted labour therefore to continue to weed the crops, and as the people would have no further need of cattle for ploughing, etc., they should turn them all loose. The Government money would be turned to water, and it was useless to keep it: the people should therefore at once spend all they had in purchasing clothes. In consequence of these instructions cultivation among the Mundas was stopped, thousands of cattle were turned loose into the jungles, and all the clothes available at local markets were rapidly bought up.

472. His teaching became gradually more and more political and incendiary, its refrain being that the people were to rise, drive out or slay all foreigners, and establish the Munda Raj. Birsa would lead them to victory: if the Government tried to oppose him, its guns would be turned into wood, and its bullets into water. No one in future was to obey the Government, but Birsa; no one was to pay rent any more, as all land was to be rent-free. He was arrested, tried and convicted to 2½ years' imprisonment. On the night he went to jail an incident occurred which was regarded as an omen and did much for his cause. It was raining heavily, and an old tool shed in the jail compound collapsed. This was taken to be a sign of God's anger at Birsa's incarceration, and the news spread like wildfire. By the time it got to Birsa's own part of the country, rumour had it that the jail walls had fallen in and that Birsa was coming back to his people. He was released in 1897 on the occasion of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, and promptly resumed his campaign. He gathered some of his followers at the old Hindu temple in Chutia, a suburb of Ranchi, desecrated the images in the temple, and held a dance in its precincts. Some of his men were captured by the police, but Birsa managed to escape, and for some time kept to the jungles in the south of Ranchi and in Singhbhum. Meetings were held

by night in the jungle, always in different places, and with every precaution against surprise. The final outbreak took place on Christmas Eve, 1899, when the Christians were attacked simultaneously in various places from Ranchi to Chakradharpur. The Birsais burnt their houses and in the glare of the fires shot down with their arrows those who came out; they were even bold enough to attack the European missionaries at various mission stations. The authorities took prompt action and the revolt was quickly suppressed, Birsa having, however, some skirmishes with the troops before he took to flight. There were a large number of women among his followers, who did good work in the fighting line. Birsa himself showed no lack of courage, but was never hit. On one occasion, he painted his face with gold saying that he was the Messiah, and exposed himself on a rock during heavy rifle fire to show that he could not be killed. Whenever any of his followers was struck, he invariably told them that it was due to the weakness of their faith. Birsa was eventually tracked down and captured, but, before his trial was concluded, died in prison in June 1900 at the early age of 22 or 24.

473. [The Mundas had, and have, a firm belief in his supernatural powers. While he was in jail, no Munda believed he was really confined. They alleged that he had gone up to heaven, and that the authorities had only a clay figure in jail, which they pretended was Birsa. When, after his release from jail, he disappeared for about nine months, it was given out that he had left the earth for a time, but would return again. Some Mundas even now do not believe that he is really dead, and steadfastly expect his return. There is said to be a movement to induce his younger brother to revive the cult, but the latter has not the enterprise or enthusiasm of Birsa, and the Birsa religion seems doomed to die of inanition.]

474. A similar movement in the Sonthal Parganas is that known as the Kherwar movement. Kherwar, according to the Santals, was their original name, and the aim of the movement is a return to the golden age when the Kherwars worshipped God (Chando) only and were undisputed lords of the soil. It appears to have been first noticed in 1871, when a Santal named Bhagrit (Hinduized as Bhagirath) set up as a religious teacher, exhorting the Santals to give up eating pigs and fowls, as well as the drinking of liquor, and to abandon the worship of Marang Buru for that of the one true God. The burden of his preaching, however, was that the land belonged to the Santals, and no rent should be paid for it. He used to have a tray loaded with grain carried round at his meetings and would ask who made the grain. The reply would be Chando or God. He would next ask "Who cultivated the grain?" The answer would be "We cultivated the grain." Bhagirath then would say: "If we cultivated the grain and God made it, why should we pay rent?" His adherents were to be known as Kherwars or Safahor (clean men), and were to rise at a given signal and drive all non-Kherwars, i.e., foreigners of all kinds, out of the land. After this he would reign over them, his subjects being called upon to pay a plough tax of one anna per plough and no rents or taxes. He was eventually arrested, convicted and imprisoned, and the movement collapsed. It has, however, been revived more than once, and from time to time new *babajis* have sprung up, who are credited with thaumaturgic powers, such as the power of curing disease, procuring offspring for the childless, etc. There are still many Safahor in the district, who will not eat pigs and fowls or drink intoxicating liquor, but worship Mahadeo and never kill animals except in sacrifice. In this and other respects there is a decided tendency to adopt Hinduistic practices, but many of the *babajis* have been pervert Christians and their teaching shows traces of Christian influences. The movement is especially apt to revive in times of scarcity when the people attribute their misfortunes to their having fallen from a state of pristine purity when they worshipped only one God.*

475. There are altogether 2,018 Jews in the two provinces, of whom 1,919 are resident in Calcutta. They consist of two main classes, viz., domiciled Jews and Asiatic immigrants. Among the former a certain number are European Jews, some of

* Further details will be found in the Sonthal Parganas Gazetteer, pp. 145—157.

whom are Sephardim, *i.e.*, descendants of the Spanish Jews that were driven out of Spain by the Inquisition. The higher classes are Anglicized, and some of their members have risen to distinguished positions in the world of commerce or in the service of the State. The latter are mostly new-comers from Arabia or Asiatic Turkey, who when they arrive are ignorant of English. Nearly one-third of the Jews in Calcutta returned their language as English, and practically all the rest spoke either Hebrew or Arabic. Three-fifths were born in Calcutta, and one-sixth in Arabia.

476. The other religions have comparatively few representatives and are foreign to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Zoroastrians consist of Parsi traders from the west of India. The Confucians are Chinese who have come to Bengal in increasing numbers since 1901. Nearly all the latter are found in Calcutta, where there is a growing Chinese colony composed mainly of boot-makers and carpenters. In this city the Chinese aggregate 2,560, who are nearly equally divided between Buddhism and Confucianism.

RACES AND SECTS OF CHRISTIANS.

477. In Bihar and Orissa 6,224 persons were returned under the head of Europeans and allied races (*i.e.*, Australians, Americans, etc.), the number of Armenians and Anglo-Indians* being 92 and 3,405 respectively. In Bengal all three communities are much more strongly represented, there being 24,388 persons who are Europeans or members of allied races, 1,063 Armenians and 19,833 Anglo-Indians. Their greater strength in the Presidency is due to Calcutta, which accounts for 55 per cent. of the Europeans and allied races, 77 per cent. of the Armenians and 71 per cent. of the Anglo-Indians in Bengal. Bihar and Orissa contains more than thrice as many Indian Christians as the latter Province.

478. The number of Europeans is artificially inflated by Anglo-Indians returning themselves as Europeans. Special inquiries were made in selected towns where there is a considerable Anglo-Indian community, and it was ascertained that three-tenths of the persons who called themselves Europeans, were really Anglo-Indians. The returns in railway settlements were far more accurate, there being a misdescription of race in only one-tenth of the entries. This greater degree of accuracy is probably the effect of the railway authorities keeping a register in which their employes are classified as Europeans and East Indians,† and also to the fact that the census staff is composed of railway officers whom the Anglo-Indian subordinate has no chance of deceiving.

479. Nine-tenths of the Europeans are British subjects, and among them the most numerous are the English. The marginal statement shows the strength of the chief European nationalities in Bihar and Orissa and in Calcutta: figures for Bengal are not available as statistics of European nationalities were not compiled in Eastern Bengal. In the two provinces 14,751 persons, or nearly half the total number of Europeans, were born in the United Kingdom, and of these 11,028 returned England or Wales as their birth-place. There are no less than 5,007 children of European parentage under 12 years of age, representing one-sixth of the total number of Europeans, but, fortunately for the vigour of the race, the number between 12 and 15 who have had to be kept out in this country is very small, the aggregate being only 769.

480. In both provinces the Anglican communion is most strongly represented among the European community, 56 per cent. in Bengal and 64 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa being members of it. One-fifth in Bengal and a little over one-fifth

RACE.	Bihar and Orissa.	Calcutta.
English	4,374	9,215
Irish	617	990
Scotch	373	1,364
German	184	240
French	73	212

* For the meaning of "Anglo-Indian," see paragraph 51 below.

† This is another term for "Anglo-Indians."

in Bihar and Orissa are Roman Catholics, while Presbyterians account for one-tenth in the former and for 7 per cent. in the latter province.

481. The designation Anglo-Indian is used, under the orders of the Government of India, for the community of mixed descent hitherto known as Eurasians. From the preceding remarks it will be seen that their number is really greater than that shown in the returns owing to persons who had no title to that designation entering themselves as Europeans. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that a small number of Indian Christians returned themselves as Anglo-Indians. In some cases the names by which they are baptized, *e.g.*, David or Samson, lend themselves to such deception, but in other cases it is not easy to pass themselves off as Anglo-Indians under the scriptural names given them by missionaries. There is consequently a tendency to abandon names like Job, Benjamin, etc., and to assume European (especially Scotch) names. Since 1901 the number of Anglo-Indians in the two provinces has risen by 10 per cent., though there has been a small decrease in Calcutta.

482. The Roman Catholic Church has by far the greatest number of Anglo-Indian adherents in either province, the proportion being 58 per cent. in Bengal and 55 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. The Church of England follows next with a percentage of 32 and 37 per cent., respectively; nearly all the remainder are either Baptists, Methodists or Presbyterians. Compared with 1901 the Church of Rome has a gain of 1,779 persons among this community, while the English Church has lost 670. This change is mainly accounted for by Calcutta, where Roman Catholics are more numerous by 1,240 and Anglicans are less numerous by 1,229 than

	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
Roman Catholic ...	12,189	1,664
Anglican Communion ...	8,705	1,229

they were ten years ago.

483. The figures for Anglo-Indians include the Feringis of Eastern Bengal, who number 1,202 and are mostly resident in Backergunge, Noakhali and Chittagong: all but 14 were returned as Roman Catholics. They are descendants of the Portuguese pirates and adventurers, who either swept the seaboard in their own galleys or were retained as gunners in the service of the Nawabs of Bengal. They intermarried with the women of the country, and their descendants are now scarcely distinguishable from their native neighbours. In some parts they relapsed into paganism, and were only reconverted about half a century ago. In Noakhali they have given up marrying non-Christians and retain their Portuguese names, though these have become corrupted, *e.g.*, Manuel is now Manu and Fernandez is Fernan. In Chittagong they form connections with Magh and Musalman women, but do not marry them unless they are baptized. The children inherit the names of their fathers, whether they are the offspring of concubines or not; if illegitimate, public acknowledgment by the parents entitles them to aliment and recognition. In manners and habits they resemble natives, and they are even darker in colour. Their religion, dress and names are practically the only things that distinguish them from their neighbours. They adopt English Christian names, but the surnames are still Portuguese, such as DeBarros, Fernandez, DeSouza, DeSilva, Rebeiro, DeCruz, DaCosta, Gonsalvez, etc.

484. There is another small community of Feringis near Geonkhali in the Midnapore district, who are descendants of some Portuguese gunners whom the Raja of Mahisadal brought from Chittagong in the latter half of the 18th century to protect his property against Maratha raids. These soldiers of fortune settled on some rent-free land which the Raja gave them, and intermarried with the women of the country. Their descendants relapsed into paganism and acquired an evil reputation as thieves and robbers, though visited occasionally by Roman Catholic priests. In 1838 they were visited by the Revd. J. Bower and Mr. R. Hamfray, the former of whom described them as "nominal Christians with scarcely any sign of Christianity except a few images of the Virgin Mary and Saints, no public worship or prayer, no scriptures, no sacraments." A

number were baptized by Mr. Bower and became Protestants : at present some of them are Protestants and some Roman Catholics. They bear both Bengali and Portuguese names, such as DeCruz, Rosario, and Lobo, but they are Bengalis in everything but name and religion. This community numbers 129.

485. The Armenians have been established in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for nearly three centuries. They appear to have made their way across India as pioneers of foreign trade and had formed a settlement in Sutanuti (the site of the modern Calcutta) at least 60 years before the foundation of Calcutta by Job Charnock.* Tombstones in the old town of Bihar point to their having settled there in the first half of the 17th century, and from 1645 onwards there was an Armenian community at Chinsura, at the head of which was the wealthy family of merchants known as the Margars. In 1665 the Armenians obtained a *farman* from Aurangzeb giving them permission to form a settlement in Saiyadabad, the commercial suburb of Murshidabad, and in 1688 they received charters from the East India Company granting them free trade in the Company's territory with full liberty in the exercise of their religion. The Company, indeed, went further, for it undertook to give a site for a church, and to defray the cost of building one of timber, in any of its settlements in which there were 40 or more Armenians. At this period trade appears mainly to have engaged their energies, but they also had considerable political influence : it was largely due to the Armenian merchant Khojah Sarhad, who accompanied the embassy of 1715 to the court of Farrukhsiyar, that the British obtained the right of free trade from the Mughals. Others rose to high office under the native rulers of Bengal ; Gurgin Khan (Khojah Gregory), originally a cloth seller, became Commander-in-Chief under Mir Kasim Ali, and a number of Armenians were officers in the army under him.†

486. The number of Armenians returned at this census is 1,155 or only 74 more than in 1901 : all but 92 were enumerated in Bengal, and four-fifths of the total number were residents of Calcutta. A considerable number are new arrivals from Persia, and in particular from Julfa : when they land, they are ignorant of English, but they learn the language quickly and rapidly assimilate European ways. Calcutta being regarded as a good place at which to give Armenian boys a start in life, and the knowledge of English a valuable commercial asset, they are constantly being sent there from Persia to receive an English education. Half the number of Armenian males in Calcutta were born in Persia, but the number of females hailing from that country was insignificant : over one-fourth of those born in Persia were under 15 years of age. Three-fourths were returned as members of the Armenian Church and less than three-eighths as speaking Armenian, the remainder using English habitually.

487. The marginal statement shows the advance made by the principal Christian Missions since 1901, and also the total addition to the number of Indian Christians.

DENOMINATION.	INDIAN CHRISTIANS.		There has been an increase of no less than 50 per cent., but the rate of progress is far slower in Bengal than in Bihar and Orissa, where numerous conversions are being made among the aboriginal tribes. While the total number of Christians in Bengal has risen by only 23,150 or 21·7 per cent., there is an increase of 95,767 or 55·5 per cent. in Bihar and		
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Total, 1911.	Total, 1901.	Increase, 1901-11.
Roman Catholic	26,892	112,257	142,142	90,299	51,843
Lutheran	978	89,576	100,222	68,294	30,958
Anglican	16,005	22,242	30,247	25,299	4,948
Baptist	22,902	10,452	33,726	20,207	13,549
Presbyterian	4,112	1,074	5,186	3,063	2,123
Methodist	3,027	1,169	4,206	2,668	1,538
Congregationalist	2,326	12	2,348	1,918	430
ALL DENOMINATIONS	51,260	258,544	341,804	227,763	114,041

Orissa. Nearly the whole of the increase in the latter Province has taken place in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where an addition of 93,969 has been registered, of which Ranchi claims 52,397 and the adjoining State of Gangpur

* A tombstone over the grave of an Armenian lady, the wife of "the late charitable Sookeas," in the churchyard of St. Nazareth, Calcutta, has an inscription of which the date corresponds to 1630 A. D.

† M. J. Seth, *History of the Armenians in India* (1897), pp. 34-80.

31,934. In Ranchi the proportional growth since 1901 has been 42 per cent., and the converts now number 177,112 or 13 per cent. of the population: there are, in fact, more than twice as many Indian Christians in this district as in the whole of Bengal.

488. All the three missions at work in Ranchi have shared in the increase, but the greatest advance has been made by the Roman Catholic Church, the members of which now outnumber the Lutherans, as shown in the margin. The spread of Christianity in the adjoining State of Gangpur is perhaps even more remarkable. In 1901 there

Denomination.	1911.	1901.
Roman Catholic	77,844	54,401
Lutheran	70,381	57,468
Anglican	23,886	12,078

were only 1,758 Christians in the State, but the number has now risen to 33,692, and, next to Ranchi, is greater than that returned by any district or State in either Province. The work in this State is mainly an extension of that carried on in Ranchi; two-thirds of the converts are Roman Catholics, nearly all the remainder being Lutherans.

489. As a rule, persons converted to Christianity were returned as "Native Christians," and their caste or origin was not entered in the schedules. In the case of converts, however, recruited from among the Himalayan races or from aboriginal tribes

CASTE OR TRIBE.	Number of persons.	CASTE OR TRIBE.	Number of persons.
DARJEELING.		RANCHI—continued.	
Lepcha	1,240	Kharia	19,273
Jinadjar	215	Kamar and Lohar	374
Kami	164	Asur	264
Orson	125	Chik	220
Murmi	120	Pa	127
Limbu	104	Kurmi	75
Nayar	102	Bhuiya	49
Mangar	85	Turi	30
Gurung	71	Unspecified	547
Khas (Chhetri)	54	Others	264
-Dandi	40		
Bhotia	37	PALAMAU.	
Munda	34	Orson	7,360
Sonowar	33	Munia	234
Sarki	16	Bhuiya	127
Ghurli	13	Unspecified	37
Unspecified	1,397	Others	38
Others	102		
SONTHAL PARGANAS		SINGBHM.	
Santal	1,037	Munda	4,202
Sauria Paharia	407	Ho	1,197
Mahli	291	Orson	443
Muchl	47	Kamar and Lohar	72
Kamar and Lohar	43	Unspecified	336
Jadupatia	42	Others	179
Doti	28		
Bhuiya	17	ORISSA STATES.	
Mal Paharia	17	Orson	16,251
Unspecified	1,741	Kharia	9,194
Others	71	Munia	8,190
RANCHI.		Unspecified	4,711
Orson	88,647	Others	38
Munda	86,962		

over the Nepalese races. In addition to the 1,240 persons who returned themselves as Lepchas by race, there were 1,598 persons recorded simply as Native Christians whose language was Lepcha, thus giving a total of 2,838 Lepchas or more than two-thirds of the total number of Indian Christians in the district.

490. One reason why the aboriginal tribes are more receptive of Christianity than other communities is that a convert to Christianity is not so completely cut off from his relations and friends. In parts of Ranchi, for instance, where the Christian community is strongly represented, not only have their heathen brethren no objection to eating with the Christians, but a renegade Christian can be re-admitted into his original tribe. A further attraction is the hope of obtaining assistance from the missionaries in their difficulties and protection against the coercion of landlords. Keenly attached to their land and having few interests outside it, they believe that the missionary will stand by them in their agrarian disputes, and act as their legal advisers. It must not be imagined that Christian missionaries hold out such offers as an inducement

CAUSES OF CONVERSION.

to the aboriginals to enroll themselves in the Christian ranks, but the knowledge that the missionaries do not regard their duties as confined to the cure of souls, but also see to the welfare of their flock, has undoubtedly led to many conversions. To their credit, be it said, the missionaries have not failed in their trust, and the agrarian legislation, which is the Magna Charta of the aboriginal, is largely due to their influence. Unfortunately this belief also leads to a certain amount of desertions, self-interested converts going from one denomination to another in the hope that a change of pastors will further their interests. A number of these converts, moreover, have, before now, apostacized on finding out that conversion failed to secure the temporal benefits they expected, as the missionaries declined to support preposterous claims. Perverts from Christianity have been prominent among agrarian agitators, and have displayed bitter animosity against their former pastors.

It may be noted here that Christianity has had some effect on the tribal customs even of those who have not embraced it. "There is, I believe," wrote the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi in 1903, "no question that a generation or two back, the Mundas invariably burnt their dead; but with the spread of Christian customs and with the diminution of the fuel supply, for the last generation or so, burial has almost entirely superseded cremation, and there are very few Mundas now who can say what the ancestral custom was. The Christmas festival is now generally recognized among even the heathen Mundas as the *Paus Parab*, and I have no doubt that in another ten years it will be confidently claimed as a traditional Munda festival."^{*}

491. Among the Hindus of the plains, Christian converts are mostly drawn from among the lower classes, to whom Christianity means an accession of respectability as well as a cleaner and purer life. Those ranking higher in the social scale have more to lose, for conversion means excommunication. If his family do not turn the convert out, they themselves will be outcasted. The result is that he loses his home and his share in the land, and is left without friends or means of livelihood. Their helplessness in these circumstances is one of the economic difficulties the missionaries have to face. A social difficulty is often presented by the low origin of the converts, for, though caste is alien to Christianity, the influences of immemorial tradition still persist. In Nadia, for instance, one of the problems which the missionaries have long had to solve is the treatment of Muchis who become converts. Their customs, e.g., eating flesh of cattle that have died and been thrown outside the village, are repugnant to other Christians, as well as to Hindus, and the Muchis have long been regarded as scarcely within the pale. Even the lapse of 30 years appears to have made little difference in their position. In 1878 one of the missionaries wrote regarding these Muchi Christians, as they were called. "Their Christian brethren have ever regarded them with loathing and animosity. Besides personal dislike, a selfish consideration actuated the other sections in their treatment of these brethren. They found that by denouncing the Muchis, they obtained perfect toleration, and even caste recognition, among their neighbours: but to own the Muchis and treat them as brethren in Christ would have severed the dubious tie which they wish to maintain with the outer circle. Accordingly, for all these years their effort has been to ostracise those poor brethren, and even to drive them beyond the pale of Christianity. If a native pastor ventured to baptise a Muchi infant, he was threatened with desertion by the rest of his people; when a poor Muchi brother ventured into a church, the congregation indignantly protested; if they presumed to approach the holy table, the other communicants declared they would withdraw."[†] A recent account states:—"The Church, even at the present time, finds it hard to receive them in a whole-hearted way, sometimes even refusing to eat or smoke with them; and it is an uncommon thing for inter-marriages to take place with other Christians, though there are cases on record. The problem of how to get the Bengali Church to receive the *Bhratrigan*[‡] in the same way in which they receive Christians from Mahomedanised or from ordinary Hindu castes, has vexed all right-thinking Christians for many years. In former years feasts were given, and all were invited

^{*} H. C. Streetfield, *Variations in Tribal Practices and Belief*, J. A. S. B., Part III, 1903.

[†] Nadia District Gazetteer, p. 140-1.

[‡] A name, meaning "Brethren", now given to the Christian Muchis.

and were more or less forced to eat together, but such harsh methods were not entirely crowned with success. The more successful way has been to try by education to raise the social status of the Bhratrigan."* With this laudable object, they have been forbidden to carry on their old industry or to eat the flesh of animals that have died: they have been taught to weave coarse cloth, to keep their houses clean, and to send their children to school.

492. The pioneers of Christian missionary enterprise in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were friars or priests belonging to the Augustinian, Jesuit and Capuchin orders. Both the Augustinians and Jesuits appeared on the scene in the second half of the sixteenth century and made their headquarters in Hooghly or at Bandel in its neighbourhood. From this centre the Jesuits sent out several missionaries. One penetrated the Sundarbans, and another went to Chittagong, where he was put to death. By 1603, however, a mission had been established in the latter district, while in 1620 a branch was set up at Patna, where the Mughal Viceroy of Bihar secretly embraced Christianity. In 1632, Hooghly was captured and sacked by the Mughals, one of the reasons assigned for the attack being their anger at the success of the missionaries in proselytizing. Some of the priests were slain, and others carried off captive to Agra, but the Augustinians returned a few years later and have since lived at Bandel. The Capuchins, to whom Tibet and Nepal were assigned as a mission field, made Chandernagore their headquarters in 1703. Within a few years they extended their operations first to Patna, then to Patan in Nepal, and finally to Lhasa itself. The missionaries at Lhasa were driven out in 1745, and fell back on Patan, where they had received grants of land from the Newar Kings and succeeded in making a number of converts. They were not long left in peace, for in 1769 they were expelled by the less tolerant Gurkhas, who had overcome the Newars and made themselves masters of Patan, Katmandu and the whole Nepal valley. They then retired with their surviving converts to Bettiah, where the Capuchins had been in residence since 1745; one of them had obtained the favour of the Raja of Bettiah by curing his wife of a serious illness and had received a grant of land. The Raja gave the refugees an asylum and allowed them to settle both in Bettiah and Chuchari, where the mission has maintained its existence till the present day.

493. Protestant missionaries did not appear in Bengal till about two centuries after the Jesuits and Augustinians began their labours. The first Protestant missionary was Kiernander, who settled in Calcutta in 1758, and the first organized mission was that started by the Baptist Missionary Society, which in 1793 sent out Carey and Thomas to Bengal. The success of this mission is sufficiently attested by the fame and achievements of the faithful band who laboured at Serampore, then a Danish settlement. They were the first to translate the Christian scriptures into the different languages of India. They established the first schools for non-Christian children in the north of India, and the first college for the education of native catechists, published the first native newspaper in India and printed the first books in Bengali. In 1796 the London Missionary Society was started, and two years later its first missionary appeared at Chinsura, which was under Dutch rule. The Church of England did not attempt direct missionary work till the next century, for till 1813 missionaries were prohibited from residing in the Company's territory, and it was not till 1814 that the episcopal see of Calcutta was founded. From that time the work of the Church of England developed steadily, its chief agencies being the Church Missionary Society, which sent out its first representative in 1814, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which in 1820 started by sending out Dr. Mill as head of the Bishop's College at Calcutta. The first missionary of the Church of Scotland was Alexander Duff, who in 1844 devoted himself to the evangelization of rural districts, such as Nadia and Hooghly. Next year a Lutheran mission, known as Gossner's Mission, was started in Ranchi.

494. The limits of space preclude an account of the subsequent development of mission work, but one feature may perhaps be alluded to here, viz.,

* North of India Church Missionary Gleaner, November 1909.

the fact that many of the pioneers of Christianity have been of non-British origin. The Augustinians were Portuguese, the Jesuits were mostly Portuguese, Italians and French, the Capuchins were Italians. Kiernander was a Swede; Gossner's Mission, now known as the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission, was manned by Germans; the first Protestant missionaries in the Himalayas were Moravians, while the Scandinavian Lutheran Mission among the Santals of the Sonthal Parganas was founded by a Dane and a Norwegian.

495. The principal bodies now at work in the two Provinces are as follows:—(1) The Roman Catholic Church, in which the missions come within the following ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The Archbishop of Calcutta exercises control over practically all Bengal as well as Chota Nagpur, Bhagalpur and Orissa, and is assisted by Suffragan Bishops at Dacca and Krishnagar. The Diocese of Krishnagar comprises the districts of Nadia, Jessore, Khulna, Murshidabad, Faridpur, Dinajpur, Bogra, Malda, Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, Rajshahi and Cooch Behar: within these districts the Milan Mission is at work. The jurisdiction of the Bishop of Dacca extends over Dacca, Noakhali, Mymensingh, Pabna, Chittagong and Comilla. Bihar is under the Archbishop of Agra and his Suffragan Bishops of Allahabad and Bettiah: the latter place is the headquarters of the Prefecture Apostolic of Bettiah and Nepal, which is the sphere assigned to the Capuchins of the Tyrolese Province. In addition to these, there is the Portuguese Mission, which is administered by the Bishop of Mylapur, who is subordinate to the Archbishop of Goa. This mission owns churches at Calcutta, Bandel and Chinsura, and also in the Dacca and Backergunge districts. (2) The Anglican Communion is represented by the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Oxford Mission and the Dublin University Mission, besides the Church of England Zenana Mission. (3) The Lutheran bodies are the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission, which is mainly concentrated in Chota Nagpur and the neighbouring States, and the Scandinavian Lutheran Mission, which has its headquarters in the Sonthal Parganas. The latter is also known as the Indian Home Mission to the Santals, because it was the intention of its founders to raise in India all the funds required for its maintenance. (4) The chief Baptist missions are the London Baptist Missionary Society, the American Free Baptist Mission, the American Church of God Mission and several Australasian missions, viz., South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, West Australia and New Zealand. (5) The Presbyterians mostly belong to the Church of Scotland Mission, which also includes the Guild Mission (so called from its being supported by the Guilds of the Church), and the Universities Mission, which is supported by the Scottish Universities. Other Presbyterian missions are the United Free Church of Scotland Mission, and the Presbyterian Church of England Mission. (6) The Methodists maintain the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission, and the Wesleyan Mission, while (7) the Congregationalists keep up the London Missionary Society. Other minor missions are mostly undenominational: among them may be mentioned the Regions Beyond Mission, the Open Brethren, the Hephzibah Faith Mission, the Bengal Evangelistic Mission, the Disciples of Christ, the Church of Christ Mission, and the Church of God.

496. Since 1901 the number of Indians who have become Roman Catholics has risen from 90,299 to 142,142, *i.e.*, by 52 per cent. Only about one-fifth of the total number are found in Bengal, where they are most numerous in Dacca. Altogether, there are over 11,000 Indian Roman Catholics in this district, which is followed *longo intervallo* by Calcutta with 4,000, by Nadia and the 24-Parganas with about 3,000 each, and by Midnapore with 1,200. In no other district of Bengal does their number come up to 1,000.

The chief centre of Catholic missionary enterprise in Bihar and Orissa is Ranchi, where a mission has been established since 1874. During the last 10 years the number of converts in this district has increased by 23,443 or 43 per cent., but even greater success has been obtained in Gangpur, where the members of the communion now aggregate 22,382. The mission had no stations in that State in 1901, but one has since been started and work is also carried on from adjoining stations in Ranchi. In Palamau, where a

Jesuit mission was started at Mahuadand in 1895, the number of converts (7,703) has fallen off slightly during the last decade, but Champaran, with 2,358 Indian Christians, shows a slight advance. The only other district with over 1,000 converts is Singhbhum, where work has been carried on by the Jesuits for over 40 years: here the Church of Rome has made no headway during the last 10 years.

497. The Lutherans come next to the Roman Catholics in numerical strength, but their distribution is far more localized, all but about 1,000 being found in Bihar and Orissa.

LUTHERANS.

In this Province two-thirds (75,581) are inhabitants of Ranchi, where the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission has been established since 1845. It was originally known as Gossner's Mission, but in 1869 it was split up into two sections, one of which joined the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. During the last 20 years it has had remarkable success in proselytizing. The number of its converts increased from 19,000 in 1891 to thrice that number in 1901, and since then there has been an addition of 18,000 or 33 per cent. The operations of the mission have also been extended to Gangpur, where there are now 11,000 converts. Nearly 5,000 Lutherans are found in the Sonthal Parganas, where the Scandinavian Lutheran Mission was established in 1867. There is also a community of Lutheran Christians numbering 4,000 in Singhbhum, while 2,000 are found in Manbhum.

498. The number of Indian Christians belonging to the Anglican Church is only half that of the Lutherans and rather more than a third of the number of Roman Catholics.

ANGLICAN COMMUNION.

Since 1901 they have increased by 14,648 or 41 per cent., and the increase would have probably been greater had it not been for a change of classification. At the last census persons who returned themselves simply as Protestants without specifying any particular denomination, and whose denomination could not be traced by subsequent inquiries, were grouped with members of the Anglican Communion, it being thought that the majority of persons who returned themselves as Protestants were members of the Church of England. It was however ascertained that this was not the case, and that many Dissenters also use this vague designation. Accordingly, at this census, they have been classified under the head "Protestant (Unsectarian or sect not specified)".

499. In Bengal, the Indian members of the Anglican Communion are most numerous in Nadia (5,746), the 24-Parganas (4,774), Calcutta (2,908) and Jalpaiguri (2,128): the aggregate for the rest of the Presidency is under 2,500. There has been a slight growth in the 24-Parganas, but the Christian community is stationary in Nadia, while Calcutta shows a decrease. In Jalpaiguri however, the Anglican Christians have increased by 27 per cent., mainly as the result of a Christian colony which was established for Santals in the Western Duars about 20 years ago. The area reserved for this colony is 14 square miles, which was at first covered with dense reed jungle and infested by wild beasts. It is now divided into ten villages, each of which has a headman chosen by the villagers. The affairs of the colony are managed by a council of headmen, presided over by the native pastor. At the present time there are about 1,500 Christian and 500 other colonists, all of whom are Santals. Those who are not Christians sign a pledge to abstain from intoxicating drink and heathen sacrifices, and to abide by the rules of the colony. Every acre of available land is under cultivation, the people are prosperous, and the colony is self-supporting*.

500. There are comparatively few converts in Bihar and Orissa outside the districts of Ranchi, the Sonthal Parganas, Singhbhum and Hazaribagh, which between them contain 30,000. Five-sixths of this number are aborigines in Ranchi, where there has been a growth of nearly 11,000 or 82 per cent. since 1901: the ratio of increase is far in excess of that attained by any other mission in this district. The number of converts has also been nearly doubled in the Sonthal Parganas, where the Church Missionary Society has been established since 1862, and it has been more than doubled in Hazaribagh, where the Dublin University Mission started work in 1892. In Singhbhum, which is under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the number of the Christian is very

* Jalpaiguri District Gazetteer, pp. 44-45.

little greater than in 1901, but this may possibly be due to the emigration of converts to the tea gardens and elsewhere.

501. Though not so strongly represented, the Baptists have converts in every district of Bengal. They have made most progress in Eastern Bengal, where their missionaries have laboured among the Namasudras. In the Dacca Division their number (11,251) has risen by 3,000 since 1901, while in the Rajshahi Division it has risen from 886 to 2,418. In the 24-Parganas they now number 2,785, or nearly double as many as in 1901: here they are called *Dubit*, i.e., those who are immersed in water, in contradistinction to members of the Church of England, who are dubbed *Chhutan* or sprinklers, in allusion to their method of baptism.

In Bihar and Orissa nearly all the Baptists are Oriyas, 6,143 being enumerated in the Orissa Division and 3,759 in the Orissa States: in the former division all but 1,000 of the Indian Christian community belong to the Baptist Church. The mission has now been at work for nearly a century, and though its adherents are still far from numerous, it has done an immense amount of indirect good. The Baptist missionaries were the first to start properly conducted schools, while the Cuttack Mission Press, which has the distinction of being the oldest press in Orissa, has sent forth a stream of civilizing literature.

502. Half the total number of Presbyterians are found in Darjeeling, where missionaries of the Church of Scotland are spreading the Gospel among the hill tribes, especially the Lepchas. Since 1901 the number of their converts in Darjeeling has risen from 1,775 to 2,563, or 65 per cent. of the total number of Indian Christians in the district. The census figure, however, falls short of the real number, for 1,002 persons did not return any denomination but called themselves simply Christian without specifying any denomination. Assuming that 65 per cent. of these were converts of the Church of Scotland, the total comes to 3,213, which almost exactly tallies with the number (3,207) borne on the books of the mission. The affairs of each Christian community are managed by its own *nanchayat* or Presbytery, and the branches established in the various villages are self-supporting, building their own churches and paying partially for their pastors. The sphere of the mission operations also extends to the Duars, and there is a body of 831 converts in Jalpaiguri, chiefly tea garden coolies.

503. Since 1901 the number of Indian Methodists has increased by 1,640 or 64 per cent. They now aggregate 4,206, of whom nearly half are found in Burdwan and Bankura. Since 1901 their number has risen from 306 to 828 in the latter district, where educational and evangelistic work is vigorously carried on, especially among the Santals, while a college has been established at the head-quarters station.

504. The Congregationalists are found in greatest strength in the 24-Parganas, where the number of converts has risen from 1,277 to 1,815 since 1901. Outside that district there are only 533 Indian members of the denomination.

PART II—GENERAL.

HINDUISM.

505. THE question has often been asked "What is a Hindu," but it cannot be said that the answers have been altogether satisfactory. The term itself appears to be of Persian origin and to have been originally geographical, designating the people who lived on the further side of the Indus.* Its connotation has in the course of centuries been widely extended, and, as pointed out by

* Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (1886).

Sir Alfred Lyall, it signifies not exclusively religion, but also a country and to a certain extent a race. "When a man tells me he is a Hindu, I know he means all three things taken together—religion, parentage and country. Hinduism means a civil community quite as much as a religious association. A man does not become a Hindu, but is born into Hinduism."^{*}

506. The definitions which have, from time to time, been propounded lay stress on one or other of these three aspects.

DEFINITIONS OF HINDUISM.

Elsewhere, Sir Alfred Lyall virtually defines Hinduism as the employment of Brahman priests—"A man is not a Hindu because he inhabits India, or belongs to any particular race or state, but because he is a Brahmanist". Barth, again writes: "The sectarian or neo-Brahmanic religions, which we embrace under the general designation of Hinduism, constitute a fluctuating mass of beliefs, opinions, usages, observances, religious and social ideas, in which we recognise a certain common ground-principle, and a decided family likeness indeed, but from which it would be very difficult to educe any accurate definition. At the present time, it is next to impossible to say exactly what Hinduism is, where it begins and where it ends. Diversity is its very essence, and its proper manifestation is "sect," sect in constant mobility, and reduced to such a state of division that nothing similar to it was ever seen in any other religious system."[†] In this passage Barth lays stress on the religious aspect of Hinduism, but elsewhere he emphasizes its social system as its characteristic feature. "In sectarian India at present, and since the appearance of foreign proselytising religions, caste is the express badge of Hinduism. The man who is a member of a caste is a Hindu; he who is not, is not a Hindu. And caste is not merely the symbol of Hinduism; but, according to the testimony of all who have studied it on the spot, it is its stronghold. It is this, much more than their creeds, which attaches the masses to these vague religions, and gives them such astonishing vitality."[‡]

One Hindu writer describes Hinduism as a collective name for a group of religions, but points out that obedience to its social laws is the real criterion. "The path pointed by Vaishnavism is different from the path pointed by Saivism; both of these, again, differ from the path pointed by Vedantism. Yet all who follow these and other paths are Hindus. There is probably no religion in the world which allows so much freedom of religious conviction.....Hinduism, in fact, is more a social than religious organisation. It includes all shades of faith—monotheism, pantheism, agnosticism, atheism, polytheism, and fetishism. So long as a Hindu conforms to the customs and practices of his society, he may believe what he likes."[§] Sir William Hunter similarly defined Hinduism as being a social league and a religious alliance. "As a social league, it rests upon caste, and has its roots deep down in the race elements of the Indian people. As a religious alliance, it represents the union of the Vedic faith of the Brahmans with Buddhism on the one hand, and with the ruder rites of the non-Aryan peoples on the otherHinduism is not only a social league resting upon caste; it is also a religious alliance based upon worship. As the various race elements of the Indian people have been welded into caste, so the simple old beliefs of the Veda, the mild doctrines of Buddha, and the fierce rites of the non-Aryan tribes, have been thrown into the melting-pot, and poured out thence as a mixture of precious metal and dross, to be worked up into the complex worship of the Hindu gods."

507. Since the first census of 1872 attempts have been made by the census authorities in Bengal to evolve a definition of Hinduism, but without much success.

THE CENSUS AUTHORITIES AND DEFINITIONS.

In 1872, Mr. Beverley wrote:—"It is difficult to say where the line should be drawn which is to separate the pure Hindu from the low castes which have adopted some or other form of Hinduism. The problem can only be satisfactorily solved by a clear definition of what we mean

^{*} Asiatic Studies, Vol. II, p. 288.

[†] The Religions of India (1882), p. 153.

[‡] The Religions of India (1882), Preface p. XVII.

[§] Hindu Civilization under British Rule, Vol. I, pp. 77, 87.

|| Brief History of the Indian Peoples, pp. 96, 98.

by Hinduism, and no one has ventured as yet to lay any such definition. What is to be the test of faith which is to distinguish the real Hindu from the semi-Hinduised aboriginal? Which of the gods in the Hindu pantheon shall be made to step down and decide between them? Shall a belief in Krishna or in Durga constitute a pure Hindu? Or shall those only be classed as Hindus from whose hands a Brahman will receive water? Shall the disposal of the dead be made the test, and the various castes be distributed according as they practise cremation or burial? Or shall some form of creed be extracted from the Sastras which we may make those subscribe to who are henceforth to enjoy the dignity of being styled Hindus. Some practical shibboleth of the kind is required, it is clear. Without some such test no two men will agree in the classification of the numerous aboriginal tribes and castes in India who profess Hinduism in some or other of its multifarious forms. This difficulty of classification is one of peculiar force in Lower Bengal. Here we have a great variety of aboriginal or semi-aboriginal tribes who have been brought into contact with the Aryan Hindus and have been partially civilised by them. Living for centuries side by side, the two communities have acted and reacted on each other. On the one hand, the savage tribes have renounced their barbarism and adopted many of the rites and customs of the invaders; on the other, the Hindu religion has itself been debased from the Vedic monotheism of the Middle-land. . . . And just as we find in the present day tribes in every stage of civilization, so does the Hindu religion in Bengal assume a Protean form, from the austere rites practised by the shaven pandits of Nadia to the idol-worship of the semibarbarous Buna. The Bauris, Bagdis, and Chandals of the lower delta; the Kochs and Paliyas of Dinajpur and Rangpur; the Dosadhs and Musahars of Behar, with many others, are probably all of aboriginal extraction, but have adopted as their religion a form of Hinduism, and can scarcely be classed as other than Hindus."

508. In 1881, again, Mr. (now Sir J.) Bourdillon, the then Census Superintendent, wrote: "The Sikhs and Muhammadans, the Jews and Parsis, have an individuality which it is impossible to mistake; the Christians profess a faith which separates them from all other classes of the community; and the Buddhists and Jains, though they have been said to possess much in common, differ from each other, and from the people who surround them, in dogma, ritual and manners. Here, however, tangible definition ceases, and the remaining religions shade into each other by such imperceptible gradations, and are separated by such impalpable partitions, that it is impossible to say where one ends and the other commences: so that the border land between each one and the next is a misty valley now widening and now narrowing but always thick with the exhalations of ignorance and the fogs of doubt. 'What is a Hindu?' asked Mr. Beverley and the question has often been asked before and since without eliciting any satisfactory reply. No answer, in fact, exists: for the term in its modern acceptation denotes neither a creed nor a race, neither a church nor a people, but is a general expression devoid of precision, and embracing alike the most punctilious disciple of pure Vedantism, the Agnostic youth who is the product of Western education, and the semi-barbarous hillman, who eats without scruple anything that he can procure and is as ignorant of the Hindu theology as the stone which he worships in times of danger and sickness."

509. An attempt was made at this census to ascertain whether it was possible to lay down any criterion by which Hindus might be distinguished from non-Hindus, and the opinion of representative Hindu gentlemen and associations was invited on the subject. They were asked to state which of the following tests, proposed by the Census Commissioner, could be applied, and whether there were any others which should, in their opinion, be substituted for them:—(1) Do the members of the caste or tribe worship the great Hindu gods? (2) Are they allowed to enter Hindu temples or to make offerings at the shrine? (3) Will good Brahmans act as their priests? (4) Will degraded Brahmans do so? In that case, are they recognised as Brahmans by persons outside the caste, or are they Brahmans only in name? (5) Will clean castes take water from them? (6) Do they cause pollution, by touch or by proximity?

The result was an extraordinary divergence of opinion, the views expressed varying according as Hinduism was regarded as connoting religion,

social system or race, or a combination of any two or all three. There was, however, a general admission that no one test was possible and that the last five questions, while referring to religious, as well as social, disabilities, were merely matters of social practice.

Owing to the composite character of the Hindu pantheon, the worship of the great Hindu gods was generally considered to be insufficient to distinguish a Hindu from a non-Hindu. It was realized that such a test would exclude from the pale of Hinduism many who were recognized as belonging to it, e.g., low castes worshipping minor Hindu deities, the Arya Samaj, etc., and that no such limit was feasible. As was pointed out by more than one of those consulted—"A Hindu may be monotheist; he may or may not believe in a personal god; he may worship some of the minor deities, or he may be a worshipper of ghosts and spirits or any natural phenomenon. An atheist, a polytheist, a believer in evil spirits, a monist and a dualist, all are Hindus." It would, moreover, be impossible to decide what deities come under the category of the great Hindu gods. The gods regarded as great in one locality or by one section are, as often as not, relegated to a secondary position in a different locality or by a different community. Apart from this, it would be impossible to distinguish between Hindus and Buddhists, for the Hindu gods and the gods of later Buddhism coalesce, Kali being worshipped by Hindus and Buddhists alike, while Narayan and Siva are often worshipped by Buddhists as *Lokeswar*, *Jagannath* and *Sayambhu*.

510. A number of Hindus would, however, accept worship as the criterion of Hinduism, if it meant worship of any of the gods or goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon. On this point it need merely be remarked that their number is legion and that it is impossible to say which is or is not a Hindu god. "The Pantheon is formed of heterogeneous elements in which all the religious systems which have arisen in the course of centuries have left their several contributions."* It includes gods representing natural phenomena, e.g., the sun, earth, moon, mountains and rivers; gods of the imagination, such as beneficent or evil spirits and deities of disease; ghost-gods, such as the spirits of the dead; man-gods, such as living heroes and saints; and animal-gods, such as snakes, cows, etc.† Inanimate objects also are personified and worshipped: the writer worships his pen, the trader his weights and measures, the cultivator his plough, etc. A stone, according to the *Hitopadesa*, becomes a god when set up by priests.

The number of gods is, moreover, constantly being added to. The latest recruit appears to be the goddess of plague, who has been apotheosized in Gaya under the name *Plague Mai* or *Bombai Ka Mayan*: the latter designation is due to the fact that plague first appeared in Bombay. In some villages this new goddess has been given a place in the *Devi Mandap* and receives offerings like *Sitala*, the older goddess of epidemic disease. Recently also there appears to be a tendency to apotheosize India as a whole, and we are informed that "the motherland is the synthesis of all the goddesses that have been and are still being worshipped by Hindus."‡

511. The other tests proposed were rejected almost unanimously, on the ground that they would deny the title of Hindu to many who were universally recognized as Hindus. The right to enter Hindu temples and make offerings at the shrine cannot be regarded as a criterion. Only the clean castes are allowed to enter the majority of temples, and this privilege does not confer on them a monopoly of the title of Hindu. The worship of the gods and making of offerings are, in any case, carried on by proxy. A man of low caste will not be allowed to enter the temple of which he is the owner, that right being reserved to the Brahman whom he employs to perform ceremonies in it. Even non-Hindus may make offerings to Hindu gods. It is reported that offerings have before now been made at *Kalighat* by Christians, and that there is a temple of *Kali* in *Bowbazar Street* which is known as *Firinghi Kali*, the priest of which, a good Brahman, augments his income from the offerings of Eurasians. It is well known that certain castes are not allowed to

* Barth, *Religions of India*, page 252.

† E. W. Hopkins, *India Old and New*, 1901.

‡ *Svaraj* 1st April 1900 [cf. "The mother they all worship is India—the India which stretches from the Himalayas to the southernmost part of Ceylon. This is the India of their religion," Ramsay MacDonald, *Awakening of India*, page 307.]

enter the temple of Jagannath at Puri, but these castes are recognised as Hindus and are allowed to perform ceremonies outside the temple.* Similarly, at Gaya certain castes, known as Patit Hindus, viz., Chamars, Dhobis, Doms and Muchis, are not allowed to enter the Vishnupad temple or the Akshayavata shrine when performing *sraddha*, though they may make offerings at other *vedis*. Briefly, the low castes are excluded from the temples simply because they are unclean castes and not because they are not Hindus. A man may rank so low in the social scale that he cannot be allowed to participate actively in worship, but he is a Hindu all the same.

512. The general tendency of the Hindu gentlemen consulted was to regard Hinduism as a matter of belief rather than of social or even religious practice. The Pandits, on the other hand, considered that Hinduism consisted in the observance of the customs and usages prescribed in the Vedas,† recognition of the hierarchy of caste, and acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Brahmans. The majority of the laymen were liberal in their views; some, indeed, went so far as to treat it as faith "all-tolerant, all-complaint, all-comprehensive, all-absorbing" saying that there was no reason why any one in the world, whatever his race, should not be recognised as a Hindu by religion, if he simply professed to be one. They would not acknowledge, however, that any one not a Hindu by birth could be a member of Hindu society. This seeming tolerance is due to the heterogeneous character of Hinduism as a religion. "Within its pale we have sects as divided from each other as members of the Society of Friends are from Roman Catholics. We have followers of the Vedas, of Brahmanism, of Buddhism and of the polydaemonistic tribal cults of the aboriginal populations and of eclectic schools, religious and philosophical, of every kind and class"‡. At one end of the scale is the monotheist or cultured pantheist, at the other end is the ignorant peasant, whose religious beliefs and practices are scarcely distinguishable from Animism pure and simple.

513. In spite of their divergencies, however, the Hindus have a common religion, of which there are two salient features, viz., (1) religious objection to the slaughter of cows and (2) veneration, or at least acknowledgment of the supremacy, of Brahmans. The latter again is closely connected with the institution of caste with the Brahman holding pride of place at its head. The Hindu castes constitute Hindu society, the distinguishing feature of which is its hierarchical basis. "The only uniting tie between these sharply differentiated bodies is a certain amount of common tradition, a common language for a number of them, and for all a common religion, which consists in being disciples of the Brahmins".§ Though a man may be a Hindu by belief or, to be more precise, entertain Hinduistic beliefs he cannot be a member of Hindu society unless he is member of a recognized caste. Briefly, there is a clear distinction between religion and social system: the former is a matter of belief, the latter of custom. From the religious aspect Hinduism is all embracing, but socially it is a close corporation.

514. There is similar uncertainty about the modern meaning of the word Mlechcha. Manus contrasted Aryas with Mlechchas, the latter living in a different country and speaking a different language. The land of the Aryas was the region between the Himalayas and the Vindhya mountains: outside this lay the country of the Mlechchas or barbarians, i.e., mostly the aboriginal races. According to this definition, the Deccan was comprised in the Mlechcha country, but other writers, such as Vasishtha, imposed no such limitation. In classical works the nations to the west were called Mlechchas, but not those to the east or north. The Chinese, Burmese and other eastern nations are never spoken of

* In Section 7 of Regulation IV of 1809 the following are mentioned as persons of low caste who were not permitted to enter the temple of Jagannath at Puri—(1) Loli or Kasbi, (2) Kalai or Sanri, (3) Machhua, (4) Namasandra or Chandai, (5) Ghuski, (6) Gazur, (7) Bagdi, (8) Jogi or Nurbaf, (9) Kahar-Bauri and Dulia, (10) Rajbansi, (11) Pirali, (12) Chamar, (13) Dom, (14) Pan, (15) Tiyyar, (16) Bhuimali, and (17) Hari. The same list is given in Regulation XI of 1810 except that the Piralis do not appear in it. If entering the temple constituted a claim to recognition as Hindus, the Piralis would be Hindus one year and non-Hindus the next.

† One Pandit, however, informed me that, in his opinion, if Vedic practices only were considered, the European who ate beef and drunk wine had a good claim to be considered a Hindu.

‡ E. T. Atkinson, *Notes on the History of Religion in the Himalaya of the N. W. P.*, pp. 2-3.

§ S. V. Ketkar, *The History of Caste in India* (1909), p. 16.

as Mlechchas, but the Muhammadans are often so described. In modern Bengali the word Mlechcha is a term of abuse for those who do not adopt the rules of cleanliness (*achara*) of the Hindus. In other words, it has lost its geographical meaning and distinguishes Hindus on the basis of religious practice. It is still also used as a designation for foreigners, but there appears to be some difference of opinion as to how far it should be applied to such races as the Chinese and Japanese. On the whole, the general view appears to be that the term is confined to the Western nations. While those who go to Europe and America are liable to excommunication, voyages to China and Japan involve no such penalties.*

515. While the educated Hindus regard Hinduism as a matter of religious

THE UNTOUCHABLES.

belief rather than of religious or social practice, the vast majority of Hindus will not admit that a man is a Hindu unless he conforms to certain standards—in short, does what a Hindu does. He, in fact, takes the definition given by Mr. Gait in 1901—“Hinduism is not so much a form of religious belief as a social organization, and a man's faith does not greatly matter so long as he recognizes the supremacy of the Brahmans and observes the restrictions of the Hindu caste system.” Even if we accept the religious criterion of belief, it is obvious that there are many grades of Hindus, the Brahmans being at the top and those now generally known as “the depressed classes” or “untouchable” at the bottom. As regards the position of the latter a modern Bengali writer remarks—“It is all the same to the Brahmans whether they call themselves Hindus or not. They are just as much untouchables as they were before. Their adoption of Hindu religion causes some amount of amusement, and sometimes gives rise to a certain amount of indulgent contempt. No Brahman will, however, minister to these classes. If a Brahman is found to do so, he becomes instantly degraded, and his position is considered even lower than that of the new proselytes. The luckless minister becomes at once one of the great ‘untouchables.’ So much for the new proselytes. The fate of those who have adopted Hinduism for a much longer period is not materially different after thousands of years. They are still untouchables. To a Brahman it makes no difference whether the man is a Santal or Naga, Hari or Bagdi. They are all equally unclean. Their touch means contamination, water touched by them is polluted. Their religion of Hinduism makes no difference. But the Brahmans are not the only class that holds itself aloof. A Kayasth, Baidya or a member of the Navasakh class will hold himself equally aloof and consider himself polluted by any association with the class, just as a Brahman will do. Here, as in many other things, the Brahman leads and the others follow.” The utter contempt in which these pariahs are held may be gathered from the same writer's remark.—“A Hari or Dom—both Hindus—and a dog will be hunted out of a *Puirdalan*, with equally little ceremony and equally little hesitation. If anything, the dog will get off the more cheaply than the other two, as they are supposed to know better.”†

That the above is no exaggerated account may be seen from the treatment accorded to the Gandas, a low caste of weavers and helots in Orissa. They are so degraded that a twice-born Hindu considers it necessary to bathe if he is touched by one of them: formerly a Brahman was defiled by a Ganda even casting his shadow over him. They are not allowed to draw water from the village tank, the village barber will not shave them, the village washerman will not wash their clothes. No orthodox Hindu rides a cart if a Ganda happens to drive it, wears a garment if a Ganda has stitched it, sits on a floor if a Ganda has *liped* it (*i. e.*, plastered it with cow-dung), drinks wine if a Ganda has distilled it, or purchases vegetables if a Ganda sells them. A Ganda in suffering receives no sympathy, and the door of Hindu charity is ordinarily closed against him. Until recently, moreover, no Ganda child was allowed to join the village school, and though they

* Ketkar quotes the case of two young Hindus, of whom one went to Europe and the other to Japan, and, on their return to India, had to pay a fine which was inflicted on them by the Brahmans. The former was fined Rs. 150, because he went to a Mlechcha country. The latter was fined Rs. 120, not because he visited a non-Arya country, but because he crossed the sea and did not observe due rites and ceremonies on the way. *History of Caste in India* (1909), p. 80.

† U. N. Mukherjee, *A Dying Race* (1909), pp. 34, 37 and 38. The present popularity of the term ‘untouchable’ appears to be largely due to this writer's interesting monograph.

are now allowed to attend it, they must sit apart from other Hindu boys. They cannot enter a Hindu temple, take part in Hindu religious ceremonies, or even build their houses in the village with other Hindus.*

516. One distinguishing feature of Hinduism consists of initiation (*diskha* or *mantragrahan*) which is performed when a Hindu boy is 8 or 9 years old. The Guru informs him what god is to be the peculiar deity of his worship and whispers in his ear a *mantra*, i.e., some mystic syllables, through which he can obtain remission of sins and future happiness. This *mantra* the lad must keep an inviolable secret; its daily repetition is a solemn duty. Initiation is regarded as conferring spiritual franchise and bringing the boy into direct communication with God. The Guru renders spiritual revelation possible, for he acts as a medium between God and his disciple. Throughout the life of the latter the Guru is his spiritual guide, and receives almost divine veneration. A person who has passed the age at which he should have been initiated, without having the ceremony performed, is held to be impure and to be incompetent to perform religious ceremonies with efficacy. No orthodox Hindu will take knowingly food or water from such a man, even though he belongs to his own caste or family. He cannot enter into heaven or attain salvation by absorption into the divine essence, but will be condemned to *narak* (purgatory) and subject to re-birth. For this reason people dare not die without initiation, and the ceremony is frequently performed upon their death-bed. It is not surprising therefore that some Hindus consider initiation the most distinctive feature of Hinduism and the only possible criterion between the Hindu and non-Hindu.

517. A distinctive external sign of Hindu laymen is the *chutia* or as it is also called *shukka* or *tikki*, i.e., a lock of hair worn on the crown of the head. It distinguishes them from the Muhammadans on the one hand and from the Hindu monastic orders on the other. The practice of wearing this lock dates back to very ancient times, and cutting it off was regarded as the greatest of punishments. This, indeed, was the punishment for heinous crimes imposed on Brahmans who could not be put to death. It is said in the *Mahabharata* that, when Asvathama was convicted of killing the sons of the Pandavas, his top-knot was torn out of his head. In commemoration of this, and symbolically to heal the raw wound on his head, every Hindu when taking his daily bath sprinkles a little oil before anointing his body. Dressing the top-knot and tying it are regarded as a daily religious duty by all Hindus, and there are distinctive *mantras* to be uttered on this occasion. One of the ten sacraments (*sanskaras*) of the Hindus is *Churakaran*, a ceremony which takes place three years after birth. The ceremony consists of the tonsure of the hair of the head, only the *chutia* being left. Its significance, according to the *Artha Sastra* (by Chanakya or Kautilya), is that it must be a preliminary to learning the art of writing and calculation: this rule the writer makes compulsory for all the four sections of the Hindu community. Further reference to this ceremony, in connection with the question of initiation into caste, will be found in Chapter XI.

518. The Oriyas shave the greater parts of their heads, leaving the top-knot on the crown. The people of Bihar keep a central top-knot, though they do not shave the rest of their heads. The Bengali, like the Oriya, used to shave his head and leave the *chutia*, but many of the educated classes have discarded this with other old customs. A small minority have effected a compromise, and keep a thin lock of hair. When visiting Europeans, they brush it down closely, so that it does not appear, but when among orthodox Hindus they take care to make it visible, if not conspicuous: with this object some even tie an umbrella band round it when they are in orthodox company. A valued Bengali Brahman correspondent, to whom I owe the above information, informs me that he gave up wearing a *chutia*, but having occasion to visit Bihar on work which would bring him into contact with conservative Hindus, he allowed it to grow again. On one occasion he entered a Vedic school and, as soon as he did so, all the recitations stopped. He was taken for a non-Hindu, for his lock, being of recent growth, was small and not of the same decent length as in Bihar. He had to show his holy

* Sambalpur District Gazetteer, p. 67.

thread, as well as his top-knot, to prove that he was not only a Hindu but a Brahman before they would resume their recitations. He observed a sequel of this incident the same evening. Two of the Vedic pupils quarrelled, and one abused the other, saying "*Tum Bangali hogaya*, i.e., you have become a Bengali." The other asked why he was insulted in this way, and the reply was "Your top-knot is very short." "On another occasion, when I was in Madras, my top-knot saved me. It was raining hard and I took shelter under a temple portico, where a number of Christian boys were also taking shelter. As the temple door was opened and the image of the deity became visible, I made a *pranam*. The Christian boys exclaimed, 'Look, a Muhammadan is bowing.' I asked why they took me for a Muhammadan. They said, 'Because you keep the hair on your head.' I took off my cap and showed my top-knot, and they were satisfied that I was a Hindu."

519. The result of the inquiry referred to above was to show that anything in the nature of a uniform standard is impossible. It was recognized that Hinduism being a term connoting not only religion but also race, birth-place and social organization, it is difficult to say whether a man is within the pale or not on the basis of the proposed tests, some of which refer to his beliefs, others to his social standing, and others to his relations to Brahmans. The Census Commissioner decided therefore that instead of raising the question whether the members of particular castes should be "regarded as Hindus" or not, a list should be prepared of the castes and tribes contributing more than 1 per mille to the total population, and returned and classed as Hindus, which *qua* castes do not conform to certain standards or are subject to certain disabilities, viz., (1) deny the supremacy of the Brahmans*; (2) do not receive the *mantra* from a Brahman or other recognized Hindu Guru; (3) deny the authority of the Vedas; (4) do not worship the great Hindu gods; (5) are not served by good Brahmans as family priests; (6) have no Brahman priests at all; (7) are denied access to the interior of ordinary Hindu temples; (8) cause pollution, by touch or within a certain distance; (9) bury their dead; (10) eat beef and do not reverence the cow. In accordance with the Census Commissioner's instructions, inquiries were made in each district regarding the castes which would come within any one or more of these categories, and the result is shown below.

Caste or Tribe.	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Total No.	Categories.	Total No.	Categories.
Bagdi ...	1,015,738	5, 7, 8	...	...
Baishnab (Bairagi) ...	423,985	1, 5, 6, 9	78,739	9
Bauri ...	313,654	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10	292,503	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Beldar ...	...	...	88,921	2, 5
Bhuinmali ...	91,973	5, 7, 8	...	...
Bhuiya ...	69,044	2, 5, 6, 7, 8	663,757	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Bhumij ...	90,282	1, 5, 6, 7, 8	272,672	5
Bind ...	...	...	134,818	5
Chakma ...	58,672	1, 5, 6	...	...
Chamar ...	136,553	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10	1,114,467	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Chasadhoba ...	57,550	5	...	...
Dhoba or Dhobi ...	228,052	5, 7, 8	376,623	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Dom ...	173,991	5, 6, 7, 8, 10	241,903	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Dosadh ...	...	...	1,189,274	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Ganda ...	...	...	211,775	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Gareri ...	...	...	92,435	5

* This category includes two distinct groups, viz., (a) certain sectarian groups which owe their origin to a revolt against the Brahmanical supremacy; and (b) the aboriginal tribes and also certain low castes who, being denied the ministrations of Brahmans, retaliate by professing to reject the Brahmans.

† Here again there are two groups, viz., (a) castes derived from ascetics and (b) low castes imperfectly Hinduized.

Caste or Tribe.	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Total No.	Categories.	Total No.	Categories.
Hari ...	173,706	5, 6, 7, 8, 10	119,468	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Ho ...	...	...	419,221	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Jogi or Jugi ...	361,141	1, 5, 6, 7, 9	...	...
Kaibartta (Jaliya) ...	326,988	5	...	...
Kalu ...	111,562	5, 7	...	...
Kalwar ...	...	...	180,825	5, 7, 8
Kamar ...	263,392	7	...	...
Kandh (Khond) ...	...	...	302,883	1, 2, 5, 6, 7
Kandra ...	...	...	155,806	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
Kaora ...	112,281	5, 6, 7, 8, 10	...	...
Kapali ...	154,418	5, 7	...	...
Kewat ...	...	...	42,506	5
Kharis ...	...	...	105,472	5, 6, 7
Kharwar ...	...	...	85,876	5
Koch ...	125,046	5	...	...
Kora ...	46,497	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10	48,983	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
Kumhar ...	...	...	513,327	5
Mal ...	108,163	5, 6, 7, 8, 10	...	...
Mallah ...	...	...	362,927	5, 7
Malo ...	247,200	5	...	...
Muchi ...	455,236	2, 5, 7, 8, 10	31,339	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Munda ...	67,252	1, 2, 5, 6, 8	410,440	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Musahar ...	...	...	626,795	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Namasudra ...	1,908,728	5, 7, 8	...	...
Nuniya ...	...	...	319,102	5
Oraon ...	165,337	1, 5, 6, 8	474,673	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
Pan ...	...	...	464,046	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Pasi ...	...	...	150,142	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Patni ...	63,447	5	...	...
Pod ...	536,568	5, 7, 8	...	...
Rajbansi ...	1,805,833	5, 7	...	...
Rajwar ...	...	...	131,971	5
Santal ...	669,420	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10	1,399,450	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Savar ...	...	...	191,798	2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9
Shaha ...	324,927	5, 7	...	...
Sonar ...	55,295	5, 7	...	...
Subarnabanik ...	109,429	5	...	...
Sunri ...	119,325	5, 7, 8	257,114	5, 7, 8
Sutradhar ...	177,433	5, 7	...	...
Tanti ...	...	...	613,277	5, 7
Teli ...	...	...	1,071,906	5, 7
Tipara ...	130,025	1, 5	...	...
Tiyar ...	215,270	5, 7, 8	60,897	5, 7, 8

520. This list merely summarizes the reports received and must be accepted with reserve. The utmost care has been taken to place the castes under the different categories only when there was a general consensus of opinion about them, and to reject views that were manifestly based on misconception; but in other cases I was not in a position to judge of the correctness or incorrectness of the reports received, and errors may have been made. The variations of opinion were remarkable. In one district a caste would be included under one or other of the heads, in another it would be excluded. Such divergencies were most pronounced in Bihar and Orissa, especially as regards castes that in Chota Nagpur or Orissa are only semi-Hinduized, but elsewhere have a respectable status.

In neither Province has any caste been placed under the third or fourth category. Several castes were returned under the third category, but they are all at such a low level of education that they are not in a position to pronounce any opinion about the Vedas. In fact, they scarcely know what the Vedas are and cannot be said either to accept or reject them. A number

of castes were also returned under the fourth category, but though the great Hindu gods are not regularly worshipped by them, they recognize their divinity and render them occasional homage: Devi under one form or another is almost universally worshipped either regularly or occasionally. It is therefore difficult, if not impossible, to affirm positively that any castes do not worship the great Hindu gods. Several castes have, moreover, been excluded from the second class, though it was reported that they came under it. This is due to the fact that among the Baishnabs the Nityananda Gosains "open the door of fellowship to all sorts and condition of men, be they Brahmans or Chandals, high caste widows or common prostitutes." These Gosains are unquestionably recognised as Hindu Gurus, and the Baishnabs certainly receive *mantras* from them. As regards the eighth class, it must be remembered that, largely as a result of the growing popularity of travelling by train and the necessities imposed on travellers, the idea of pollution by touch is ceasing to have its old hold over the mind of the Hindus, though it is still as potent as ever among orthodox Hindus of the old school and high caste widows. The burial of the dead, is moreover, often due merely to poverty. Members of the depressed classes who cannot afford fuel for cremation will light a small fire near the corpse as a humble substitute, which will, they believe, have the same purifying effect as actual cremation. Even the degraded classes, who eat beef, will not kill a cow for food or purchase beef, but merely eat the flesh of cows that have died a natural death. It is doubtful whether they can be said not to revere the cow. Personally, I should be inclined to say that they revere it when alive, but not when dead.

521. Many of the castes or tribes entered in the list are either frankly animistic or contribute largely to the ranks of Animists. Their Hinduism is often doubtful or more than doubtful. At home where their manner of worship and general method of life are known, they are not regarded as Hindus: but when they go far afield they arrogate the title. In Bengal, for instance, more Mundas and Oraons were returned as Hindus than as Animists, but in Bihar and Orissa there are four Munda Animists to every Munda Hindu, while among the Oraons the Animists out-number the Hindus by eight to one. Altogether there are 28 castes or tribes in Bengal, and 30 in Bihar and Orissa, of whom some were returned as Hindus and others as Animists, the figures being as shewn in the margin.

	Hindus.	Animists.
Bengal	897,551	823,290
Bihar and Orissa	2,888,121	2,006,118

522. A large proportion of the Hindus in any case consist of persons of aboriginal descent, whose Hinduization is of recent date and often not very deep. The

HINDUIZATION OF ABORIGINALS.
lateritic uplands of West Bengal and the fringe of the Chota Nagpur plateau were, even a few centuries ago, the home of non-Aryan races who were regarded as outside the pale of Hinduism. The *Brahmanda* section of the *Bhavishyat Purana* (compiled in the 15th century) describes Birbhum as a jungle tract inhabited by a small black race, with little morality and no religion. In Varahabhum (which included Manbhum and the western portion of Bankura), the inhabitants were said to be robbers by profession, irreligious and savage by nature, worshipping none but rude village deities. They ate snakes and flesh of all kinds, drunk spirituous liquor, and lived chiefly by plunder and by chase; their women were, in garb, manners and appearance, more like Rakshasas than human beings. These races may be identified with the Bagdis, Bauris and Blumij, who swelled the ranks of the Chuars in the latter part of the 18th century. These banditti, who gave the British infinite trouble during the early days of their rule, were, according to Mr. Grant, "robbers of a swarthy black, like the neighbouring mountaineers of the north and west, now for the most part received as converts to the established system of Hindu faith.*"

523. The process of Hinduization is apparent even at the present time in the case of the tribes and castes of Orissa. In many cases they consist of two sections, one frankly Animistic and the other Hindu. Thus, the Kandhs

* J. Grant, Analysis of the Finances of Bengal (1787), Fifth Report, 1812.

(Khonds) of the Khondmals are a purely aboriginal race with a language, religion and communal organization of their own; the Kandhs of Puri have lost all knowledge of their language, are completely Hinduized, and in every way resemble the lower Oriya castes. Not only do they look on themselves as good Hindus, but they are regarded as such by their orthodox Hindu neighbours, who will put up in their villages, or stay in their houses, although they would consider themselves polluted by doing so in the case of Savars, Bauris, and other aboriginal races. Some of the Gonds again are purely Animistic, others have a recognized position in the Hindu hierarchy. The higher section of Raj Gonds, who probably are the descendants of tribal chiefs, have so good a status, that Brahmans will take water from them: many, indeed, wear the sacred thread and surpass their mentors in the minutiae of ceremonial observance, even having the wood with which they cook their food washed before it is used for the fire. Among them, however, some are still found who worship the old tribal god and place cow's flesh to their lips wrapped in cloth,* in the belief that thereby they will avert his anger. A similar example of the division of a race is afforded by the Savars, of whom there are three sections, the wild Animist Savars of the hills, the Savars or Suars of Puri, who actually serve as cooks in the temple of Jagannath,† and the Sahars who have been Hinduized and, in the process, have modified their name. All are descendants of non-Aryan tribes who were overwhelmed by the advancing wave of Aryan invasion. The greater part were swept into the hills where they remained isolated and untouched by Aryan influences. A minority remained in the plains and became the serfs of the conquerors, whose religion and language they gradually adopted. "Hinduism in Orissa, holds out to all an ascending scale of ceremonial purity. The backward aboriginal tribes outside the pale of Hinduism, like the Khonds, set up a Hindu god, get a Hindu priest to minister them, adopt some of the customs of the pure Hindus, and thus become, in time, recognized as low class Hindus. The more energetic, again, of the low castes within the pale of Hinduism gradually raise themselves to higher standards of ceremonial purity, and the more wealthy members among them even raise themselves to membership of some higher castes. Not only does Hinduism in Orissa, even at the present time, absorb the less civilized tribes outside its pale, but there is also a process of evolution in active operation among the recognized Hindu castes themselves.‡"

524. The employment of a Brahman as a priest is the seal of absorption into Hinduism. The Brahman may be a low Brahman, a kind of hedge priest, but it is sufficient for aboriginals if a Brahman ministers to them instead of a man of their own race. Day by day also the Brahmans gain good ground as they are accepted by priests by the low Hindu castes or *anacharania* classes, who rise in the social scale if a Brahman ministers to them instead of the priests or Pandits of their own caste. Sometimes they employ Brahmans in opposition to their Pandits, sometimes in addition to the Pandits, and sometimes when the Pandits' families are extinct. The manner in which the Brahmans steadily supplant the latter is very clearly exemplified in the case of the temples of Dharma, originally the second member of the Buddhist triad. These are falling into the hands of Brahmans, who worship Dharma either as a incarnation of Vishnu or as a form of Siva. One instance may suffice to illustrate the process. Near Navadwipa, in the district of Nadia, there is a temple of Dharma, which till two or three generations ago had a low Hari as the hereditary priest. Hogs and cocks, both abominations to the Hindus, were openly sacrificed, but votive offerings formed the main source of the Hari's income. Brahmans kept aloof from the temple, until some of them suffering from what they took to be incurable diseases came as a last resource. They were cured, and then the question arose: How could they make the offerings which they had promised in case of a cure? They would not make their offerings through a Hari, and no good Brahman would do so. At last, a low Brahman consented

* This is clearly a symbolical eating of beef, and the cloth is presumably intended to preserve their status as Hindus.

† According to legend, the original image of Jagannath was found in the country of the Savars. For a further account of this interesting race see Chapter XI.

‡ N. K. Bose, *The Hindus of Puri*, Calcutta Review, 1891.

to serve for a consideration. Gradually, other Brahmans came to make offerings through him, and he and the Hari became practically joint owners of the temple. The Hari tolerated the Brahman, as he ensured contributions from Brahmans. The Brahman tolerated the Hari, as the temple gave him a living, but he made the Hari abstain from sacrificing hogs and cocks openly in front of the temple: such sacrifices were made in the jungle behind the temple. The Hari family having died out, the Brahman is now the owner of the temple, and Dharma is worshipped as a form of Siva; but a close observer will find that the *Nabidya* (a daily offering of rice) is divided into two parts, one offered to Dharma and the other to Siva.

MODERN TENDENCIES OF HINDUISM.

525. Among the educated classes of Bengal there has been a revival of Hinduism both from the more purely religious and the metaphysical aspect. The work of the Theosophical Society has had not a little to do with this change, the Hindus being taught to examine the treasures hidden in their own scriptures. Vedantism has gained ground, the Ramkrishna Mission being one of its direct results. Many Hindus now call themselves simply Vedantists; others designate their religion Sanatan Dharma i.e., the everlasting religion, meaning Hinduism in its pristine and immemorial form. The most cultured are either monotheists or pantheists, and their attitude towards other forms of faith is one of toleration. Though not idolaters themselves, they do not look upon idolatry with horror. They even countenance it to some extent, for truth has many facets, and there are many ways of attaining salvation. At the same time, many of them hold advanced social views, which their conservative brethren would stigmatise as heterodox. Caste restrictions are relaxed, especially in the matter of eating and drinking together, e.g., at private parties or picnics and on railway journeys. Forbidden food, cooked and served by low caste servants or Musalman khitmatgars, is commonly eaten in hotels and refreshment rooms. Even in private houses many do not trouble to make sure that the cook is a Brahman or that other servants belong to castes from which they may take water. The feeling of tolerance also extends, to a small degree, to intermarriages between members of different subcastes, especially among Kayasths and Baidyas. Such marriages are contrary to custom and are condemned by formal resolutions recorded at caste meetings. When they take place, the offenders are outcasted, but after a time the community relents. The offence is condoned by a special resolution, and the offenders are let off with a fine, which is nominal if they are poor. Such cases are still comparatively rare, but as each occurs, the feeling against them loses in strength. In this, as in other respects, practice lags behind principle. Another modern tendency which calls for some notice is the active or passive neglect of the authority of the Brahmans as a final court of appeal in matters affecting the status of castes and their social practices. Hitherto it has been the acknowledged privilege of the Brahman Pandits to interpret the *Sastras* and to declare whether any deviation from the orthodox rules may be allowed. Of late years, however, a number of castes have advanced new claims, or adopted new practices, if not in defiance of, at least without the sanction, of the Brahmans. They convene meetings presided over by, and confined to, members of their own caste and by means of resolutions settle questions that previously were adjudicated upon by Brahmans only.

526. The principal organization for the dissemination of modern Vedantist

VEDANTISM.
RAMKRISHNA MISSION.

views in Bengal is the Ramkrishna Mission. The mission is so named after Ramkrishna Paramhansa, whose pure life, religious fervour and mystical views attracted a number of thoughtful Hindus before his death in 1886. Ramkrishna himself expounded his doctrines by means of parables and allegories, and was deeply imbued with the spirit of Vedanta philosophy. It was left to the greatest of his disciples, Swami Vivekananda (the son of a Calcutta lawyer, whose original name was Narendra Nath Dutt) to organize his followers and give practical effect to his teaching. Vivekananda spent his

life advocating Vedanta principles in India, America and England, and in 1897 founded the Ramkrishna Mission. The name shows an infiltration of English ideas and its organization and methods of propaganda resemble those of Christian Missions, *e.g.*, educational institutions, medical work, and the use of the printing press. While using modern methods for his propaganda, Vivekananda was true to the old catholic spirit of Hinduism, for he proclaimed that all existing religions are different paths leading to one God: all the paths are equally right, and every sincere seeker after truth is sure to attain God, whatever may be the path he chooses for himself. "As different streams, having their sources in different places, all mingle their water in the sea, so the different paths which men take through different tendencies, various though they appear, and crooked or straight, all lead to one Lord."* From the religious point of view, therefore, the Mission he founded is Vedantist, but its most prominent characteristic is that it finds inspiration in the spiritual and literary treasures of India: it is this vindication of the spiritual independence of India that largely appeals to the modern Hindu. Socially the members of the Mission hold advanced views, for the eating of meat is not prohibited, travel in foreign land is countenanced, and non-Hindus are admitted such as the late Sister Nivedita (Miss Margaret Noble.)

527. Occultism appears to have appealed strongly to the better Hindu classes of recent years. One sect in which

OCCULTISM IN BENGAL.

appears to play a considerable part is called Jyoti Swarup Upasna. It was established by one Shivanarayan Paramhansa of Ghazipur who came to Bengal about 20 to 25 years ago. He worshipped the Sun, Moon and Fire and preached that these are the manifestations of God. To gaze upon the sun and moon, regularly and with rapt attention, and to offer *hom* in fire were the most virtuous and spiritual of all acts. He believed in no caste system and no idol worship, and he advocated *pranayan*, *i.e.*, the regulating of the breath, the theory being that every man has only a certain number of breaths allotted for his lifetime. If a man uses them sparingly, he can prolong his life and, by concentration of mind, attain supernatural powers. A similar, if not the same, sect is that of which the founder is said to have been the late Shama Charan Lahiri of Benares, who on retirement from Government service became a *yogi's* disciple. Shama Charan Lahiri is said to have made a number of converts in Bengal.

528. The same tendency is noticeable in Bihar, where a desire to study occultism has come over the educated classes

OCCULTISM IN BIHAR.

during the last few years. They believe that, by the study and practice of *Yoga*, they will learn the mysteries of life and death and eventually realise the 'self.' Among them, it is said, the only important worship is that of the Gura or spiritual teacher and the One Supreme Being. They are seekers after truth, who try to lead an unimpeachable moral life and show toleration for the faith of others, whether Hindus or non-Hindus.

529. The leading sect of this kind is that known as Radhaswami, the founder of which was Siva Dayal Singh of Agra, who died in 1878. His chief disciple was the late

RADHASWAMIS.

Rai Saligram Singh Bahadur, Postmaster-General of the United Provinces, who succeeded in making a number of converts before his death in 1898. He was succeeded by Pandit Brahma Sankar Misra of the Accountant-General's Office in that Province, after whose death in 1907 the leadership of the sect was disputed, but Babu Kamala Prasad, a pleader of Ghazipur, received the votes of the majority and was elected their spiritual leader. A full account of the esoteric doctrines of the sect was given in the United Provinces Census Report of 1901 (pages 78—80) and it will be sufficient merely to mention briefly, and in popular language, their main features as professed in Bihar at the present time. The object of the sect is the purification of the soul and the eventual salvation of the spirit. When it is released from the bondage of mind and matter, rebirth ends: the spirit reaches, and remains in, the presence of the Supreme Being, without however

* The World's Parliament of Religions, Vol. I, pages 242, 243.

† J. Buchanan, The Moon Endureth (1912), pages 205-207.

losing its individuality. This consummation is to be secured by a kind of *Yoga* (called *Surat Shabd Yoga*, a practice of the word and spirit), under the direct guidance of the Guru. The latter, who is also called the *Santsatguru*, is regarded as an incarnation of God and the channel of spiritual enlightenment. Transmigration is believed in: the consumption of animal food and intoxicating liquor is prohibited. But perhaps the most prominent feature of the cult is Guru veneration. All castes are eligible for admission to the sect. The neophyte has not to give up his profession, cut off his connection with his family, or abandon the social practices of Hindus. The doctrines of the cult have appealed forcibly to the educated classes of Bihar, and some Bengalis in Chittagong have also embraced it.

530. While Vedantism and Occultism have found increasing favour among the cultivated classes, the religious fervour of the ordinary Hindu is kept alive by the ease and cheapness with which pilgrimages can be made.

PILGRIMAGES.

By enabling even the poorest to perform a pilgrimage, the railways have helped to stimulate and give new life to Hinduism. On the other hand, the journey being cheap and easy, the peasant is apt to regard it with less solemnity. He makes straight for the large centres and neglects the smaller shrines that he would have visited when the journey was made by road. Now, moreover, that he can reach his goal within 24 hours or a few days, instead of having to plod along the road for days or weeks, he spends a shorter time at the place of pilgrimage, and leaves it with attenuated devotions.

531. Another potent influence in reviving or invigorating the faith of the people has been the establishment and multiplication of Hari Sabhas. These are religious institutions which appear to have been started on an

HARI SABHAS.

extensive scale only during the last half century, but are now common in the towns and villages of Bengal. They are Vaishnava in conception, their object being spiritual development by means of *bhakti*, or devotion to Krishna or Hari. It is recognized that *inān*, or salvation by knowledge, is an abstruse subject, the study of which is beyond the capacity of the ordinary man. *Bhakti* is therefore adopted as the easiest and surest means of salvation. The Sabhas assemble once a week, either in a building erected as their meeting place or at the house of one of the members. A Pandit is engaged to read and explain the text of the *Srimat Bhagabat* and other Puranas, while a *kirtan* party is engaged for chanting the name of Hari and singing songs about the life of Krishna and Gauranga. One indirect result is that the *kula purohit* is being supplanted by the Hari Sabha Pandit, who is maintained by the subscriptions of the Sabha: in other words, the common priest is substituted for the family priest.

The Hari Sabhas mark the introduction of a new leaven in Hinduism. The ordinary Hindu can take no part in the *mujas* by which the gods are approached. Worship is confined to vicarious offerings and *mantras* uttered by the priest. The latter is sole celebrant, and the worshipper stands apart. In the Hari Sabha not only are *mujas* offered at festivals, such as the Dol and Janmastami, but such occasional celebrations are supplemented by regular religious and moral lectures. The meeting house not being a temple, all may gather there and join in the devotional exercises: worship is, in fact, congregational, which is an idea alien to Brahmanism. The conception of a divine personality is brought home to the assembled people both by the sacred books and by the devotional songs in praise of Chaitanya, which form a leading part of the programme. Though these Sabhas are essentially Vaishnava institutions, Saktas are also attracted by them.

532. The Hari Sabhas are practically informal associations for the maintenance of religious meetings. The expenses of a Pandit, of a meeting house, if any is built, and other incidental charges are met by subscriptions.

GITA AND THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETIES.

Gita societies, on the other hand, have a regular constitution with a secretary and committee or managing body. Their object is to present the doctrines of the Gita in popular form and to debate on the religious truths it contains: they perform much the same functions in cities as the Hari Sabhas in villages. The interpretations put on passages in this noble work are unfortunately

sometimes fantastic and dangerous; it is well known that in recent years the Anarchists have sought to further their propaganda by such misconstructions. In the towns of Bihar the place of Gita societies is taken by Theosophical societies. The members, who belong to the educated and well-to-do classes, meet to discuss religious topics, and the reading of the Gita is common, some Theosophical societies even having Gita classes.

HINDU SECTS.

533. It was decided not to attempt to obtain a record of Hindu sects, previous experience having shewn that the results are so inaccurate or incomplete as to be of little or no statistical value. A large majority, moreover, of the Hindus do not owe allegiance to any sects. Many are recently Hinduized and have a very elementary conception of the Hindu religion: they are content with their recognition as Hindus and, under this name, worship their old gods. Others, and those the greater number, have a favourite deity, but also revere other members of the Pantheon and join in their worship on days set apart for it. Their standpoint is that of the ninth century hunter described in a recent collection of stories and poems, who worshipped the Christian Trinity, the Virgin Mary and the Saints, but at the same time made occasional obeisance to the old moss-grown altar of Apollo "for Gods are kittle cattle and a wise man honours them all." The attitude of many a Hindu is, in fact, that of the old Brahman, who "in his private worship first made an offering to his chosen deity, Narayan (Vishnu), and then threw a handful of rice broadcast for the other deities, and hoped, by thus recognizing their existence and authority, to keep them in good humour towards himself."* Though it was felt to be out of the question to obtain statistics of the actual number of adherents of different sects, the opportunity was taken to make inquiries about the establishment of new sects or to collect information about changes in the older sects. The following notes are compiled from the reports received.

It has been a peculiarly difficult task to obtain reliable information regarding different sects, as their members are averse to informing the uninitiated of their beliefs and practices. A further difficulty is presented by the fact that the secrecy of some sects has led to misunderstanding and consequent misrepresentation. Their esoteric doctrines not being known, they are regarded with prejudice, and popular belief attributes to them the celebration of gross orgies and disgusting obscenity. It is therefore not an easy task to arrive at a knowledge of their inner beliefs, to distinguish between fact and fiction.

534. An account of the Kartabhajas was given in the last Census Report, to which the reader is referred for information regarding its history and development. According to Jogendra Nath Bhattacharyya they are a "disreputable Guru-worshipping sect," "The exhibition of fervent love is," he says, "their only form of religious exercise. At their secret meetings they sing some songs as a cloak for familiarities which cannot be described".† These statements are indignantly repudiated. According to a member of the founder's family, who has furnished me with an account of the sect, their meetings are never held in secret. They are held weekly on Friday evening in the house of the Mahashaya or preceptor, and are attended by his Varatis, i. e., his immediate followers and disciples. They are neither secret nor exclusive, and outsiders may, if they like, attend them: on important occasions formal invitations are issued to outsiders as well as to the neighbouring members of the sect. The meetings commence with the singing of religious songs taken from their holy book, the Bhabar Gita, which is followed by a general religious discussion on various topics, including the interpretations to be put on the songs. They end with the distribution of *sirni* (sweetmeats dedicated to God) amongst those present. "These meetings, or *majlis* as they are generally styled, are simply religious and social gatherings."

* W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, page 302.

† *Hindu Castes and Sects*, pages 485-8.

535. The accounts of this sect have hitherto been drawn mainly from outside sources. A brief summary may therefore be given of the beliefs which the sect itself claims to hold. They say that Kartabhaja does not mean a worshipper of the headman, but a worshipper of the Creator. They do not use the designation themselves, but Satya Dharma or Sahaj Dharma, *i.e.*, the true or easy religion. "Its object," writes my informant, "is to call forth the latent divinity in man. This it seeks to accomplish not by renouncing the world and its cares as something transitory and illusive, but by going through life's struggles manfully and heroically, sustained by love for mankind and reverence for nature. Far from being atheists, as some writers have described us, we believe in the existence of a personal God, whom we can love and adore. The *mukti* or salvation we seek to attain is not one of annihilation or of absorption, but one in which we shall live in subordinate co-operation with the supreme Godhead. We have no outward characteristics that would mark us out, no marks on the forehead or elsewhere, no special garb, no particular ornament or instrument. Neither have we any secret signs, nor any secret rites and ceremonies. Ours is not a Guru-worshipping sect, as some have taken it to be. In fact, as a safeguard against any possible misconception as to the rights and obligations of a religious preceptor, and the consequent misuse of his privileges, the terms Guru and Sishya are never employed among us. On the contrary the words used are Mahashaya and Varati, of which the former, (as in the combination Guru Mahashaya) means simply a teacher; and the latter (derived from Pr. *Varat*, meaning need) signifies one in need of spiritual instruction, or more simply a student. The Mahashya is merely a teacher and has no right to exact any divine homage from his Varatis.

"The duties enjoined on the members are *inter alia* the following:—(1) Never to utter any untruth. This injunction is so strictly observed by the majority of the members, that our sect has come to be called the Satya Dharma sect. This also explains the presence of the word Satya in the names, such as Satya Charan and Satya Das, given to the children of our members. (2) Every day to repeat the *mantra* at least three times in the prescribed manner on five occasions, *viz.*, early in the morning when rising from bed, then again after morning ablutions, in the noon after bathing, before dinner in the evening, and lastly at night when retiring to bed. (3) To hold Fridays sacred and observe them with fasting, religious meditation and discourses, and, where practicable, to hold or attend in the evening a *mailis* or religious meeting of the sect. (4) To abstain from meat and intoxicating liquors. (5) To attend diligently the festivals held at Ghoshpara, and to pay or remit something to the *gaddi* in recognition of the spiritual headship of the Karta. The members are at perfect liberty to follow the customary rules and usages of their families and communities, and it is only in matters purely spiritual that they are amenable to the control of the sect. From the spiritual point of view all members stand on the same footing. No distinctions based on caste, wealth, etc., are recognized."

536. At the same time, it must be admitted that popular belief credits the Kartabhajas with immoral practices. One Hindu gentleman declares that the meetings are held at the dead of night in secluded houses, that women lend their bodies to their spiritual leaders in the belief that thereby they pave the way to salvation, and that the disgusted villagers not infrequently break up the meetings and assault the members, their gatherings consequently ending in a *saue qui peut*. On the other hand, another independent Hindu gentleman, whose knowledge and absence of bias entitle his views to respect, writes—"Many of their doctrines are couched in somewhat mystic language, and most of their religious practices are kept concealed from men who do not belong to their sect. Misunderstandings and misrepresentations have necessarily arisen with regard to their practices, which have brought them under the lash of historians and poets, such as Akhay Kumar Dutt and Dasarathi Ray. I have known some men belonging to this sect whose life gives a lie to these misrepresentations. That it is merely a branch of Vaishnavism is apparent from the name of "Sahaj Dharma". Even before the appearance of Chaitanya, this name was current among the Vaishnavas: the great poet Chandi Das in his esoteric poems has two or three *padas* entirely devoted to the exposition of this Sahaj Dharma, or easy religion. There is no room for doubt that the Kartabhajas have derived most, if not all, of their devotional practices from this

and other mystic works of the great Vaishnava teachers. There seems to be, however, this difference that while the Vaishnavas laid greater stress on the element of *Bhakti* (love) and self-abrogation, the Kartabhajas pay more attention to the self, or more properly the ego (herein adopting the principles of Vedanta), seeking thereby to bring out in prominence the latent deity in every soul. The moral precepts of both sects are much the same, and also to a great extent the methods of realization, which in both cases are very difficult, though nominally called *saha* or easy."

According to another correspondent, the original principle of the Kartabhajas was the very antithesis of sensuality. Their principle was *Magi hijre minshe khoja Tabe habire kartabhaia*, i.e., men and women must remain as eunuchs. In other words, they must avoid all sorts of sexual connection; they will then be real worshippers of the Karta (God). The underlying belief is that only by sexual self-restraint can one avoid the cycle of rebirth. This idea is said, perhaps falsely, to be carried so far that, before initiation the neophyte has to stand stark naked in the presence of some young girls to test his powers of restraint.

537. The same idea of the evils of procreation, as leading to rebirth in a world of misery, appears to be the basis of the beliefs of the Bauls, another Vaishnava sect. One man, who gave up the sect in disgust, declared that, in order to attain supernatural powers, the members drink a certain liquid filth consisting of an organic discharge.* It is said that they are desirous of emulating the amorous feats of Krishna; knowing that they have not the same divine power of being able to enjoy sexual connection without issue ensuing, they believe that such perfection can only be attained by imbibing this vile draught. In public they appear as religious minstrels, whose manner of life has earned them their name, which is a corruption of *Batul*, meaning madman. They do not shave or cut their hair, go about in motley garb, and sing devotional songs to the accompaniment of stringed instruments called *gub-guba-gub*. Their dress consists of a cone-shaped skull cap and a coat made of dirty rags patched together.

538. It is reported that a new sect, called Satima from the name of their deity, 'Satima, i.e., Sati or Durga, has recently sprung up in Murshidabad, Nadia and Calcutta. They are not ascetics but marry, have children and lead an ordinary social life: sometimes the males keep their hairs and nails long, while the females wear matted hair. Friday is a sacred day among them, when they meet in the evening for religious services. Their leader, who may be male or female, is believed to have occult powers and to be able to speak of past, present or future events. The eating of meat and drinking of intoxicating liquor are prohibited. When ill, they do not use medicines, but besmear their bodies with the dust taken from the quadrangle containing Satima's altar, and drink a beverage made of tamarind squeezed into water†. The females mix freely with the males, and it is said that chastity is not held in much regard by them, although they profess to be the worshippers of Sati, chastity incarnate. This sect, it is reported, "seems to be an offshoot of Kartabhajas, the difference being in the object of their worship. Kartabhajas worship their Guru, whom they call Karta, and ascribe divinity to him, while the Satimas worship Sati, a female principle as their Godhead". The supposition that the sect is of Kartabhaja origin is confirmed by similarities of practice. The Kartabhajas hold Friday sacred, meet in the evening, and abstain from meat and spirits. Moreover, the wife of Ram Saran Pal, the founder of the Kartabhajas, was named Satima, and a handful of dust from the foot of the tree where she was buried is believed to "cure any disease and cleanse from any sin.‡"

539. A small Vaishnava sect has recently appeared in Nadia, which is known as Kalachandi from the name of its founder Kalachand, who is also called Kalachand Pagal.

* See also J. N. Bhattacharyya's *Hindu Castes and Sects*, page 483.

† I am informed of a case in which a respectable Hindu gentleman suffering from illness took such a mixture from one of the Satimas (a Pod by caste) in the hope of cure, but died in great pain the same night. When his friends wanted doctors to prescribe for him, the Satimas dissuaded them saying that it would rouse the anger of Satima.

‡ Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. II (Nadia and Jessore).

i.e., the madman. The latter claims to have direct communion with God and to receive divine inspiration. Idolatry is discouraged though not prohibited; his followers also differ from other Vaishnavas in having no *tirthas* or places of pilgrimage. Men of all castes are admitted, but the members are mostly of low caste.

540. In the south of Midnapore there is a sect known as the followers of Manik Kali. The original founder of this sect

MANIK KALI'S CULT.

appears to have been a Kaibartta, named Hedaram Das, who lived at Gopinathpur in the Jalamutha *pargana* towards the end of the 18th century. Hedaram Das was a man of a religious turn of mind who composed books in Oriya: his books are preserved at Gopinathpur together with his wooden slippers. The slippers are regularly worshipped and also one of his books called *Agam Puran*. The *Agam Puran* is said to contain the prophecies of Hedaram, but no one knows what they are, as the book is held in such awe that it is believed that a look into it is fatal to mortal man. Hedaram appears to have been a poet rather than an active preacher, and it was left to Manik Ram Kali to disseminate his doctrines. Manik in early life followed his caste occupation of a potter, studying the works of Hedaram and becoming imbued with his doctrines. He appeared as a preacher some time after 1865 and inculcated a simple system of morality, insisting on truth being spoken, and teaching his disciples the virtues of constant repetition of the name Krishna or Ram. Whenever obeisance was made to Manik by any of his followers, his response was the well-known saying *Jata dharma sthata jaya* "i.e., prosperity follows the observance of Dharma." Caste distinctions were more or less obliterated. He and his disciples did not scruple to partake of food cooked by any of his followers whatever their caste; the restrictions of caste were also ignored in marriages between them. He succeeded in securing several thousand converts from among the low caste people of Jalamutha and the neighbouring *parganas*, and not a few Kaibarttas became his disciples. Wealthy men prepared golden anklets for his feet (one of which was disfigured by elephantiasis), while his disciples worshipped him as an *avatar*. Festivals were observed in his honour, in all of which Manik was made to play the part of an idol. During these festivals hundreds of maunds of rice and curry were cooked and distributed among the people, who partook of them freely and without regard to caste distinctions. Manik died at an advanced age about 15 years ago; since his death the number of his followers has diminished.

541. A new sect called simply Shains is said to have sprung up in Bankura within the last few years. The information regarding this sect is scanty, but it appears

SHAINS.

that its founder was a Bengali called Bhagwan Shain and that its members refuse to recognize any deity whom they cannot see. The Guru alone is worshipped. His injunctions are not to lie, steal or cohabit with women, but to associate with good men (*sadhus*) and try to know one's self. Speaking truth and the attainment of self-knowledge are ideals common to many other Hindu sects.

542. The Shikshaparas are a small offshoot of the Vaishnava sect in Central Bengal. According to the reports received, the followers of this cult hold that Krishna is the only male principle in the universe, and that all else constitutes his *Prakriti* or female principle. A woman belonging to the sect is said to look upon Krishna as her spiritual husband and her mundane husband as a conventional appanage. She regards the Guru as Krishna's representative on earth, accords him the same veneration as Krishna himself, and has no objection to giving him the privileges of a husband. Caste distinctions are obliterated, and members belonging to different castes partake of food together.

SHIKSHAPARAS.

543. Bihar is not so prolific of new sects as Bengal, and most of those in existence have had their origin in the north of India, such as the Arya Samaj and the Radhaswami cult already described. The following is a brief account of other sects which still maintain their hold, though they appeal to a limited circle.

SECTS IN BIHAR.

544. The origin and beliefs of the Sheonarayanis were described in the last Census Report. Briefly, they believe in one formless God and have a sacred book called the

SHEONARAYANIS.

Sabda Granth, which lays down that salvation can be attained only by faith in God, control of the passions and obedience to the Guru. All castes are admitted to membership, but marriage take place only within the caste: a Sheonarayani Chamar, for instance, will not marry the daughter of a Sheonorayani Dosadh. The members are nearly all recruited from low castes, especially Dosadhs and Chamars: in Champaran Chamars are practically its only representatives. Idolatry, the eating of flesh and the drinking of intoxicating liquor are proscribed, but the latter two practices are gaining ground and the tombs of Gurus are worshipped, offerings of fruit and sweetmeats being made at them. The sect does not appear to be progressive.

545. The Kabirpanthis have a considerable number of representatives in Bihar, where the sect is mainly confined to the lower classes. They are followers of Kabir, who,

KABIRPANTHIS.

as is well known, endeavoured to establish a religion that would embrace both Hindu and Musalman, rejecting distinctions of caste, sect and rank and preaching the equality of man. The pure doctrines he inculcated have been obscured by later accretions. One God only is worshipped and idolatry is forbidden, but these principles are so far departed from, that Kabir is regarded as an incarnation of God, and offerings of fruit and sweetmeats are made at the tombs (*samadhis*) of the Mahants to the accompaniment of *arati*, ringing of bells, etc. There are two classes consisting of *grhasthas*, who lead an ordinary social life, and of ascetics who are supposed to be celibates: some, however, keep concubines, and the children of such illicit unions are recognized as members of the community. They profess to discard caste restrictions, but converts belonging to clean castes from whom water may be taken by Hindus will not allow converts recruited from low castes, such as Chamars and Dosadhs, to eat with them; the cook must, moreover, be a Brahman or Rajput.

Some Kabirpanthis are also found in Orissa, and especially Sambalpur. The sect is mostly recruited from weaving castes, such as the Pankas, so much so that the Brahmans call it the weaver's religion, but it also includes a number of Agarias: the weavers predominate, their own explanation being that the sect is specially intended for them because Kabir himself was a weaver. The sect now recognizes caste, and practically its only social result is that the Kabirpanthi members of a caste frequently form a separate endogamous division, and are distinguished from the others by abstaining from meat and liquor. The worship of idols is also prohibited, but practice lags behind precept, and there is a tendency to idolatry.

546. Nanakshahis are also found in scattered colonies in some districts, such as Shahabad and Saran. The original tenets of the founder have been almost lost sight of.

NANAKSHAHIS.

Images are kept in their *maths* and worshipped, and Guru worship is a prominent feature of these modern professors of Nanak's faith. Celibacy is not strictly adhered to, for marriages are contracted or irregular unions are formed.

547. The founder of the Dariapanthi sect was one Daria Sahib, who is said to have been born in the 18th century at Dharkunda, a village 20 miles south of Buxar in Shahabad. Its members are also known as Satnamis from their invocation of God as Satnam, the true name; but they have no connection with the Satnami sect of the Central Provinces and Sambalpur. It is an order of ascetics, who

DARIAPANTHIS.

are not allowed to marry, eat animal food or drink spirituous liquor. Members of all castes may join, and those belonging to clean castes, i. e., castes from whom a Hindu will take water, eat together. Only the Supreme Being is worshipped, and no idols are kept in the *maths*. Only the Mahants of these *maths* may wear beards and moustaches; the others shave. No funeral ceremonies are observed: the dead are buried in a sitting position at the side of a ditch. The chief seat of the sect is Dharkunda, where the hereditary Guru lives: the present Guru is fifth in the line of descent.

548. The Satnami sect of Sambalpur was founded between 1820 and 1830 A. D. by a Chamar named Ghasidas, who pro-

SATNAMIS.

claimed the perfect equality of all men and the worship of the one true god under the title of Satnam or the true name. He inculcated seven cardinal principles, of which the following are the most important.

His followers were to abstain from drinking spirituous liquor and from eating meat and certain vegetables, such as chillies and tomatoes, because their colour resembles blood. Idol worship was prohibited, cows were not to be used for ploughing, and oxen were not to be worked after midday. Caste was abolished, and all men were to be socially equal except the family of Ghasidas, in which the priesthood of the cult was to be hereditary.

549. The Abdhutas are a sect found in the Orissa States and the Khurda subdivision of Puri, who also worship the "Name."

ABDHUTAS.

The founder of the sect was one Banamali Das, who about 50 years ago took up his abode in one of the caves at Khandgiri, and taught that only the sacred name should be worshipped. The name is, in fact, Brahma or God, and the worship of the name is the worship of God. All men are of one caste and should eat and drink together. The original monotheistic character of the faith is now almost obscured: the worship of the Guru and of his sandals has been substituted for the worship of the name. Members of the sect are either ascetics who wear round their necks a small metal plate with the word "Name" engraved on it in Oriya, or are laymen, mostly of low caste, who do not observe caste rules among themselves. The Abdhutas hold meetings which they call *Satsanga* i.e., associations of good men, and gather together every year at the Khandgiri caves on the Magh Saptami day.

550. A recent Oriya sect, only 10 or 15 years old, is that called Sunya

SUNYA BHAJANI.

Bhajani, regarding which there is very little information. It is said that its adherents regard the sky or atmosphere as the Godhead, believe in the incarnations of Vishnu, and have a firm faith that the Kali Yuga is drawing to a close, and that Vishnu will be reincarnated in the house of a Brahman at a Kakatpur in the Gop thana of Puri, after which the golden age will be ushered in. They eat and drink together, but marry only within their respective castes. The name of the sect and its adoration of Sunya, the Void, may point to an infiltration of Buddhist ideas.

SIKHS.

551. It would appear from the account of Buchanan Hamilton that a

SIKHS.

century ago the followers of the Sikh religion were fairly numerous in Bihar. He spoke of the Sikh sect in Bihar as being considerably more numerous than any of the five that "since the time of Sankaracharya had been usually considered orthodox." Their doctrines had made much more progress in Bihar (i.e., Patna and the north of the Gaya district) and Shahabad than in Gorakhpur; Rekaraganj in the suburbs of Patna was "by far the greatest place of worship in these countries." At the latter place Buchanan Hamilton met one Govinda Das, who was the chief of a *bang*, or division of the sect, presiding over 360 *gaddis* or thrones, i.e., "a considerable but indefinite number of places where there is a seat, called a throne, for his reception." There were other Sikh priests in the same two districts (Bihar and Shahabad), who claimed independent jurisdiction. The Sikhs mentioned by Buchanan Hamilton seem to have been lax followers of Nanak, for he noted that they "follow exactly the same customs that they did before their admission; they observe the same rules of caste, employ the Brahmans as *purohits* in every ceremony, and in all cases of danger worship exactly the same gods; they abandon only the daily worship of the family god (*kuladevata*)."

552. Both the followers of Nanak, the first Guru, and Govind Singh, the tenth and last Guru, are still found in the Province. The former, who are known simply as Sikhs, shave their heads like Hindus, believe in the *Adi granth* or first *granth* compiled by Arjun, and not in the volume compiled by Govind, and practise the early form of initiation known as *charanhol* or initiation by the feet (from *charan*, foot, and *gholna* to melt). The earliest form of this ceremony, which is said to have been instituted by Nanak himself, consisted of drinking water in which the Guru had bathed, but

* Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. I., pages 211 and 214; Vol. II, pages 448-449.

Angadh, the second Guru, thought it sufficient to give neophytes a draught of water in which he had bathed his feet and not his whole body. In Bihar the majority of these Sikhs appear to belong to one or other of two sects known as Udasi or Nanakshahi.

The followers of Guru Govind are practically confined to Patna and Sasaram in the district of Shahabad. They are known as Singhs or lions, an appellation assumed by Govind and given by him to his adherents. They revere the *granth* of Govind Singh, and wear the five Ks (*kakars*), viz., the *kesh* or long hair, the *kirpan* (a small knife with an iron handle round which the hair is rolled), the *kanga* or wooden comb, the *kachh* or drawers, and the *kara* or iron bangle for the wrist. They also strictly observe the five injunctions of Govind Singh that no Sikh should smoke, cut or shave his hair, eat flesh killed according to Muhammadan custom, have connection with Muhammadan women, or eat with any one but a true Sikh (*Musli nal judh na karna*, euphemized at Patna to *Muhammad ki bakri ke sath judh na karna*, i.e., do not enter into a duel with the goat of Muhammad).^{*} Neophytes are admitted into the brotherhood by the *khand ka pahul* or initiation with the dagger—*pahul* is believed to be derived from *pahila*, first. This is a form of lustration by water which has been sanctified by the immersion of steel, and was introduced by Govind Singh, who had a firm belief in the virtues of steel. The priest stirs with a dagger some water in which a sweetmeat called *batasa* has been mixed, repeating verses from the *granth*. The priest sprinkles the water on their eyes, their faces, and the tops of their heads, after which each of them drink it. They then take from his hands the *kara prashad*, or sacramental food, and give it to one another in token of fraternity. This is a mixture of *ghi* (clarified butter), unpurified brown sugar, and fine flour mixed together with water; the term means the sweetmeat of good will (*karai*, confection and *prashad*, good will).

553. The Singhs of Patna are particularly strict in their observances, as is only natural considering that they are the custodians of the Har Mandir, a temple which marks the birthplace of Guru Govind Singh and enshrines his cradle, his shoes, and a copy of the *granth*, in which the Gurm is said to have written his name with a point of an arrow. The temple is one of the sacred places of the Sikhs, who visit it on pilgrimage. Patna is one of the few places in India where the Sikh religion may still be seen in something like its primitive purity. "At Patna," writes Mr. Macauliffe, "the Sikhs pay the strictest attention to the injunctions of Guru Govind. Sleeping or walking, they are never without the habiliments known as the 'five Ks.' So strong is the aversion of the more orthodox among them to Hindus, that they will not even partake of food cooked by their hands. This is carrying orthodoxy a long way, but still further it is carried when they will not partake of food cooked even by a Sikh who has not on his person all the five Ks."[†]

554. At Sasaram the Sikhs are mainly composed of Aghraharis, who follow the trade of cloth and grain merchants, and are divided into two classes, viz., the Singhs and the Munas or Munrias. The Singhs, who form the majority, are followers of Guru Govind Singh, and observe a rite of initiation which corresponds to the *pahul* of orthodox Sikhs. This ceremony, which they call *khand amrit chakhao* or the *charna amrit chakhao*, is performed in the presence of five Sikhs. The neophyte has to put on the *karad*, *kara*, *kachh* and *kanga*, drink the *charna amrit* (i.e., sugar and water mixed and stirred with a dagger), and finally partake of the *kara prashad*. This latter sacrament is also taken on the last day of the month, during festivals and in fulfilment of vows: one special feast at which all members of the caste attend is held annually during the rainy season on the 16th *Bhado*. Any neglect or failure to keep the hair and beard unshorn, to eschew the hookah and to wear the articles of dress already mentioned is visited with excommunication, even though it may be due to such an accidental circumstance as illness. The

^{*} These observances were originally designed for military purposes. Long hair tied round the head with knives enclosed in it, was a protection against sword cuts; moustaches and beards gave a martial appearance. The drawers fastened by a waistband were more suitable for a soldier than the loose garments of a cultivator. The permission to eat flesh, except that of the cow, was intended to give physical strength, and the prohibition of tobacco was designed to prevent strength being impaired.

[†] M. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion under Ranja and its present condition*. Calcutta Review, Vol. LXXIII.

offender can only be re-admitted into the brotherhood by paying a fine, and again going through the purifying ceremony of the *charna amrit*. The Munas are followers of Nanak and shave like other Hindus.

The two sects intermarry to a slight extent, as a Singh Agrahari can marry his son to the daughter of a Muna, if a ceremony, known as *pabitri*, is performed, i. e., if the girl goes through a ceremony of initiation, at which she worships Govond Singh's *granth* and drinks the *charna amrit*. She is considered to have entered the community of Singh Agraharis by performing this rite, and the marriage is rendered possible. There is, however, a strong objection among the Singhs to any of their daughters marrying a Muna boy: such a marriage is looked on as a disgrace to the family.

555. Although the Agraharis have retained some of the forms of Sikh ceremonial, they have in many ways relapsed into Hinduism. The common class have no scruples about worshipping the images of Hindu gods or adopting the religious customs of their Hindu neighbours. Although they still continue to worship the *granth*, which is, they aver, their *ishtdevata* or favourite god, they also recognize a *kuldevata* or family god. The latter may be any member of the regular Hindu pantheon such as Devi, Durga, Hanuman, Mahabir, or even less orthodox gods, such as Narsingh or the Panch Pir—the adoration of the latter is due possibly to the fact that Sasaram is a Muhammadan town. The leavening influence of Hinduism may also be seen in their domestic and social ceremonies, such as funerals and marriages. They perform *sraddha* in the same way as other Hindus, and go on pilgrimage to Gaya to make offerings for the souls of their ancestors. In fact, as regards funeral obsequies, the Singh Agraharis are differentiated from other Hindus only by the fact that they do not shave their hair as a sign of mourning. The marriage customs obtaining among them are also generally the same as among the Hindu community; but occasionally the more orthodox perform a special ceremony called *anand'i*, which is, they say, the old form of marriage. At this ceremony, Brahmans do not officiate, but Sikh Gurus, who recite *mantras* from the *granth*. Sikh Gurus also are the sole celebrants at the *khanda amrit* and *kara nashad*, but for other ceremonies Brahmans are commonly employed. In this respect they have followed the same tendency as other Sikhs. "The Sikhs of the Punjab have now completely relapsed into idolatry and, excepting that they still wear long hair, retain a few other external marks of the Sikh religion, and pay a reverence to the *granth*, which they carry to adoration, their worship in all respects resembles that of the Hindus. They adore idols, visit Hindu places of pilgrimage, bathe in rivers sacred in the estimation of the Hindus, and spend their substance on presents to Brahmans. They employ Brahmans to marry them, to read services of purification, to perform their funeral obsequies, and, generally, all the duties for which the laity of every religion are wont to employ priestly agency."*

MUHAMMADAN SECTS.

556. MODERN Muhammadan sects in the two Provinces appear to owe their origin to one or other of two beliefs. The first is that, in the beginning of each century of the Hejira or Musalman era, God raises up an Imam, as his messenger and agent, to reform the faith. The second is that in the last days the Mahdi will appear and wage war with Dajjal or Anti-Christ, who will hold sway over an unregenerate world, and that Christ, descending on earth, will assist the Mahdi to overthrow Anti-Christ. The supremacy of Islam will then be established, and all the world will be converted to the true Faith. Historically, most of the modern sects appear to be off-shoots of the Wahabi movement, which requires a somewhat detailed account on account of the effect which it has had on Muhammadan religious life in the two Provinces during the last century.

* M. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion under Banda and its present condition*, Calcutta Review, 1881, Vol. LXXIII, p. 163.

557. The founder of the Wahabi movement was an Arabian named Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahab, who appeared as a reformer in the middle of the eighteenth century.

WAHABI MOVEMENT. The religious system set up by him was one of simple Puritanism, the object of which was to restore Islam to a purer form of faith by stripping off the accretions which overlaid it. It claimed the right of private interpretation of the Koran, rejecting the authority of Hanifa, Malik, Shafi and Hanbal, the four Imams or founders of the orthodox schools, which bear their name. The cult of the dead and the worship of saints were sternly interdicted, and last, but not least, the obligation to carry on *jihad* or war against infidels was proclaimed in no uncertain voice.

558. The chief apostle of the Wahabi faith in India was one Saiyad Ahmad, a native of Rai Bareilly, who proclaimed:—

SAIYAD AHMAD. "The law of the Prophet is founded on two things: first, the not attributing to any creature the attributes of God; and, second, not inventing forms and practices which were not current in the days of the Prophet and his successors, or Caliphs." Angels, spirits or saints have no power to remove difficulties or grant the attainment of any wish or desire. To believe that they can control human affairs, and to make offerings to them in that belief is infidelity. True and undefiled religion consists in adhering to the practices which were observed in the time of the Prophet and in avoiding all such innovations as marriage and funeral ceremonies, adorning of tombs, the erection of large edifices over graves, lavish expenditure on the anniversaries of the dead, street processions and the like.* These doctrines are fundamental tenets of the modern sects of Bengal.

In 1822 Saiyad Ahmad made a pilgrimage to Mecca and there became a disciple of Wahab. On his return to India, inspired by the belief that he was the Imam of the 13th century of the Musalman era, he began a crusade against the veneration of *pirs* and the erection of shrines, denying the efficacy of offerings in the name of deceased persons, and preaching a holy war against infidels. At Patna the seed fell on fruitful ground, for there a number of Maulvis had already become disciples of Abdul Haq, a bigoted Wahabi of Benares. They now became ardent followers of Saiyad Ahmad, and as the movement gathered force, Patna was its chief centre. In 1826 Saiyad Ahmad announced that the time had come for a *jihad* against the Sikhs, and a fanatical war followed. The army and coffers of the Wahabis were replenished by supplies of men and money from Bihar and Bengal, and, in spite of reverses, the Wahabis overran the frontier, capturing Peshawar in 1830.

559. The success of the Wahabis in the north emboldened the Wahabis of Bengal to rise under one Titu Miyan. Encouraged

TITU MIYAN. by some successes against small detachments sent out against them, the Wahabis roamed through the 24-Parganas, Nadia and Faridpur from November 1831 to March 1832, plundering villages, defiling and forcibly converting Hindus, and maltreating orthodox Musalmans. They proclaimed that the Musalmans had resumed their hereditary rights of sovereignty and issued proclamations calling on the authorities and local zamindars to acknowledge their supremacy. At length, in March 1832, Government sent out a strong force, which met and defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, during which Titu Miyan was killed and 350 of his followers were taken prisoners. With his death and the imprisonment of 140 of his followers, the rising collapsed before it had time to extend beyond a small compass.

In 1831, shortly before this *emette*, Saiyad Ahmad had been killed in battle, and his death was a serious blow to the movement, for the jurists had ruled that a *jihad* could only be carried on by an Imam. If, therefore, Saiyad Ahmad was dead, the *jihad* must cease. His Caliphs were, however, equal to the emergency. A rumour spread that in the midst of the battle a cloud of dust had encircled the Imam, that he was never afterwards seen alive, nor could his body be found. The Patna Maulvis professed to

* Calcutta Review, April 1870, p. 89, and *The Indian Musalmans* (1871), p. 54.

† D. S. Margoliouth, *Muhammadanism*, p. 180.

Should be on p. 247

be convinced, and declared that God, displeased with the faint-hearted Musalmans of India, had withdrawn the Imam from the eyes of men and concealed him in a cave in the mountain. When his followers proved the sincerity of their faith by uniting to carry on a *jihad*, he would reappear and lead them on to victory as before. These statements fell upon willing ears, and the movement sprang up with renewed vigour. In 1868 Government at length resolved to stamp out the conspiracy. A number of the ringleaders were arrested and convicted. The Musalmans realized the danger of the conspiracy and publicly proclaimed their disapproval of the Wahabi doctrines.

560. Throughout all these years Patna was "the focus of sedition, the Wahabi preachers finding that their audiences flagged when nothing more was urged than the purification of their lives. From this place a propaganda was carried on among the Moslems both of Indian and the neighbouring countries." Two of their greatest leaders, Wilayat and Inayat Ali, were inhabitants of Patna. The former, after a tour through Bengal, took Bombay, Hyderabad and Central India as his special field. The latter concentrated his efforts on the districts of Malda, Bogra, Rajshahi, Pabna, Nadia and Faridpur. Karamat Ali of Jaunpur carried the movement eastwards from Faridpur into Dacca, Mymensingh, Noakhali and Backergunge. Zain-ul-Abdin, a native of Hyderabad, who had been converted by Wilayat Ali on his tour through Southern India, worked in Tippera and Sylhet. "The minor missionaries were innumerable, and a skilful organization enabled them to settle in any place where the multitude of converts made it worth their while. In this way, almost every one of the fanatic districts had its permanent preacher, whose zeal was sharpened from time to time by visits of the itinerant missionaries, and whose influence was consolidated and rendered permanent by the central propaganda at Patna." "They have," wrote the Magistrate of Patna, "under the very nose and protection of Government authorities, openly preached sedition in every village of our most populous districts, unsettling the minds of the Musalman population, and obtaining an influence for evil as extraordinary as it is certain."*

561. Since the Wahabi trials, the name Wahabi has been abandoned, mainly it would seem because the fear inspired by the breaking up of the conspiracy and the punishment of its leaders still persists to such an extent, that Wahabis are afraid to call themselves such. The Wahabis now assume one or another of two names, viz.—(1) Ahl-i-Hadis or the people of the traditions, so called because they claim a right to interpret for themselves the Hadis (the traditional sayings of Muhammad not found in the Koran); or (2) Ghair-Mukallid, meaning nonconformists or dissenters, as they do not follow the doctrines of any of the four Imams of the Sunni sect. The designation Rafi-yadain is also sometimes applied to them, because they raise both hands in prayers before genuflection and prostration and fold them at the breast and not at the navel like Sunnis: the name means, literally, raising both hands at the time of prayer.

562. The Ahl-i-Hadis are so strongly in opposition to orthodox Musalmans as to regard them as little more than infidels and their mosques as little better than Hindu temples. They regard it as their duty to take possession of the latter if possible, and have at times had recourse to the civil courts to assert a right to worship in them. In prayer, they pronounce the word Amen in a loud voice; the use of music and the beating of drums at marriage festivities—according to some, their use renders the marriage illegal—the offering of sweetmeats, etc., to the spirits of deceased ancestors, and visits to the tombs of saints are all forbidden. Even a pilgrimage to the grave of the Prophet at Medina is looked on with disfavour, and some have been known to return from their Haj pilgrimage after visiting Mecca only. The Mazakarah-i-Illamiyya of Arrah is the Central Association of the sect in Bihar. To celebrate its twenty-first anniversary, a conference was held in January 1911 at Muhammadpur Kowari in the district of Darbhanga, at which a large number of the Ahl-i-Hadis gathered together from different parts of India. According

* *The Indian Musalmans* (1871), p. 50.

to a leaflet issued by the Secretary of the conference, their objects are—(1) to organize a missionary movement, with the object of presenting Islam to non-Muhammadans in all its purity and simplicity; (2) to help new converts in a suitable manner; (3) to inculcate the necessity of education, especially religious education, for Muhammadans; and (4) to preach the blessings of the peaceful rule of the Government. The object of the annual conferences is to give the Ahl-i-Hadis an opportunity to proclaim their views without let or hindrance. They complain that Muhammadans of different sects take part in the proceedings of other Anjumans, Shias attending Sunni Anjumans and *vice versa*, with the result that nothing is said which would give offence to any of the conflicting sects. This they consider a sacrifice of honesty to courtesy; at their own conference they speak boldly and without fear.

563. The sect is in considerable strength in Arrah, where its members have started a Madrasa of their own in opposition to the Hanafi Madrasa. In Patna it is said to be gaining ground, some Sunni Maulvis even joining it. The converts are mostly drawn from the uneducated lower classes, but include some well-to-do hide merchants. They have little real influence, but publish leaflets denouncing the celebration of the Muharram and Sunni practices. The members shave off their moustaches, and are careful not to let their trousers reach the ankle: the most zealous wear black *vagris* and use black handkerchieves. There are very few of them in Gaya, but in Saran they are fairly numerous, and they are also strongly represented in the Rajmahal subdivision of the Sonthal Parganas. In Darbhanga they seem to have made considerable advance during the last 10 years, and claim to have strength of over 3,000. The village at Rahimabad in thana Tajpur is the head-quarters of the sect in this district: from this centre its principles have been quietly propagated. In Champaran the Ahl-i-Hadis movement has made slow but sure progress: unlike other districts, where the better classes of Musalmans will have nothing to do with the movement, the educated Musalmans are said to have a leaning towards its doctrines. Some years ago the Hanafis of Bettiah tried to prevent its members from worshipping in the town mosque, and the result was a civil suit, in which the Ahl-i-Hadis succeeded in establishing a right of entry. Their doctrines do not appear to have found much favour outside Bihar. A few years ago, for instance, one of their missionaries visited Bankura, but had to leave without making a convert. In Nadia, however, there are said to be a number of the Ahl-i-Hadis in the Meherpur and Kushtia subdivisions. The sect made some headway in Sambalpur about 10 years ago, when a wing of a Madras regiment with some Ahl-i-Hadis sepoys was stationed there. There was such friction between them and the orthodox Hanafis, who persisted in calling them Wahabis, that they contemplated building a mosque of their own, but this project died of inanition when the regiment left.

564. The Ahmadias are the most important new Musalman sect in Bihar and Orissa. The founder of this sect was one
AHMADIAS. Mirza Gulam Ahmad, who was born at Kadian in the Punjab in 1839. He appears to have received a good education in Persian and Arabic, and was for some years a clerk in the office of the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot. In 1880 he published the first part of a work called the *Barahin-i-Ahmadiyya*, in which he claimed to be a divinely inspired reformer. In another part of the same work, published two years later, he gave an account of some revelations, in which he was addressed as Christ, and of a vision in which he learned that he and Jesus Christ had one and the same essence. At the end of 1888 he published a manifesto stating that he was commanded by God to accept an oath of allegiance (*bait*) from the people and convert them to his faith. Finally, in 1891, he issued a proclamation announcing that he was the promised Mahdi and Messiah, whose coming was foretold both in the Bible and Koran.

465. He declared that the Christian doctrine of the death and ascension of Christ was false, and also the Musalman belief that, when Jesus Christ was crucified, God sent down an angel who assumed his appearance while the real Christ was translated to heaven. Jesus, he declared, did not die on the cross but only swooned; he did not rise from the dead, but only recovered from the

swoon; he did not ascend to heaven, but came to Afghanistan and India to preach to the lost tribes of Israel; and he now lies buried in one of the streets of Srinagar in Cashmere. Messiah, Mahdi and Krishna were merely so many names or titles, and Ahmad claimed them all. He was Mahdi, for he would reform the Musalmans; he was Messiah, because he would reclaim the Christians, who did not follow the true teachings of Christ; he was Krishna, because he will bring back the Hindus to the pure teaching of the Rishis. "Heavenly signs support my claim, my prayers are accepted; future events are made known to me, and the deep and secret things, of which none but God has knowledge, are revealed to me." Ahmad was denounced by the Musalmans as a heretic, and a *fatwa* was issued excommunicating his followers. Marriage with them, burial in Muhammadan grave-yards, entrance into mosques, were all prohibited. In spite of this, Ahmad continued his propaganda and gained disciples. He eventually died in 1908 at Lahore and was buried in his native village. His successor is Hakim Nasiruddin, who was elected by a majority of the votes of the Ahmadias.

566. An interesting feature of the career of Mirza Gulam Ahmad is the astuteness with which he employed modern methods to spread his doctrines and turned to account the affairs of the day. He was a voluminous writer, explaining his doctrines in three books called the *Fateh Islam*, the *Tauzih-i-Maram* and the *Izala-i-Auham*. Plague having appeared in some villages of the Punjab in 1897, Ahmad announced that he had received vision in which he saw plants of a dark colour being planted by angels which the angels told him, would bring forth the plague. On the strength of this vision he prophesied the outburst of a widespread epidemic of plague in the Punjab. His prophecy was fulfilled. He was bitterly opposed to the Arya Samaj, but was ready to meet them in debate and have the merits of his and their claims decided by argument. When he published his first work, he offered to pay Rs. 10,000 if it could be refuted. He also announced that he would pay Rs. 1,000 to any one who could prove that Jesus had shown more heavenly signs than he had. The latter challenge involved a civil suit, the claimant being a Musalman.

567. The chief points of difference between the beliefs of the Ahmadias and orthodox Musalmans are as follows. Orthodox Musalmans hold that the Mahdi will be a warrior who will convert the heathen at the edge of the sword, whereas the Ahmadias deny the advent of any such Mahdi or Messiah. They regard Ahmad as the true Mahdi and Messiah and say that he came to establish the supremacy of Islam by peaceful means. They believe that divine revelation still continues, and that Ahmad was a specially favoured recipient of revelations from God. All the religions of the world have their source in truth, but they have become corrupted. The Prophet Muhammad revealed the same great truths as are contained in other religions and recapitulated them in the Koran. All religions having the same basis of truth, the Koran repeats the truth contained in the Vedas, the Bible, the Gita, the sayings of Buddha, etc.

One significant feature of the cult is its opposition to Christianity. According to Musalman belief, when the end of the world approaches, Dajjal (Anti-Christ) will rule, and the powers of evil will reign till Christ reappears and, with the help of Mahdi, overthrows Dajjal and converts the whole world to Islam. The Ahmadia rejects this doctrine and identifies Dajjal with the teachings of the Christian Church, such as the atonement and divinity of Jesus Christ. In fact, he holds that the prophecy of the advent of Dajjal has been fulfilled by the spread of Christian missionaries.

568. The Ahmadia doctrines appear to have been first introduced in Bihar in 1893, when a Musalman missionary of Bhagalpur became a convert. The movement has already gained a considerable number of adherents from among the educated and well-to-do classes. They are most numerous in Bhagalpur and Monghyr, which form one section with a committee affiliated to the Sadar Anjuman Ahmadia, i.e., the central committee at Kadian. Funds are raised for the propagation of the Ahmadia doctrines and for the publication of its monthly magazine, the *Review of Religions*. A general meeting is held almost every year at Kadian, at which the members of the sect meet from all parts of India. In Monghyr the Ahmadias have met with

considerable opposition from the orthodox Musalmans. At a large meeting held at Monghyr in June 1911 the claims of Mirza Gulam Ahmad were debated, and after long controversy he was denounced as a heretic and renegade. The sect has even made its way into Orissa. Some educated Musalmans of Cuttack embraced its doctrines during a visit to Gurdaspur, and in their turn succeeded in winning over some of their co-religionists in Puri: their total number is however small. The Ahmadias themselves claim that there are at least 500,000 of their sect in different parts of India.

569. In Mymensingh there is a small body of Musalmans whose social practices are so peculiar, that its members are known as the Pagal Pangti, *i.e.*, the mad class. The founder of the sect was one Karim Darwesh, who is said to have come from Arabia and to have settled at Nibar Kandi in the Kaliganj police-station about 100 years ago. He was a Pathan by caste, and his followers also claim to be Pathans. They believe in the Koran and the Prophet, but do not circumcise their boys. They neither marry Musalmans not belonging to their sect, nor take meals prepared by the latter or by any Hindu. They refuse to charge interest on loans, or to take any price for the marriage either of a bride or bridegroom. Perhaps the most peculiar of their practices is that they do not use *palkis*, umbrellas or shoes.

PRACTICES COMMON TO HINDUS AND MUSALMANS.

570. Before concluding this chapter, some reference may be made to certain practices common to Hindus and Musulmans. It must however be explained that the members of both religions who indulge in them are uneducated persons at the bottom of the social scale and that they are not representative of either Hinduism or Islam. With many of the Hindus religion means merely a propitiation of evil spirits, while many of the Musulmans do not know what the tenets of Islam are. As one Musalman gentleman told me—"They profess to be Musulmans, but to them Islam is only circumcision and eating cow's flesh." In some places, moreover, the Musulmans are descendants of Hindu converts, whose Hinduism was little more than Animism. Even after conversion they maintain their primitive beliefs and continue to observe the same ceremonies as their Hindu neighbours. In Purnea, low class Musalmans and Hindus worship Geians *i.e.*, the spirits of dead men, their shrines being nothing more than two long bamboos stuck in the ground. Humble offerings (sugar, spices, bread and flowers) are made to the trees in which other evil spirits reside, and are subsequently placed in an earthen vessel and exposed at the nearest cross-roads. It is believed that the evil spirits are thereby bribed to leave the village and that they attach themselves to the first man who touches them. Another popular deity, who is revered by low Hindus and Musalmans alike, is Devata Maharaj, with his door-keeper Hadi, who are represented by a long bamboo planted in the ground, from which are suspended an old winnowing-basket, a bow, an old fishing net and a hook. In this district so-called Musalmans commonly make offerings to purely Hindu deities, as well as to the village godlings, a Hindu being employed to make the actual sacrifice. They celebrate Hindu festivals with their Hindu neighbours and also frequent the shrine of Kali. Attached to almost every house is a little shrine called Khudai Ghar or God's house, where prayers are offered indifferently to Allah and Kali.*

571. Even among the higher classes there is a tendency to retain Hindu customs after conversion to Islam. As an example of this may be mentioned a community found in Shahabad, who claim descent from two Rajput soldiers of fortune who served under the Mughal Emperor and rose to high office, one embracing Islam, while the other remained Hindu. The family is now divided into two branches. The descendants of one retain their Rajput purity of race; the descendants of the other are Musalmans, who still call themselves Rajputs† and till a comparatively recent date observed

* Purnea Settlement Report.

† About 500 Musalman Rajputs were returned from Shahabad.

characteristic Hindu customs. Pandits were called in to fix auspicious dates for marriages, and Hindu rites were practised during the marriage ceremony. Beef was not eaten till half a century ago; and though it is eaten now, it must be obtained from outside, no cattle being slaughtered in the village itself.

572. Many other superstitious practices are observed by Musalmans in different parts. In case of illness or snake-bite, a Hindu *ojha* or exorcist is called in, who recites *mantras* containing the names of Hindu gods or goddesses. In some parts Musalman women, when pregnant, will not cross a river. In Bengal, Musalmans make offerings through Hindu priests to Manasa, the goddess of snakes. Both in Bihar and Bengal they propitiate the goddesses of disease, such as Ola Bibi and Sitala, when epidemics break out. Musalman women in Bihar also join in the annual sun-worship known as Chhat Puja, in the firm belief that its omission will bring down on them the anger to Chhati Mata and lead to some calamity.

There are also numerous instances of Hindus adopting Musalman practices, such as the worship of the Panch Pir. Hindus who have adopted this cult will not eat meat unless the animal has been duly slaughtered by a Musalman. In parts of Bengal, Hindus make offerings (*shirni*) to Satyapir, who has been Hinduized under the name of Satya Narayan. They also frequent the shrines of Pirs in the belief that the Pirs have power to help them and avert misfortune. The *pirsthan*, as the shrine is called, is also visited on several special occasions. New-born babes are brought there, and their heads pressed down in obeisance. When a cow calves, first-fruits of her milk are offered. Newly married brides and bridegrooms go there on the way to the latter's house and make their salutations.

573. Perhaps the most interesting example of common celebration of religious rites is the Muharram, in which low caste Hindus join, though they apparently regard it as a merry festival instead of a sad memorial service. Nowhere, however, so far as the writer is aware, is there such latitude as in Bihar. In some places, it is reported, low-caste Hindus actually worship Hasan and Husain, as gods. Childless husbands and wives, even among good Hindu castes, (*e.g.*, Kayasths, Agarwalas and Rajputs), vow that, if they have a boy, he shall serve as a *paik* during the Muharram for a certain number of years. Similar vows are made if a boy falls ill or passes through some crisis, the fulfilment of the vow being conditional on recovery from sickness or escape from misfortune. On the seventh, eight and ninth days of the Muharram, batches of these *paiks* may be seen running barefooted from one *akhara* to another, each with a yak's tail in his hand, small bells girdled round his waist, and a cone-shaped turban on his head specially made for the occasion. The boys, and sometimes the whole family, abstain from salt, animal food and all luxuries during the period of their service as *paiks*. This generally is three to five years, but occasionally a boy is dedicated as a *paik* for his lifetime. On the tenth day of the Muharram, Hindus take their sick to the procession so that they may touch the *tazias*, and throw *lai* (fried rice mixed with *gur*) and cowries on the *tazias*, keeping a little of the *lai* to give to the sick or to serve as a safe-guard against the evil eye. Women in some places even put on green *saris* and perform the *makham* like the Musalmans. Hindus also contribute to making *tazias* and the up-keep of the village *imambaras*: in Darbhanga town nearly the whole of the paraphernalia that is brought out during the Muharram is said to be owned by Hindus.

THE INSIGNIA OF HINDU SECTS.

574. The Hindu sects are distinguished by a number of different *tilaks*, *i.e.*, marks worn on the forehead or elsewhere. The mark is applied, with sandal-wood paste or any of the other substances prescribed for the purpose, on the following 12 parts of the body;—the forehead, the neck, the two arms, the chest, the navel, the right and left sides, the lobes of the ears, the head and the back. The wearing of the *tilak* appears to be a custom dating back to

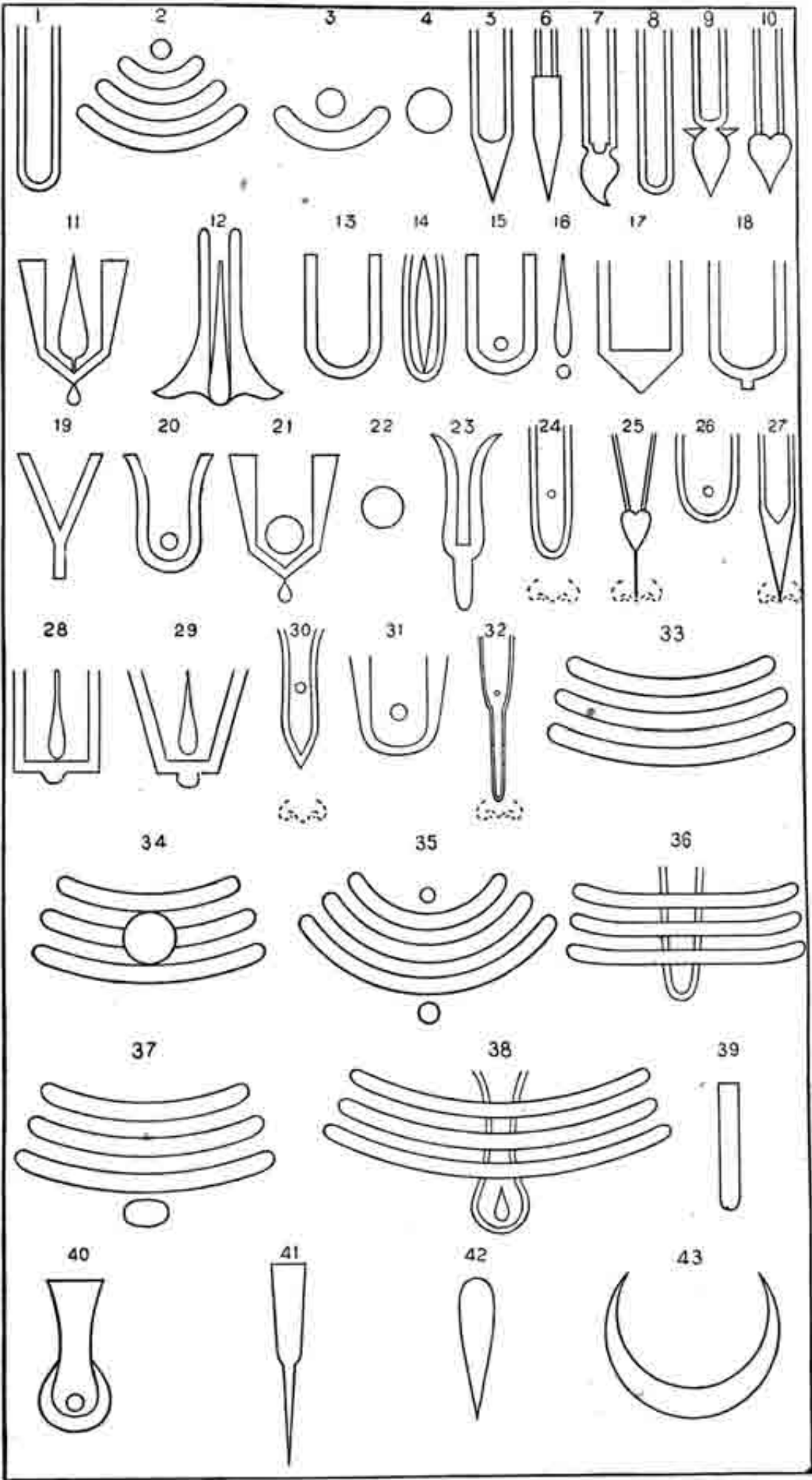
Tilaks OR SECTARIAN MARKS.

the time of the Vedic Aryans and to be as old as the *hom* ceremony itself. At the end of that ceremony the celebrant was enjoined to put marks on his forehead, on the lower part of the neck, on the top of his arms, and on the lower part of his breast. They were to be made with ashes and *ghi*, mixed together on the sacrificial ladle, and applied with the fore-finger. Their virtue and necessity were pointed out by Raghunandan, the great law-giver of Bengal, who quoted a passage from the *Mahabharata* to the effect that, after bathing, the *tilak* was to be affixed with mud, and after *hom* with ashes, in order to save one from such sins as the sight of Chandals and others. He also referred to a passage in the *Brahma Purana* saying that without the *tilak* gifts of cows, offerings to fire, the recital of holy texts, libations of water to the Manes, were all worthless. According to this *Purana*, a vertical mark was to be made with mud and three horizontal marks with ashes, but a Dwija or twice-born might make his *tilak* with sandal paste. The *Brahmanda Purana* further distinguished between the effect produced by the different fingers used for making the mark. The thumb was said to ensure good health, the middle finger longevity, the ring-finger wealth, and the fore-finger emancipation. Four different kinds of *tilaks* were prescribed for the four *varnas*. The Brahman's *tilak* was known as Urdhapundra, which is defined as consisting of two vertical lines joining at the lower end: in Bengal the angle between them is now-a-days generally rounded as shown in figure No. 1. The Kshattriya had to have a Tripundra, the Vaisya an Ardhachandra or half moon, and the Sudra a Bartul or circular mark, as shown in figures 2—4. In spite of the fact that the Urdhapundra was intended for Brahmans, the Vaishnavas generally wear it in one form or another, while the Saivas prefer the Tripundra.

575. The Vaishnavas are strict about the wearing of the *tilak*: a devout Vaishnava, in fact, rarely omits to mark all 12 parts of the body. In addition to vertical marks, figures of the conch-shell (*sankh*), wheel (*chakra*), club (*gada*) and lotus (*padma*), which Vishnu holds in his four hands, are marked on other parts of the body: the various names of Radha and Krishna are also stamped on them. The four emblems and the names are frequently carved on wooden stamps, with which they are marked on the body. The Vaishnava forehead mark is also called Harimandira. The lower part of this mark is said to represent a door-sill, and the vertical lines the sides of a door: hence the name Harimandira. According to a Vaishnava authority, the *Haribhaktivilasa* (composed in 1562 A.D.), Harimandira is really the abode of God, for the open space represents Vishnu and the two side lines Brahma and Siva.

Six forehead marks commonly worn by Bengal Vaishnavas are shown in figures 5—10. Numbers 5 and 6, are worn by followers of Nityananda Prabhu and Nos. 7 and 10 by followers of Adyaita Prabhu. Number 8, which is called Nupur (foot ornament), is worn by followers of Gadadbar Prabhu, and No. 9 by followers of Acharyaya Prabhu. Each of these *tilaks* is supposed to consist of two parts, the upper part representing the Urdhapundra, and the lower part, a leaf, a flower or an ornament; and they are named accordingly, e.g., as Bansapatra or bamboo leaf, Batapatra or banyan-tree leaf, and Tilapushpa or *til* flower.

The different Vaishnava sects of Bihar have also distinctive *tilaks*, mostly variants of the Urdhapundra and many suggesting the shape of the trident. The Ramanujas, who are the largest sect in Bihar, are generally distinguished by that numbered 11: the outside lines are white, the inner symbol red or yellow: this symbol is called Sri. The Ramanandis have the same mark, except that the symbol in the centre is white. A white *tilak* is worn by the Lashkaris, who are so called because they are supposed to join in battle for their faith if called upon. Some Vaishnavas have simply a red Sri, without vertical lines on either side. A peculiar variety of Ramanuja *tilak* is No. 12, which is called Bargain and is prevalent among the Babhans (Bhumihar Brahmans) of Tirhut. The usual Ballabhacharya *tilak* is numbered 13: it is used more especially by the Agarwalas. That of the Madhavacharyas, which bears the number 14, has the inner line black and the outer lines white. The Gayawals



of Gaya favour this mark, but omit the side lines. The Nimavats have a circular black or white mark between white lines (No. 15), while the Ramprasadis wear No. 16. Other Vaishnava *tilaks* are those numbered 17—22. Number 22, which is known as *bindu*, is not confined to Vaishnavas, but worn by the Hindu public generally; when made of saffron, it is used exclusively by Vaishnava females. That numbered 23 is worn by Achari Vaishnavas in the Gaya district and is called Gangacharya.

In Orissa the Vaishnava sects have an extraordinary variety of *tilaks*—it is said that there are 40 or 50 different kinds.

ORISSA.

The accompanying sketch shows nine of the principal kinds. Number 24 shows the *tilak* of the Atibadi sect: the vertical lines are white and the circular mark, which is also white, is placed a little above the bridge of the nose. Number 25 is characteristic of the Adait Acharyas, No. 26 of the Vishnuwamis, No. 27 of the Madhavacharyas—the last extends from the top of the forehead to the tip of the nose. Number 28 distinguishes the Acharis and No. 29 the Ramanandis; in both the latter cases the outer lines are white, the inner line red. Number 30 is the *tilak* of the Bakreswar Pandits, No. 31 of the Sisus (both being white) and No. 32, which is yellow, of the Syamanandis; this latter *tilak* also extends from the top of the forehead to the tip of the nose.

576. The Saivas have several *tilaks* called Tripundra, of which the most common are Nos. 33 and 34; they are made with ashes or sandal-wood paste and vary in colour accordingly. Number 35, which is made with the latter, is worn more especially by Maithil Brahmans and the Pandas of Baidyanath. Another form of the Saiva mark is No. 36, which is applied with ashes: it is mostly used in Tirhut. A common Sakta *tilak* is numbered 37, the Tripundra in this case is made of ashes, but the *bindu*, or round mark below, is red. Another *tilak* found in Tirhut is No. 38. The Kabirpanthis of Bihar have a vertical *tilak* of red and the Sheonarayanis of black, as shewn in No. 39. Among the former No. 40 (a yellow mark called Bhaktahi) and 41 are also found: the last extends from the tip of the nose to the top of the forehead. Number 42 is occasionally found among Nanakshahis, while No. 43 is peculiar to Ganapatyas or worshippers of Ganesh.*

* I am indebted for drawings and notes, from which the above account has been compiled, to Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri, Pandit Gangadhar Sastri, Pandit Deva Datta Tripathi (of Dalipour in Shahabad), Babu Raj Kishore Das, Manager of the Jagannath Temple at Puri, Rai Bahadur Jamini Mohan Das, Deputy Magistrate, Babu Syam Narayan Singh, Deputy Magistrate, and Babu Newal Kishore Sahai, Revenue Head Assistant, Patna Commissioner's office.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY RELIGION.

RELIGION AND LOCALITY.	Actual number in 1911.	PROPORTION PER 10,000 OF POPULATION IN—				VARIATION PER CENT. IN REAR (+) OR IN REAR (—).			PERCENTAGE OF NET VARIATION.
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1901—1911.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
HINDUS.									
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA	52,694,397	6,218	6,384	6,341	6,484	+ 3.9	+ 3.4	+ 4.7	+ 11.3
BENGAL	20,945,379	4,523	4,700	4,767	4,862	+ 3.9	+ 6.2	+ 5.0	+ 15.9
West Bengal	6,971,160	8,232	8,319	8,324	8,396	+ 1.7	+ 7.1	+ 3.1	+ 12.1
Central	4,094,617	5,056	5,080	5,000	5,000	+ 0.2	+ 5.5	+ 3.3	+ 14.6
North	4,011,633	5,788	5,851	5,974	4,009	+ 2.9	+ 4.9	+ 3.2	+ 10.7
East	5,977,969	3,089	3,351	3,360	3,475	+ 8.8	+ 6.3	+ 10.3	+ 26.8
BIHAR AND ORISSA	31,749,018	8,260	8,359	8,276	8,435	+ 3.9	+ 1.4	+ 4.4	+ 8.1
North Bihar	11,724,133	8,314	8,372	8,384	8,378	+ 1.2	+ 0.7	+ 5.5	+ 7.4
South	7,022,639	9,041	9,094	9,029	8,947	+ 0.9	+ 3.7	+ 2.3	+ 0.00
Orissa	4,009,744	6,623	6,719	6,746	6,735	+ 0.9	+ 6.3	+ 4.7	+ 16.3
Chota Nagpur Plateau	8,941,503	7,324	7,350	8,340	7,096	+ 12.1	+ 8.8	+ 8.1	+ 16.3
MUSALMANS.									
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA	27,920,666	3,295	3,209	3,276	3,217	+ 9.5	+ 7.7	+ 9.0	+ 28.6
BENGAL	24,237,228	5,734	5,119	5,068	4,969	+ 10.4	+ 8.8	+ 9.7	+ 31.8
West Bengal	1,138,052	1,344	1,317	1,299	1,294	+ 4.9	+ 5.5	+ 4.3	+ 18.8
Central	3,094,569	4,809	4,472	4,307	4,023	+ 3.1	+ 4.3	+ 3.3	+ 10.9
North	8,360,037	5,927	5,904	5,929	5,957	+ 0.2	+ 0.2	+ 3.5	+ 18.0
East	12,804,180	6,768	5,517	6,505	6,349	+ 14.6	+ 12.4	+ 18.9	+ 50.5
BIHAR AND ORISSA	3,683,438	956	988	1,072	1,085	+ 4.0	+ 1.5	+ 5.2	+ 11.0
North Bihar	2,316,205	1,443	1,621	1,514	1,606	+ 3.3	+ 0.5	+ 6.5	+ 10.6
South	725,844	982	985	959	999	+ 2.9	+ 3.1	+ 1.6	+ 1.3
Orissa	112,509	379	244	239	235	+ 10.4	+ 1.0	+ 9.0	+ 33.7
Chota Nagpur Plateau	529,674	425	475	569	569	+ 17.5	+ 14.6	+ 11.4	+ 49.7
CHRISTIANS.									
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA	398,011	47	35	26	19	+ 42.6	+ 44.0	+ 49.2	+ 179.7
BENGAL	129,746	28	25	21	18	+ 21.7	+ 29.5	+ 13.9	+ 79.5
West Bengal	12,792	16	11	8	6	+ 45.9	+ 40.5	+ 41.5	+ 102.0
Central	66,392	23	19	13	10	+ 21.7	+ 30.7	+ 4.0	+ 38.9
North	17,357	10	9	8	7	+ 10.5	+ 10.5	+ 7.8	+ 31.9
East	37,212	17	10	14	14	+ 30.0	+ 22.4	+ 31.3	+ 77.9
BIHAR AND ORISSA	268,265	70	47	34	18	+ 55.5	+ 55.0	+ 97.0	+ 310.7
North Bihar	8,473	5	4	3	3	+ 20.5	+ 22.4	+ 6.1	+ 69.5
South	5,440	7	6	6	6	+ 17.7	+ 0.3	+ 12.7	+ 34.3
Orissa	5,145	12	12	12	11	+ 3.9	+ 7.0	+ 16.8	+ 22.4
Chota Nagpur Plateau	251,307	808	145	143	73	+ 33.5	+ 80.0	+ 120.1	+ 338.5
ANIMISTS.									
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA	3,451,068	407	343	327	251	+ 26.7	+ 2.6	+ 39.7	+ 76.2
BENGAL	730,780	158	103	92	85	+ 65.1	+ 21.3	+ 16.5	+ 133.4
West Bengal	342,604	401	352	365	297	+ 14.1	+ 2.8	+ 28.7	+ 56.0
Central	20,622	38	10	13	2	+ 140.2	+ 27.7	+ 67.0	+ 2,517.8
North	292,960	364	102	44	2	+ 143.7	+ 166.0	+ 450.3	+ 3,689.0
East	74,594	29	19	30	83	+ 127.9	+ 6.9	+ 62.8	+ 11.0
BIHAR AND ORISSA	2,720,288	708	625	617	453	+ 10.9	+ 6.9	+ 45.0	+ 63.2
North Bihar	25,196	27	2	18	12	+ 1,446.2	+ 46.4	+ 49.3	+ 215.9
South	8,173	12	4	5	9	+ 240.6	+ 27.3	+ 45.4	+ 27.7
Orissa	6,370	21	20	12	12	+ 4.5	+ 3.0	+ 10.1	+ 101.1
Chota Nagpur Plateau	2,660,160	2,141	2,084	2,947	2,347	+ 16.9	+ 6.3	+ 45.9	+ 61.4
BUDDHISTS.									
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA	248,793	30	27	27	23	+ 14.5	+ 11.7	+ 24.9	+ 59.3
BENGAL	246,866	53	50	48	42	+ 14.0	+ 11.8	+ 24.8	+ 59.2
West Bengal	118	1	1	1	1	+ 34.1	+ 23.9	+ 30.4	+ 67.9
Central	2,581	3	4	3	3	+ 14.7	+ 31.7	+ 17.8	+ 32.3
North	64,023	55	51	40	31	+ 11.2	+ 16.9	+ 122.6	+ 189.1
East	188,144	99	96	97	99	+ 10.4	+ 10.0	+ 11.0	+ 41.0
BIHAR AND ORISSA	1,927	1	2	1	1	+ 126.6	+ 43.5	+ 36.8	+ 201.8
North Bihar	10	0.1	0.4	0.9	—	+ 1.08	+ 87.7	—	—
South	25	103	0.8	1	—	+ 13.6	+ 30.4	—	—
Orissa	434	1	0.1	0.5	0.2	+ 10,750.0	+ 94.9	+ 1,748.9	+ 6,100.0
Chota Nagpur Plateau	1,452	1	1	0.3	0.3	+ 99.6	+ 102.6	+ 87.8	+ 32.3
OTHERS.									
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA	28,000	3	2	3	6	+ 99.9	+ 35.2	+ 45.7	+ 31.7
BENGAL	15,643	4	3	4	3	+ 43.7	+ 35.8	+ 55.5	+ 43.6
West Bengal	1,598	2	1	1	2	+ 34.2	+ 31.0	+ 33.8	+ 56.6
Central	9,401	19	9	8	6	+ 39.9	+ 14.7	+ 63.3	+ 162.4
North	5,344	3	3	4	4	+ 19.1	+ 22.4	+ 6.3	+ 1.7
East	1,800	1	1	6	2	+ 34.7	+ 66.4	+ 2,347.8	+ 407.9
BIHAR AND ORISSA	12,357	3	1	1	9	+ 285.8	+ 33.0	+ 84.3	+ 60.4
North Bihar	2,310	1	1	1	0.8	+ 173.7	+ 49.7	+ 7,106.7	+ 9,945.3
South	6,533	2	1	1	1	+ 269.6	+ 0.5	+ 1,648.3	+ 10,321.7
Orissa	308	1	1	2	4	+ 34.0	+ 82.6	+ 21.3	+ 79.9
Chota Nagpur Plateau	3,136	2	1	1	4.2	+ 102.4	+ 45.4	+ 97.5	+ 89.0

The figures in columns 5 and 6 for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, for Bihar and Orissa and for the Chota Nagpur Plateau are exclusive of Sambalpur and the Orissa Pargana States, as the figures for 1891 and 1881 are not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—DISTRIBUTION BY DISTRICTS OF THE MAIN RELIGIONS.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER PER 10,000 OF THE POPULATION WHO ARE—															
	Hindus.				Muslims.				Animists.				Others.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	6,218	6,384	6,341	6,484	3,295	3,209	3,276	3,217	407	343	327	251	80	64	56	48
Bengal	4,523	4,700	4,767	4,882	5,234	5,119	5,068	4,969	158	103	92	85	85	78	73	64
WEST BENGAL	8,233	8,319	8,324	8,396	1,344	1,317	1,299	1,298	405	352	368	297	18	12	9	12
Burdwan	7,384	7,968	8,030	8,014	1,888	1,878	1,921	1,898	152	137	39	46	36	19	10	7
Barbhum	7,064	7,389	7,436	7,764	2,381	2,335	2,127	2,058	584	468	429	182	11	10	8	1
Bankura	8,690	8,740	8,604	8,743	454	508	424	444	841	799	970	813	9	3	2	1
Midnapore	8,781	8,845	8,822	8,878	854	864	851	852	516	494	521	493	17	7	6	17
Hooghly	8,103	8,207	8,142	8,053	1,688	1,759	1,832	1,937	190	35	19	—	9	8	7	10
Howrah	7,867	7,903	7,955	8,029	2,073	2,039	2,042	2,056	23	1	3	4	37	33	29	31
CENTRAL BENGAL	5,056	5,020	5,000	5,000	4,609	4,572	4,507	4,523	38	16	13	2	97	92	80	75
24 Parganas	6,369	6,304	6,277	6,203	5,612	5,624	5,651	5,733	49	8	3	—	69	67	70	65
Calcutta	6,750	6,505	6,517	6,260	2,936	2,948	2,941	2,178	1	—	—	—	353	347	302	262
Nadia	3,912	4,036	4,192	4,248	3,958	3,890	3,752	3,673	18	—	—	—	57	49	46	29
Murshidabad	4,688	4,827	4,905	5,174	4,197	4,077	4,046	4,009	105	82	74	7	10	11	32	10
Jessore	3,799	3,871	3,903	3,962	6,186	6,124	6,039	6,038	8	—	1	—	7	3	5	2
NORTH BENGAL	3,738	3,921	3,974	4,008	5,927	5,908	5,929	5,957	264	108	44	8	71	63	53	27
Rajshahi	3,132	3,223	3,124	3,187	7,786	7,763	7,873	7,843	109	11	3	1	3	3	1	1
Dinajpur	4,499	4,686	4,739	4,732	4,654	4,937	5,159	5,259	604	801	69	10	12	6	13	3
Jalpaiguri	6,052	6,790	6,698	6,398	2,631	2,902	3,266	3,345	1,122	193	92	45	134	115	45	24
Darjeeling	7,141	7,842	7,665	8,171	356	370	448	327	405	158	—	40	2,098	1,950	1,887	1,862
Rangpur	3,370	3,503	3,719	3,892	6,878	6,866	6,377	6,066	44	20	3	1	8	9	7	3
Hoora	1,698	1,804	1,867	1,918	5,239	5,192	5,047	5,042	8	12	25	—	4	2	1	1
Paonta	3,680	3,514	3,658	3,736	7,311	7,492	7,339	7,342	3	—	—	—	8	3	3	3
Maula	4,685	4,863	5,021	5,237	5,033	4,897	4,720	4,634	326	209	228	24	2	2	1	1
Cooch Behar	6,308	7,019	7,023	7,094	3,079	2,967	2,940	2,896	3	4	17	7	12	10	10	3
EAST BENGAL	3,039	2,251	3,360	3,475	6,755	6,617	6,505	6,349	39	19	20	63	117	113	118	113
Khulna	4,904	4,941	4,863	4,849	5,092	5,046	5,129	5,144	11	3	—	—	13	10	8	7
Dacca	3,554	3,729	3,963	4,044	6,296	6,220	6,098	5,910	4	—	—	—	46	45	45	43
Myneerdingh	2,568	2,781	3,011	3,233	3,344	3,141	3,302	3,679	84	74	85	85	6	4	2	1
Faridpur	3,553	3,746	3,882	4,068	6,320	6,190	6,098	6,070	—	—	—	—	23	24	20	17
Bacovengange	2,962	3,110	3,189	3,268	6,974	6,829	6,791	6,669	—	—	—	—	64	66	50	49
Tippora	2,789	2,931	3,124	3,263	7,323	7,034	6,967	6,853	—	—	—	—	3	8	9	4
Noakhali	2,306	2,404	2,457	2,577	7,645	7,598	7,533	7,415	—	—	—	—	3	3	10	8
Chittagong	2,302	2,332	2,343	2,430	7,919	7,162	7,189	7,042	9	5	1	—	473	480	487	487
Dacca Hill Tracts	306	2,815	2,400	1,907	331	398	454	718	2,133	3	45	1	6,388	6,684	7,098	7,385
Hill Tippera	6,389	6,877	6,670	1,022	2,829	2,612	2,698	2,818	18	154	—	6,168	288	234	632	12
Bihear and Orissa	8,260	8,359	8,276	8,435	958	968	1,072	1,055	705	625	617	453	74	48	35	27
NORTH BIHAR	8,314	8,372	8,364	8,378	1,643	1,621	1,614	1,606	37	2	18	13	6	5	4	3
Saran	8,546	8,818	8,818	8,828	1,155	1,281	1,181	1,173	—	—	—	—	3	1	1	—
Champaran	8,486	8,511	8,531	8,579	1,499	1,475	1,438	1,410	—	—	—	—	15	14	11	11
Muzaffarpur	8,764	8,771	8,774	8,774	1,333	1,326	1,327	1,324	—	—	—	—	5	2	2	3
Darbhanga	8,735	8,756	8,757	8,832	1,354	1,311	1,309	1,174	—	—	—	—	4	2	4	1
Shahjahanpur	8,980	8,977	8,911	8,973	1,008	1,002	982	944	104	15	122	89	8	6	5	8
Arrah	5,663	5,761	6,856	6,924	4,178	4,333	4,141	4,170	151	2	—	4	8	4	2	3
SOUTH BIHAR	9,041	9,024	9,029	8,987	932	965	959	999	12	4	5	9	15	7	7	5
Patna	8,901	8,721	8,848	8,772	1,059	1,147	1,134	1,013	—	—	—	—	60	18	18	15
Gaya	8,909	8,931	8,938	8,902	1,029	1,064	1,060	1,097	—	—	—	—	3	1	2	1
Rohababad	9,376	9,371	9,376	9,352	705	725	720	747	9	—	—	—	12	4	4	1
Monghyr	9,014	9,029	9,033	9,006	859	851	842	852	55	12	19	39	12	7	7	6
ORISSA	9,693	9,719	9,746	9,735	372	248	239	238	21	20	—	12	14	13	15	15
Cuttack	6,664	6,708	6,719	6,717	301	278	273	284	—	—	—	—	13	14	15	19
Balasore	9,600	9,644	9,744	9,658	293	264	244	251	83	79	—	46	15	12	12	15
Puri	9,796	9,819	9,818	9,832	189	170	165	158	—	—	—	—	15	11	20	9
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	7,224	7,350	6,340	7,066	428	415	569	569	2,141	2,088	2,947	2,247	207	147	144	118
Hazaribagh	8,373	8,100	8,247	8,371	1,033	1,016	996	981	673	887	754	653	19	17	13	8
Ranchi	5,967	5,980	5,941	5,969	369	312	320	397	4,341	4,600	3,068	4,471	1,383	1,082	671	343
Palamou	8,540	8,605	8,319	8,399	839	842	846	834	1,556	1,508	1,291	1,461	113	129	119	6
Manikpur	8,077	8,708	8,150	8,943	231	453	446	430	1,556	1,508	1,291	1,461	32	22	13	220
Sinhabhum	4,197	4,321	4,325	4,369	111	88	39	51	5,573	4,573	5,617	14	119	113	69	66
Sonhai Parganas	5,122	5,613	5,134	5,403	923	940	891	896	2,584	2,492	4,141	3,462	26	24	34	30
Agartala	7,078	7,735	7,967	7,408	17	12	12	17	2,597	2,226	20	2,320	8	2	1	60
Sambalpur	9,439	9,322	Not available	—	45	36	Not available	—	489	609	Not available	—	44	13	Not available	—
Orissa	8,701	8,744	—	—	39	36	—	—	1,153	1,208	—	—	107	12	—	—
Chota Nagpur	6,716	6,990	6,743	6,913	103	95	90	88	4,175	3,996	3,162	—	1	1	—	—
BIHAR	6,674	6,491	—	—	5	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,321	3,505	—	—

In the calculations for each Province and Natural Division those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—CHRISTIANS. NUMBER AND VARIATION.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	ACTUAL NUMBER OF CHRISTIANS IN—				VARIATION PER CENT.			
	1811.	1801.	1891.	1881.	1801-1811.	1881-1901.	1881-1891.	1881-1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	398,011	279,094	191,253	127,572	+ 42·6	+ 45·9	+ 49·9	+ 212·0
Bengal	129,746	106,598	82,339	72,289	+ 21·7	+ 29·5	+ 13·9	+ 79·5
WEST BENGAL	13,782	9,463	6,312	4,460	+ 45·6	+ 49·9	+ 41·5	+ 109·0
Burdwan	5,829	3,960	1,408	810	+ 39·1	+ 110·2	+ 54·7	+ 319·8
Dinaburg	813	818	422	48	- 0·7	+ 36·9	+ 96·9	+ 1,582·8
Bankura	1,012	368	132	26	+ 178·8	+ 179·0	+ 135·7	+ 1,767·1
Midnapore	4,166	1,074	1,543	740	+ 111·0	+ 37·6	+ 108·8	+ 468·0
Hoopty	821	799	633	655	+ 12·1	+ 19·9	- 2·4	+ 29·9
Howrah	8,120	2,588	2,072	2,021	+ 90·8	+ 84·9	+ 1·0	+ 32·1
CENTRAL BENGAL	66,395	61,141	50,658	47,790	+ 8·6	+ 20·7	+ 6·0	+ 38·9
24-Parganas	16,027	13,222	12,982	10,122	+ 16·0	+ 6·9	+ 27·4	+ 37·5
Calcutta	29,531	37,225	28,997	20,214	+ 4·3	+ 30·9	+ 4·0	+ 30·9
Nadia	8,128	8,091	7,297	6,440	+ 12·9	+ 10·9	+ 13·3	+ 41·8
Murshidabad	413	391	540	470	+ 5·9	+ 37·6	+ 14·9	+ 12·1
Junpore	1,273	912	840	474	+ 39·5	+ 8·8	+ 77·2	+ 168·4
NORTHERN BENGAL	17,257	9,058	3,358	1,660	+ 90·5	+ 169·7	+ 78·6	+ 317·9
Rajshahi	228	331	103	121	- 8·0	+ 234·3	+ 12·2	+ 166·9
Dinajpur	1,964	779	511	427	+ 152·1	+ 32·4	+ 11·9	+ 229·8
Jalpaiguri	5,501	2,486	357	199	+ 181·2	+ 396·9	+ 124·5	+ 5,367·7
Darjeeling	7,689	4,467	1,502	882	+ 72·1	+ 197·4	+ 78·4	+ 812·2
Rangpur	599	438	243	86	+ 33·2	+ 32·1	+ 398·8	+ 506·5
Bogra	161	40	19	27	+ 302·5	+ 105·7	+ 44·4	+ 496·2
Pabna	500	166	169	114	+ 301·2	+ 2·0	+ 42·1	+ 338·6
Malda	430	173	73	26	+ 145·8	+ 140·3	+ 170·4	+ 1,332·8
Qooch Behar	90	143	291	48	- 37·1	+ 56·9	+ 500·3	+ 87·6
EAST BENGAL	32,312	26,936	22,013	18,159	+ 20·0	+ 22·4	+ 21·2	+ 77·9
Kushtia	1,693	1,275	963	747	+ 32·8	+ 32·4	+ 26·9	+ 126·6
Dacca	13,194	11,556	10,476	8,799	+ 14·2	+ 10·3	+ 19·1	+ 49·9
Myrmensingh	2,181	1,291	311	181	+ 68·9	+ 811·4	+ 39·7	+ 1,844·4
Faridpur	2,910	4,641	2,339	2,741	+ 25·2	+ 31·1	+ 39·1	+ 112·0
Backergunge	6,541	5,591	4,659	3,717	+ 17·0	+ 20·0	+ 35·3	+ 76·0
Tippore	410	292	182	109	+ 40·4	+ 60·4	+ 8·6	+ 106·0
Noakhali	743	662	641	588	+ 12·2	+ 3·3	+ 9·0	+ 26·4
Chittagong	1,430	1,237	1,191	1,055	+ 15·6	+ 3·9	+ 12·9	+ 24·3
Chittagong Hill Tracts	172	252	18	49	+ 81·7	+ 1,300·0	+ 63·3	+ 261·0
Hill Tippore	188	187	133	113	+ 0·7	+ 8·0	+ 17·7	+ 22·1
Bihar and Orissa	268,265	172,498	108,914	55,283	+ 55·5	+ 56·4	+ 97·0	+ 385·3
NORTH BIHAR	6,473	5,374	4,052	3,820	+ 20·5	+ 32·6	+ 6·1	+ 69·6
Saran	437	814	278	292	+ 83·2	+ 12·9	+ 1·4	+ 55·0
Champanur	2,775	2,417	2,100	1,936	+ 14·8	+ 15·1	+ 8·5	+ 43·2
Muzaffarpur	993	719	271	372	+ 94·2	+ 93·8	+ 0·9	+ 160·1
Darbhanga	768	710	380	325	+ 7·9	+ 96·9	+ 16·9	+ 135·7
Bhagalpur	1,102	775	536	278	+ 43·2	+ 44·6	+ 7·3	+ 307·7
Purnea	500	439	307	327	+ 13·9	+ 13·4	+ 18·3	+ 33·9
SOUTH BIHAR	5,440	4,623	4,608	4,051	+ 17·7	+ 0·3	+ 13·7	+ 34·3
Patna	2,383	2,362	2,333	2,388	+ 0·9	+ 9·6	+ 8·5	+ 0·1
Gaya	349	355	274	96	+ 37·9	+ 45·4	+ 81·3	+ 262·3
Siachabad	700	575	277	276	+ 86·7	+ 55·4	+ 0·4	+ 135·6
Moohy	1,308	1,433	1,324	1,091	+ 36·0	+ 8·9	+ 21·4	+ 63·2
ORISSA	5,145	5,004	4,638	3,976	+ 2·8	+ 7·9	+ 16·6	+ 29·4
Cuttack	5,406	2,632	2,723	2,342	- 9·3	+ 2·6	+ 16·3	+ 2·7
Balsore	1,418	1,274	1,070	810	+ 14·4	+ 18·5	+ 21·9	+ 78·9
Puri	1,281	1,076	840	819	+ 18·8	+ 26·3	+ 2·6	+ 56·4
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	251,207	157,497	85,616	43,436	+ 59·5	+ 64·7	+ 120·1	+ 478·3
Hasaribagh	1,798	1,162	889	553	+ 63·6	+ 30·8	+ 81·1	+ 223·6
Ranchi	177,473	124,928	70,693	36,363	+ 42·0	+ 93·1	+ 108·7	+ 389·4
Palaman	7,782	7,908	6,576	18	- 1·6	+ 18·5	+ 36,988·9	+ 45,188·9
Manbhum	4,500	2,910	1,332	532	+ 54·6	+ 89·9	+ 17·8	+ 715·2
Simbhum	8,209	6,961	4,864	2,368	+ 17·8	+ 43·1	+ 62·8	+ 174·4
South Parganas	10,163	9,675	5,943	3,057	+ 2·9	+ 66·2	+ 94·4	+ 223·5
Angul	69	33	19	6	+ 109·1	+ 73·7	+ 216·7	+ 1,000·0
Sambalpur	2,792	714	...	...	+ 291·2	...	...	...
Orissa Feudatory States	28,422	2,962	...	...	+ 1,197·2	...	...	...
Chota Nagpur States	18	12	...	...	+ 36·5	...	...	...
BIHAR	285	135	...	...	+ 111·1	...	...	...

The figures in columns 4 and 5 for Bihar and Orissa and for the Chota Nagpur Plateau are exclusive of the figures for Sambalpur, the Orissa Feudatory States and the Chota Nagpur States, as figures for 1891 and 1881 are not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—RACES AND SECTS OF CHRISTIANS (ACTUAL NUMBER).

SECT.	EUROPEAN.		AN LO-INDIAN.		INDIAN.		TOTAL.		Variation (Increase + or de- crease -).
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	1911.	1901.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BENGAL	16,671	8,780	10,541	10,494	43,048	40,212	129,746	106,596	+23,150
Anglican Communion ...	9,473	4,838	3,409	3,294	3,447	3,558	39,021	38,440	+ 581
Armenian	496	371	12	5	9	4	799	535	+ 264
Baptist	315	375	326	339	11,753	11,120	23,960	16,428	+ 7,532
Congregationalist ...	84	64	24	26	1,199	1,137	2,534	2,044	+ 490
Greek	142	49	3	1	5	1	199	142	+ 57
Lutheran	195	46	5	1	524	523	1,214	353	+ 861
Methodist	371	194	150	219	1,303	1,254	3,971	3,395	+ 576
Minor Protestant Denominations...	53	30	8	16	56	83	217	187	+ 30
Presbyterian	1,994	677	685	391	1,995	2,130	7,722	5,350	+ 2,372
Protestant (sect unspecified)	272	110	109	93	279	485	1,484	...	+ 1,483
Quaker	2	...	1	...	...	...	4	...	+ 4
Roman Catholic	3,151	2,139	2,818	3,321	15,005	13,377	45,364	38,895	+ 7,469
Salvationist	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	+ 1
Syrian (Romo-Syrian) ...	...	...	1	1	2	...	4	...	+ 4
Sect not returned	74	31	46	3	1,134	836	2,114	823	+ 1,291
Indefinite Beliefs	52	16	7	2	16	8	140	4	+ 136
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	3,930	2,386	1,766	1,639	127,490	131,054	268,265	172,498	+95,767
Anglican Communion ...	2,374	1,474	659	909	18,504	13,738	37,559	22,665	+ 14,894
Armenian	10	2	...	...	...	...	12	39	+ 27
Baptist	62	77	59	82	3,300	3,344	11,133	5,612	+ 5,521
Congregationalist ...	8	1	...	1	6	6	29	7	+ 22
Greek	4	...	...	...	...	...	6	25	+ 19
Lutheran	62	45	75	5	48,239	21,048	99,416	69,326	+ 30,090
Methodist	58	33	25	27	694	615	1,312	464	+ 848
Minor Protestant Denominations...	2	7	3	8	60	47	122	341	+ 219
Presbyterian	294	134	29	10	225	548	1,538	1,230	+ 308
Protestant (sect unspecified)	27	14	7	4	161	147	360	...	+ 360
Quaker	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	+ 1
Roman Catholic	329	159	976	898	53,992	49,965	116,480	69,467	+ 47,013
Sect not returned	10	10	4	2	149	89	472	3,318	+ 2,846
Indefinite Beliefs	17	8	...	...	...	...	25	4	+ 21

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—DISTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIANS PER MILE—
(a) RACES BY SECT, AND (b) SECTS BY RACE.

SECT.	RACES DISTRIBUTED BY SECT.				SECTS DISTRIBUTED BY RACE.			
	European.	Anglo-Indian.	Indian.	Total.	European.	Anglo-Indian.	Indian.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
BENGAL	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	198	162	642	1,000
Anglican Communion ...	963	219	218	301	887	172	461	1,000
Armenian	30	1	0'1	6	963	31	10	1,000
Baptist	23	22	275	185	25	19	956	1,000
Congregationalist ...	6	2	38	20	59	30	822	1,000
Greek	8	0'2	0'04	2	960	20	30	1,000
Lutheran	9	0'2	12	9	190	6	804	1,000
Methodist	22	18	36	31	143	93	765	1,000
Minor Protestant Denominations...	2	1	2	2	223	111	636	1,000
Presbyterian	102	45	49	59	242	172	583	1,000
Protestant (sect unspecified)	17	9	10	11	295	132	563	1,000
Quaker	0'1	0'04	...	0'03	750	240	...	1,000
Roman Catholic	308	479	348	357	114	293	623	1,000
Salvationist	0'08	...	...	0'01	1,000	...	...	1,000
Syrian (Romo-Syrian) ...	...	0'1	0'02	0'03	...	500	500	1,000
Sect not returned	4	2	24	16	20	22	927	1,000
Indefinite Beliefs	4	1	0'2	1	779	64	137	1,000
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	23	13	964	1,000
Anglican Communion ...	641	312	125	140	108	34	858	1,000
Armenian	3	...	...	0'04	1,000	...	...	1,000
Baptist	22	41	42	42	12	13	975	1,000
Congregationalist ...	3	0'2	0'04	0'1	552	34	414	1,000
Greek	1	0'2	...	0'02	823	167	...	1,000
Lutheran	90	4	2'4	371	1	0'1	999	1,000
Methodist	14	15	5	5	89	40	891	1,000
Minor Protestant Denominations...	2	2	0'4	0'4	82	41	877	1,000
Presbyterian	67	12	4	6	272	29	698	1,000
Protestant (sect unspecified)	6	2	1	1	114	31	855	1,000
Quaker	0'1	...	...	0'003	1,000	...	...	1,000
Roman Catholic	215	348	428	434	12	14	972	1,000
Sect not returned	3	2	1	1	74	22	904	1,000
Indefinite Beliefs	4	...	...	0'1	1,000	...	...	1,000

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—RELIGIONS OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION.

NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER PER 10,000 OF URBAN POPULATION WHO ARE—					NUMBER PER 10,000 OF RURAL POPULATION WHO ARE—				
	Hindu.	Musliman.	Ajinal.	Christian.	Others.	Hindu.	Musliman.	Ajinal.	Christian.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BENGAL	6,728	2,975	17	103	77	4,373	5,368	168	16	55
West Bengal	8,000	1,790	42	126	18	8,290	1,309	432	7	1
Central Bengal	6,951	2,810	11	271	71	4,602	5,220	42	32	0.4
North Bengal	5,427	4,104	2	173	292	2,701	4,907	269	12	50
East Bengal	5,223	4,480	6	80	81	3,031	6,812	40	18	100
BIHAR AND ORISSA	7,507	2,240	72	147	34	6,287	813	730	67	2
North Bihar	7,296	2,602	6	59	14	8,345	1,614	34	2	7
South Bihar	7,315	2,200	...	80	57	9,164	816	13	3	5
Orissa	6,381	1,430	1	176	12	9,745	276	72	6	1
Chota Nagpur Plateau	7,712	1,518	276	283	22	7,314	406	2,177	200	...
BIHAR ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	6,674	5	...	22	3,289

CHAPTER V.*

AGE.

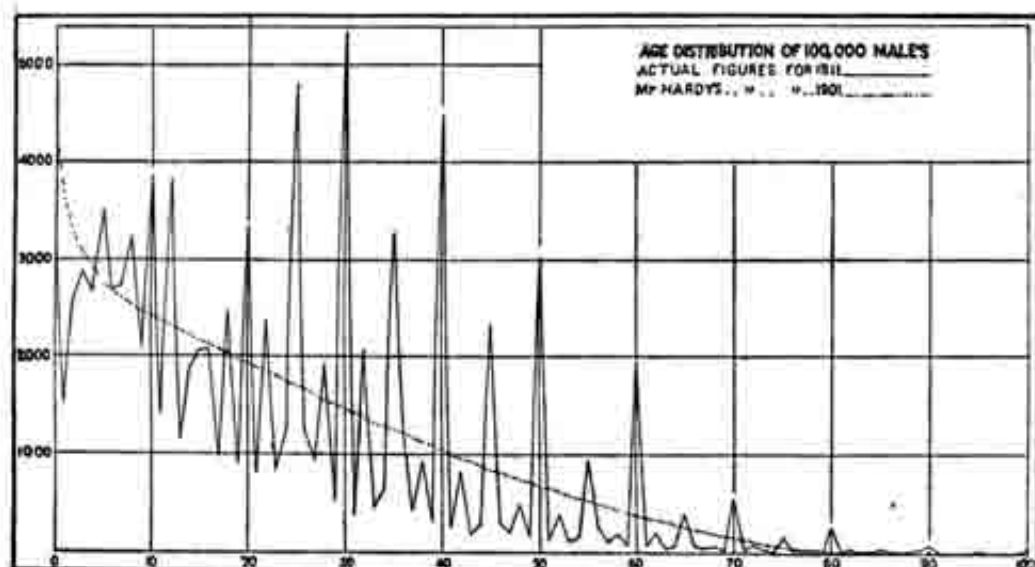
577. THE statistics of age are contained in Imperial Table VII of the volume of tables, where they are distributed according to civil condition and religion, *i.e.*, among the unmarried, married and widowed of each religion. The figures in this table are given separately for each year up to 5, after which they are arranged by quinquennial groups up to 70, those who are 70 and over being grouped together. In accordance with modern statistical practice, the age 0 indicates infants under one year of age, while the first number in each age group indicates the age reached and the last number the age not yet reached. The group 5—10, for instance, includes persons who are 5 years old but not yet 10 years old, *i.e.*, those whose completed ages are either 5, 6, 7, 8 or 9 years. The statistics of age in relation to sex, marriage, education, infirmities, etc., are discussed in other chapters. The present chapter deals with the general distribution by age of the total population and of members of different religions, and also with the age returns of the principal castes, tribes and races, the figures for which will be found in Table XIV. The vital statistics of the two Provinces will also be briefly examined in connection with the question of the longevity and fecundity of the people and the changes in their age distribution since the previous census. Proportional figures illustrating the more important features of the statistics are given in the following subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter :—

- I.—Age distribution of 100,000 of each sex by annual periods.
- II.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in each Province and natural division.
- III.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in each main religion.
- IV.—Age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in certain castes.
- IV-A.—Proportion of children under 12 years of age and of persons over 40 to those aged 15—40, and also of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females, in selected castes.
- V.—Proportion (1) of children under 10 and of persons over 60 to those aged 15—40, and (2) of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females, in each district and natural division.
- V-A.— Ditto for each of the principal religions.
- VI.—Variation in the population at certain age periods.
- VII.—Reported birth-rate by sex and natural divisions.
- VIII.—Reported death-rate by sex and natural divisions.
- IX.—Reported death-rate by sex and age in the last decade, and in selected years, per mille living at the same age according to the census of 1901.
- X.—Reported deaths from certain diseases per mille of each sex.
- XI.—Infantile mortality.

578. The age returns are one of the curiosities of the Indian census. The instructions regarding them are simple enough, *viz.*, that the number of years which each person has completed is to be entered, and that children less than one year old are to be entered as infants. The latter rule was laid down in order to prevent the number of months they had lived being entered, and so avoid the risk of that number being confused with years in compilation. These are really counsels of perfection, for the great mass of the people have but the vaguest idea of their age. The supervising staff enumerators can exercise no effective check, for they have quite as nebulous ideas on the subject, and blithely take down the wild guesses made by the people themselves. It must not be imagined that the entries are even approximately correct. Among the illiterate it is not uncommon for an old man to say he is "probably 25," and for a father to give his age as less than that of his son. Many simply plead entire ignorance, but others, and they the great majority, give such ludicrous replies as *bis chalis*, *i.e.*, 20 or 40. There is, it is true, a record of the birth of the higher and middle

* This chapter has been written in collaboration with my Personal Assistant, Babu Naba Gauranga Basak, M.A., Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector.

class Hindus, viz., the horoscope in which the astrologer records the day hour and minute of birth, as well as the star under which a child is born. These papers are carefully consulted before marriages take place and are sometimes produced in legal proceedings, but otherwise they are rarely referred to. The enumerator would not be allowed to examine them, even if he wanted to do so, and in any case would not be able to understand them. Inaccuracy is a characteristic of the ignorant, and it has been found that the accuracy of the age returns corresponds to the extent to which education is diffused. In Bengal, Bihar and Orissa the number of literate persons is extremely small. Out of every 1,000 persons, only 112 are literate among the males and barely 8 among the females, though the test of literacy is a very modest one, viz., the ability to write a letter to a friend and to read the reply to it. The number able to recollect their age is probably even smaller.



579. In a population, such as that of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which is increasing by natural reproduction, the returns for age should show the greatest number of persons as being under one year of age, and the number should steadily decrease in subsequent years, as shown by the dotted curve in the above diagram. This is very far from being the case, and it will be seen that other absurdities are painfully numerous. There is a general fondness for multiples of 5, especially the even multiples (10 and its multiples), and also for even numbers. In particular, there is (1) a marked deficiency in the figures for the age 0—4 and specially for the age 1, (2) a heaping up of figures about the age 25—30 at the expense of the preceding and following ages, and (3) a special preference for the numbers 25, 30 and 40, and also for 12 and 3, the former of which seems to be the favourite number among the non-multiples of five, while the latter is a favourite number in early years. Over two-fifths of the population returned their age as 0, 5 or multiples of five, though these constitute only about one-fifth of the numbers open to them. Among the numbers other than 0, 5, or multiples of five, even numbers were selected by one-third and odd numbers by only one-fifth of the population. The fondness for even numbers is attributed by Sir Athelstane Baines, K.C.S.I., to the quaternary system of calculation, which is largely in vogue in this country: the anna, for instance, is divided into 4 pieces, the rupee into 16 annas, and the seer into 16 chittacks. The predilection for multiples of 10 appears to be much greater among the aged. Of the persons returned as aged 60 and over, two-thirds plumped on 60, 70 or 80 as their age, and one-third chose the remaining 27 numbers.

580. The very small number returned as one year old is illustrated by the marked fall in the graph at that age. This appears to be due, partly to the rule that children under one year of age should be entered as infants, and partly to the usual practice of counting the current year as part of one's age.

Though the enumerators were instructed to record the number* of years actually completed and (in order to avoid confusion between months and years) to enter the word infant for children under one year of age, it is very likely that many children in their second year, who should have been returned as one year old, were actually returned as two years old. Many more children, being still at the breast and so popularly known as infants, were probably returned as such, and were therefore classed as under one year of age in the course of tabulation. There is also a deficiency in the number returned for the age 0, *i.e.*, under one year of age, which is probably due in part to the omission of a certain number of infants from the return. The preliminary record was prepared about three weeks before the date of the census, and it is not unlikely that some new births during the intervening period escaped notice when the enumerators went their rounds on the census night in order to bring the preliminary record up to date. On the other hand, it must be stated, in fairness to them, that some enumerators showed meticulous care over such entries. One man even entered every detail but sex for an unborn child, as he was quite sure it would be born before the day of the census and wanted his record to be absolutely complete. The sex, he explained, could easily be filled in when the child was born. It is also possible that the age of some infants was returned in months, which were taken for years in the course of compilation.

The deliberate mis-statement of age is another fruitful source of errors in the age returns. The heaping-up of the figures about the age 25 to 30 illustrates the general desire to be considered young that exists amongst men approaching middle age, especially amongst widowers who are either anxious to marry again or who have already married young girls. With females the proneness to mis-statement occurs at an earlier age. According to the *Sastras*, Hindu girls should be married before they attain puberty: hence, the ages of grown-up Hindu girls are often under-stated if they are still unmarried. On the other hand the ages of married girls, especially those who become mothers at an early age, are often over-stated. Exaggeration of age is also very common amongst the aged of both sexes and especially amongst females.

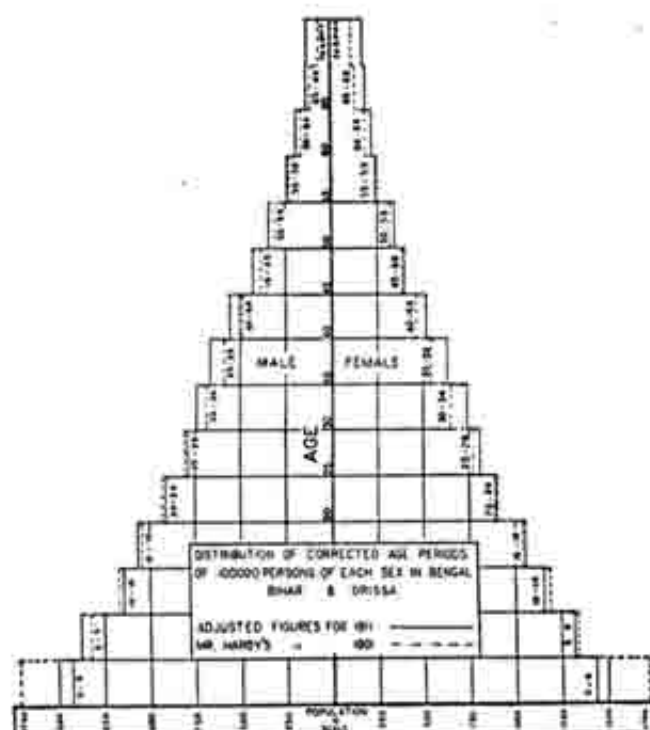
581. In spite of all their glaring defects, the statistics of age have some value, because (i) there is no better material on which to base an estimate of the longevity of the people and their birth and death-rates; (ii) by the law of large numbers, the positive and negative errors, *i.e.*, the effects of exaggeration and under-statement, tend to cancel one another to a certain extent; (iii) the effects of the plumping on certain favourite numbers can be eliminated by a careful process of smoothing or adjustment; and (iv) the nature and degree of error from census to census may be assumed to be constant.* The age statistics consequently have a relative value, and help to bring to light changes in the age distribution due to famine, plague or other disturbing causes. As on previous occasions, an English actuary was engaged to prepare a memorandum on the age tables and rates of mortality, and it was hoped that his work would be finished in time for the incorporation of his conclusions in the report. This hope has not been fulfilled, but it is expected that the memorandum will shortly be published. As it will deal fully with the age statistics and the deductions to be made regarding the birth and death-rates and the longevity of the people, after eliminating the errors by elaborate processes of adjustment, there will only be a brief discussion in this chapter of some of the more obvious features presented by the statistics.

582. The mean age is the average age of the persons who were alive on the date of the census, and not the mean duration of life. It necessarily depends largely on the proportion of young children and old persons to the total population. An increase in the birth-rate will result in a larger proportion of children and lower the mean age. Conversely, where the number of children is small and old persons are numerous, the mean age will be high. A high mean age may, therefore, mean either a long average span of life, or a small proportion of children consequent on a low birth-rate, or both. On the other hand, a reduction of the mean age may be due to a decrease in the average longevity, or to an increase

* Graphs prepared to illustrate the age distribution (1) of males in general, of Hindu males and females, and of Muhammadan males in 1911, (2) of males in general and Hindu males in 1901, and (3) of females in general in 1891, show wonderful similarity in almost all the important details.

in the birth-rate, or to both. In fact, like all large statistical averages, the figures for mean age are of value rather for the questions they suggest than for the answers they supply. From the statistics of mean age we cannot draw any definite conclusion regarding the relative fecundity or longevity of different communities without also examining their age distribution and vital statistics.

583. The mean age of the people at each of the last four censuses has been

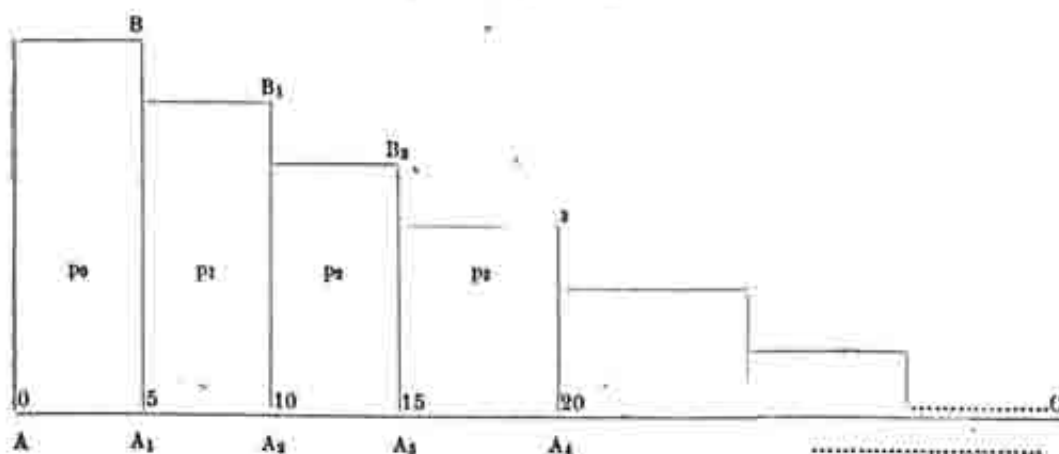


given for each natural division in Subsidiary Table II, and for the main religions in the two provinces as a whole in Subsidiary Table III. In order that the figures for 1911 may be comparable with those for the previous census, they have been calculated in the manner adopted in 1901. Briefly, the irregularities in the age statistics have been roughly adjusted by an arithmetical process known as "Bloxam's method of smoothing," and then the mean age has been calculated from the adjusted figures in the method described on page 390 of the last Census of India Report, Administrative Volume.* That the

adjustment according to Bloxam's method is a rough one, will be seen from the marginal diagram, in which the adjusted figures thus obtained and Mr. Hardy's figures for 1901 have been plotted side by side for facility of comparison. The figures for the mean age based on the adjusted age statistics are, therefore, only approximate, but, the errors involved in the calculation being practically constant, they have some relative value and may be utilized for comparison between different censuses, localities and religions, and also between the sexes.

* The rule which has been quoted from the French Census Report for 1891, is briefly as follows:—
"Determine the total number of persons living at the close of each age period. The sum of those totals multiplied by 5, the difference of the age divisions, and raised by 2½ times the number of persons dealt with, gives the number of years lived. The mean age is obtained by dividing this last number by the number of persons living."

This rule, writes Babu Naba Gauranga Basak, can be easily established thus:—



584. In Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, as a whole, the mean age of females has been higher than that of males at all the censuses—a fact which suggests (i) greater longevity among females and (ii) an excess of males among children. The question of relative longevity by sex, religion and

VARIAIONS IN MEAN AGE
By SEX.

locality will be discussed in a subsequent paragraph, and that of the sex proportions in the next chapter. The figures given separately for each natural division show that the higher mean age of females is a special feature of the new Province of Bihar and Orissa, where it is common to all the natural divisions in spite of differences of religions. These figures also show that it is no new feature, but equally noticeable at each successive census. In Bengal, on the other hand, and in Central Bengal and East Bengal in particular, females have a lower mean age than males. One explanation of the difference between the two provinces is the immigration of a large number of adult males from Bihar and Orissa to Bengal.

585. For comparison between different religions, localities and censuses it is preferable to take only the figures for males, as the returns of their ages are more reliable than those of females. As shewn in the marginal table, Hindus have the highest mean age in each Province, but are closely followed by the Christian community in Bengal. Next in order come the Musalmans of Bihar and Orissa, and the Animists enumerated in Bengal. As already demonstrated in Chapter IV,

RELIGION.	MEAN AGE.		PROPORTION OF CHILDREN PER 100 MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15-40.		PROPORTION OF PERSONS OVER 60 PER 100 AGED 15-40.	
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
Hindus	25.4	24.6	171	165	12	12
Musalmans	22.3	24.3	198	176	10	12
Animist	22.6	22.1	201	220	11	11
Christian	25.4	21.6	173	222	9	10

the Hindus are less prolific than the Muhammadans or Animists, and have consequently a smaller proportion of children, which explains their higher mean age. The re-

lative longevity of the three communities does not appear to have much to do with the variations in their mean age. The Christians stand second in

° Page 264—concluded.

Let the age line AC be divided into quinquennial periods AA_1, A_1A_2, A_2A_3 , etc., and let the rectangles AB, A_1B_1, A_2B_2 , etc., on them represent the population aged 0-5, 5-10, 10-15, and so on. Also, for convenience sake let p_0 = rectangle AB = population aged 0-5; p_1 = rectangle A_1B_1

= population aged 5-10 etc. and

$P_1 = p_1 + p_2 + p_3$ etc.

= population aged 5 and over etc.

$P_2 = p_2 + p_3 + p_4$ etc.

= population aged 10 and over

etc.

and $P = p_0 + p_1 +$ etc.

= total population.

Now take the age period AA_1 (0-5). Each of $P_1 = p_1 + p_2$ persons has completed the 5 years "0 to 5" and so all of them have lived $5 \times P_1$ years.

Also presuming the population p_0 to be uniformly distributed over the age period AA_1 we may roughly take each of these p_0 persons to have completed $\frac{1}{2}$ years, and hence the total number of years lived by p_0 persons to be $\frac{1}{2} \times p_0$ years. Thus for the period AA_1 (0-5) we get $5P_1 + \frac{1}{2}p_0$ years.

Similarly for the periods A_1A_2, A_2A_3 we get—

$5P_2 + \frac{1}{2}p_1$ years

$5P_3 + \frac{1}{2}p_2$ "

etc. etc.

Hence the total number of years lived by the entire population P

= $(5P_1 + \frac{1}{2}p_0) + (5P_2 + \frac{1}{2}p_1) +$

= $5(P_1 + P_2 + P_3) + \frac{1}{2}(p_0 + p_1 + p_2 + \dots)$

= $5(P_1 + P_2 + P_3) + \frac{1}{2}P$

\therefore the mean age of the population

= $M = \frac{5(P_1 + P_2 + \dots) + \frac{1}{2}P}{P}$ (I) This formula gives the rule quoted above.

= $\frac{5(P_1 + P_2 + \dots) + \frac{1}{2}P}{P}$ (II)

Remembering that

$P_1 = P - p_0$

$P_2 = P_1 - p_1$

$P_3 = P_2 - p_2$

or

P_{14} = persons aged 70 and over (and is therefore given).

$P_{13} = p_{13} + P_{14}$

$P_{12} = p_{12} + P_{13}$

etc. etc.

The terms P_1, P_2, P_3 , etc., successively can be calculated very easily. The sum of these terms multiplied by 5 and divided by the total population P, and then increased by 2.5 gives the mean age. This rule given by formula II will be found to be very simple and convenient for application.

Bengal but last in Bihar and Orissa, probably because of the large number of adult Europeans and Anglo-Indians in Bengal and their comparative paucity in Bihar and Orissa. The difference between the mean ages of Animists in Bengal and their congeners in Bihar and Orissa is attributable to the former being largely composed of male immigrants in the prime of life.

586. The mean age is highest in Central Bengal, which contains Calcutta and the mill towns of the 24-Parganas, and in which the proportion of adult male immigrants is consequently highest. West Bengal, with Howrah, Kharagpur and several industrial towns along the Hooghly, in which a large number of such immigrants are found, comes next, and then South Bihar, North Bihar and Orissa. The mean age is comparatively low in North Bengal, and still more so in East Bengal, where a high birth-rate raises the proportion of children. It is lowest in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, which is inhabited mainly by prolific aboriginal races, in whose villages swarms of young children may be seen. In all the natural divisions the mean age has increased in a greater or less degree during the last decade.

587. Statistics based on the crude birth-rate, *i.e.*, the birth-rate calculated on the total population, are of value for considering the progress or decline of a community in a series of years or for comparing communities that are known to have nearly, if not exactly, the same age and sex composition. Strictly speaking, however, they are not a correct measure of the fecundity of the people, as they depend not only on the number of births and of adults producing offspring, but also on the number of young and old persons, who contribute nothing to an increase in the population. It is on this account that the crude birth-rate often remains stationary, or even shows a rise, after a severe famine, in spite of the reduced vitality of the people. The explanation of this seeming anomaly is that the famine carries off more of those at the two extremes of life, *i.e.*, the young and the old, and comparatively few virile adults, on whom the population depends for reproduction. To form a correct idea of the relative fecundity of different communities, we may examine the proportion of children under 10 years, or the number of births per 100 married females of reproductive age, *i.e.*, between 15 and 40 years of age. The proportions may also be calculated on all females of child-bearing age in order to allow for illegitimate births, the number of which, however, is extremely small.

588. The marginal table shows for each natural division the proportion of births in 1901-10 and also of children who were under 10 years of age in 1911 per (i) 100 persons, (ii) 100 females aged 15-40 and (iii) 100 married females of the same age.

PROVINCE AND NATURAL DIVISION.	PER 100 PERSONS.		PER 100 FEMALES OF 15-40.		PER 100 MARRIED FEMALES OF 15-40.	
	Births.	Children under 10.	Births.	Children under 10.	Births.	Children under 10.
Bengal — — —	38	30	189	148	233	181
West Bengal ...	33	26	162	121	210	157
Central Bengal ...	34	26	172	122	224	167
North Bengal ...	40	32	202	161	246	195
East Bengal ...	40	32	203	161	242	190
Bihar and Orissa	41	29	201	143	241	170
North Bihar ...	40	29	196	139	238	164
South Bihar ...	42	30	204	136	242	160
Orissa ...	39	26	192	134	229	152
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	42	31	212	136	261	192

somewhat small, besides which the population has increased but slightly during the last decade. So far as the birth-rate and the proportion of children are concerned, North Bengal does not appear to be inferior to East Bengal in any way, but its death-rate being higher, the population has not increased as rapidly as in East Bengal. The people in West Bengal, Central Bengal and Orissa appear to be less prolific than elsewhere.

The ratio of births during the last decade per 100 married females of the reproductive age (15-40) is highest in the Chota Nagpur Plateau (261), and next highest in North Bengal (246), South Bihar (243) and East Bengal (242). The position of South Bihar is probably due rather to a more accurate and complete registration of births than to any really high birth-rate, as the proportion of children in that division is

589. The proportion of children per 100 married females of the reproductive age (15—40) may be taken as a fair index of the relative fecundity of different communities.

The ratio is highest among the Animists in all the natural divisions of the two provinces; the Muhammadans come next and then the Hindus. It cannot be said that these results are much affected by migration, for it is mainly adult males who migrate. Women are but poorly represented among migrants and children under 10 years of age still more so. The inevitable conclusion seems to be that fecundity is greatest among Animists and lowest among the Hindus, the Muhammadans having an intermediate position. In North Bengal, however, the Hindus appear to be equal to, and in West Bengal superior to, the Muhammadans in productiveness. These conclusions are supported by the statistics of births prepared in the Sanitary Commissioner's office.

590. During the decade 1891-1901 the proportion of children per 100 married females of the child-bearing age fell, to a greater or less extent, in most of the districts of the two provinces and among the followers of all religions in each natural division, except in

VARIAIONS IN FECUNDITY SINCE
1891.

BY LOCALITY.

North Bengal. This fall in the proportion of children, indicating as it does a general decrease in the fecundity of the people, was attributed in part to the deliberate avoidance of child-bearing.* During the last decade, however, the proportion of children has increased everywhere in the new Province of Bihar and Orissa, except in (i) Darbhanga, which suffered from famine in 1907 and 1909, (ii) Balasore, where infantile mortality is abnormally high, and (iii) the Chota Nagpur Plateau as a whole, and Singhbhum and the Sonthal Parganas in particular. In Bengal, on the other hand, the proportion has decreased still further in the majority of the districts of West Bengal, Central Bengal and East Bengal, but has increased in North Bengal. As the proportion of children has been calculated on married females of the reproductive age, on whom the birth-rate mainly depends, and on whom the effect of migration is comparatively small, it may fairly be assumed that the variation in the proportion is due to a corresponding variation in the actual fecundity of the people. Hence, the general conclusion seems to be that, whatever may be the causes, the fall in the fecundity of the people in 1891-1901 has been made good to a certain extent in Bihar and Orissa, but has proceeded further in Bengal. North Bengal is an exception to this rule, as fecundity there shows a steady increase since 1891.

591. The general inferences drawn above are equally applicable to the Hindus and the Muhammadans. Both communities show a steady decline in fecundity since 1891 in West Bengal, Central Bengal, East Bengal, and also in the Chota Nagpur Plateau. Both now show an increase in reproductive power in North Bihar, South Bihar and Orissa, where fecundity declined in 1891-1901. In North Bengal the Muhammadans have exhibited a steady increase in prolificness since 1891, while among the Hindus there was a decrease in 1891-1901, which has been more than made good by the increase in 1901-1911.

592. The age distribution of 1,000 of each sex among the more important castes is given in Subsidiary Table IV, in which the age periods selected are 0—5, 5—12, 12—15, 15—40 and 40 and over. Subsidiary Table IV-A, which has been

FECUNDITY BY CASTE.

specially compiled to illustrate the relative fecundity and longevity of different communities, shows for each of these castes the proportion (1) of children under 12 years of age to persons aged 15—40 and to married females of the same age period, (2) of persons over 40 years of age to those aged 15—40, and (3) of married females aged 15—40 to females of all ages. As might be expected from what has already been said about the relative fecundity of the main religions, the proportion of children per 100 married females aged 15—40 (the reproductive age) is highest among the aboriginal

* Mr. Gait took the proportion of children per 100 persons, and attributed the fall in the proportion to (1) a tendency to postpone the age of marriage, (2) the gradual spread of the prejudice against the remarriage of widows and (3) the deliberate avoidance of child-bearing (vide paragraphs 398 and 399 of the Bengal Census Report of 1901). The proportion per 100 married females aged 15 to 40, which is here discussed, obviously cannot have any connection with the first two causes.

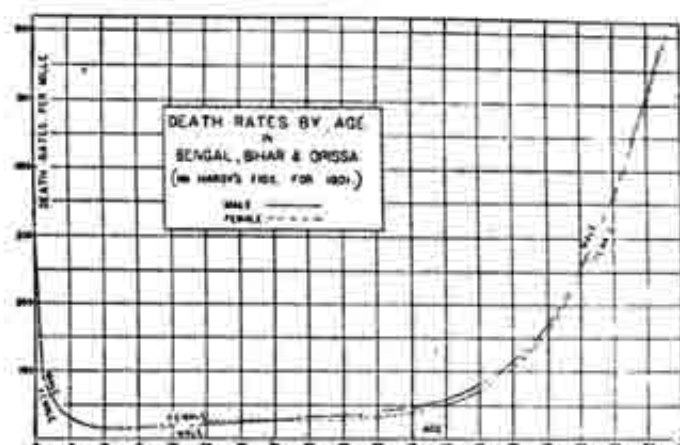
as Santals (266), Mundas (268) and Oraons (242).

It is also high among the tribal Hindu castes, *e.g.*, Pod (236), Rajbansi (224), Namasudra (221), etc. One interesting feature of the age statistics of castes may be noticed here, *viz.*, that where a tribe is in process of being Hinduized, the Hindu section has, as a rule, a smaller proportion of children than their Animist brethren. In other words, Hinduization is accompanied by a reduction of fecundity, and, as will be shown in a subsequent paragraph, by an increase of longevity. This feature is common to all but three of the tribes shown in the margin, and it cannot be said that the results are affected by the returns of age being more accurate for the Hindu than for the Animistic section, for the standard of education is much the same

in both cases.

Among the different Hindu castes it is difficult to find any correlation between social status and fecundity. The proportion varies very little among castes ranking high and low in the social scale. In Bengal, after the aboriginal and tribal castes, come (in order) Sunri (220), Baidya (209), Kayasth and Goala (201), Kaibartta, both unspecified and Chasi (200), Brahman (199), Bhumi, Jogi, Jalia Kaibartta (198), Rajput (195), Teli and Tili (192), Tanti (190), Sadgop (187), Bagdi (185) and Chamar (163). In Bihar and Orissa the aboriginal tribes are followed by Rajput (217), Bhuiya (212), Musahar (207), Brahman (194), Goala (194), Balihan (193) and Chasa (191). We should not forget, however, in comparing the figures for the different castes, that the figures are not very accurate, and that the degree of literacy, which affects the accuracy of their age returns, is not the same.

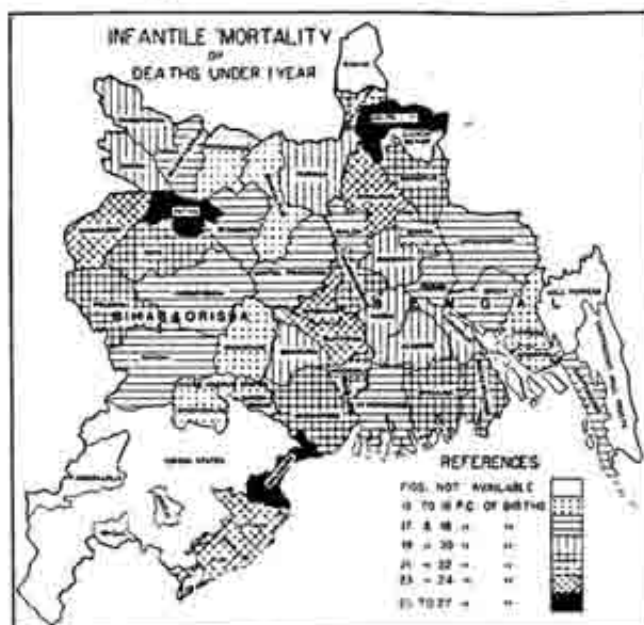
593. As shown in Subsidiary Table IX and illustrated in greater detail in the marginal diagram, the death-rate is abnormally high among infants under one year of age, being over 250 per mille. It then falls sharply to about 100 per mille at one



year of age, and rapidly decreases as the age increases up to ten. After this the fall in the death-rate still continues, but very slowly, till it reaches the minimum somewhere between 10 and 15. The death-rate then begins its upward course, slowly up to 40—50, but more and more rapidly beyond that period.

The death-rate is universally higher among males than among females, with one exception, *viz.*, that at the reproductive age of 15—40 females in Bengal die at a more rapid rate than males. This is presumably due to child-birth with its attendant dangers, which are all the greater because of the want of skilled midwifery, the ignorance of hygiene, and last, but not least, premature motherhood. In Bihar, though marriage takes place at an early age, girls are not allowed to meet their husbands until they attain puberty. Moreover, being more accustomed to manual labour in the open air, they are physically better fitted to bear children without injurious after-effects. Turning to the causes of death, it will be seen from Subsidiary Table X that among females the mortality from all diseases is lower than among males, with one exception, *viz.*, that in Bihar and Orissa they succumb more to plague—a feature which will be discussed in the next chapter.

594. Infantile mortality is extraordinarily high in the two Provinces dealt with in this report, one out of every 5 children dying within a year of birth. The incidence of deaths among children under one year of age is highest in Orissa, where they



account for 26 per cent. of the total number of deaths and represent one-fourth of the actual births. In four other natural divisions 20 per cent. or more die within a year, viz., West Bengal (22), North Bengal (21), South Bihar (21) and Central Bengal (20). The incidence of mortality is comparatively low in East Bengal (18), and is least in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and North Bihar (17). Calcutta, in spite of its medical facilities, and comparatively good sanitation, etc., (but, be it noted, on the other hand a bad milk supply) has the highest death-rate among infants, viz., 31 per cent., and of the districts, Balasore and Jalpaiguri, with 27 per cent. each. Then come Patna (25), Cuttack (24), Puri (24), Burdwan (24) and Dinajpur (24). The mortality is comparatively small in Tippera (16), Bhagalpur (16), Manbhum (16) and Noakhali (15), and the minimum is reached in Singhbhum (13). The map in the margin shows the rates of infantile mortality in the different districts of the two provinces.

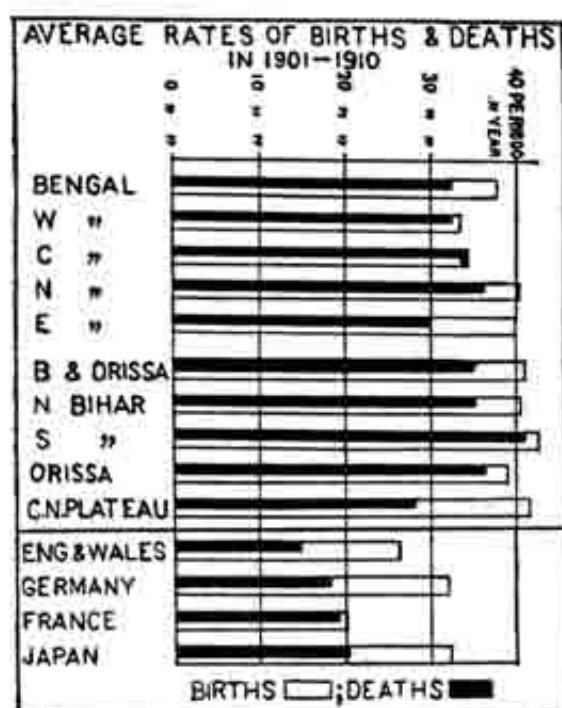
One noticeable feature of the statistics of infantile mortality is that the rate of mortality is universally higher among male than among female children, though it is an admitted and well known fact that in this country greater care is taken of male lives. It is, however, also a familiar fact that male infants are more delicate and difficult to rear than female infants.

595. The causes of high infantile mortality are several. Debility from birth is the all too frequent consequence of early marriage, or the result of the poor vitality of parents, especially in malarious areas where persistent fever weakens the system. Among the labouring classes many of the mothers are poorly-fed cooly women, who continue to work to the very end of their pregnancy, with the result that they give birth to weakly, and not infrequently premature, infants, who succumb during the first few hours, days or weeks of external life. Of direct causes the principal are unskilful midwifery and disregard of the rules of hygiene, the lying-in-rooms being generally dark, damp and ill-ventilated out-houses. An account of the treatment of the mother and child will be given in Chapter VII. Here it may be stated that the practice of cutting the umbilical cord with dirty instruments (*e.g.*, a piece of split bamboo, or a conch shell) and of applying cow-dung ashes to the freshly cut end causes a very large number of deaths among healthy infants every year. Cleanliness is often conspicuous by its absence, and the application of antiseptic dressings is very rare. Other dangers that threaten the young child are caused by insufficient clothing, combined with exposure, and often in the case of girls neglect, as well as by ignorance of the proper treatment of infantile diseases. The most deadly of the latter are pulmonary diseases, bronchitis, diarrhoea and measles. It cannot be said that infants suffer from any wilful withholding of their natural nourishment, for Indian mothers are generally excellent nurses. On the other hand, owing to poverty and malaria, the failure of nursing powers is not uncommon. In such cases unsuitable substitutes for proper artificial food help to undermine the health of the infants.*

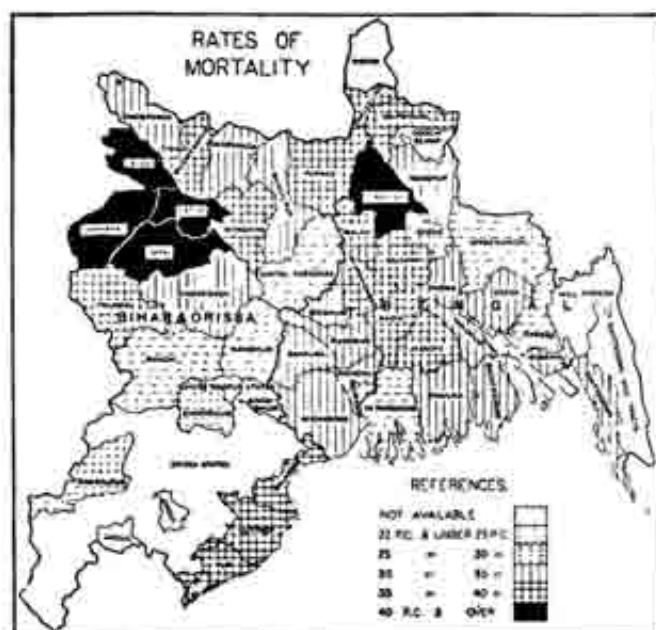
* Reports of the Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal, for 1901, 1903 and 1904.

596. A very large proportion of the deaths occur within the first month of life, but statistics are not available except for Calcutta. The number who fail to survive even for this short time may be gathered from the following note kindly contributed by Major W. W. Clemesha, I.M.S., Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal. The note is concerned primarily with the statistics compiled for 1909 by Dr. Pearse, the Health Officer of Calcutta, but throws so much light on the causes of infantile mortality, that it is quoted *in extenso*. It may, however, first be stated that over half of the children that died within a year of birth actually died in the first month. "All who have studied the subject of infant mortality in this country recognize that the causes of infant deaths fall under two main heads. First, conditions connected with the health of parents, such as premature marriage and the prevalence of such wasting diseases as malaria, which particularly affect the well-being of the mother. The second head is equally important, viz., the extremely insanitary conditions of child-birth and the appalling ignorance prevalent. The figures given by Dr. Pearse demonstrate these points to a most remarkable extent. Out of something like 2,700 children that die within the first month, more than 1,200, or nearly 50 per cent., come under the heads of premature birth and debility at birth. These deaths obviously come under the first heading named above: probably early marriage is the preponderating factor, because malaria is comparatively rare in Calcutta. Under the second heading practically another 1,000 children die of tetanus and convulsions, diseases which are occasioned by the ignorance in matters of hygiene relating to child-birth on the part of the mother and those attending to her. It appears that under these two heads about 2,200 out of 2,700 deaths can be accounted for. Grave social conditions, such as child marriage, are things which are difficult to alter and which the spread of education alone can hope to remedy. Deaths which are occasioned by tetanus are, however, entirely preventible. Even a little ordinary cleanliness and a little common knowledge would reduce the death-rate nearly one-half. Concerning the mortality of children between the ages of one month and one year, the causes are many and various. Bronchitis and chest troubles generally appear to account for a very large number of deaths. The children are not sufficiently clad in the cold weather, and, further, it is the weakly child (*i.e.*, the child of immature parents) which is most likely to contract fatal lung trouble."

597. Though the crude birth-rate is very high, the death-rate is also high, and hence the excess of births over deaths is much smaller than in European countries. As regards the natural divisions of the two provinces, the death-rate is highest in South Bihar (41·2) and next highest in Orissa (36·5) and North Bengal (36·2). Then follow in order North Bihar (35·4), Central Bengal (34·3) and West Bengal (32·4). The rate of mortality is comparatively low in East Bengal (30·1) and is lowest in the Chota Nagpur Plateau (28·0). The last two natural divisions are conspicuous for a rapid growth of population and for high birth-rates. As regards individual districts, the average rate of mortality was highest during the decade in Patna (47·50) and next highest in Gaya (41·56), both of which have suffered from plague. After Gaya come Dinajpur, a malarious district (40·77), Saran (40·50) and Shahabad (40·13), both of which are plague-stricken districts, Rajshahi (39·85), Nadia (38·94), Darjeeling (38·52), Balasore (37·70), Palamau (36·85), Monghyr (36·84), Jalpaiguri (36·66),



Jessore (36.41), Cuttack (36.39), Purnea (36.38) and Murshidabad (36.28).



The average death-rate during the decennium was under 30 per mille in Bogra (29.93), Ranchi (28.01), 24-Parganas (27.28), Sonthal Parganas (26.98), Manbhum (26.52), Mymensingh (25.70) and Tippera (25.17), and was lowest in Sambalpur (22.89) and Singhbhum (22.81). The map in the margin will show at a glance the average rates of mortality during the decade in the different districts of the two provinces.

In Bihar and Orissa as a whole the rate of mortality is higher than in Bengal, except at the reproductive age. This seems

due in part to famine or scarcity, which affects the vitality of the young and the old more than that of adults: it is of rare occurrence in Bengal, but has visited parts of the new Province during the last decade.

598. The Muhammadans are believed to have greater vitality, *i.e.*, greater ability to withstand disease, and therefore a lower death-rate than the Hindus. This seems true

DEATH-RATE BY RELIGION.

AVERAGE DEATH-RATE PER MILLE FOR 1901-10.				
Province and Natural Division.	All Religions.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Difference (columns 3-4).
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	33.8	35.0	33.8	+ 1.2
Bengal	32.7	32.4	33.2	- 0.8
West Bengal	29.4	29.6	32.3	+ 0.1
Central Bengal	34.2	32.2	33.4	- 2.1
North Bengal	36.2	34.7	37.3	- 2.6
East Bengal	30.1	29.7	30.2	- 0.6
Bihar and Orissa	35.2	36.3	33.5	+ 2.8
North Bihar	35.4	35.8	32.7	+ 3.1
South Bihar	41.2	41.2	39.8	+ 1.4
Orissa	36.5	36.9	36.4	+ 0.4
Chota Nagpur Plateau	28.0	29.0	28.0	+ 1.0

In West Bengal the difference (0.1 per mille) in the death-rate of the two communities is so small that their vitality may be regarded as equal.

599. Turning to the figures for individual districts as given in the Sanitary Commissioner's report for 1910, an abstract of

Province and Natural Division.	Death-rate per mille on population of 1901.		Excess of Hindu death-rate over Muhammadan death-rate.	Number of districts in which the death-rate was higher in 1910 than in—	
	Hindus.	Muhammadans.		Hindus.	Muhammadans.
Bengal	29.4	33.0	- 3.6	10	17
West Bengal	24.7	32.1	+ 7.4	3	1
Central Bengal	28.8	29.8	- 1.0	3	3
North Bengal	32.1	40.1	- 8.0	—	3
East Bengal	30.3	31.2	- 0.9	3	0
Bihar and Orissa	37.6	33.5	+ 4.0	15	4
North Bihar	38.0	34.1	+ 3.9	5	1
South Bihar	43.3	38.2	+ 5.1	4	—
Orissa	31.5	29.2	+ 2.3	3	—
Chota Nagpur Plateau	31.6	28.8	+ 2.8	3	3

for 1910, an abstract of which is given in the marginal table, we find that in 1910 the Hindus had a higher death-rate than the Muhammadans in every district of South Bihar and Orissa, and in all the districts of North Bihar except Saran. In the Chota Nagpur Plateau, however, they had a lower death-rate in Ranchi, Singhbhum and the Sonthal Parganas, and a

higher incidence of mortality in the remaining districts. The excess of the Hindu death-rate was greatest in Puri, which is visited every year by a large number of Hindus, many of whom die of cholera and other diseases and help to swell the death-roll of the district. In Bengal the Muhammadans had a higher rate of mortality in the majority of districts of Central Bengal and East Bengal and in all the districts of North Bengal. In most of the districts of West Bengal, however, the death-rate was higher among the Hindus both in 1910 and in the rest of the decade.

600. In order to draw any reliable inferences regarding longevity, as evidenced by a large or small proportion of old persons, it is desirable to eliminate persons at the

LONGEVITY BY SEX.

other extreme of life, the relative excess or deficiency of whom necessarily affects the proportion of the aged as well as of adults. Where, for instance, the proportion of children to the total population is large, that of adults must necessarily be smaller and, *a fortiori*, the proportion of old persons smaller still. In order therefore to see how far a high or low proportion of the aged is due to greater or less longevity, the proportion of persons aged 60 and over should be calculated, not on the total population which includes children, but on the number of adults aged 15—40. The ratio so obtained may, after making allowance for the inaccuracy of the age returns, be taken as a fair indication of relative longevity. We must also, however, make allowance for the effects of migration, migrants being mainly persons in the prime of life. The statement in the margin gives comparative figures by sex for each of the main religions and for each natural division. As females have a greater mean

age and a lower death-rate than males, it might naturally be expected that they would be more long-lived, and that the proportion of the old per 100 adults aged 15—40 would consequently be higher among them than among males. Subsidiary Tables IV-A, V and V-A show that this is really the case—generally in Bengal and almost universally in Bihar and Orissa, though the proportion of aged males in the latter province is artificially raised by the emigration of its adult males. It might be suggested as a possible hypothesis that exaggera-

NATURAL DIVISIONS.	PROPORTION OF PERSONS AGED 60 AND OVER PER 100 AGED 15—40.							
	ALL RELIGIONS, 1911.		HINDU.		MUSALMAN.		ANIMIST.	
	Male.	Female.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	11	13	11	14.5	11	11	10.2	11.3
Bengal ...	11	12	11	14	10	10	11	11
West Bengal ...	11	12	11	14	11	12	11	14
Central Bengal ...	10	12	10	12	10	12	11	10
North Bengal ...	10	10	10	12	10	10	12	9
East Bengal ...	11	11	12	12	11	9	12	9
Bihar and Orissa	11	15	11	15	12	16	10	12
North Bihar ...	12	17	12	17	11	16	12	12
South Bihar ...	12	17	12	16	12	19	12	10
Orissa ...	11	12	11	14	12	16	9	10
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	9	12	9	12	10	12	10	12

tion of age is probably more common among females, but that is not a sufficient explanation of the fact that, compared with the other sex, females have a marked excess of old persons.

As regards religions, an apparent exception to this general rule is afforded by the Animists of Central Bengal, North Bengal and East Bengal, among whom old women are relatively less numerous than old men; but in these divisions the Animists are mostly immigrant labourers from Chota Nagpur, who naturally leave their old women at home. As regards localities, the greater longevity of females is common to all divisions except East and North Bengal, where their average duration of life is the same as that of the males. This is mainly the result of religion, for, as will be shown later, the longevity of females is greater among Hindus than among Musalmans, and the latter are in a majority in these two divisions. It is noticeable that it is among the Musalmans and Animists that the females yield place to the males, and not among the Hindus, who represent only 31 and 37 per cent. respectively of the population.

601. In Bengal the average span of life of Musalman and Hindu males is the same except in East Bengal, which is least affected by immigration from outside. Elsewhere,

BY RELIGION.

there is a large influx of adult Hindu males from Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces, who reduce the proportion of old persons. The returns of religion for 1,350,000 immigrants enumerated in Calcutta and the metropolitan districts show that there are three Hindus to every Muhammadan. Bearing this factor in mind, it may be granted that on the whole the Hindu males have longer lives, though the difference is small. That this is not a

new feature will be seen from the marginal table. The Muhammadans of Bihar and Orissa, and especially of South Bihar, seem to have a longer span of life than their co-religionists in Bengal. The figures for Hindu females are especially interesting, as they show that the Hindu woman's chances of life are better than those enjoyed by the adherents of any other religion whether male or female. This phenomenon is probably due, in part at least,

NATURAL DIVISIONS.	1901.				1891.			
	HINDU.		MUHAMM.		HINDU.		MUHAMM.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	12	15.5	11.2	12	12.4	16.5	13.7	13.3
Bengal — — —	12	15	11	11	12	16	12	13
West Bengal ...	11	15	12	14	11	15	11	14
Central Bengal ...	12	17	11	15	12	18	12	14
North Bengal ...	11	13	10	10	12	14	11	12
East Bengal ...	13	15	11	12	14	17	12	13
Bihar and Orissa	12	16	14	16	13	17	15	18
North Bihar ...	12	17	14	16	13	17	14	17
South Bihar ...	12	17	17	20	14	18	19	21
Orissa ...	11	16	11	16	12	19	12	19
Chota Nagpur Plateau	9	12	10	12	11	14	11	12

to the comparative rarity of widow re-marriage and to the number of virgin widows in the Hindu community, which again is the result of early marriage. Hindu widows, not being allowed to marry again, are not exposed to the dangers of child-birth, and wives may escape them altogether if their husbands die before the marriage is consummated. Moreover, they lead a carefully regulated life, and it is matter of common knowledge among Hindus that their widows are less subject to disease and illness than other women. On the other hand, in Bihar and Orissa, where widow re-marriage is common among the lower classes, the Hindu females appear to have a shorter span of life than the Muhammadan women.

Among Animists the proportion of old persons to adults is lower than in any other religion, from which we may infer that their duration of life is shorter. The difference is slight, and in some divisions they appear at first sight to be longer lived than Hindus.

If, however, we base the calculation on the number of persons aged 40 and over (instead of 60 and over), it will be found that the Animists are inferior to the Hindus in every natural division. The explanation of this apparent anomaly seems to be the greater illiteracy of the Animists, and consequently the greater inaccuracy of their age returns: only 5 per mille of them can read and write. It is more than probable that many Animists who should have been returned as 40 to 60 years of age, were actually returned as 60 and over, so that the number of Animists aged 60 and over

NATURAL DIVISIONS.	PROPORTION OF PERSONS (BOTH SEXES) OVER 40 PER 100 PERSONS AGED 15-40.		
	Hindu.	Animist.	Musliman.
Bengal—	49	44	43
West Bengal ...	51	46	49
Central Bengal ...	49	44	46
North Bengal ...	48	43	41
East Bengal ...	49	39	41
Bihar and Orissa	57	44	54
North Bihar ...	55	43	54
South Bihar ...	55	46	53
Orissa ...	54	41	52
Chota Nagpur Plateau	46	44	43

was swelled at the expense of those aged 40-60.

602. From what has already been said, it may be assumed that the difference in the longevity of the people in different localities is largely determined by the extent to which migration proceeds and by the religion of the population. North Bihar, where there is a high death-rate, has the largest proportion of old persons. The co-existence of a high death-rate and a large proportion of the old seems to be due partly to the migration of adults who have a comparatively small death-rate, and partly to a really longer duration of life. The proportion is least in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, though it has a healthy climate and low birth-rate; but here the short-lived Animists are in greatest strength, and the majority of the Hindus are of the same stock as the Animists.

In North Bengal also the proportion of old persons is small, but the death-rate there is higher than elsewhere in Bengal. In this division therefore it is probably the unhealthy climate that is mainly responsible for the short span of life of the people.

603. One curious feature of the returns of age for different castes has already been alluded to, viz., that the Hinduized members of the aboriginal tribes have greater longevity than the non-Hinduized. Remembering that the degree of literacy,

CASTE OR TRIBE.	PROPORTION OF PERSONS OVER 40 PER 100 AGED 15-40.			
	ANIMIST.		HINDU.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
Bengal.				
Garo ...	51	28	67	36
Munda ...	43	24	46	20
Oron ...	53	38	47	27
Bhutia ...	55	41	55	38
Tigara ...	51	38	48	27
Bihar and Orissa.				
Bhumij ...	42	41	42	60
Kandh ...	28	27	43	44
Munda ...	44	33	50	55
Pao ...	35	33	45	43
Santal ...	37	37	55	42

the old among such varied castes as Namasudra, Brahman, Kayasth, Bagdi, Pod, Jogi, etc., is practically the same, viz., 50 or 51 per 100 aged 15-40. The figures for females are however very different, and show that women belonging to castes that have a low status in Hindu society have shorter lives than the males. The figures given in the margin are for Bengal: but the proportions are similar in Bihar and Orissa, where for instance the ratio for Musahar males is 55 and for Musahar females 45.

604. One of the most remarkable features of the returns is the long age enjoyed by Hindu widows. Both in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa, the number of those aged 60 or more is nearly half the total number of Hindus of that age including both males and females, whether married, unmarried or widowed. If, moreover, we calculate the proportion of widows aged 60 and over on the number of adult widows (i.e., aged 15-40), we find that it is 55 per cent. in Bengal, while in Bihar and Orissa the aged widows actually outnumber those of an adult age. Even after allowing for exaggeration of age, it must be admitted that Hindu widows have exceptionally long lives. This is due to the causes already referred to, viz., that so many escape the dangers of attending child-birth either partially or altogether, and that they lead carefully regulated and sheltered lives. On this point, I may be permitted to quote from a Hindu author,* who writes:—"It has been remarked, and I believe it is in most cases borne out by facts, that a Hindu widow generally lives to a very great age. Her simple and abstemious habits, her devotional spirit, her scanty meal once a day, her abstinence from food of any kind on the eleventh day of the increase and decrease of the moon, besides other days of close fasting, all contribute to prolong her existence. It is a common expression used by a Hindu widow, 'Shall I ever die? Yama seems to have forgotten me?' If the statistics of the land are consulted, it will assuredly be found that Hindu widows enjoy a longer life than the adult male population, because the latter are subject to irregularities and other adverse contingencies of life, from which the former are almost entirely free. It is not uncommon to see a

* S. C. Bone, *The Hindoos as they are* (1883), pages 243-44.

Hindu widow of eighty, ninety or a hundred years of age." It is a commonplace of writers to lay stress on the hardships of the life of the Hindu widow—the author just quoted, in fact, says that in the Hindu widow "nature seems to have exemplified the symbol of misery associated with longevity"—but the fact remains that her lot, hard as it may often be, ensures an unusually long span of life.

605. An interesting fact, first pointed out by M. Sundbårg before the International Statistical Institute at Christiania in 1899, may be mentioned here, viz., that in

AGE DISTRIBUTION.

almost all countries the proportion of persons aged 15—50 to the total population is uniformly about half. Emigration tends to reduce the proportion slightly and immigration to increase it, unless the immigrants are married. It is a logical inference that in a progressive community the number in the age group 0—15 is far greater than the number of persons aged

50 and over, while in a stationary population the proportions are more equal. After allowing for the fact that the age statistics of this country are not very accurate, it will be seen that the figures for the two provinces (given in the marginal table) corroborate, to a certain extent, M. Sundbårg's theory and the inference drawn therefrom. Another fact noticed

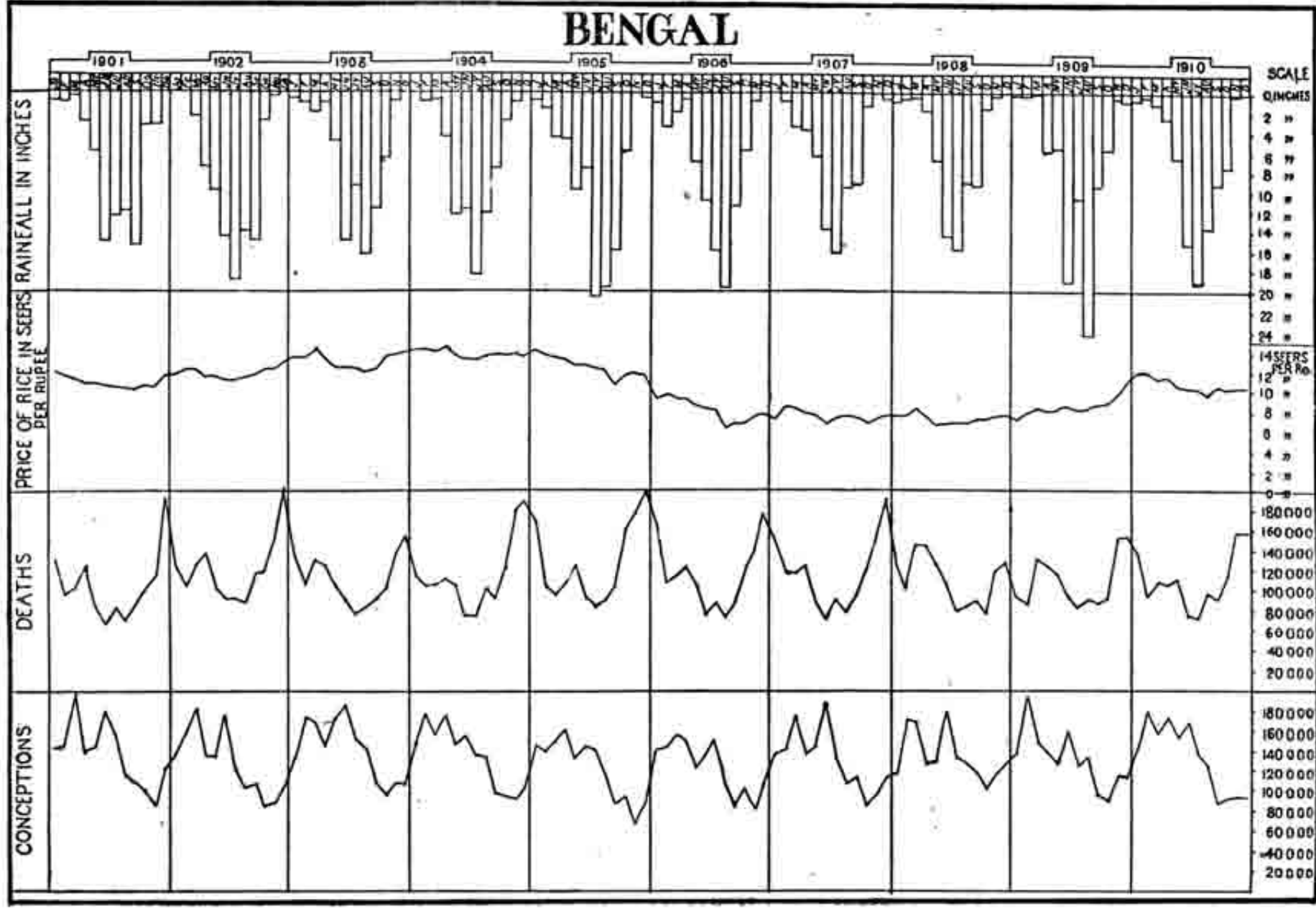
LOCALITY.	DISTRIBUTION PER 1,000 IN 1901.			Variation per cent. in 1901—1910.
	0—15.	15—50.	50 and over.	
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	401	493	103	8.7
Bengal	408	497	97	8.0
West Bengal	365	521	114	7.8
Central Bengal	365	529	106	4.3
North Bengal	418	461	99	8.0
East Bengal	445	474	91	12.1
Bihear and Orissa ...	402	488	110	8.1
North Bihar	501	490	117	1.9
South Bihar	362	497	120	0.7
Orissa	302	499	119	0.9
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	422	472	95	14.0

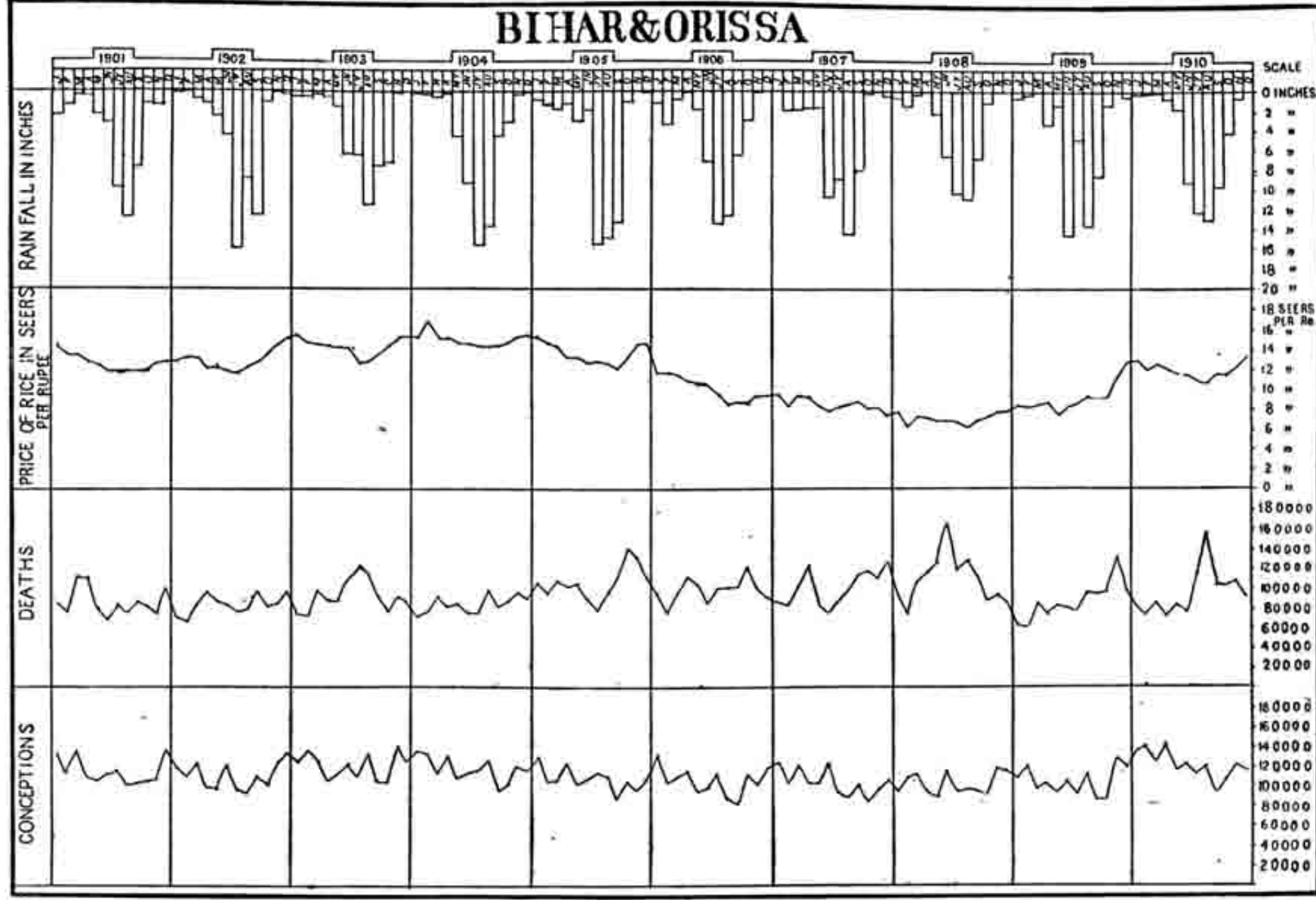
by M. Sundbårg, viz., that the rates of mortality in the age groups 0—15 and 50 and over are much the same, and the inference that variations in the age distribution do not affect the general rate of mortality, do not appear to hold good in this country.

606. The full-page diagrams given in this chapter illustrate some interesting interrelations between the seasons and vital occurrences. These diagrams, it may be explained,

show the range of prices, the quantity and monthly distribution of rainfall (which directly affect the outturn of the crops), and the rise and the fall of the death-rate and birth-rate in both provinces in the 10 years 1901-1910. The rainfall is shown at the top of the diagrams, the vertical columns representing the quantity in each month from January to December. The curve next to this shows the prices of food in seers per rupee; as prices rise, the curve falls. The third curve shows the number of deaths for the same months as the rainfall and food-prices curves. The bottom curve shows the births occurring in the ninth month later, i.e., with the rainfall, food-price and deaths of January are plotted the births of the following October and so on, so that the curve relates to conceptions and not to actual births.

In Bengal mortality is greatest in December and falls rapidly until February, which marks the culminating point of the people's recovery from the fever season (September to December). The death-rate rises slightly in March and April, owing probably to epidemics of cholera, and then steadily decreases till it reaches the minimum in June or July, when the rains break. After July the mortality rises slowly as the monsoon progresses, but rapidly when the monsoon recedes and the malaria season sets in. Briefly, February, June and July may be regarded as the healthiest, and the early part of the cold weather as the unhealthiest, period of the year. It is in the healthy months that the reproductive forces are most likely to come into play. That this is really the case will be seen from the conception curve, the course of which is the inverse of death curve, i.e., when the mortality curve rises, the conception curve falls, and *vice versa*. There are two seasons for conceptions—one in February and March and the other in June and July, months which precede and follow the hot weather. The number of conceptions steadily decreases from July to November when the minimum is reached. After November it rapidly rises till it reaches its maximum in





February or March, the first season of conceptions. It then falls slightly in April or May, to rise again during the second season in June or July.

In Bihar and Orissa fluctuations are smaller but more numerous than in Bengal. Further, the Bengal curves are better defined and follow a more regular monthly course during each year of the decade. This is due to the fact that Bengal is a homogeneous province, while Bihar and Orissa consists of three sub-provinces, which have very little in common and present very

marked contrasts. The larger fluctuations in Bengal are also partly due to its larger population. The graphs represent absolute figures, and hence, even if the birth and death-rates were the same in the two provinces, the fluctuations must be in the ratio of their populations, *i.e.*, as 23 to 19. This effect of population may be eliminated if ratios are taken instead of the absolute figures, as in the diagram at the end of the chapter, where the conditions of each natural division are briefly discussed.

607. Some inter-relations between concep-

CONCEPTIONS, DEATHS, PRICES AND
RAINFALL.

tions, deaths, the
price of food-
grains and rain-

fall may be briefly noticed here. In each year the food-grain curve rises (*i.e.*, food-grains become cheaper), shortly after the rainy season, and is at its height in the cold weather. This is only to be expected, for first the early rice and then the winter rice comes into the market. Prices, however, take some time to make their effect felt, and consequently a period of cheapness is not altogether synchronous with an increase of conceptions. The latter are most numerous, not when the price of grains is lowest, but shortly afterwards. In Bengal there is not so close a connection between deaths and prices owing largely to the fever season. The effect of this disturbing factor is that mortality rises steadily as prices fall; after December, however, there is a decrease in mortality accompanying a fall in the range of prices till March or April.

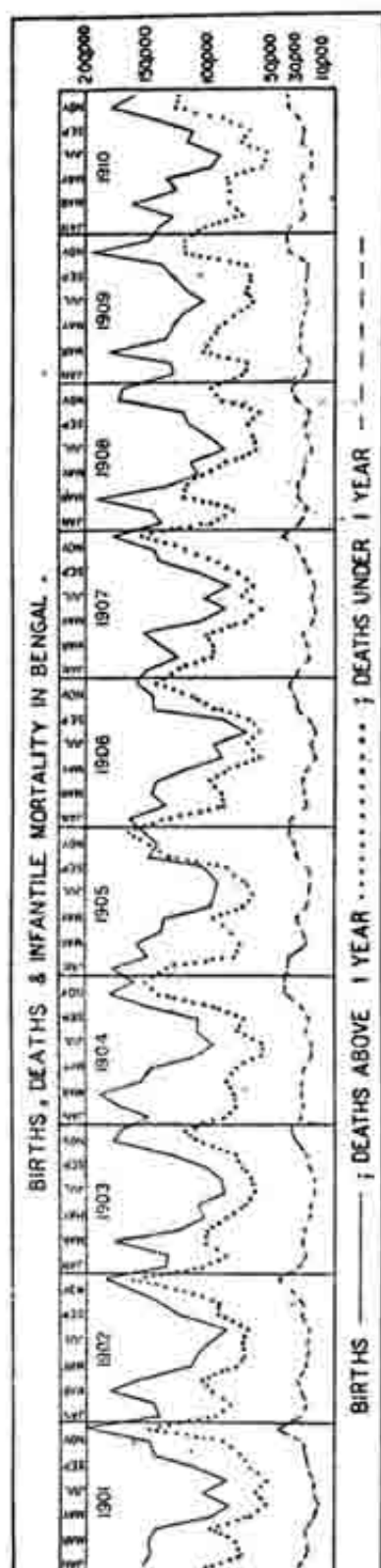
608. If the conception curve is moved

SYNCHRONOUS BIRTH AND DEATH-
RATES.

forward nine
months, so as to
convert it into a

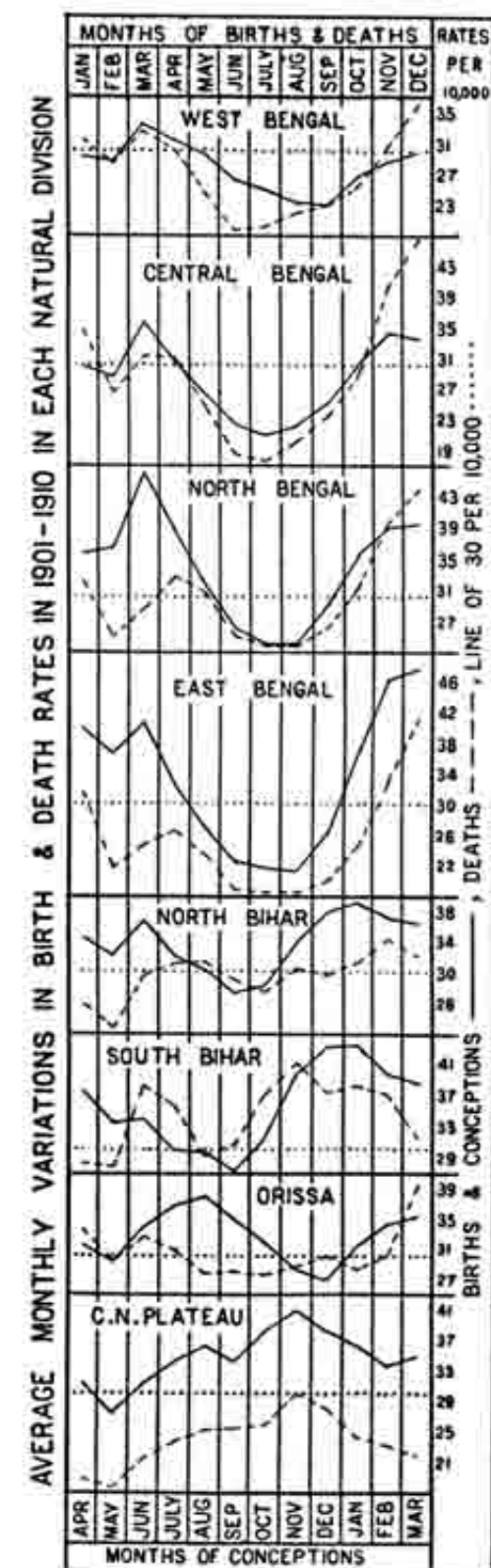
birth-curve, it will be found that it rises and falls synchronously with the death-curve: in other words, the number of births and deaths increases and decreases simultaneously. At the very moment when death is reducing the number of the living, their vacant places are being filled by new births. *A priori*, it might seem possible that this phenomenon is due to infantile mortality. Deaths among infants under one year of age constitute one-fifth of the total number of deaths, and a very large proportion of infants do not even live a month. The marginal diagram, how-

ever, in which deaths under one year and deaths over one year have been separately plotted with the births, shows that this theory is not tenable. The explanation is, of course, that the birth-rate depends on the conditions obtaining at the time of conception. Conceptions are most numerous in the healthiest months, whereas the periods (9 months later) at which births take place are unhealthy, so that a high birth-rate



is synchronous with a high death-rate. The reverse is equally true, viz., that births are fewest in healthy months, when deaths are fewest, because there are less conceptions in the unhealthy season, nine months earlier. It may perhaps be added that infantile mortality, by shortening the period of suckling, diminishes the intervals of child-bearing,* and therefore helps to keep up a high birth-rate.

609. In the marginal diagram the average monthly rates of births and deaths in 1901-1910 (and not the absolute numbers) have been plotted for each natural division: the months of births and deaths are placed at the top, and the months of conception at the bottom. The birth and death



curves are much the same in all the divisions of Bengal, and are nearly identical in Central Bengal, North Bengal and East Bengal, which are more homogeneous than West Bengal. The description already given of the movement of the curves for Bengal also applies to its natural divisions; but some differences in detail may be noticed. In East Bengal, which is the healthiest of all the divisions in the Presidency, the death-rate never exceeds the birth-rate, whereas in the other three divisions the rate of mortality exceeds that of birth in the unhealthy months of the year.

Turning to the graphs for Bihar and Orissa, we see that the conception and birth curves for North Bihar and South Bihar correspond closely. What is more striking is that the death curve for South Bihar very closely follows that for Chota Nagpur from June to December, the fever season and the season of recovery being apparently the same. In both cases the maximum death-rate is reached in August, after which mortality steadily decreases till the end of the year. The curves for Bihar Proper (North Bihar and South Bihar) show that there are two seasons for conceptions. One occurs in June, as in Bengal, but the other, which is more important, comes earlier, viz., in January. At this time, be it noted, the winter rice crop has been reaped, and the people being in good condition, their reproductive forces are active. After June the conception curve steadily falls until September, as in Bengal, but then, unlike Bengal, it begins its upward course and goes on rising till it reaches the zenith in January. In North Bihar the death-rate is lowest in February, after which it rises steadily until May. Then it remains fairly constant, but with small fluctuations, till it rises to its maximum height in November. In South Bihar, however, the maxima are reached in March, the culminating point of the plague season, and in August.

In Orissa the number of conceptions is highest in March and August, *i.e.*, somewhat later than in Bengal, and is at its minimum in May and December. The death-curve, which does not follow the birth-curve so closely as in the other natural divisions, is at its zenith in December, as in Bengal, and then, after a slight fall in February and a rise again in March, goes on falling up to July, after which it begins to rise as in Bengal. In the Chota Nagpur Plateau the birth and death-rates are at a minimum in February. They then rise steadily, and after a slight fall in June or July reach the maximum in August, after which they begin going down until February. In Chota Nagpur, as in East Bengal, the death-rate is always below the birth-rate, which it follows very closely. The reproductive principle shows the greatest strength in November, when it is least active in Bengal.

From the above account it will be seen why the graphs for Bihar and Orissa as a whole, which are only a combination of the dissimilar graphs for heterogeneous natural divisions, are not only ill-defined, but also show numerous small fluctuations, which are otherwise inexplicable.

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 100,000 OF EACH
SEX BY ANNUAL PERIODS.**

AGE.	MALE.			FEMALE.		
	Hindu.	Muslims.	Average.	Hindu.	Muslims.	Average.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Total --	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
0	3,037	3,000	3,152	3,279	3,494	3,308
1	3,444	3,070	3,252	3,617	3,409	3,594
2	2,461	3,190	2,595	2,601	3,173	2,779
3	2,766	3,401	2,881	3,131	3,400	3,197
4	2,391	3,060	2,678	3,003	3,074	2,736
5	3,407	2,804	3,494	3,371	3,303	3,373
6	2,541	3,017	2,860	2,500	3,734	2,802
7	2,641	3,173	2,728	2,901	3,974	2,914
8	3,163	3,309	3,239	2,737	3,000	2,801
9	3,071	2,304	2,687	2,090	3,023	2,080
10	2,329	1,910	3,852	2,903	3,050	2,980
11	1,339	1,879	1,428	1,410	1,464	1,422
12	2,750	4,192	3,836	2,901	2,729	2,870
13	1,108	1,384	1,155	1,037	1,072	1,043
14	1,820	1,930	1,871	1,613	1,798	1,647
15	2,104	1,335	2,055	1,890	1,829	1,842
16	2,094	2,099	2,062	2,119	2,210	2,135
17	908	948	980	1,000	905	1,071
18	2,515	2,230	2,465	2,444	2,805	2,544
19	901	808	899	942	1,029	974
20	2,459	2,723	3,327	2,942	4,064	3,882
21	430	724	816	609	609	1,055
22	2,431	2,144	2,380	2,230	2,516	2,299
23	942	742	824	809	714	791
24	1,332	1,108	1,291	1,206	1,231	1,287
25	2,099	2,055	4,800	4,549	4,440	4,601
26	1,327	1,109	1,214	1,006	1,171	1,077
27	921	891	929	808	807	931
28	1,304	1,790	1,925	2,014	1,406	1,992
29	513	561	522	709	541	678
30	2,600	4,133	8,339	5,212	6,000	5,175
31	346	403	389	430	363	459
32	2,063	1,902	2,050	1,750	1,420	1,789
33	443	437	450	423	359	401
34	630	604	623	603	430	499
35	8,412	2,647	3,273	3,099	2,642	3,016
36	1,272	1,316	1,280	1,215	1,121	1,231
37	427	426	435	420	340	410
38	910	1,022	930	866	851	863
39	307	233	312	201	309	367
40	4,631	2,068	4,492	4,495	4,574	4,500
41	246	316	259	230	248	321
42	799	809	807	742	754	741
43	144	196	185	230	131	228
44	290	307	285	231	204	236
45	2,277	2,037	2,315	2,290	1,994	2,163
46	294	214	298	342	304	342
47	190	199	198	264	170	247
48	492	327	498	517	473	509
49	154	140	157	270	136	188
50	3,076	2,723	3,014	2,989	3,330	3,398
51	146	146	148	185	137	181
52	395	404	397	429	422	428
53	117	121	116	125	70	112
54	154	140	151	201	162	194
55	954	912	947	1,017	994	1,000
56	249	214	243	239	220	254
57	119	131	118	134	99	126
58	187	171	184	250	226	246
59	82	80	82	99	92	88
60	1,910	2,061	1,937	2,709	2,326	2,797
61	76	111	82	118	123	115
62	177	257	192	247	269	251
63	41	78	48	42	91	60
64	37	80	62	73	43	78
65	291	430	399	553	474	539
66	69	78	71	51	57	52
67	46	33	47	36	50	55
68	71	61	69	84	73	82
69	32	35	24	32	21	30
70	552	571	555	509	502	522
71	29	31	29	21	29	24
72	66	97	72	69	74	71
73	17	12	16	15	12	13
74	15	17	14	10	13	12
75	142	108	146	176	176	178
76	12	11	13	19	17	19
77	11	10	12	19	31	12
78	70	16	18	30	37	29
79	7	14	8	9	11	9
80	244	250	247	336	393	362
81	14	10	13	13	17	14
82	23	24	23	16	29	18
83	4	9	5	4	3	7
84	6	4	7	4	8	5
85	32	45	34	41	29	41
86	7	4	6	6	4	8
87	3	4	3	6	3	6
88	10	4	9	3	8	5
89	44	9	38	4	5	4
90	91	71	87	56	98	63
91	2	6	3	—	2	1
92	2	50	3	—	2	1
93	1	1	1	—	2	1
94	3	1	2	—	4	1
95	11	11	11	10	12	10
96	4	6	5	3	1	3
97	—	—	—	3	3	3
98	3	4	3	3	4	3
99	3	1	3	3	4	3
100	16	22	21	22	36	25

The figures in columns 4 and 7 show the averages for both religions, the figures being combined in proportion to the relative numbers of these religions to the area for which they were compiled, viz., Bengal as constituted at the time of the census.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 10,000 OF EACH SEX IN EACH PROVINCE AND NATURAL DIVISION.

AGE.	1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.			
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	0-1	310	326	298	291	317	332	282	320	
	1-2	137	146	120	150	141	162	132	150	
	3-5	292	310	297	328	292	323	299	322	
	6-9	313	351	314	351	335	373	351	364	
	10-14	394	300	293	300	307	319	350	320	
	15-19	13,81	1,338	1,521	1,490	1,336	1,474	1,354	1,444	
	20-24	1,309	994	1,347	1,015	1,219	974	1,139	901	
	25-29	840	890	844	896	818	837	786	765	
	30-34	789	902	762	904	792	827	711	842	
	35-39	909	932	890	900	840	894	869	934	
	40-44	806	777	750	778	808	819	820	836	
	45-49	637	559	673	551	645	560	619	551	
	50-54	573	547	590	544	627	609	632	633	
WEST BENGAL.	55-59	370	320	372	330	365	318	353	310	
	60-64	267	294	292	400	294	410	409	441	
	65-69	170	189	168	188	167	168	163	165	
	70 and over	427	552	448	647	468	606	478	630	
	Unspecified	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5	
	MEAN AGE	24.4	24.5	24.3	24.5	24.0	24.8	24.2	25.2	
	0-4	1,160	1,222	1,196	1,237	1,236	1,312	1,295	1,278	
	5-9	1,304	1,344	1,297	1,354	1,424	1,306	1,366	1,180	
	10-14	1,701	968	1,221	960	1,121	894	1,112	650	
	15-19	851	1,086	990	896	891	907	836	892	
	20-24	3,245	3,206	3,142	3,120	3,178	3,290	3,290	3,439	
	25-29	1,604	1,600	1,675	1,692	1,649	1,678	1,682	1,699	
	30-34	454	591	545	619	630	522	626	646	
Unspecified	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5		
MEAN AGE	25.4	25.9	24.8	25.8	24.7	26.1	24.8	26.8		
CENTRAL BENGAL.	0-4	1,165	1,305	1,209	1,307	1,381	1,541	1,323	1,313	
	5-9	1,790	1,363	1,320	1,240	1,296	1,246	1,434	1,347	
	10-14	1,125	966	1,100	807	1,122	871	1,074	960	
	15-19	827	991	864	900	890	894	760	791	
	20-24	3,511	3,220	3,314	3,145	3,200	3,194	3,290	3,204	
	25-29	1,564	1,526	1,649	1,656	1,647	1,699	1,679	1,670	
	30-34	473	459	479	600	485	628	519	705	
	Unspecified	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5	
	MEAN AGE	25.5	25.1	25.1	25.5	24.9	25.7	25.1	26.2	
	0-4	1,396	1,616	1,360	1,563	1,640	1,643	1,396	1,527	
	5-9	1,662	1,700	1,634	1,643	1,674	1,516	1,619	1,632	
	10-14	1,090	894	1,127	906	1,069	832	1,100	861	
	15-19	793	960	779	923	780	886	715	814	
20-24	2,208	2,171	2,315	2,194	2,162	2,211	2,100	2,178		
25-29	1,461	1,229	1,470	1,391	1,415	1,352	1,566	1,470		
30-34	490	476	615	639	446	529	494	814		
Unspecified	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5		
MEAN AGE	24.2	25.6	23.8	23.1	24.1	23.8	24.3	24.7		
NORTH BENGAL.	0-4	1,473	1,600	1,435	1,584	1,541	1,679	1,541	1,680	
	5-9	1,634	1,696	1,602	1,643	1,692	1,574	1,574	1,617	
	10-14	1,294	1,014	1,092	1,091	1,235	1,002	1,169	943	
	15-19	860	1,039	869	1,003	837	966	769	868	
	20-24	3,981	3,012	3,951	3,271	3,268	3,501	3,049	3,016	
	25-29	1,356	1,189	1,363	1,235	1,412	1,264	1,473	1,409	
	30-34	434	430	656	655	465	544	517	610	
	Unspecified	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5	
	MEAN AGE	23.6	23.3	23.3	22.8	22.5	22.4	22.6	24.2	
	0-4	1,298	1,310	1,274	1,300	1,296	1,274	1,375	1,449	
	5-9	1,619	1,496	1,563	1,433	1,516	1,408	1,573	1,457	
	10-14	1,211	943	1,261	967	1,214	967	1,144	892	
	15-19	796	692	824	749	764	640	716	643	
20-24	3,053	3,222	3,000	3,221	2,961	3,196	3,084	3,270		
25-29	1,536	1,398	1,599	1,519	1,654	1,642	1,642	1,544		
30-34	492	663	691	682	493	643	460	635		
Unspecified	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5		
MEAN AGE	25.0	26.2	24.4	25.7	24.6	25.7	24.4	25.5		
NORTH BIHAR.	0-4	1,292	1,320	1,289	1,298	1,501	1,362	1,445	1,306	
	5-9	1,515	1,411	1,373	1,581	1,526	1,396	1,473	1,320	
	10-14	1,197	947	1,010	975	1,262	1,000	1,177	967	
	15-19	742	675	735	736	769	640	696	634	
	20-24	2,110	2,842	2,137	2,324	2,552	2,140	3,034	3,216	
	25-29	1,628	1,623	1,647	1,696	1,673	1,699	1,684	1,704	
	30-34	496	668	511	702	518	704	634	738	
	Unspecified	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5	
	MEAN AGE	25.3	26.3	25.0	26.5	24.7	26.1	24.9	26.3	
	SOUTH BIHAR.	0-4	1,292	1,320	1,289	1,298	1,501	1,362	1,445	1,306
		5-9	1,515	1,411	1,373	1,581	1,526	1,396	1,473	1,320
		10-14	1,197	947	1,010	975	1,262	1,000	1,177	967
		15-19	742	675	735	736	769	640	696	634
20-24		2,110	2,842	2,137	2,324	2,552	2,140	3,034	3,216	
25-29		1,628	1,623	1,647	1,696	1,673	1,699	1,684	1,704	
30-34		496	668	511	702	518	704	634	738	
Unspecified		—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5	
MEAN AGE		25.3	26.3	25.0	26.5	24.7	26.1	24.9	26.3	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 10,000 OF EACH SEX IN EACH PROVINCE AND NATURAL DIVISION—*concluded*.

AGE.	1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ORISSA.								
0-5	1,352	1,314	1,308	1,300	1,248	1,268	1,447	1,482
5-10	1,434	1,323	1,319	1,347	1,436	1,348	1,341	1,416
10-15	1,217	1,123	1,272	1,093	1,270	1,164	1,148	976
15-20	878	834	855	841	1,070	947	800	719
20-25	3,116	3,196	3,048	3,033	2,862	2,804	3,122	3,063
25-30	1,551	1,672	1,563	1,747	1,614	1,649	1,461	1,430
30-35	450	612	437	644	449	700	437	794
35-40	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	8
40-45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45-50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50-55	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
55-60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Unspecified	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
MEAN AGE	24.9	26.1	24.4	25.9	24.1	25.8	23.7	25.7
CHOTA NAGPUR								
0-5	1,470	1,531	1,416	1,524	1,494	1,600	1,568	1,718
5-10	1,664	1,616	1,600	1,620	1,770	1,648	1,771	1,694
10-15	1,292	1,083	1,382	1,144	1,272	1,126	1,316	961
15-20	844	834	894	897	822	814	794	794
20-25	3,072	3,096	3,092	3,069	2,762	2,941	2,946	3,090
25-30	1,350	1,341	1,326	1,366	1,396	1,324	1,361	1,322
30-35	361	476	337	470	362	494	360	502
35-40	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	8
40-45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45-50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
50-55	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
55-60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Unspecified	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
MEAN AGE	23.1	23.6	22.6	23.1	22.4	23.1	22.6	23.0

AGE.	SEXUAL.		BIRAR AND ORISSA.		AGE.	SEXUAL.		BIRAR AND ORISSA.	
	1911.		1911.			1911.		1911.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
0-1	305	296	335	377	30-35	792	719	826	844
1-2	143	142	130	131	35-40	668	516	644	609
2-3	297	341	363	275	40-45	571	517	576	587
3-4	309	359	316	343	45-50	270	302	363	349
4-5	291	315	299	339	50-55	525	363	502	407
5-10	1,532	1,372	1,592	1,481	55-60	167	164	174	146
10-15	1,192	941	1,341	1,059	60 and over	420	490	445	600
15-20	967	1,011	806	781					
20-25	743	948	729	851					
25-30	934	936	976	926	MEAN AGE	24.4	23.7	24.4	25.4

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 10,000 OF EACH SEX IN EACH MAIN RELIGION.

PART I.

BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.

AGE.	1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
HINDU.								
0-5	1,280	1,344	1,302	1,340	1,294	1,296	1,307	1,441
5-10	1,478	1,490	1,433	1,400	1,402	1,419	1,494	1,367
10-15	1,183	974	1,118	994	1,202	966	1,118	891
15-20	845	850	871	871	830	809	771	742
20-40	2,221	2,230	2,144	2,167	2,066	2,100	2,152	2,224
40-60	1,546	1,549	1,615	1,606	1,635	1,609	1,609	1,620
60 and over	415	398	465	622	478	651	404	670
Unspecified	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5
MEAN AGE	25.0	25.4	24.6	25.5	24.6	25.6	24.6	25.8
MUSALMAN.								
0-5	1,467	1,601	1,401	1,372	1,552	1,603	1,587	1,619
5-10	1,693	1,696	1,661	1,628	1,645	1,654	1,648	1,524
10-15	1,242	1,099	1,293	1,032	1,280	942	1,171	913
15-20	829	969	822	942	791	891	729	812
20-40	2,998	2,074	2,364	2,034	2,908	2,059	2,982	2,100
40-60	1,857	1,229	1,392	1,294	1,422	1,324	1,474	1,426
60 and over	415	436	425	477	448	527	475	569
Unspecified	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5
MEAN AGE	23.4	22.6	23.1	23.0	23.2	23.5	23.6	24.2
CHRISTIAN.								
0-5	1,538	1,636	1,568	1,548	1,508	1,674	1,412	1,608
5-10	1,497	1,674	1,478	1,585	1,611	1,679	1,360	1,502
10-15	1,321	1,210	1,342	1,247	1,318	1,223	1,098	1,093
15-20	814	871	827	812	804	876	808	819
20-40	2,166	2,019	2,174	2,002	2,078	2,073	2,800	2,116
40-60	1,327	1,264	1,373	1,293	1,244	1,258	1,370	1,227
60 and over	347	420	380	425	362	438	359	501
Unspecified	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	12
MEAN AGE	23.0	22.7	23.1	22.7	22.6	22.5	23.6	23.3
ASI MIST.								
0-5	1,573	1,644	1,577	1,619	1,628	1,720	Not available.	
5-10	1,756	1,696	1,816	1,732	1,808	1,767		
10-15	1,201	1,134	1,432	1,313	1,413	1,190		
15-20	840	804	860	814	818	859		
20-40	2,237	2,073	2,085	2,061	2,434	2,707		
40-60	1,316	1,219	1,294	1,220	1,300	1,224	Not available.	
60 and over	378	428	369	439	402	473		
MEAN AGE	22.6	22.6	21.9	22.2	21.8	22.2	Not available.	

PART II.

CENSUS OF 1911.

AGE.	HINDU.		MUSALMAN.		CHRISTIAN.		ASI MIST.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
BENGAL.								
0-5	1,182	1,348	1,476	1,621	1,172	1,291	1,222	1,062
5-10	1,356	1,411	1,690	1,706	1,191	1,847	1,691	1,728
10-15	1,119	938	1,241	1,017	1,061	1,111	1,148	1,098
15-20	902	1,017	830	1,000	810	996	748	922
20-40	2,369	2,306	2,012	2,049	2,902	2,409	2,969	2,119
40-60	1,602	1,516	1,239	1,181	1,694	1,303	1,681	1,093
60 and over	464	470	402	406	226	446	427	416
MEAN AGE	25.6	25.3	23.3	22.4	25.4	24.1	23.6	22.0
BIHAR AND ORISSA.								
0-5	1,210	1,345	1,402	1,414	1,714	1,744	1,587	1,623
5-10	1,662	1,474	1,718	1,542	1,620	1,674	1,774	1,698
10-15	1,229	1,000	1,255	999	1,459	1,264	1,242	1,162
15-20	806	746	764	697	814	818	865	804
20-40	2,117	2,227	2,897	2,234	2,779	2,461	2,706	2,928
40-60	1,528	1,667	1,474	1,512	1,245	1,244	1,270	1,350
60 and over	468	611	499	629	321	417	362	442
MEAN AGE	24.6	25.6	24.2	25.4	21.8	22.1	22.1	22.7

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX IN CERTAIN CASTES.

CASTE.	Locality.	NUMBER PER MILLE MALES AGED.					NUMBER PER MILLE FEMALES AGED.				
		0-4	5-17	18-24	25-40	40 and over.	0-4	5-17	18-24	25-40	40 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
AGARWALA (Hindu)	Bengal	84	89	51	575	278	91	116	57	394	212
AJLAJ (Muslim)	Bihar and Orissa	128	185	70	267	239	104	164	44	432	265
ANGLO-INDIAN (Christian)	Bengal	131	214	71	291	190	137	206	58	411	169
BABHAN (Hindu)	Bengal	133	159	81	433	194	143	150	68	498	213
BAGGI (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	171	178	91	447	163	144	150	77	461	189
BALU (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	106	180	66	409	230	110	173	45	294	274
BARUI (Hindu)	Bengal	128	160	77	412	208	129	164	64	458	217
BAIDYA (Hindu)	Bengal	127	190	78	397	198	144	150	57	387	217
BAIKHAR (Hindu)	Bengal	107	163	69	404	237	96	128	60	418	208
BANIYA (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	116	214	59	410	201	176	193	46	409	226
BARAI (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	140	209	71	366	214	121	197	60	365	247
BARUI (Hindu)	Bengal	136	184	75	397	208	149	160	63	413	186
BARHI (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	140	222	69	358	203	136	194	57	398	218
BAURI (Hindu)	Bengal	129	212	103	369	160	139	184	60	407	197
BAUTTA (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	137	200	82	349	192	147	183	78	411	180
BHATT (Buddhist)	Bengal	109	144	93	394	267	104	131	93	406	243
BHUIYA (Hindu)	Bengal	128	171	67	423	211	154	160	64	419	179
BHUNMALI (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	131	221	74	379	175	168	198	70	401	178
BHUNMALI (Hindu)	Bengal	123	166	66	409	210	126	181	64	424	203
BHUMJI (Hindu)	Bengal	124	208	69	414	187	146	192	61	406	190
BHUMJI (Animist)	Bihar and Orissa	118	184	103	407	177	142	182	91	346	219
BHUMJI (Animist)	Bihar and Orissa	140	249	78	374	197	150	228	30	407	160
BRAHMAN (Hindu)	Bengal	112	167	71	433	221	132	173	63	403	230
BRAHMO (Brahmo)	Bihar and Orissa	114	184	75	406	225	119	171	58	396	226
CHAKMA (Hindu)	Bengal	101	179	85	491	214	44	182	110	475	154
CHAKMA (Hindu)	Bengal	149	224	78	354	193	128	228	76	367	140
CHAMAR (Hindu)	Bengal	82	116	60	371	231	134	168	50	466	187
CHAMAR (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	145	234	69	367	185	141	200	34	401	204
CHARA (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	137	199	79	396	200	131	182	66	386	169
CHINPANG (Confucian)	Bengal	17	19	8	696	304	129	207	—	210	164
CHINPANG (Confucian)	Bengal	35	37	14	735	181	96	166	31	461	226
CHINPANG (Buddhist)	Bihar and Orissa	130	220	59	381	210	127	189	68	403	233
DHANUK (Hindu)	Bengal	119	160	76	422	204	125	184	69	430	197
DHOBIA (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	125	211	71	368	195	133	190	62	404	211
DHUNIA (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	146	242	63	353	194	143	207	49	367	215
DOM (Hindu)	Bengal	110	177	78	423	210	110	146	74	429	210
DOM (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	241	211	90	345	173	145	207	73	367	186
DUPADH (Hindu)	Bengal	54	77	49	367	234	93	113	36	463	276
EUROPEANS AND ALLIED RACES (Christian)	Bengal	80	67	26	624	213	106	207	36	510	231
EUROPEANS AND ALLIED RACES (Christian)	Bihar and Orissa	97	86	15	594	234	124	107	29	511	294
GANDHABANIK (Hindu)	Bengal	118	168	69	430	227	142	163	64	420	211
GARO (Animist)	Bengal	169	229	67	337	181	183	222	64	416	116
GARO (Animist)	Bengal	170	246	43	360	229	133	202	64	440	167
GAURA (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	150	200	80	396	192	123	178	66	405	231
GOALA (Hindu)	Bengal	100	146	64	469	225	123	160	66	414	233
GOALA (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	126	212	64	393	202	133	190	57	386	216
GONU (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	167	210	78	392	113	175	200	44	399	172
GURUNG (Hindu)	Bengal	127	194	79	439	180	133	187	70	409	194
INDIAN CHRISTIAN	Bengal	127	174	98	408	183	160	192	70	414	224
HAJJAM and NATIT (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	174	210	110	351	195	175	196	102	363	165
HAJJAM and NATIT (Hindu)	Bengal	159	178	75	422	209	133	178	61	418	210
HAJJAM (Muslim)	Bihar and Orissa	139	219	75	360	193	136	186	59	400	217
HAJJAM (Muslim)	Bengal	113	197	100	403	187	99	169	91	433	186
HAJJAM (Muslim)	Bihar and Orissa	147	211	63	357	223	136	187	49	397	226
HARI (Hindu)	Bengal	128	189	72	411	206	124	176	60	430	197
HARI (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	142	219	73	379	183	104	174	17	397	166
JOGI (Hindu)	Bengal	124	191	75	408	208	134	189	64	422	199
JOLAH (Muslim)	Bengal	123	149	74	434	190	143	187	64	417	199
KAHAR (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	146	233	73	345	191	146	201	58	395	210
KAHAR (Hindu)	Bengal	81	66	61	418	234	94	97	97	477	341
KAIHARTTA (Unspecified Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	139	213	71	379	196	129	171	51	406	243
KAIHARTTA (Unspecified Hindu)	Bengal	109	180	100	465	210	91	169	62	433	225
KAIHARTTA JALITA (Hindu)	Bengal	129	192	74	417	205	139	178	63	427	163
KAIHARTTA CHARI (Hindu)	Bengal	129	178	80	413	202	124	173	65	420	208
KALWAR (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	130	214	60	387	204	133	184	51	394	228
KAMAR (Hindu)	Bengal	118	169	76	424	213	132	169	66	418	215
KAMAR (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	122	184	78	409	206	119	179	63	415	222
KANDH (Animist)	Bihar and Orissa	130	205	67	417	181	134	194	61	430	161
KANDH (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	140	200	67	412	176	134	186	52	420	195
KANDU (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	125	217	68	382	198	136	184	49	398	233
KAORA (Hindu)	Bengal	78	115	67	515	222	77	91	72	322	237
KAPALI (Hindu)	Bengal	109	184	70	399	191	142	192	58	399	199
KARAN (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	149	186	77	411	223	106	172	53	383	267
KAYASTH (Hindu)	Bengal	131	174	72	418	213	139	177	57	404	223
KAYASTH (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	113	178	82	401	200	116	173	50	399	206
KRWAT (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	133	206	75	404	192	130	190	63	405	214
KHAMBU AND JIMDAR (Hindu)	Bengal	127	169	73	426	206	149	184	63	417	187
KHANDAIT (Hindu)	Bengal	34	25	39	630	342	91	59	36	497	297
KHANDAIT (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	123	197	64	400	194	119	178	67	403	234
KHARIA (Animist)	Bihar and Orissa	170	243	99	336	193	146	226	70	383	176
KHAR (Hindu)	Bengal	124	186	68	423	172	134	198	75	406	163
KHATRI (Hindu)	Bengal	53	58	46	609	234	88	104	90	424	299
KOCH (Hindu)	Bengal	134	225	80	364	190	146	203	77	395	160
KOCHI (Hindu)	Bengal	48	44	34	656	216	105	105	55	406	232
KOBI (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	139	201	66	392	213	136	190	53	406	221
KUKI (Hindu)	Bengal	171	196	67	396	170	186	198	38	429	189
KULU (Muslim)	Bengal	14	234	63	386	174	136	209	57	428	140
KUMHAR (Hindu)	Bengal	191	175	74	418	213	137	171	60	419	213
KUMHAR (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	137	208	75	381	196	144	200	72	387	196

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX IN CERTAIN CASTES—*concluded*.

CASTE.	Locality.	NUMBER PER HILLE MALES AGED.					NUMBER PER HILLE FEMALES AGED.				
		0-5.	5-12.	12-18.	18-40.	40 and over.	0-5.	5-12.	12-18.	18-40.	40 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
KUNJRA (Musliman)	Bihar and Orissa	134	242	56	349	199	140	206	50	399	312
KURMI (Hindu)	Bihar	120	183	40	431	194	135	199	66	416	194
	Bihar and Orissa	100	178	83	402	217	126	143	69	401	221
LEI CHA (Christian)	Bengal	147	214	74	437	138	171	190	90	383	167
LEI CHA (Buddhist)	Bengal	98	166	63	409	264	104	143	55	407	265
LOHAR (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	146	216	79	373	136	147	190	56	398	209
MAGH (Buddhist)	Bengal	146	217	78	365	196	136	197	66	408	196
MALLAH (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	103	226	69	345	206	139	176	45	404	243
MALO (Hindu)	Bengal	121	172	66	413	227	136	167	61	419	219
MAL PAHARIA (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	102	223	91	354	170	109	215	70	376	190
MAYRA (Hindu)	Bengal	52	79	48	371	250	119	127	74	443	283
MECH (Animist)	Bengal	156	212	63	329	227	260	231	144	296	80
MECH (Hindu)	Bengal	123	163	76	398	240	171	182	42	426	178
MOOHAI (Musliman)	Bengal	89	66	78	543	211	106	88	62	506	249
MUCHI (Hindu)	Bengal	121	184	71	431	199	143	184	66	422	183
MUNDA (Animist)	Bengal	136	182	52	422	183	196	183	54	454	110
	Bihar and Orissa	160	214	62	373	184	161	211	74	361	192
MUNDA (Hindu)	Bengal	123	184	40	394	198	179	225	56	428	109
MURMI (Buddhist)	Bihar and Orissa	160	188	75	365	194	139	193	71	366	311
MUSAHAR (Hindu)	Bengal	128	190	84	412	171	127	199	65	398	301
NAMAHUDHA (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	126	234	66	365	199	150	221	52	397	190
NUNIYA (Hindu)	Bengal	136	193	71	399	201	145	166	58	424	187
	Bihar and Orissa	148	221	74	366	129	143	186	48	400	223
ORAON (Animist)	Bengal	169	189	55	389	200	173	204	59	448	116
	Bihar and Orissa	194	204	76	276	150	156	176	38	443	353
ORAON (Hindu)	Bengal	147	184	59	416	194	169	194	69	449	119
PAN (Animist)	Bihar and Orissa	179	221	74	354	173	193	203	67	366	171
PAN (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	144	222	76	414	144	158	219	56	422	142
PATHAN (Musliman)	Bengal	142	229	79	386	183	148	214	61	404	172
	Bihar and Orissa	105	166	77	447	206	120	181	63	424	183
	Bengal	134	221	88	366	207	181	156	62	393	238
PATNI (Hindu)	Bengal	110	169	58	444	226	120	159	60	437	220
POD (Hindu)	Bengal	148	210	73	379	190	166	199	66	401	196
RAJBANSI (Hindu)	Bengal	123	196	65	397	207	139	199	51	416	172
RAJPOT (Hindu)	Bengal	84	119	94	516	217	113	172	76	421	216
RAJPOT (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	110	185	69	406	220	114	177	46	392	271
RAJPOT (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	134	224	72	359	209	135	193	63	406	205
RAUNIAR (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	138	216	73	381	195	133	204	60	334	227
SADGOP (Hindu)	Bengal	111	162	79	416	230	116	157	67	410	260
SALYAD (Musliman)	Bengal	120	172	74	479	206	123	183	66	413	203
	Bihar and Orissa	123	213	71	365	223	121	187	36	388	237
SANTAL (Animist)	Bengal	152	224	76	369	187	163	213	67	394	161
	Bihar and Orissa	148	222	80	367	184	194	202	103	371	139
SANTAL (Hindu)	Bengal	148	212	71	376	194	161	206	66	411	137
	Bihar and Orissa	141	189	100	361	198	123	194	122	398	184
SONAR (Hindu)	Bengal	94	110	70	446	273	87	119	46	501	243
SUBARNABANIK (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	134	216	67	365	204	136	183	52	400	223
SUDHA (Hindu)	Bengal	100	110	75	460	255	108	118	66	436	334
SUNRI (Hindu)	Bengal	128	203	62	372	205	129	177	60	417	223
SUNRI (Hindu)	Bengal	114	174	84	395	243	180	180	71	365	224
SUTRADHAR (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	145	212	74	370	199	139	199	63	391	219
	Bengal	118	183	71	413	213	123	190	63	439	205
TANTI AND TATWA (Hindu)	Bengal	118	155	75	439	214	127	183	66	418	226
	Bihar and Orissa	128	217	71	369	205	125	186	35	400	229
TELI AND TELI (Hindu)	Bengal	112	161	79	431	216	121	156	66	418	229
	Bihar and Orissa	127	213	69	368	193	127	193	69	396	216
TIPARA (Animist)	Bengal	160	210	62	345	194	156	215	49	406	164
TIPARA (Hindu)	Bengal	166	243	60	349	173	148	230	66	379	189
TIYAB (Hindu)	Bengal	127	195	89	376	213	169	177	87	396	171
	Bihar and Orissa	144	222	86	378	202	161	200	46	401	192

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV-A.—PROPORTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 12 AND OF PERSONS OVER 40 TO THOSE AGED 15—40; ALSO OF MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15—40 PER 100 FEMALES.

CASTES.	PROPORTION OF CHILDREN, BOTH SEXES PER 100.		PROPORTION OF PERSONS OVER 40 PER 100 AGED 15—40.		Number of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females of all ages.
	Persons aged 15—40.	Married females aged 15—40.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
BENGAL.					
Bardhi	71	182	51	51	22
Baidya	63	208	50	54	22
Baishnab and Baisnab	60	184	54	72	27
Bhoomi	62	180	49	49	22
Brahman	68	199	51	57	21
Chamar	46	162	42	40	46
Gosai	61	201	49	36	29
Hajjam and Napti (Hindu)	72	180	49	50	24
Jari and Jori	27	196	31	47	32
Kaibarta (Chad or Mahishya)	74	200	49	50	21
Kaibarta (Jaita)	74	198	49	63	22
Kaibarta (unspecified)	74	200	49	49	21
Kayasth	73	201	51	50	21
Namasudra	60	221	50	44	30
Pod	33	236	50	43	21
Rajbans	86	224	52	42	22
Rajput (Chhatri)	49	190	47	51	20
Badgop	64	187	55	51	29
Santal (Hindu)	92	214	52	38	24
Santal (Arimist)	100	226	52	41	22
Sunri	67	220	54	45	27
Tanti and Tawa	62	190	49	54	21
Tel and Tili	62	182	50	37	20
BIHAR AND ORISSA.					
Babhan (Bhumihar Brahman)	72	193	56	49	21
Bhuiya	92	212	46	45	22
Brahman	72	194	55	54	26
Chamar	62	190	51	51	22
Chen	62	191	51	50	22
Dhanuk	80	181	56	56	22
Gosai	79	176	49	57	24
Gosai	84	194	51	54	24
Jatoba	100	206	56	54	24
Kahar	62	174	52	60	25
Khandait	77	196	49	55	22
Kotri	83	189	54	55	24
Kurmi	76	189	54	55	22
Munda (Arimist)	102	266	54	53	26
Munhar	97	207	55	65	25
Orao (Arimist)	108	242	60	74	23
Rajput	76	217	54	69	26
Santal (Hindu)	89	213	55	42	29
Santal (Arimist)	106	266	57	37	20
Tanti and Tawa	66	182	56	57	24
Tel and Tili	87	195	50	54	24

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—PROPORTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 AND OF PERSONS OVER 60 TO THOSE AGED 15—40; ALSO OF MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15—40 PER 100 FEMALES.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	PROPORTION OF CHILDREN BOTH SEXES PER 100.						PROPORTION OF PERSONS OVER 60 PER 100 AGED 15—40.						NUMBER OF MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15 TO 40 PER 100 FEMALES OF ALL AGES.		
	PERSONS AGED 15—40.			MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15—40.			1911.		1901.		1891.				
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	1911.	1901.	1891.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	75	72	76	177	174	181	11	13	12	14	12	14	33	33	33
BENGAL	76	73	75	181	182	187	11	12	11	13	12	14	34	33	32
WEST BENGAL	61	64	64	167	163	167	11	13	11	15	11	15	33	32	31
Burdwan	39	60	50	147	157	157	11	14	11	16	10	16	33	31	31
Birbhum	49	72	99	167	172	169	12	14	12	16	12	16	34	32	32
Bankura	67	74	90	162	162	160	11	14	12	16	10	14	32	31	31
Midnapore	41	63	63	158	161	168	10	12	10	15	10	13	33	33	33
Hooghly	56	64	60	152	148	164	11	15	11	16	12	16	32	31	29
Howrah	37	61	69	159	166	194	10	14	10	15	11	17	33	32	31
CENTRAL BENGAL	60	64	68	167	174	181	10	13	11	15	12	16	33	32	31
24 Parganas	63	67	71	170	176	190	11	12	12	13	13	14	34	32	32
Cuttack	36	27	27	132	120	120	6	14	7	16	7	14	34	32	29
Kulin	68	74	79	171	183	180	11	15	12	17	14	19	32	31	30
Murshidabad	74	78	74	183	191	188	11	13	12	17	12	19	32	30	30
Jessore	62	64	71	161	163	177	10	11	11	13	12	15	33	32	32
NORTH BENGAL	78	77	77	195	191	190	10	10	10	11	12	13	34	34	33
Rajshahi	75	78	78	181	192	176	9	11	9	11	10	12	34	34	30
Dinagpur	81	79	78	204	191	187	9	8	9	9	10	10	34	36	35
Jalpaiguri	70	70	72	184	176	190	10	8	8	10	11	12	36	34	34
Darjeeling	61	59	56	179	168	166	9	11	8	10	9	10	39	34	35
Rangpur	69	75	72	190	192	187	11	10	11	11	11	12	34	34	33
Boys	86	84	85	202	192	192	10	9	9	11	11	12	35	36	35
Pabna	77	82	82	184	192	199	10	12	12	13	14	16	34	33	32
Malda	68	78	83	195	190	200	10	13	11	14	11	17	32	31	31
Cooch Behar	72	72	75	206	212	210	11	10	11	10	14	13	31	30	30
EAST BENGAL	81	81	84	190	191	197	11	11	12	12	13	14	34	33	33
Khulna	75	71	75	187	185	194	12	11	12	13	13	14	34	33	33
Barua	82	82	86	199	190	200	13	12	13	13	14	15	34	33	33
Myrmensingh	86	83	83	204	199	206	11	10	10	11	12	14	34	34	33
Fardpur	79	75	87	181	181	192	12	13	13	16	14	16	34	32	32
Bachakunda	73	74	78	174	173	185	12	10	12	12	12	13	35	35	34
Tippes	82	84	83	189	197	199	10	8	12	10	12	11	35	34	34
Nontball	93	98	96	202	201	204	12	9	14	11	15	12	34	34	34
Chittagong	84	90	83	182	195	201	11	11	12	14	13	16	34	32	32
Chittagong Hill Tracts	75	75	...	209	203	...	12	10	12	11	...	...	32	32	...
Hill Tippera	77	77	...	190	196	...	10	8	10	9	...	...	33	35	...
BIHAR AND ORISSA	73	71	78	170	164	173	11	15	12	16	12	16	33	33	33
NORTH BIHAR	73	72	76	164	162	168	13	17	13	17	13	17	34	34	34
Patna	73	72	79	159	152	162	15	19	16	19	16	20	33	33	33
Champaran	69	67	72	157	157	155	12	16	12	16	13	17	35	34	34
Muzaffarpur	73	70	76	159	164	164	14	20	15	20	12	19	34	34	33
Darbhanga	73	74	75	187	182	160	14	17	13	17	13	16	35	34	32
Bhagalpur	73	75	77	168	166	173	10	16	11	15	11	16	35	35	34
Patna	76	73	79	190	187	187	9	12	10	13	11	14	35	32	32
SOUTH BIHAR	70	64	74	160	147	163	13	17	13	17	14	18	34	34	33
Patna	64	57	57	153	133	150	13	18	13	19	15	20	34	32	34
Gaya	71	63	74	161	150	166	13	16	13	16	14	17	34	34	33
Shahabad	65	64	73	154	150	162	10	16	10	16	13	19	34	32	33
Monohar	79	69	90	169	154	171	14	18	12	17	14	18	34	34	33
ORISSA	65	65	69	152	151	152	11	15	11	16	12	16	33	33	32
Cuttack	67	66	71	155	154	163	12	17	11	17	13	19	33	33	32
Balaso	61	64	65	145	148	154	9	13	10	15	10	16	33	34	32
Puri	63	63	63	153	149	156	12	14	11	16	11	17	34	34	33
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	81	83	92	192	197	214	9	12	10	12	11	14	32	31	31
Hazaribagh	83	77	99	190	174	200	10	11	9	11	10	12	33	33	32
Ranchi	93	98	98	219	218	229	11	14	10	13	10	13	30	29	30
Palamu	83	83	...	180	191	...	8	12	7	10	...	...	33	33	...
Manbhum	73	75	87	181	190	202	10	12	10	12	11	13	34	33	32
Slughbhum	79	77	99	216	218	243	9	11	12	12	12	13	32	31	31
Southern Parganna	83	89	94	210	210	218	11	13	12	15	13	15	32	31	31
Amul	76	73	77	188	186	198	8	12	8	11	10	12	32	32	32
Sambalpur	70	...	...	155	...	...	10	15	...	...	...	...	33	...	...
Orissa Parganna	79	...	...	168	...	...	8	11	...	...	...	...	33	...	...
Chota Nagpur States	79	...	...	191	...	...	10	13	...	...	...	...	30	...	...
SIKKIM	72	62	—	186	157	—	15	17	16	15	—	—	31	34	—

NOTE.—In the calculations for each Province and Natural Division those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V-A.—PROPORTION OF CHILDREN UNDER 10 AND OF PERSONS OVER 60 TO THOSE AGED 15—40, ALSO OF MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15—40 PER 100 FEMALES.

RELIGION AND NATURAL DIVISION.	PROPORTION OF CHILDREN, BOTH SEXES PER 100.						PROPORTION OF PERSONS OVER 60 PER 100 AGED 15-60.						NUMBER OF MARRIED FEMALES AGED 15-60 PER 100 FEMALES OF ALL AGES.		
	Persons aged 15-40.			Married females aged 15-40.			1911.		1901.		1901.		1911.	1901.	1901.
	1911.	1901.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1901.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
BENGAL—															
All religions	76	72	72	181	180	187	11	12	11	12	12	14	34	33	32
Hindu	63	64	63	171	173	170	11	14	12	15	17	16	32	31	30
Muslim	92	82	83	188	188	199	10	10	11	11	12	12	36	34	34
Animist	65	—	—	201	—	—	11	11	—	—	—	—	24	—	—
WEST BENGAL—															
All religions	81	84	84	187	183	187	11	12	11	12	11	15	33	32	31
Hindu	58	62	62	166	162	167	11	14	11	15	11	15	23	21	21
Muslim	65	66	66	181	187	188	11	12	12	14	11	14	36	34	35
Animist	79	—	—	185	—	—	11	14	—	—	—	—	34	—	—
CENTRAL BENGAL—															
All religions	80	84	85	187	174	181	10	12	11	12	12	16	29	28	31
Hindu	64	66	66	168	174	179	10	12	12	17	12	16	27	26	29
Muslim	87	76	74	188	172	184	10	12	11	12	12	14	35	30	33
Animist	84	—	—	220	—	—	11	10	—	—	—	—	22	—	—
NORTH BENGAL—															
All religions	78	77	77	182	191	190	10	10	10	11	10	13	34	34	33
Hindu	62	67	66	184	190	192	10	12	11	12	12	14	29	31	31
Muslim	65	82	82	194	191	188	10	10	10	10	11	12	35	35	34
Animist	84	—	—	219	—	—	12	8	—	—	—	—	34	—	—
EAST BENGAL—															
All religions	81	81	84	190	191	197	11	11	12	12	12	14	34	33	33
Hindu	66	66	70	174	181	188	12	12	12	15	14	17	28	31	30
Muslim	88	87	91	194	199	201	11	9	11	11	12	12	35	30	34
Animist	84	—	—	196	—	—	12	9	—	—	—	—	35	—	—
BIHAR AND ORISSA—															
All religions	73	71	76	170	184	173	11	12	12	16	12	16	33	33	33
Hindu	72	69	70	165	180	169	11	14	12	16	12	17	34	34	33
Muslim	80	76	81	178	189	177	12	14	14	16	15	18	35	32	31
Animist	88	—	—	220	—	—	10	12	—	—	—	—	29	—	—
NORTH BIHAR—															
All religions	73	72	76	164	162	166	12	17	12	17	12	17	34	34	34
Hindu	72	71	75	161	160	165	12	17	12	17	12	17	34	34	34
Muslim	80	76	80	177	178	176	11	16	14	16	14	17	35	33	33
Animist	104	—	—	234	—	—	12	12	—	—	—	—	29	—	—
SOUTH BIHAR—															
All religions	70	64	74	160	147	162	12	17	12	17	14	19	34	34	33
Hindu	62	62	72	160	147	162	12	16	12	17	14	18	34	34	33
Muslim	79	71	78	162	147	159	14	19	17	20	19	21	35	33	32
Animist	105	—	—	226	—	—	12	16	—	—	—	—	21	—	—
ORISSA—															
All religions	65	65	69	152	151	152	11	12	11	16	12	16	25	25	23
Hindu	64	65	69	151	151	150	11	12	11	16	12	16	25	25	23
Muslim	79	71	74	172	162	173	12	16	11	16	12	19	32	32	32
Animist	90	—	—	208	—	—	9	10	—	—	—	—	22	—	—
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU—															
All religions	81	83	97	199	197	214	9	12	10	12	11	14	32	31	31
Hindu	78	79	86	185	184	194	9	12	9	12	11	14	33	32	32
Muslim	62	84	92	190	189	216	10	12	10	12	11	15	34	34	32
Animist	89	—	—	222	—	—	10	12	—	—	—	—	29	—	—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—VARIATION IN POPULATION AT CERTAIN AGE PERIODS.

NATURAL DIVISION.	Period.	VARIATION PER CENT. IN POPULATION (INCREASE + DECREASE —).					
		All ages.	0—10	10—15	15—20	20—25	25 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	1881 to 1891	+ 7.0	+ 6.8	+ 14.5	+ 6.2	+ 11.4	- 8.7
	1891 to 1901	+ 4.7	+ 1.9	+ 8.2	+ 7.1	+ 3.4	- 0.6
	1901 to 1911	+ 8.0	+ 10.3	+ 5.2	+ 9.3	+ 4.2	+ 3.4
Bengal	1881 to 1891	+ 7.5	+ 9.6	+ 11.5	+ 7.0	+ 15.4	- 19.7
	1891 to 1901	+ 7.6	+ 6.1	+ 14.3	+ 8.6	+ 6.1	+ 0.9
	1901 to 1911	+ 8.0	+ 9.3	+ 5.8	+ 10.1	+ 3.6	+ 0.9
West Bengal	1881 to 1891	+ 4.0	+ 7.0	+ 3.6	+ 1.0	+ 7.1	- 23.4
	1891 to 1901	+ 7.2	+ 2.4	+ 13.4	+ 6.5	+ 8.1	+ 7.6
	1901 to 1911	+ 2.8	+ 1.1	+ 2.3	+ 8.3	- 1.9	+ 0.6
Central Bengal	1881 to 1891	+ 2.2	+ 2.8	+ 6.3	+ 0.2	+ 14.5	- 2.7
	1891 to 1901	+ 5.2	+ 0.6	+ 11.7	+ 6.7	+ 7.1	- 0.2
	1901 to 1911	+ 4.4	+ 2.1	+ 3.2	+ 9.4	- 2.2	- 4.9
North Bengal	1881 to 1891	+ 4.0	+ 5.9	+ 2.0	+ 7.2	- 1.6	- 8.6
	1891 to 1901	+ 5.7	+ 8.2	+ 11.8	+ 6.6	+ 1.4	- 3.4
	1901 to 1911	+ 1.9	+ 10.5	+ 4.9	+ 8.0	+ 5.7	+ 2.1
East Bengal	1881 to 1891	+ 14.0	+ 16.2	+ 20.9	+ 14.5	+ 8.6	+ 4.1
	1891 to 1901	+ 10.3	+ 8.4	+ 17.2	+ 12.2	+ 7.9	+ 0.9
	1901 to 1911	+ 12.2	+ 14.2	+ 8.8	+ 12.6	+ 9.2	+ 2.5
Bihar and Orissa.	1881 to 1891	+ 6.4	+ 3.4	+ 16.0	+ 5.2	+ 7.0	+ 7.9
	1891 to 1901	+ 1.1	- 3.4	+ 1.4	+ 5.2	+ 0.3	- 1.9
	1901 to 1911	+ 8.1	+ 11.5	+ 4.8	+ 8.3	+ 4.6	+ 6.1
North Bihar	1881 to 1891	+ 8.0	+ 4.6	+ 12.9	+ 4.5	+ 6.2	+ 11.8
	1891 to 1901	+ 0.1	- 2.0	+ 3.5	+ 2.7	- 2.3	- 0.9
	1901 to 1911	+ 2.0	+ 4.0	- 2.2	+ 2.3	+ 0.2	+ 2.8
South Bihar	1881 to 1891	+ 2.4	- 0.7	+ 12.0	+ 2.4	+ 1.9	- 0.8
	1891 to 1901	- 3.6	- 10.0	- 6.3	+ 2.8	- 4.4	- 4.4
	1901 to 1911	+ 0.7	+ 7.7	- 2.0	- 1.4	- 1.9	- 2.7
Orissa	1881 to 1891	+ 8.5	+ 2.2	+ 29.2	+ 8.6	+ 10.3	+ 7.5
	1891 to 1901	+ 7.1	+ 4.5	- 0.5	+ 10.7	+ 10.7	+ 0.8
	1901 to 1911	+ 0.9	+ 1.8	+ 4.4	+ 1.4	- 4.6	- 0.5
Chota Nagpur Plateau	1881 to 1891	+ 11.1	+ 8.6	+ 22.5	+ 8.5	+ 12.0	+ 14.0
	1891 to 1901	+ 5.2	- 0.4	+ 7.2	+ 10.2	+ 7.1	- 2.4
	1901 to 1911	+ 20.6	+ 28.7	+ 17.6	+ 27.8	+ 23.6	+ 27.3

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—REPORTED BIRTH-RATE BY SEX AND NATURAL DIVISIONS.

BENGAL.

NUMBER OF BIRTHS PER 1,000 OF EACH SEX (CENSUS OF 1901).										
YEAR.	PROVINCE.		WEST BENGAL.		CENTRAL BENGAL.		NORTH BENGAL.		EAST BENGAL.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1901	36	37	34	33	33	33	41	41	40	39
1902	39	34	33	31	34	30	41	42	43	42
1903	37	36	34	32	32	32	34	36	40	39
1904	41	40	39	36	36	36	43	44	43	42
1905	38	37	35	35	32	34	39	40	41	40
1906	36	35	32	30	30	31	39	39	38	36
1907	36	35	32	32	32	33	37	39	34	36
1908	38	37	31	30	32	33	41	41	43	41
1909	40	39	35	33	37	36	43	43	41	40
1910	38	37	35	35	36	37	41	41	36	36
Average of decade	38	37	35	32	33	34	40	41	41	39

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—REPORTED BIRTH-RATE BY SEX AND NATURAL DIVISIONS—*concluded*.

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

NUMBER OF BIRTHS PER 1,000 OF EACH SEX (CENSUS OF 1901).											
YEAR.	PROVINCE.		NORTH BIHAR.		SOUTH BIHAR.		ORISSA.		CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.		
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1901	42	38	43	39	40	41	36	34	39	36	
1902	44	40	46	41	42	41	38	35	42	39	
1903	44	40	43	38	39	44	44	39	44	41	
1904	47	43	46	42	49	43	43	39	40	47	
1905	44	40	43	40	46	41	46	42	39	36	
1906	42	39	40	36	45	41	44	40	44	41	
1907	42	38	37	33	40	42	43	38	47	44	
1908	40	36	42	38	41	37	38	33	37	35	
1909	41	37	44	40	40	37	34	31	39	36	
1910	44	40	41	37	41	37	45	41	49	46	
<i>Average of decade</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>40</i>	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—REPORTED DEATH-RATE BY SEX AND NATURAL DIVISIONS.

BENGAL.

NUMBER OF DEATHS PER 1,000 OF EACH SEX (CENSUS OF 1901).											
YEAR.	PROVINCE.		WEST BENGAL.		CENTRAL BENGAL.		NORTH BENGAL.		EAST BENGAL.		
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1901	32	29	23	29	32	31	34	31	29	28	
1902	36	33	26	35	40	39	28	35	33	29	
1903	33	31	34	31	37	36	34	35	31	28	
1904	34	32	30	26	37	36	38	36	33	31	
1905	37	35	38	33	39	38	40	39	36	34	
1906	34	32	36	33	35	34	37	35	31	29	
1907	34	32	40	37	29	38	37	35	38	36	
1908	33	30	29	35	35	31	36	34	28	26	
1909	32	30	27	24	36	36	40	36	32	30	
1910	32	30	26	25	29	29	39	36	32	30	
Average of decade	34	31	34	31	35	34	37	35	31	29	

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

YEAR.	NUMBER OF DEATHS PER 1,000 OF EACH SEX (CENSUS OF 1901).									
	PROVINCE.		NORTH BIHAR.		SOUTH BIHAR.		ORISSA.		CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1901	34	30	33	39	40	40	41	37	34	29
1902	34	29	37	31	33	30	33	30	28	23
1903	37	33	40	34	41	39	38	34	36	22
1904	33	30	36	31	39	39	31	27	28	21
1905	41	37	42	36	36	35	35	31	28	24
1906	39	35	41	35	44	40	38	33	32	28
1907	39	38	37	34	44	42	45	45	25	21
1908	43	38	35	31	43	39	45	39	44	41
1909	34	31	38	34	39	36	36	35	37	23
1910	38	34	46	35	43	41	33	30	39	36
Average of decade	37	33	38	33	42	40	38	35	30	26

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—REPORTED DEATH-RATE BY SEX AND AGE IN DECADE, AND IN SELECTED YEARS, PER MILLE LIVING AT THE SAME AGE ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1901.

AGE.	AVERAGE OF DECADE.		1902.		1905.		1907.		1909.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
All ages	34	31	33	31	37	35	34	32	32	30
BENGAL.										
Under 1 year	270	229	262	221	292	249	248	219	266	228
1-5	45	39	42	37	54	46	43	39	42	37
5-10	19	15	19	15	22	18	20	16	17	14
10-15	14	12	14	13	16	14	14	12	11	10
15-20	19	21	19	21	21	24	20	21	17	20
20-25	20	21	19	21	21	24	21	23	19	21
25-30	22	22	22	22	24	24	25	25	22	22
30-35	24	25	24	25	27	27	30	27	27	24
35-40	42	37	40	36	43	40	46	41	41	35
40-45	79	64	78	66	83	68	88	70	77	58
BIHAR AND ORISSA.										
All ages	37	33	37	33	41	37	39	36	36	31
Under 1 year	304	262	314	267	329	294	291	287	271	232
1-5	49	42	50	43	61	54	60	54	54	46
5-10	20	17	20	17	24	21	22	20	18	16
10-15	14	14	14	14	19	17	17	16	12	11
15-20	16	14	14	14	19	17	18	17	13	11
20-25	20	19	20	19	23	21	22	21	17	19
25-30	22	20	22	19	25	23	25	22	21	17
30-35	30	28	29	25	32	27	32	26	28	22
35-40	46	42	45	39	49	44	50	46	46	42
40-45	83	77	88	71	100	84	101	87	100	69

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—REPORTED DEATHS FROM CERTAIN DISEASES PER MILLE OF EACH SEX.

BENGAL.

YEAR.	BENGAL.					ACTUAL NUMBER OF DEATHS IN—							
	ACTUAL NUMBER OF DEATHS.			RATIO PER MILLE OF EACH SEX.		WEST BENGAL.		CENTRAL BENGAL.		NORTH BENGAL.		EAST BENGAL.	
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1901	84,324	34,999	29,425	3	1	7,452	6,772	9,034	7,337	2,096	1,751	15,917	12,265
1902	90,797	49,296	41,511	3	2	12,266	10,877	15,014	11,870	4,344	4,057	17,263	14,707
1903	93,845	50,490	43,355	3	2	10,296	9,297	12,196	12,671	5,794	5,067	19,345	16,340
1904	102,480	54,872	47,608	3	2	7,279	6,335	16,057	12,190	7,500	6,847	22,599	21,716
1905	172,178	89,180	83,098	4	4	12,066	11,693	12,972	11,468	20,616	20,294	41,576	39,490
1906	135,621	71,792	63,829	3	3	14,908	12,779	13,226	11,064	9,514	8,714	24,144	20,202
1907	188,190	83,111	75,079	4	4	20,947	19,890	23,740	21,090	12,372	11,460	26,522	22,637
1908	123,471	66,646	56,825	3	3	26,667	23,591	18,772	14,872	6,218	5,377	16,972	12,962
1909	86,356	46,327	41,029	2	2	4,125	2,495	8,043	6,281	9,790	10,066	24,561	22,001
1910	119,668	62,928	56,740	3	2	6,955	5,845	10,137	8,448	17,418	16,371	26,431	26,066
Total	1,148,928	609,194	539,734	28	26	123,102	111,511	143,251	118,579	95,752	90,613	247,089	219,631
1901	944,528	501,170	443,358	23	22	89,936	80,928	89,272	81,946	147,168	126,300	173,791	164,229
1902	1,083,553	570,953	512,630	27	25	99,225	93,134	114,626	104,845	161,282	141,477	199,727	173,425
1903	989,486	517,693	471,802	24	23	91,333	83,707	100,976	93,332	148,282	124,890	181,992	167,874
1904	1,012,850	527,757	485,125	25	24	79,960	72,430	100,620	93,663	137,224	141,310	199,923	177,321
1905	1,068,975	566,203	512,772	26	25	96,493	89,999	108,240	100,992	156,272	142,012	199,946	179,768
1906	979,165	512,476	460,709	24	23	98,536	91,266	94,244	84,497	132,294	133,755	167,043	154,180
1907	987,773	512,664	470,109	24	23	106,539	101,158	97,032	89,696	131,609	123,831	177,468	164,421
1908	844,853	496,996	447,867	23	22	97,994	89,948	82,675	74,025	122,294	125,963	161,973	149,619
1909	828,089	468,317	429,732	22	20	75,167	66,141	68,043	60,819	140,841	136,318	167,366	174,463
1910	921,813	479,326	442,487	22	21	71,481	64,737	74,318	68,265	132,474	126,137	161,105	168,200
Total	9,856,105	5,143,575	4,712,530	240	230	902,618	836,550	931,366	853,582	1,518,301	1,379,689	1,791,290	1,642,701

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—REPORTED DEATHS FROM CERTAIN DISEASES PER MILLE OF EACH SEX—*continued.*

BENGAL.

YEAR.	BENGAL.						ACTUAL NUMBER OF DEATHS IN—							
	ACTUAL NUMBER OF DEATHS.			RATIO PER MILLE OF EACH SEX.			WEST BENGAL.		CENTRAL BENGAL.		NORTH BENGAL.		EAST BENGAL.	
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
BENGAL POP.	1901	20,187	11,223	8,964	1	4	2,947	4,687	2,142	1,385	904	798	2,220	1,903
	1902	30,737	16,194	14,543	1	1	10,294	9,508	1,109	955	2,622	2,291	1,870	1,711
	1903	12,887	6,973	6,012	3	2	3,148	2,789	404	340	2,227	1,917	1,146	966
	1904	9,497	4,964	4,532	3	2	1,216	1,292	241	299	2,094	1,955	1,217	983
	1905	4,513	2,669	2,044	1	1	540	464	216	491	221	264	1,090	835
	1906	13,577	7,610	5,958	3	2	2,558	1,990	2,748	2,187	552	426	1,731	1,263
	1907	15,315	8,329	6,987	3	2	5,143	2,650	2,748	2,305	868	821	1,546	1,311
	1908	11,173	6,136	5,038	2	2	2,194	1,714	1,284	1,057	1,336	1,057	729	590
	1909	37,820	20,292	17,028	1	1	9,322	4,049	4,226	2,424	3,748	2,745	2,346	1,813
	1910	11,485	6,322	5,160	2	2	1,175	1,047	263	242	2,335	1,901	3,422	2,019
Total	187,291	90,638	76,453	4.6	3.8	35,739	30,270	18,013	12,674	22,539	19,613	16,547	13,496	
PLACED.	1901	8,241	—	—	—	—	251	—	7,384	5	—	4	—	
	1902	7,598	—	—	—	—	276	—	7,312	1	—	8	—	
	1903	8,708	—	—	—	—	337	—	8,371	2	—	14	—	
	1904	4,986	—	—	—	—	239	—	4,747	—	—	5	—	
	1905	9,321	5,217	3,004	2	1	1,147	869	3,160	2,152	5	—	5	—
	1906	2,985	2,151	834	1	0.4	127	59	1,997	728	10	14	17	23
	1907	3,743	2,690	1,054	1	1	113	10	2,549	1,034	11	—	4	—
	1908	1,845	1,436	409	1	0.1	27	9	1,398	400	1	—	—	—
	1909	2,164	1,545	619	1	0.2	20	—	1,525	619	—	—	—	—
	1910	1,421	1,042	378	0.4	0.1	62	18	956	239	—	—	25	31
Total	51,012	—	—	—	—	3,198	—	47,636	—	46	—	134	—	

The above figures are exclusive of Cooch-Bihar, Hill Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts for which vital statistics are not available. The sex details of deaths from plague for 1901 to 1904 are not available.

BINAR AND ORISSA.

BIHAR AND ORISSA.							ACTUAL NUMBER OF DEATHS IN—							
YEAR.	ACTUAL NUMBER OF DEATHS.			RATIO PER MILLE OF EACH SEX.		NORTH BIHAR.		SOUTH BIHAR.		ORISSA.		CHOTA NAIPUR PLATEAU.		
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
CHHOTA.	1901	46,479	23,627	22,799	1	1	4,759	4,512	4,028	3,792	13,874	12,751	948	746
	1902	60,174	31,007	29,167	2	2	16,128	15,008	7,426	7,042	2,043	2,401	2,023	1,715
	1903	109,560	56,231	53,229	4	3	26,302	23,922	15,712	14,848	11,183	10,692	3,624	3,173
	1904	35,241	18,379	16,862	1	1	10,714	9,907	3,050	2,848	2,964	2,337	1,570	1,291
	1905	93,590	48,804	44,786	3	2	19,336	17,000	18,204	17,809	7,894	7,323	2,670	2,414
	1906	131,571	66,553	65,018	4	4	37,947	33,310	14,206	13,382	9,294	9,571	7,106	6,764
	1907	115,801	58,130	57,671	4	3	14,508	13,319	9,344	8,454	24,802	27,330	3,576	3,798
	1908	182,377	94,145	88,232	6	5	19,819	17,625	19,145	17,204	30,061	30,734	23,120	22,649
	1909	32,011	16,790	15,221	1	1	9,081	7,858	4,525	4,194	1,504	1,763	1,500	1,494
	1910	126,382	63,123	61,919	4	4	34,607	32,149	26,070	24,665	2,456	2,561	2,000	1,834
Total	933,136	480,798	452,338	30	27	193,397	174,593	121,620	114,402	109,636	112,608	56,245	50,734	
PUNJ.	1901	672,491	346,763	325,726	22	20	158,000	138,212	100,600	105,772	28,912	28,611	59,252	55,130
	1902	838,368	426,844	411,524	21	19	169,212	147,990	76,165	71,572	26,789	26,639	64,168	62,794
	1903	665,455	347,361	317,994	22	19	170,691	149,196	89,334	86,628	27,596	26,367	59,910	55,478
	1904	647,348	324,133	314,215	21	19	164,296	144,941	86,432	85,432	24,707	24,777	57,727	59,045
	1905	784,121	406,879	377,242	26	22	194,279	164,388	118,634	118,108	31,323	24,665	77,459	70,091
	1906	728,434	379,096	349,338	24	21	97,890	93,354	175,470	156,764	24,740	26,046	81,041	75,174
	1907	745,817	381,901	363,916	24	21	170,920	160,336	94,019	87,362	24,863	27,102	86,099	80,374
	1908	809,036	418,415	390,621	26	22	165,362	151,159	100,048	92,954	34,106	42,447	114,677	105,001
	1909	757,206	396,218	360,987	24	20	169,491	150,317	102,635	102,630	21,151	27,610	71,894	66,434
	1910	717,707	373,722	343,985	25	20	172,708	155,636	100,069	92,726	23,991	26,419	79,337	70,104
Total	7,160,983	3,705,014	3,455,969	233	206	1,845,024	1,485,438	1,049,862	1,009,140	265,243	277,002	744,905	684,369	

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—REPORTED DEATHS FROM CERTAIN DISEASES PER MILE OF EACH SEX—*concluded*.

BINAR AND ORISSA.

YEAR.	BINAR AND ORISSA.						ACTUAL NUMBER OF DEATHS IN—							
	ACTUAL NUMBER OF DEATHS.			RATIO PER MILE OF EACH SEX.			NORTH BINAR.		SOUTH BINAR.		ORISSA.		CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.	
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
SMALL-POX.	1901	17,493	8,859	8,634	1	1	1,043	1,059	1,194	1,362	9,081	9,031	1,540	1,397
	1902	26,693	12,868	12,825	1	1	1,426	1,350	4,908	4,607	2,866	2,821	4,772	2,847
	1903	17,472	8,801	8,671	1	1	2,579	2,392	2,992	2,971	896	812	2,694	2,323
	1904	7,833	3,910	3,923	2	2	1,859	1,949	1,014	1,023	734	671	203	220
	1905	5,194	2,687	2,507	1	1	1,152	968	429	455	1,008	1,001	99	83
	1906	12,607	6,521	6,086	4	3	1,621	1,579	1,094	1,041	2,169	2,929	666	687
	1907	18,191	9,330	8,861	1	1	2,907	2,813	2,270	2,188	2,331	2,202	822	647
	1908	29,567	15,294	14,273	1	1	2,843	2,474	8,250	7,704	1,514	1,017	2,902	2,476
	1909	21,490	11,340	10,150	1	1	2,943	2,734	4,619	4,507	767	694	2,901	2,196
	1910	4,448	2,383	2,065	1	1	1,331	1,056	499	546	207	180	336	301
Total	160,978	83,143	77,835	6.8	6.7	19,204	18,324	28,165	27,566	18,572	17,962	17,202	13,983	
PLAGUE.	1901	70,388	—	—	—	—	20,965	—	48,016	—	25	—	1,394	—
	1902	25,368	—	—	—	—	17,922	—	6,661	—	12	—	471	—
	1903	56,972	—	—	—	—	22,566	—	24,327	—	36	—	11	—
	1904	70,450	—	—	—	—	23,416	—	46,795	—	53	—	206	—
	1905	116,769	48,940	67,829	3	4	19,329	27,367	29,264	40,170	27	—	818	282
	1906	56,708	23,881	32,827	1	2	10,479	15,350	13,256	17,290	8	1	108	202
	1907	79,667	35,668	43,999	2	2	10,004	21,070	17,836	24,453	8	1	229	354
	1908	14,103	4,945	9,158	2	4	5,923	4,085	2,866	4,049	2	—	24	24
	1909	9,615	4,196	5,419	2	3	2,257	2,731	1,929	2,676	—	—	1	3
	1910	45,209	19,060	26,149	1	2	10,249	13,446	8,813	12,708	1	—	1	—
Total	545,450	—	—	—	—	—	240,055	—	301,394	—	159	—	3,812	—

The above figures are exclusive of Angul, Orissa Feudatory States and Chota Nagpur States for which vital statistics are not available. Those for 1901-03 are also exclusive of Sambalpur. The sex details of deaths from plague for 1901 to 1904 are not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XI.—INFANTILE MORTALITY.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	1901-1910.				PERCENTAGE OF DEATHS UNDER ONE YEAR TO BIRTHS.			Total number of deaths.	Percentage of deaths under one year to total deaths (both sexes).
	NUMBER OF BIRTHS.		NUMBER OF DEATHS UNDER ONE YEAR.						
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Total.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	14,946.9	14,153.9	3,037.5	2,633.7	20	19	19	25,373.3	22
Bengal	8,139.9	7,657.4	1,686.4	1,439.6	21	18	20	13,728.3	23
WEST BENGAL	1,422.0	1,336.7	322.7	272.9	23	20	22	2,665.8	22
Burdwan	355.8	328.6	84.8	53.1	25	22	24	514.6	23
Birbhum	185.9	156.9	40.9	32.6	24	21	23	303.5	24
Bankura	204.8	193.8	44.7	37.4	22	19	20	342.4	24
Midnapore	477.7	455.5	102.3	92.5	21	20	21	876.3	22
Hooghly	171.9	158.4	39.5	32.0	23	20	22	366.1	20
Howrah	146.5	133.4	31.9	25.3	22	19	20	263.0	22
CENTRAL BENGAL	1,352.0	1,263.3	279.3	248.6	21	20	20	2,652.4	20
24-argam	348.2	318.5	65.2	53.0	19	17	18	667.1	21
Calcutta	78.7	71.5	22.2	21.7	23	20	31	295.7	16
Nadia	235.5	216.1	48.4	43.2	20	20	20	445.8	20
Murshidabad	285.0	271.7	60.5	54.5	21	20	21	483.7	24
Jessore	204.8	185.5	40.0	34.0	20	20	20	360.2	18
NORTH BENGAL	1,943.5	1,845.9	420.8	365.0	22	20	21	3,396.6	23
Rajshahi	814.0	799.2	180.3	154.4	19	18	19	1,582.1	20
Dinajpur	349.8	334.0	87.4	76.3	25	23	24	646.8	26
Jalpaiguri	130.1	123.8	32.2	28.1	24	22	27	265.2	27
Darjeeling	44.0	41.4	10.2	8.2	23	20	22	96.0	19
Rangpur	440.7	427.7	102.9	87.2	23	20	22	734.8	26
Boera	184.2	172.2	42.4	39.3	19	17	18	255.5	25
Pabna	246.7	237.9	45.3	39.2	18	17	18	487.9	17
Manda	211.9	199.9	37.4	33.4	18	17	17	313.4	23
EAST BENGAL	3,422.5	3,211.6	663.5	553.1	19	17	18	5,013.4	24
Khulna	357.4	344.1	89.9	70.9	23	21	22	408.4	27
Dacca	548.4	517.8	105.5	86.9	19	17	18	807.0	24
Myerowdh	739.2	717.8	140.9	116.3	19	16	17	1,006.8	25
Faridpur	401.8	379.0	85.7	70.7	21	19	20	679.2	23
Backergunge	479.4	466.8	111.5	92.2	23	21	22	793.2	26
Tippura	419.1	391.3	72.3	58.9	17	15	16	533.1	25
Kokshai	271.9	255.0	42.4	36.2	16	14	15	361.6	22
Chittagong	265.2	250.9	49.7	41.0	17	16	17	424.2	21
Bihear and Orissa	6,806.9	6,498.5	1,351.1	1,194.1	20	18	19	11,498.8	22
NORTH BIHAR	2,865.8	2,727.1	511.6	446.3	18	16	17	4,892.1	20
Buxa	497.3	469.3	101.1	76.5	20	17	19	975.5	18
Champaran	398.0	375.2	78.1	68.5	20	18	19	584.8	25
Munafarpur	395.3	378.2	100.4	86.7	18	17	17	973.1	21
Darbhanga	398.5	369.3	82.7	76.0	14	13	14	972.6	16
Biagalpur	414.0	391.3	89.5	81.4	17	16	16	702.9	19
Patna	372.7	345.8	74.9	63.2	20	18	19	683.0	20
SOUTH BIHAR	1,685.0	1,607.7	388.7	333.4	22	21	21	3,177.5	22
Patna	538.2	521.8	121.9	107.7	26	24	25	771.7	21
Gaya	468.6	457.1	99.7	91.1	21	20	21	856.0	22
Shahabad	417.0	390.3	99.5	86.6	24	23	23	787.6	24
Monghyr	460.9	438.4	87.3	78.0	18	17	18	762.2	21
ORISSA	832.7	791.8	208.1	191.4	25	24	25	1,516.9	26
Cuttack	434.5	411.8	100.8	96.3	24	23	24	749.7	27
Bahore	308.6	288.1	68.9	62.9	22	21	22	404.7	27
Puri	189.6	181.8	40.8	42.2	24	23	24	361.4	24
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,423.5	1,369.9	262.7	223.0	18	16	17	1,913.3	24
Hazaribagh	379.6	369.9	62.4	46.7	19	17	18	748.9	26
Ranchi	289.1	280.1	50.2	41.6	19	16	17	569.7	28
Palamu	150.8	146.1	34.6	31.1	23	21	22	228.3	29
Manbhum	262.9	249.1	46.1	38.2	19	15	16	345.1	24
Siaghbhum	119.4	111.8	18.2	15.9	14	13	13	139.9	22
Sonhal-Parganas	345.7	332.2	63.1	51.5	18	15	17	468.3	23

Those districts for which vital statistics are not available have been left out of account.

CHAPTER VI.

SEX.

610. Throughout the census tables separate figures are given for each sex according to the subjects dealt with, but the tables which are most relevant to a consideration of the statistics are Tables I, II, VII and XI, and, for individual castes, Tables IX and XIV. Proportional figures illustrating the more important features of the returns are, as usual, given in Subsidiary Tables at the end of the chapter, viz.—

Subsidiary Table I.—General proportion of the sexes by natural divisions and districts.

Subsidiary Table II.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age periods by religion at each of the last three censuses.

Subsidiary Table III.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age periods by religions and natural divisions.

Subsidiary Table IV.—Number of females per 1,000 males for certain selected castes.

Subsidiary Table V.—Number of births and deaths reported for each sex during the decades 1891-1900 and 1901-1910.

Subsidiary Table VA.—Comparative statistics of births and deaths by sex during the same two decades.

Subsidiary Table VI.—Number of deaths of each sex at different ages.

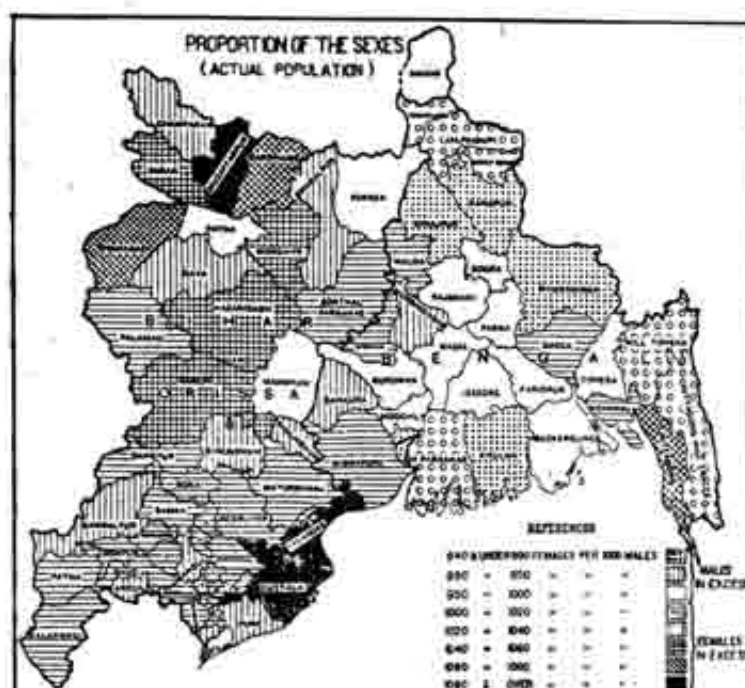
611. The proportion of the sexes in European countries (excluding those in the south-east of Europe) is very different from what it is in those other parts of the world for which reliable statistics are available. In the former females outnumber males in spite of a general excess of males at birth, as shown in the marginal table, from which it will be seen that this is a phenomenon common to both Latin and Teutonic countries. In India, the south-eastern countries of Europe, North America and other countries, such as Egypt and Japan, the reverse is the case. The deficiency of females in India has been ascribed by European statisticians, such as Von Mayr and Kirchhoff, to a supposed incomplete return of females, which is ascribed largely to "the unwillingness of Muhammadans, and to some extent of Hindus also, to mention to the enumerators the young women living in their zenana." The subject will be discussed later in this chapter, and here it will be sufficient to invite attention to the fact that the relative paucity of women is not confined to India.

COUNTRY.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.			
	At birth.		In total population.	
	1870.	1900.	1870.	1900.
England ...	963	964	1,054	1,069
Scotland ...	945	955	1,096	1,057
Ireland ...	951	944	1,050	1,027
Germany ...	930	948	1,040	1,032
France ...	952	961	1,038	1,022
Italy ...	937	947	989	1,010
Spain ...	926	905	1,044	1,049

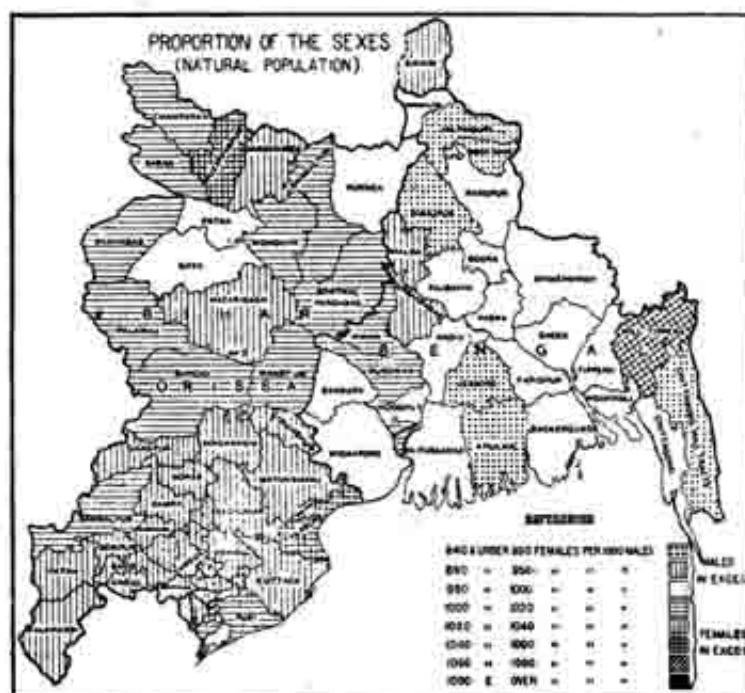
COUNTRY.	Year of census.	Number of females per 1,000 males.
Bulgaria ...	1902	962
Serbia ...	1900	946
Greece ...	1907	986
Egypt ...	1907	992
United States ...	1910	942
Canada ...	...	952
Japan ...	1904	990
India ...	1901	912
...	1911	921
Bengal, Bihar and Orissa ...	1901	999
...	1911	956

612. The excess of males in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which has been shown in the marginal table above, is due to the preponderance of males in Bengal, for there is an excess of females in Bihar and Orissa. In the actual population of Bengal, i.e., the population actually enumerated in each district, including immigrants from outside, there are 945 females to every 1,000 males, whereas there are 1,043 females to every 1,000 males in Bihar and Orissa. Females are in defect

in every district of Bengal, except Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapore, Murshidabad, Malda, Dacca, Noakhali and Chittagong; in the latter eight districts the proportion of females to 1,000 males varies from 1,000 in Midnapore to 1,087 in Chittagong. In Bihar and Orissa females are in marked excess in every district except Purnea (957), Patna (988) and Manbhum (963). To a small extent the difference between the two provinces is due to the large number of immigrants that pour into Bengal from Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces and elsewhere.



grants that pour into Bengal from Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces and elsewhere, The actual number of immigrants enumerated in Bengal is nearly 2 millions, among whom there is, roughly, only one female to every two males. In the actual population, therefore, the real proportion of the sexes is partially obscured by migration. The effect of migration on any tract may, however, be eliminated, if we exclude the immigrants from outside and include those who have emigrated, so as to get what is known as the natural population, *i.e.*, the population born in that tract, regardless of the place of enumeration.



Birbhum, Murshidabad and Malda on the east, in the frontier State of Hill Tippera in the extreme south-east, and in Howrah in the south. Elsewhere males preponderate. The proportion of females is highest in the more distinctively Hindu localities, viz., West Bengal (994) and Central Bengal (972). It is lowest in the divisions which have a majority of Musalmans, viz., East Bengal (965) and North Bengal (965). In Bihar and Orissa also the proportion of females is highest in the most purely Hindu tracts, i.e., Orissa (1,028) and North Bihar (1,019). The latter is closely followed by Chota Nagpur (1,018), which has a large Animist population. South Bihar has the smallest proportion of females, viz., 991 per 1,000 males. Females predominate in the natural population of every district, except the border district of Purnea, the inhabitants of which have many affinities to the Bengalis, and in Patna and Gaya. The deficiency in these latter two districts is to be attributed partly to plague, to which females are more liable than males.

614. In Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole the proportion of females in the actual population has been higher amongst Hindus than amongst Muhammadans at each of the last three censuses, but the Muhammadans have a higher, and not a lower, proportion of females than the Hindus in each province separately. This latter feature is common to all the natural divisions of

PROVINCE.	NUMBER (000's OMITTED) OF—				NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.	
	HINDUS.		MUSALMANS.		HINDUS.	MUSALMANS.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.		
Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.	26,413	26,281	14,153	13,768	995	973
Bengal	10,848	10,097	12,377	11,860	931	958
Bihar and Orissa ...	15,565	16,184	1,776	1,908	1,040	1,074

both provinces, except the Chota Nagpur Plateau, and to more than half the districts. In the two provinces as a whole, and in the Chota Nagpur Plateau in particular, the Animists have a larger proportion of women than either Hindus or Muhammadans.

DIVISION.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES IN 1911.		NUMBER OF DISTRICTS IN WHICH THE EXCESS OF FEMALES IS GREATEST AMONG.—	
	Hindus.	Musalmans.	Hindus.	Musalmans.
Bengal ...	931	958	12	18
West Bengal ...	986	992	3	3
Central „ ...	852	906	2	3
North „ ...	881	955	1	8
East „ ...	960	973	6	4
Bihar and Orissa.	1,040	1,074	11	12
North Bihar ...	1,057	1,066	...	6
South „ ...	1,020	1,177	...	4
Orissa ...	1,080	1,118	1	2
Chota Nagpur Plateau.	1,016	975	10	...

Orissa except the Chota Nagpur Plateau, as Hindu males form the majority of the emigrants.

615. There is a general deficiency of females amongst all the Bengali Hindu castes, except Bagdi (1,010), Baishnab (1,205), Bauri (1,035), Bhumij (1,078), Chasi Kaibartta (1,001), Sudra (1106) and Tiyar (1,074), all, be it noted, low classes. A few other castes or tribes, which are of Mongoloid origin (and cannot be called purely Bengali) also have a slight excess of females, viz., Khambu and Jimdar (1,012), Kuki (1,001), Magh (1,040) and Mech (1,101), and also the Dravidian Oraon (1,055). In Bihar and Orissa nearly every caste has a preponderance of females, the exceptions being the three high castes of Babhan (967), Brahman (1,000) and Rajput (995), the ubiquitous Baniya (995) and the Animist Bhumij (986). Statistics of emigration by caste not being available, it is impossible to say how far the varying paucity of males in the different castes of Bihar and Orissa is attributable to the exodus of their males; but it is noticeable that there is no striking deficiency among the Animist

Santals and Oraons, who are pioneer races furnishing a large proportion of emigrants.

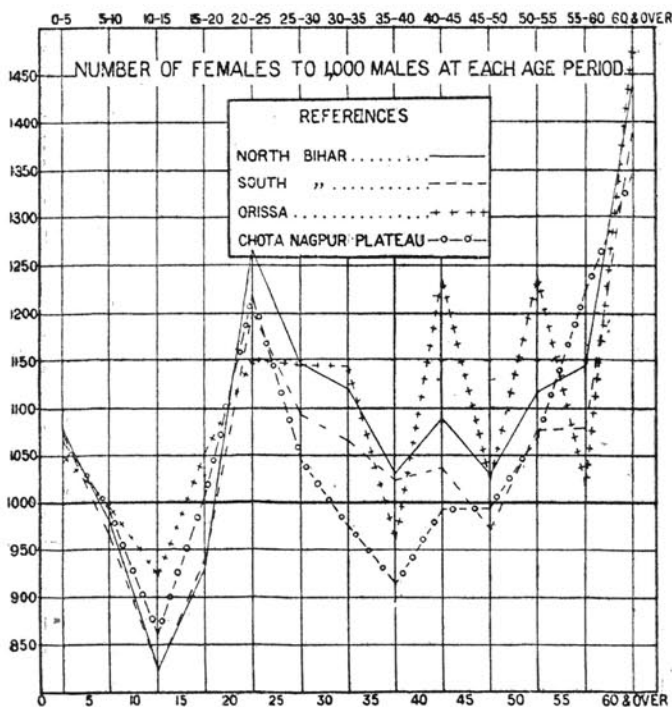
No correlation between social status and the proportion of the sexes can be traced, for in Bengal the Subarnabaniks (815) have the lowest proportion of females, and then come in order Goala, Muchi, Brahman, Tanti and Bhuiya, the ratio among whom varies from 819 to 924. In Bihar and Orissa, after the five castes mentioned above (Babhan, Brahman, Rajput, Baniya and Bhumij) the lowest proportion is found among the Doms, Goalas and Kayasths, varying only from 1,002 to 1,004.

Two features in the returns are noticeable. First, there is a relatively small number of women among the Brahmans and Kayasths in both provinces, a feature which is not noticed in other castes that have representatives both in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa. Secondly, females are generally in excess amongst the Munda and Dravidian tribes of Chota Nagpur, *e.g.*, Munda, Oraon, Santal, etc., but are in marked defect among certain tribes and race castes of East and North Bengal, *e.g.*, Chakma (891), Tipara (966), Koch (934), etc., which have a strong Mongoloid element. On the other hand, certain other Mongoloid races have, as already shown, an excess of females.

616. The inaccuracy of the age statistics, especially for females, is so great, that it is difficult for a conscientious statistician to place much reliance on the proportion of

SEX PROPORTION BY AGE.

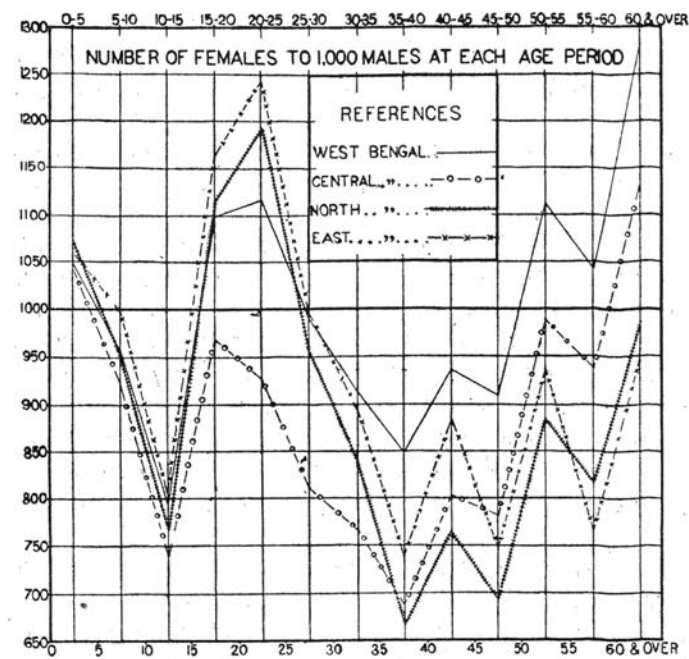
females to males at each age period, and it is therefore not proposed to discuss



the figures in details. The following more salient and general features may, however, be noticed. As shown in Subsidiary Table III and illustrated graphically in the marginal diagram, there is a deficiency of females in each natural division of Bengal at the age period 10—15. It changes into an excess at the next age periods 15—20 and 20—25, after which the deficiency re-appears and goes on increasing till it reaches the maximum at the age period 35—40. After this, the proportion of females to males increases, with the usual sharp rises at ages which are multiples of 10.

The marked deficiency of females at the age period 10—15 seems due to—(i) a higher mortality at the time of puberty, when there is a general functional derangement, the effects of which are often intensified by premature cohabitation and parturition; and (ii) the understatement of their age, if still unmarried, and to the exaggeration of it, if they are married and especially if they have become mothers. It might be suggested that the deficiency is due to the fact that many females at this age period are omitted from the returns owing to the reluctance of their parents or guardians to give information about their women-folk. If this theory were tenable, we should also find a deficiency of females at the next age period 15—20, and also to a certain extent at 20—25, whereas there is actually an excess of females at those age periods. This hypothesis cannot therefore be accepted. It is more probable that the relative paucity of girls aged 10—15 is simply due to a large proportion being returned as older than they really are. The marked fall at the age period 35—40 may be attributed partly to the higher mortality of females at the previous age periods consequent on child-bearing in insanitary surroundings and with unskilful midwifery, and partly to the under-statement of their ages by women who are still capable of bearing children. The alternate rises and falls in the proportion of females at the subsequent

age periods illustrate the special predilection of women for multiples



of 10 in stating their age, while the steady increase in their relative number is due in part to their greater longevity, to which reference has been made in the last chapter.

The figures and graphs showing the proportions of females to males in Bihar and Orissa have a general resemblance to those for Bengal. But, owing to the general excess of females throughout the new province, the graphs for its natural divisions are mostly above the line of equality, whereas the general preponderance of males in the Presidency causes the graphs for Bengal to be

below that line at most of the age periods.

617. Since 1881 the proportion of females to males in the actual population has steadily declined throughout Bengal. This is due partly to the increasing number of immigrants from other provinces, who are mostly males, and partly to the actual decrease in the relative number of females. That there has been such a decrease is apparent from the returns of natural population, the proportion of females in which has also been decreasing during the last thirty years in all the districts of Bengal except Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Bogra, Cooch Behar, Backergunge, Noakhali and Hill Tippera.

CASTES OF BENGAL.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.	
	1911.	1901.
HINDU.		
Baidya ...	1,007	1,012
Barui ...	964	1,014
Bhainmal ...	983	979
Brahman ...	953	987
Chamar and Muchi ...	1,006	1,024
Dhoba ...	1,003	1,011
Dom ...	1,004	1,019
Gandhabani ...	1,001	1,007
Goula ...	971	979
Hajjam and Napit ...	994	1,005
Jogi ...	976	991
Kamar and Lohar ...	997	1,009
Kayasth ...	952	1,003
Kumhar ...	980	1,009
Mayra ...	906	894
Namasudra ...	974	989
Pod ...	957	981
Rajbansi ...	930	936
Sadgop ...	975	1,004
Subarnabanik ...	965	989
Sutradhar ...	937	952
Tanti ...	1,032	1,000
Teli and Tili ...	1,008	1,024
HINDU AND ANI-MIST.		
Garos ...	982	981
Mundas ...	1,022	1,005
Oras ...	1,023	1,003
Santal ...	1,019	1,008
Tippera ...	964	931

In respect of the actual population, only six out of thirty districts and States, viz., Bogra, Khulna, Tippera, Noakhali, the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Hill Tippera, show an increase in the relative strength of the female population. The decline is further apparent in the returns for individual Hindu castes, but not among the aboriginal castes. It is natural that in these circumstances the price of brides should go up, but it is not so easy to understand why, when males are becoming proportionately more numerous, the price of bridegrooms should be rising among so many castes.

In Bihar and Orissa, on the other hand, most of the districts of North Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur show a steady increase in the proportion of females during the last three decades, for which the increasing number of male emigrants seems to be largely responsible. For, in the natural population, the proportion of females, which grew from 1881 to 1901, has fallen during the last decade, when emigration was greatly quickened. The districts of South Bihar, however, show a decline in the relative number of women since 1881, which may be attributed in part to plague, to which, as already stated, females succumb more than males. The decline in the proportion of females is also noticeable in the figures for each age period given in Subsidiary Table II, and to a greater or less extent in

PROPORTION OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES SPEAKING THE LANGUAGE OF THE LOCALITY.		
	1901.	1911.
West Bengal ...	1,038	1,016
Central ..	974	958
North ..	960	957
East ..	985	980
North Bihar ...	1,064	1,064
South ..	1,052	1,035
Orissa ...	1,056	1,083

the number speaking the native language of each locality, viz., Bengali

throughout Bengal, Hindi in Bihar and Oriya in Orissa, as shown in the marginal statement. The Chota Nagpur Plateau is omitted from this statement, as there is no language common to its congeries of tribes and castes. It may be added that the vital statistics in Subsidiary Table V-A show that the natural growth of females relatively to males has declined in the ratio of 158 to 132 in Bengal and of 158 to 105 in Bihar and Orissa.

618. We may now turn to a discussion of the hypothesis advanced by German critics, that the deficiency of females in the population is due to the omission of females from the census record. This theory rests on the following grounds, which will be briefly discussed :—

(1) It affords a ready explanation of the disproportion of sexes which is suspected to be unreal.

If the deficiency itself be taken as a proof of omission, then the enumeration of females must be incomplete everywhere in the world, except in Europe (excluding the countries to the south-east). If, moreover, we refer to the figures for small local areas, we find that in both provinces there are numerous contiguous thanas (with a population of 60,000 to 300,000) one of which shows a deficiency of females, while the other shows an excess, though there is no reason why females should be omitted from the record in one of them rather than in the other.*

(2) The omission of females is *a priori* probable, in view of the zenana system, which is largely in vogue in this country, and the strictness with which females are kept in privacy.

On this ground, omissions would be most likely to occur amongst the Muhammadans, but, as already shown, they have nearly always a higher proportion of females than the Hindus. Further, the low Hindus castes, whose women do not observe the *pardah* system and move about freely, also have a paucity of females.

(3) Each successive enumeration is likely to be more complete than the previous one, and each shows a rise in the proportion of females.

This argument does not hold good in the case of either Bengal or Bihar and Orissa, where, as already shown, the proportion of females is falling. It may be added that the decrease in the proportion of females in the actual population during the last decade is noticeable almost throughout India.

(4) The paucity of females is greatest at the age period 10—15, when omissions would be most likely to occur.

The statistics however show an excess of females at the next age period 15—20, which the theory of incomplete enumeration does not account for. It is possible of course that Hindu parents may wilfully omit to have marriageable daughters aged 10—15 entered in the returns, but it is more likely that their ages are misstated.

(5) The last argument that might be advanced in favour of the theory

				NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.	
				At birth.	At census.
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA				947	988
Bengal	...	...	...	941	945
West Bengal	...	...	...	940	987
Central "	...	...	...	934	876
North "	...	...	...	950	925
East "	...	...	...	938	969
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	...	955	1,043
North Bihar	...	...	...	952	1,058
South "	...	...	...	954	1,034
Orissa	...	...	...	951	1,081
Chota Nagpur Plateau	...	...	...	962	1,019

that the relative paucity of females is due to incomplete enumeration is that the vital statistics, as well as the conclusions drawn by Mr. Hardy from the age returns of the last census, show that the mortality of females is lower than that of males. As regards this argument, the marginal statement sufficiently shows that the proportion of females as ascertained at the census is generally higher than at birth. The fact is that more males are born, but their higher mortality reduces their proportionate strength and raises that of females in Bengal. This feature is common to Bengal, which gains, and to Bihar and Orissa, which loses, by the migration of males, and cannot, therefore, be connected with the

* The exigencies of space prohibit the publication of the figures for these thanas. The statement can easily be verified by a reference to Provincial Table I.

movements of the people. In Bihar and Orissa, however, there is an excess of females in the actual population as in Europe, whereas in Bengal they are in defect, the effect of their lower mortality not being sufficient to bring their numbers up to, much less above, that of the males.

619. In some districts of Bihar the ravages of plague are reducing the proportion of females considerably. Its effects may be realized from the marginal table, in which figures are given for Patna, Shahabad and Saran, which have suffered more than any other districts during the last decade, the total plague mortality representing a death-rate on 9, 3 and 8 per cent. respectively on the population of 1901. In order to discount the effects of migration, figures are given for natural as well as for actual population. Migration should help to increase the proportion of women in the actual population, because it has grown greatly in

DISTRICT.	NUMBER OF FEMALES TO 1,000 MALES.			
	Actual population.		Natural population.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Patna ...	1,020	988	991	951
Shahabad ...	1,096	1,062	1,054	1,010
Saran ...	1,200	1,151	1,074	1,012

volume and the majority of the emigrants are males. Not only is the reverse the case, but the decline in the number of males is even greater in the natural population than in the actual population. Plague must be held largely, though not entirely, responsible for the change which has taken place in the sex proportion. Women are far more exposed to its attacks than men, owing to their living much more inside the house, and to their going about with bare feet, which are liable to be bitten by the plague-rat flea. Moreover, when plague breaks out, though the villagers leave their homes and encamp out in temporary huts, women will persist in returning either for the worship of the household god or to obtain food from the household store. The incidence of mortality among them is, in fact, more than half as great as among males, the plague death-rate for females in Bihar and Orissa during the five years 1905-10 being 11·7 per mille, while it was only 7·5 per mille among males.

620. A question which naturally arises is why the lower mortality of females in Bengal does not turn the balance of the sex proportion in their favour, as it does in European countries and also in Bihar and Orissa. In Bengal, however, the number of females brought into the world is, relatively to males, fewer than in Europe or Bihar and Orissa, so that, *ceteris paribus*, the proportion of females must naturally be lower. Further, the conditions of female life in Bengal are far less favourable to their chances of survival than in Europe. The principal factors in question are briefly as follows :—

COUNTRY.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.		
	At census.	Births.	Deaths.
Europe (average) ...	1,038	948	946
England ...	1,068	964	936
Scotland ...	1,057	955	997
Germany ...	1,032	948	922
France ...	1,032	961	930
Ireland ...	1,027	944	1,016
Bengal ...	945	941	895
Bihar and Orissa ...	1,043	955	940

* The figures for European countries are for 1900.

male children are ardently desired, and the birth of a girl is generally unwelcome. This is especially the case among castes where the father has to pay heavily for a bridegroom and has already had several girls. As a natural consequence, girls receive less attention than boys, and, though constitutionally stronger, their natural advantage in this respect is minimized.

(2) The second factor is early marriage and premature sexual intercourse and child-bearing. In Bengal girls are generally married at a tender age and are usually allowed to cohabit with their husbands as soon as they attain puberty: they often menstruate in the 12th year, and conceive in the thirteenth. In fact, wives aged 15 or 16 are either mothers of children (living or dead), or are suspected of being barren. Early coition and premature maternity very often do irreparable injury to the young wives' constitution, and naturally raise their death-rate at this period of life.

(3) To some extent, also, infantile mortality is indirectly the cause of mortality among mothers. An abnormally large proportion of infants die

either within the first month or first year of life. Their deaths, by shortening the period of suckling, diminish the interval of child-bearing and thus help to keep up a high birth-rate, while conceptions following in quick succession naturally tell upon the health of the mothers.

(4) The conditions attending child-birth further increase the dangers of a woman's life. The account given in the next chapter may so far be anticipated by saying that the methods of midwifery are crude and the surroundings of the young mother generally insanitary.

(5) Lastly, reference may be made to the practice of abortion by females who stray from the path of virtue—generally, young widows who have succumbed to the temptations of the seducer. The dangers of this practice in undermining the health or even causing premature death are too well known to require mention.

621. On all these accounts, it might reasonably be expected that, relatively to males, more females should die in Bengal than in Europe. The proportion (895) of female deaths to male deaths, however, does not, at first sight, show that this is the case, for it is lower than the average for Europe (946). The explanation of this apparent anomaly appears to be as follows: Both male and female births depend on the same cause, viz., the number of married females of reproductive age, whereas male and female deaths depend on two distinctly different things, namely, the numerical strength of the male and female population. Hence, in drawing any inferences from their mutual proportion, we must take into account the relative strength of the male and female members of the community. In Europe females outnumber males, while in

COUNTRY.	DEATH RATE.*		Percentage of female death-rate to male death-rate.
	Male.	Female.	
Europe (average) ...	21·1	19·1	90·5
England	18·2	15·8	86·8
Germany	22·1	19·6	88·7
France	21·6	19·3	89·4
Bengal	34	31	91·2
Bihar and Orissa ...	37	33	89·2

to this, if we bear in mind the fact that it is probably the deaths of neglected females, pregnant widows, etc., that form the majority of the unreported deaths, we have a full explanation of the deficiency of females in Bengal without presuming their omission from the census record. It is also clear why the province of Bihar and Orissa, like Europe and unlike Bengal, has an excess of females, for, relatively to males, more females are born, but less die, in Bihar and Orissa than in Bengal or even in Europe.

622. Since the time of Aristotle, various conflicting theories have been put forward regarding the causation of sex, but no satisfactory conclusion has yet been arrived at. An account of such theories is given in Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage* and in Geddes and Thomson's *Evolution of Sex*, as also in some of the previous Census Reports. The limits of space forbid a discussion of these theories with reference to the sex statistics of Bengal and Bihar and Orissa, but the following may be very briefly noticed:—

(1) The offspring has a tendency to be of the same sex as the elder parent, and the tendency varies with the difference in the relative ages of

* The figures for European countries are taken from an article, "The Recent Growth of Population in Western Europe" by Sir J. A. Baines, K.T., C.S.I., published in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, December 1909.

the parents. This theory is consonant with the fact that in Bengal, where husbands are, with very few exceptions, considerably older than their wives, the proportion of male births is greater than in Bihar and Chota Nagpur, where they are more equal in age.

(2) An intense desire of the parents may have some effect on the sex of the child. In India the universal desire of parents is to have male children, and various expedients, *e.g.*, charms and amulets given by *sadhus*, *fakirs*, etc., offerings to gods and goddesses, etc., are resorted to in order to obtain its fulfilment. Among the Hindus there are special religious ceremonies like *Punsavan* (male-making), a brief account of which is given in the next chapter. Needless to say, universal as is the desire for male children, the proportion of male births varies greatly in different parts of the country.

(3) In mountainous countries more boys are born than girls.* This theory receives some confirmation from the figures for Darjeeling and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where females are in a minority, but not from the sex statistics of Chota Nagpur, where females are in marked excess. In the plains of Bengal, moreover, females are in defect.

(4) Differences in sex proportions are due to race rather than locality or climate.† The Dravidian races to

TRACTS.					Actual population.	Natural population.
Bengal	...	...	...	...	945	970
Jalpaiguri	...	...	...	...	841	900
Chittagong Hill Tracts	...	...	...	...	860	900
Cooch Behar	...	...	...	...	873	917
Dinajpur	...	...	...	...	897	938

which the people of Chota Nagpur belong have an excess of females, while the Mongoloid tribes of East and North Bengal have a paucity of women. In fact, the proportion of females to males is, as shown in the margin, generally lowest in the tracts where the Mongoloid element in the

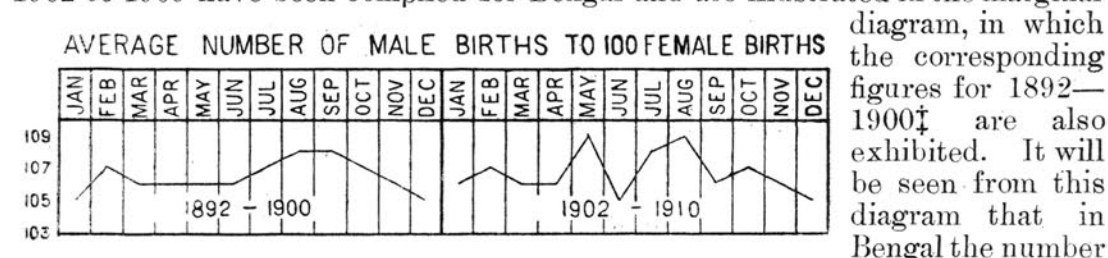
population is strongest.

(5) Consanguineous marriages produce a considerable excess of male births. This theory is not consistent with the fact that the Muhammadans, who allow cousins to marry, have a lower proportion of males than the Hindus, who do not.

A short account of the popular ideas regarding the causation of sex, together with a description of the ceremonies performed in order (a) to make a woman conceive and (b) to secure male offspring, is given in the next chapter.

623. Before bringing this chapter to a close, one interesting fact may be briefly noticed, viz., that the proportion of the sexes at birth is not uniform throughout the year.

Statistics of average monthly births by sex from 1902 to 1909 have been compiled for Bengal and are illustrated in the marginal



* Westermarck's *Human Marriage*.

† Bengal Census Report for 1891.

‡ Appendix IV, p. XXII, Bengal Census Report of 1901.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—GENERAL PROPORTIONS OF THE SEXES BY NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER OF FEMALES TO 1,000 MALES.								
	1911.		1901.		1891.		1881.		1872.
	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	988	991	999	1,005	1,004	1,012	1,008	1,016	1,000
Bengal	945	970	960	982	973	995	994	1,013	992
WEST BENGAL	987	994	1,001	1,015	1,023	1,019	1,050	1,045	1,041
Burdwan	997	1,018	1,004	1,028	1,038	1,026	1,083	1,081	1,044
Birbhum	1,017	1,018	1,029	1,028	1,048	1,049	1,082	1,094	1,090
Bankura	1,024	965	1,032	1,012	1,034	1,011	1,054	1,030	1,016
Midnapore	1,000	996	1,006	1,003	1,012	1,011	1,023	1,018	1,021
Hoozily	961	965	986	998	1,031	1,004	1,071	1,041	1,069
Howrah	892	1,000	935	1,050	984	1,044	1,011	1,056	1,038
CENTRAL BENGAL	876	972	911	982	944	1,010	971	1,087	972
24-Parganas	864	970	902	970	913	958	942	...	969
Calcutta	475	869	507	828	526	943	556	1,018	552
Nadia	991	978	1,015	994	1,050	1,021	1,054	...	1,058
Murshidabad	1,023	1,031	1,041	1,044	1,065	1,085	1,092	1,098	1,093
Jessore	951	945	984	970	1,007	981	1,022	...	1,027
NORTH BENGAL	925	965	938	969	955	985	973	995	973
Rajshahi	961	983	972	990	1,001	1,031	1,026	1,043	1,014
Dinajpur	897	933	902	932	915	936	933	954	931
Jalpaiguri	841	900	862	894	868	933	904	934	930
Darjeeling	869	964	873	1,011	815	923	742	815	786
Rangpur	901	954	915	959	945	970	965	983	964
Bogra	957	980	954	967	952	999	968	1,003	981
Pabna	974	988	1,002	1,008	1,010	1,015	1,023	1,023	1,011
Ma.da	1,014	1,036	1,020	1,054	1,038	1,075	1,047	1,090	1,043
Cooch Behar	873	917	881	911	914	930	933	947	912
EAST BENGAL	969	965	976	974	975	983	990	999	988
Khulna	926	935	918	945	906	940	900	...	867
Dacca	1,003	979	1,019	994	1,017	1,003	1,048	1,018	1,047
Mymensingh	935	954	943	962	941	965	965	979	978
Faridpur	974	968	997	984	1,012	984	1,024	993	1,038
Backergunge	951	967	949	976	950	972	952	975	955
Tippera	955	951	950	961	955	968	970	976	959
Noakhali	1,016	985	1,007	979	985	965	977	967	973
Chittagong	1,057	984	1,110	1,011	1,095	1,011	1,130	1,124	1,103
Chittagong Hill Tracts	860	900	828	901	801	896	796	...	703
Hill Tippera	885	1,081	874	913	920	988	859	...	931
Bihar and Orissa	1,043	1,014	1,047	1,027	1,040	1,032	1,024	1,018	1,009
NORTH BIHAR	1,058	1,019	1,064	1,038	1,049	1,030	1,026	1,015	999
Sarao	1,151	1,012	1,200	1,074	1,176	1,077	1,105	1,022	1,070
Champaran	1,026	1,002	1,022	1,030	986	1,023	977	999	954
Muzaffarpur	1,092	1,046	1,089	1,055	1,077	1,025	1,040	1,023	1,028
Darbhanga	1,074	1,029	1,056	1,035	1,044	1,034	1,032	1,029	972
Bhagalpur	1,022	1,016	1,033	1,033	1,023	1,021	1,008	1,013	991
Purnea	957	990	956	983	958	978	973	987	957
SOUTH BIHAR	1,034	991	1,050	1,020	1,059	1,041	1,045	1,027	1,043
Patna	988	951	1,020	991	1,043	1,015	1,045	1,029	1,047
Gaya	1,035	992	1,037	1,009	1,046	1,026	1,036	1,026	1,043
Shahabad	1,062	1,010	1,096	1,054	1,082	1,126	1,068	1,023	1,064
Monghyr	1,044	1,005	1,045	1,024	1,063	1,023	1,032	1,028	1,021
ORISSA	1,081	1,028	1,055	1,020	1,044	1,031	1,032	1,018	1,031
Cuttack	1,107	1,027	1,072	1,015	1,060	1,034	1,045	1,014	1,058
Balasore	1,092	1,045	1,070	1,050	1,065	1,054	1,048	1,042	1,032
Puri	1,020	1,011	1,007	996	991	990	989	1,001	976
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.	1,019	1,018	1,022	1,020	1,012	1,025	999	1,012	981
Hazaribagh	1,048	1,031	1,066	1,028	1,053	1,005	1,027	1,026	944
Ranchi	1,050	1,024	1,058	1,036	1,045	1,049	1,022	1,018	994
Palamu	1,012	1,016	1,023	1,036	1,028	1,055	1,016	...	984
Manbhum	963	1,010	992	1,020	1,012	1,012	1,014	1,020	985
Singbhum	1,035	1,024	1,029	1,033	1,010	1,008	1,002	996	998
Sonthal Parganas	1,017	1,003	1,019	1,006	1,015	1,010	997	995	1,000
Angul	1,028	1,024	1,000	990	983	...	965	...	970
Sambalpur	1,036	1,015	1,036	1,043	1,005	...	1,003	...	984
Orissa Feudatory States	1,011	1,022	1,003	1,009	944	...	967	...	972
Chota Nagpur St. tes	1,049	1,045	1,027	1,032	1,007	...	993	...	990
SIKKIM	951	1,033	916	956	935	...	...	...	...

NOTE.—The expression "actual population" means the population actually present at the time of the census, irrespective of birth-place. "Natural population" means the population born in the district, etc., irrespective of the place of enumeration. The natural population of 1872 cannot be ascertained.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

PART I.—NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES AT DIFFERENT AGE-PERIODS BY RELIGIONS AT EACH OF THE LAST THREE CENSUSES.

AGE.	ALL RELIGIONS.			HINDU.			MUSALMAN.			ANIMIST.		
	1891.	1901.	1911.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1891.	1901.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.												
0—1	1,058	1,020	1,020	1,054	1,024	1,023	1,065	1,011	459	1,051	1,039	
1—2	1,076	1,092	1,065	1,075	1,096	1,067	1,082	1,090	1,064	1,067	1,081	
2—3	1,109	1,101	1,086	1,122	1,104	1,083	1,090	1,097	1,092	1,109	1,111	
3—4	1,121	1,115	1,112	1,134	1,118	1,118	1,098	1,106	1,106	1,133	1,153	
4—5	1,041	1,042	1,032	1,044	1,043	1,032	1,033	1,037	1,033	1,072	1,070	
Total 0—5	1,082	1,073	1,063	1,087	1,076	1,063	1,073	1,066	1,062	1,091	1,097	1.
5—10	952	978	974	961	982	976	937	970	969	953	984	
10—15	803	813	813	813	820	819	776	791	790	857	875	
15—20	1,029	1,045	1,048	985	1,005	1,001	1,118	1,126	1,133	1,074	1,071	
20—25	1,184	1,173	1,176	1,126	1,121	1,130	1,311	1,281	1,263	1,233	1,272	
25—30	1,070	1,006	1,014	1,059	996	1,008	1,088	1,022	1,014	1,122	1,068	
Total 0—30	1,002	1,001	1,001	994	992	991	1,015	1,014	1,014	1,021	1,033	1.
30—40	958	935	902	984	962	939	895	872	846	1,045	1,019	
40—50	939	940	917	963	969	950	884	874	848	941	974	
50—60	1,035	1,023	1,016	1,053	1,051	1,034	995	966	938	1,003	981	
60 and over... ..	1,305	1,263	1,213	1,376	1,344	1,305	1,165	1,102	1,029	1,198	1,226	
Total 30 and over	1,011	994	964	1,042	1,030	1,003	944	918	884	1,030	1,027	
Total all ages (actual population)	1,004	999	988	1,011	1,005	995	992	983	973	1,023	1,031	1.
Total all ages (natural population)	1,012	1,005	991	Not available.			Not avail. ble.			Not available,		

PART II.—NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES AT DIFFERENT AGE-PERIODS BY RELIGIONS (CENSUS OF 1911).

AGE.	ALL RELIGIONS.		HINDU.		MUSALMAN.		ANIMIST.	
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
0—1	1,017	1,022	1,025	1,021	1,012	1,030	1,002	1,030
1—2	1,075	1,051	1,086	1,054	1,069	1,024	1,089	1,057
2—3	1,083	1,090	1,074	1,088	1,091	1,107	1,077	1,088
3—4	1,088	1,298	1,101	1,128	1,097	1,166	1,117	1,117
4—5	1,023	1,044	1,014	1,042	1,028	1,058	1,061	1,050
Total 0—5	1,058	1,069	1,057	1,067	1,059	1,083	1,070	1,070
5—10	969	981	968	981	968	972	988	990
10—15	783	848	776	846	785	822	870	898
15—20	1,102	972	1,049	963	1,153	979	1,204	1,063
20—25	1,141	1,223	1,034	1,207	1,251	1,351	1,347	1,266
25—30	949	1,121	900	1,091	994	1,229	1,064	1,086
Total 0—30	989	1,016	961	1,011	1,011	1,038	1,056	1,037
30—40	800	1,030	793	1,024	807	1,112	827	1,003
40—50	818	1,041	827	1,041	812	1,074	692	997
50—60	937	1,110	976	1,108	903	1,151	754	1,071
60 and over	1,054	1,407	1,144	1,421	967	1,381	942	1,272
Total 30 and over	859	1,095	877	1,094	844	1,147	792	1,046
Total all ages (actual population) ...	945	1,043	931	1,040	958	1,074	967	1,040
Total all ages (natural population)...	971	1,013	Not available,					

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES AT DIFFERENT AGE-PERIODS BY RELIGIONS AND NATURAL DIVISIONS (CENSUS OF 1911).

BENGAL.

AGE.	WEST BENGAL.			CENTRAL BENGAL.			NORTH BENGAL.			EAST BENGAL.		
	All religious.	Hindu.	Musalman.	All religious.	Hindu.	Musalman.	All religious.	Hindu.	Musalman.	All religious.	Hindu.	Musalman.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
0-1 ...	1,036	1,035	1,047	1,021	1,031	1,013	1,004	1,005	1,005	1,015	1,025	1,012
1-2 ...	1,061	1,059	1,060	1,066	1,078	1,059	1,097	1,129	1,082	1,072	1,088	1,066
2-3 ...	1,058	1,056	1,070	1,068	1,072	1,063	1,107	1,087	1,119	1,084	1,085	1,085
3-4 ...	1,097	1,092	1,113	1,083	1,092	1,074	1,120	1,123	1,121	1,091	1,098	1,091
4-5 ...	999	993	1,010	983	983	981	1,039	1,042	1,037	1,035	1,035	1,036
Total 0-5 ...	1,049	1,046	1,060	1,041	1,048	1,036	1,071	1,071	1,073	1,059	1,064	1,059
5-10 ...	957	958	946	922	936	909	951	964	943	999	1,002	999
10-15 ...	795	797	780	733	733	739	766	764	760	805	788	810
15-20 ...	1,098	1,088	1,148	968	935	1,005	1,116	1,011	1,184	1,161	1,110	1,187
20-25 ...	1,116	1,096	1,198	926	836	1,054	1,192	1,036	1,306	1,242	1,130	1,300
25-30 ...	990	988	987	810	743	900	956	872	1,015	998	953	1,018
Total 0-30 ...	990	986	1,000	900	872	931	993	953	1,015	1,023	1,000	1,033
30-40 ...	884	885	880	732	694	780	758	719	786	824	825	822
40-50 ...	925	927	958	793	777	817	735	617	773	828	846	817
50-60 ...	1,086	1,092	1,087	971	970	982	865	822	912	885	943	852
60 and over ...	1,284	1,304	1,188	1,130	1,164	1,094	985	968	1,011	951	1,073	884
Total 30 and over ...	981	986	977	834	817	857	794	733	827	852	886	834
Total all ages (actual population).	987	986	992	876	852	906	925	881	955	969	960	973
Total all ages (natural population).	994	Not available		972	Not available		965	Not available		965	Not available.	

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

AGE.	NORTH BIHAR.			SOUTH BIHAR.			ORISSA.			CHOTA NA PUR PLATEAU.				
	All religious.	Hindu.	Musalman.	All religious.	Hindu.	Musalman.	All religious.	Hindu.	Musalman.	All religious.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Christian.	Animist.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
0-1 ...	1,016	1,013	1,027	1,024	1,022	1,046	1,010	1,010	984	1,032	1,034	1,033	997	1,029
1-2 ...	1,069	1,072	1,056	1,062	1,069	1,001	1,043	1,047	950	1,027	1,036	965	1,023	1,055
2-3 ...	1,099	1,093	1,122	1,112	1,115	1,087	1,048	1,048	1,064	1,081	1,081	1,078	1,093	1,082
3-4 ...	1,140	1,130	1,186	1,139	1,138	1,147	1,135	1,136	1,115	1,114	1,116	1,121	1,052	1,114
4-5 ...	1,063	1,061	1,071	1,024	1,026	1,002	1,016	1,016	1,012	1,044	1,041	1,084	1,016	1,047
Total 0-5 ...	1,077	1,073	1,097	1,072	1,073	1,063	1,049	1,049	1,034	1,064	1,064	1,065	1,035	1,067
5-10 ...	979	979	974	963	961	980	995	996	940	990	991	959	1,022	911
10-15 ...	825	830	799	824	816	907	922	924	863	861	852	803	865	899
15-20 ...	930	922	936	940	924	1,129	1,053	1,049	1,190	1,007	992	957	1,008	1,064
20-25 ...	1,366	1,252	1,343	1,202	1,175	1,534	1,151	1,146	1,360	1,219	1,209	1,169	1,247	1,265
25-30 ...	1,148	1,133	1,232	1,094	1,069	1,416	1,146	1,143	1,256	1,045	1,036	1,013	1,056	1,085
Total 0-30 ...	1,017	1,014	1,030	1,003	992	1,109	1,038	1,037	1,055	1,015	1,010	982	1,016	1,026
30-40 ...	1,080	1,076	1,107	1,046	1,025	1,317	1,064	1,064	1,119	949	938	898	976	1,006
40-50 ...	1,064	1,067	1,056	1,010	992	1,211	1,161	1,160	1,241	993	994	928	1,007	1,004
50-60 ...	1,127	1,127	1,132	1,078	1,061	1,254	1,173	1,170	1,327	1,085	1,092	1,034	1,043	1,076
60 and over ...	1,438	1,451	1,381	1,389	1,381	1,461	1,479	1,476	1,617	1,346	1,379	1,176	1,275	1,280
Total 30 and over ...	1,132	1,133	1,135	1,038	1,069	1,301	1,164	1,163	1,257	1,029	1,027	962	1,031	1,051
Total all ages (actual population).	1,058	1,057	1,066	1,034	1,020	1,177	1,081	1,080	1,118	1,019	1,016	975	1,020	1,041
Total all ages (natural population).	1,018	Not available.		990	Not available.		1,027	Not available.		1,017	Not available.			

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES
FOR CERTAIN SELECTED CASTES.

CASTE.	Locality.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.						
		All ages.	0—5	5—12	12—15	15—20	20—40	40 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
AGARWALA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	569	813	738	627	663	486	552
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,029	882	926	654	1,047	1,255	1,014
AJLAF (Musalman) ...	Bengal ...	906	1,084	849	743	1,208	884	813
ANGLO-INDIAN (Christian) ...	Bengal ...	996	1,072	944	833	866	1,020	1,093
	Bihar and Orissa ...	928	1,136	809	783	1,224	856	903
BABHAN (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	967	1,105	891	659	785	976	1,151
BAGDI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	1,010	1,053	920	846	1,103	1,023	1,053
BAIDYA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	983	1,037	1,000	726	935	969	1,075
BAISNAB (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	1,205	1,076	945	876	1,175	1,271	1,443
BANIYA (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	995	1,081	900	769	929	1,009	1,120
BARAI (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,047	975	985	886	902	1,093	1,209
BARHI (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,084	1,074	965	892	1,007	1,194	1,160
BARUI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	950	1,041	927	797	1,120	948	891
BAURI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	1,035	1,116	919	703	1,045	1,096	1,212
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,019	1,092	934	990	1,169	1,041	956
BHOTIA (Buddhist) ...	Bengal ...	1,064	1,108	1,116	1,051	1,573	992	978
BHUIYA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	924	1,146	967	892	1,101	874	782
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,071	1,121	933	1,016	1,246	1,100	1,093
BHUINMALI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	967	1,069	946	795	1,220	944	913
BHUMIJ (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	1,078	1,356	952	942	1,091	1,047	1,128
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,062	1,314	977	937	874	990	1,316
BHUMIJ (Animist) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	986	1,057	903	627	962	1,038	1,037
BRAHMAN (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	878	1,020	941	788	966	769	914
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,000	1,050	930	787	881	1,005	114
BRAHMO (Brahmo) ...	Bengal ...	975	910	122	1,740	128	842	699
CHAKMA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	891	945	952	866	968	970	647
CHAMAR (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	544	886	739	499	633	457	460
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,153	1,124	955	892	1,080	1,309	1,270
CHASA (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,042	1,071	1,010	860	945	1,060	1,145
CHINESE (Confucian) ...	Bengal ...	157	1,200	1,706	...	176	109	100
CHINESE (Buddhist) ...	Bengal ...	198	808	645	438	245	134	249
DHANUK (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,095	1,067	942	898	1,041	1,188	1,213
DHOBA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	932	1,056	953	739	1,055	902	899
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,063	1,048	961	923	1,030	1,126	1,150
DHUNIA (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,141	1,100	975	874	1,086	1,292	1,269
DOM (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	967	1,041	922	924	1,133	922	969
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,002	1,027	981	842	1,015	1,005	1,077
DOSADH (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	360	615	526	422	332	287	391
EUROPEANS AND ALLIED RACES (Christian).	Bengal ...	519	909	836	756	720	389	561
	Bihar and Orissa ...	607	884	953	1,153	943	469	582
GANDHABANIK (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	938	1,124	979	876	1,223	833	870
GARO (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	976	878	1,050	1,071	1,949	1,042	641

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES
FOR CERTAIN SELECTED CASTES—*continued*.

CASTE.	Locality.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.						
		All ages.	0—5	5—12	12—15	5—20	20—40	40 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
GARO (Animist)	Bengal	960	1,056	929	920	1,301	1,065	618
GAURA (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,099	1,033	977	875	1,010	1,153	1,321
GOALA (Abir) (Hindu) ...	Bengal	819	1,022	893	795	912	695	848
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,003	1,058	921	866	932	1,037	1,078
GOND (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,014	1,062	966	695	926	1,058	1,150
GURUNG (Hindu)	Bengal	986	1,036	951	925	1,073	926	1,076
HAJJAM (Napit) (Hindu) ...	Bengal	948	1,050	945	808	1,059	901	959
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,071	1,048	937	868	950	1,178	1,205
HAJJAM (Musalman)	Bengal	961	845	828	874	1,500	913	964
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,111	1,052	982	876	1,063	1,284	1,138
HARI (Hindu)	Bengal	982	1,105	909	815	1,203	977	944
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,032	1,188	1,012	797	1,093	1,079	927
INDIAN CHRISTIAN	Bengal	935	1,022	1,029	667	1,092	915	880
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,028	1,033	948	968	1,015	1,078	1,093
JOGI (Hindu)	Bengal	977	1,053	965	766	1,122	985	937
JOLAHA (Musalman)	Bengal	863	1,002	852	760	1,010	805	856
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,123	1,054	962	888	1,015	1,323	1,233
KAHAR (Hindu)	Bengal	243	697	420	391	216	181	249
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,149	1,064	925	824	1,042	1,276	1,412
KAIBARTTA (Unspecified) (Hindu)	Bengal	955	828	1,346	778	1,113	791	1,025
KAIBARTTA CHASI (Hindu) ...	Bengal	1,001	1,051	968	816	1,138	980	1,032
KAIBARTTA JALIA (Hindu) ...	Bengal	959	1,094	940	810	1,215	917	903
KALWAR (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,046	1,070	900	818	904	1,110	1,217
KAMAR (Hindu)	Bengal	948	1,076	947	851	1,089	888	945
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,021	1,001	986	850	1,022	1,040	1,098
KANDH (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,057	1,117	990	846	1,070	1,079	1,115
KANDH (Animist)	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,040	1,069	984	932	1,182	1,047	1,039
KANDU (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,082	1,090	919	780	915	1,181	1,274
KAORA (Hindu)	Bengal	944	935	746	1,028	797	1,001	1,008
KAPALI (Hindu)	Bengal	986	1,006	957	820	1,011	1,001	1,023
KARAN (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,075	1,030	1,030	876	975	1,041	1,289
KAYASTH (Hindu)	Bengal	954	1,015	974	716	981	904	1,052
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,004	1,032	988	748	797	1,035	1,110
KEWAT (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,063	1,040	1,034	890	1,008	1,074	1,182
KHAMBHU AND JIMDAR (Hindu)	Bengal	1,012	1,185	1,107	875	1,019	983	919
KHANDAIT (Hindu)	Bengal	30	80	51	29	21	24	37
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,104	1,052	992	889	1,006	1,143	1,333
KHARIA (Animist)	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,181	1,141	1,098	845	1,037	1,362	1,369
KHAS OR CHETTRI (Hindu) ...	Bengal	841	932	893	936	789	789	809
KHATRI (Hindu)	Bengal	332	549	600	677	469	193	410
KOOH (Hindu)	Bengal	934	1,253	851	889	1,121	902	782
KOIRI (Hindu)	Bengal	168	356	401	263	178	122	180
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,021	1,075	962	820	950	1,063	1,068

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES
FOR CERTAIN SELECTED CASTES—*continued*.

CASTE.	Locality.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.						
		All ages.	0—5	5—12	12—15	15—20	20—40	40 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
KUKI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	1,001	969	964	844	1,140	1,073	933
KULU (Musalman) ...	Bengal ...	931	1,043	827	855	1,148	991	797
KUMHAR (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	947	1,073	921	776	1,038	920	950
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,012	1,064	967	985	981	657	1,005
KUNJRA (Musalman) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,105	1,021	939	992	1,114	1,261	1,182
KURMI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	909	1,019	974	753	1,007	867	861
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,027	1,082	1,056	852	896	1,074	1,047
LEPCHA (Buddhist) ...	Bengal ...	997	1,072	892	863	848	1,028	1,076
LEPCHA (Christian) ...	Bengal ...	997	1,165	925	1,217	929	885	1,128
LOHAR (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,071	1,073	944	749	961	1,197	1,208
MAGH (Buddhist) ...	Bengal ...	1,040	971	944	912	1,125	1,153	1,047
MALLAH (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,307	1,136	1,000	845	1,245	1,622	1,533
MALO (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	971	1,093	942	864	1,105	954	930
MAL PAHARIA (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,019	1,000	982	784	960	1,126	1,078
MAYRA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	442	1,005	709	684	496	309	415
MECH (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	1,101	1,533	1,238	608	1,057	1,207	817
MECH (Animist) ...	Bengal ...	547	900	592	1,261	915	362	185
MOGHAL (Musalman) ...	Bengal ...	414	703	550	277	403	348	488
MUCHI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	875	1,028	880	845	1,069	817	799
MUNDA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	960	1,069	1,175	692	1,811	925	554
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,048	913	1,083	987	1,107	1,033	1,145
MUNDA (Animist) ...	Bengal ...	969	1,196	971	1,011	1,300	1,000	583
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,029	998	1,015	910	891	1,035	1,213
MURMI (Buddhist) ...	Bengal ...	984	938	980	997	952	920	1,157
MUSAHAR (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,020	1,123	962	811	1,045	1,127	921
NAMASUDRA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	973	1,046	939	794	1,235	972	903
NUNIYA (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,144	1,119	962	745	934	1,339	1,323
ORAON (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	1,055	1,213	1,115	1,233	1,843	1,013	646
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,021	1,099	940	928	938	1,092	1,015
ORAON (Animist) ...	Bengal ...	944	976	1,024	1,003	1,363	1,038	547
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,145	992	999	873	878	1,106	1,932
PAN (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,056	1,096	986	824	1,050	1,112	1,130
PAN (Animist) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,000	1,100	988	739	1,050	1,020	981
PATHAN (Musalman) ...	Bengal ...	773	1,021	847	628	835	703	728
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,087	1,069	913	818	1,005	1,194	1,255
PATNI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	959	1,045	906	821	1,122	943	955
POD (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	961	1,074	912	868	1,202	956	852
RAJBANSI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	942	1,130	945	738	1,040	971	798
RAJPUT (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	656	901	947	789	698	492	651
	Bihar and Orissa ...	995	1,031	906	658	727	1,022	1,226
RAJWAR (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,115	1,126	952	977	1,097	1,308	1,082

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES
FOR CERTAIN SELECTED CASTES—concluded.**

CASTE.	Locality.	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.						
		All ages.	0—5	5—12	12—15	15—20	20—40	40 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
RAUNIAR (Hindu) ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,018	1,143	959	839	956	937	1,207
SADGOP (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	990	1,034	953	848	992	962	1,080
SAIYAD (Musalman) ...	Bengal ...	856	946	907	765	925	800	849
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,054	1,043	922	828	1,087	1,155	1,119
SANTAL (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	970	1,060	938	897	1,231	1,016	786
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,146	1,013	1,183	1,398	1,360	1,166	941
SANTAL (Animist) ...	Bengal ...	984	1,068	935	848	116	1,051	850
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,008	1,006	914	1,147	1,035	1,015	1,045
SONAR (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	571	533	614	392	996	552	502
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,028	1,046	926	795	929	1,103	1,124
SUBARNABANIK (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	815	842	872	922	872	745	827
SUDRA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	1,106	1,029	967	804	1,166	1,240	1,206
SUNRI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	980	1,118	1,013	828	1,010	970	942
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,069	1,023	950	910	1,136	1,130	1,172
SUTRADHAR (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	944	1,067	928	869	999	940	897
TANTI AND TATWA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	912	990	962	811	1,014	827	955
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,113	1,015	961	906	1,048	1,253	1,239
TELI AND TILI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	936	1,005	916	785	987	877	1,032
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,040	1,041	945	883	975	1,084	1,156
TIPARA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	966	1,087	914	1,068	1,303	952	778
TIPARA (Animist) ...	Bengal ...	948	987	975	1,031	1,234	939	752
TIAYR (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	1,074	1,321	1,030	1,049	1,402	1,037	861
	Bihar and Orissa ...	1,107	1,225	994	927	1,123	1,203	1,072

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE V. PART I.—ACTUAL NUMBER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS REPORTED
FOR EACH SEX DURING THE DECADES 1891—1900 AND 1901—1910.**

YEAR.	NUMBER OF BIRTHS.			NUMBER OF DEATHS.			Excess (+) or deficit (-) of female births over male births.	Excess (+) or deficit (-) of female deaths over male deaths.	Excess (+) or deficit (-) of births over deaths.	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Bengal.											
1891* ...	724,981	678,836	1,403,817	573,414	515,397	1,088,811	- 46,145	- 58,017	+ 315,006	936	899
1892 ...	549,941	505,874	1,055,815	625,971	549,581	1,175,552	- 44,067	- 76,390	+ 119,737	920	878
1893 ...	754,389	699,300	1,453,689	622,340	555,851	1,178,191	- 55,089	- 66,489	+ 275,498	927	893
1894 ...	649,572	609,340	1,258,912	636,372	563,334	1,199,706	- 40,232	- 73,038	+ 59,206	938	885
1895 ...	705,891	661,555	1,367,446	688,272	604,839	1,293,114	- 44,336	- 83,436	+ 74,332	937	879
1896 ...	761,853	717,010	1,478,863	704,510	606,466	1,310,976	- 44,843	- 98,044	+ 167,887	941	861
1897 ...	758,179	708,576	1,466,755	687,241	582,820	1,270,061	- 49,603	- 104,421	+ 196,694	935	848
1898 ...	738,688	693,453	1,432,141	604,631	519,311	1,123,942	- 45,235	- 85,320	+ 308,199	939	859
1899 ...	821,769	775,822	1,597,591	702,788	617,413	1,320,201	- 45,947	- 85,375	+ 277,390	944	879
1900 ...	784,545	738,597	1,523,142	767,121	663,780	1,430,901	- 45,948	- 103,341	+ 92,241	941	865
Total 1891—1900 ...	7,249,808	6,788,363	14,038,171	6,612,663	5,778,793	12,391,455	- 461,445	- 833,871	+ 1,646,716	936	874
1901 ...	806,527	761,058	1,567,585	674,637	586,765	1,261,402	- 45,469	- 87,872	+ 306,183	944	870
1902 ...	839,706	792,427	1,632,133	779,387	687,269	1,466,656	- 47,279	- 92,118	+ 165,477	944	882
1903 ...	787,868	741,401	1,529,269	710,284	635,973	1,346,237	- 46,467	- 74,291	+ 183,032	941	895
1904 ...	877,116	827,682	1,704,793	726,990	657,167	1,384,157	- 49,434	- 69,823	+ 320,641	944	904
1905 ...	810,318	764,617	1,574,935	798,743	725,269	1,524,012	- 45,701	- 73,474	+ 50,923	944	908
1906 ...	764,143	714,493	1,478,636	733,002	656,914	1,389,916	- 49,650	- 76,088	+ 88,720	935	896
1907 ...	771,220	729,764	1,500,984	737,786	668,477	1,406,263	- 41,456	- 71,309	+ 96,721	946	903
1908 ...	819,474	767,337	1,586,811	706,296	624,825	1,331,121	- 52,137	- 81,471	+ 255,690	936	885
1909 ...	849,575	796,814	1,646,389	690,156	616,217	1,306,373	- 52,761	- 73,939	+ 340,016	938	893
1910 ...	813,978	761,826	1,575,804	688,930	625,229	1,314,159	- 52,152	- 63,701	+ 261,645	936	908
Total 1901—1910 ...	8,139,925	7,657,419	15,797,344	7,246,191	6,482,105	13,728,296	- 482,566	- 764,086	+ 2,069,048	941	885

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V. PART I.—ACTUAL NUMBER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS REPORTED FOR EACH SEX DURING THE DECADES 1891—1900 AND 1901—1910.—concluded.

YEAR.	NUMBER OF BIRTHS.			NUMBER OF DEATHS.			Excess (+) or deficit (-) of female births over male births.	Excess (+) or deficit (-) of female deaths over male deaths.	Excess (+) or deficit (-) of births over deaths.	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.	
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Bihar and Orissa.												
1891 ^c	592,225	557,678	1,149,903	429,123	378,327	807,450	— 34,547	— 50,796	+	342,453	942	882
1892	482,961	443,184	926,145	568,503	503,220	1,071,723	— 39,777	— 65,283	—	145,578	918	885
1893	560,070	521,100	1,081,170	437,198	390,074	827,272	— 34,970	— 47,124	+	253,898	930	922
1894	552,750	520,585	1,073,335	679,879	599,511	1,279,390	— 32,165	— 80,368	—	206,055	942	882
1895	562,065	529,112	1,091,177	507,719	430,625	938,344	— 32,953	— 77,094	+	152,833	941	848
1896	630,732	593,891	1,224,623	605,445	512,409	1,117,854	— 36,841	— 93,036	+	106,769	942	846
1897	596,318	562,771	1,159,089	583,456	488,115	1,071,571	— 33,547	— 95,341	+	87,518	944	837
1898	572,764	538,796	1,111,560	413,777	350,749	764,526	— 33,968	— 63,028	+	347,034	941	848
1899	744,488	711,099	1,455,587	477,932	420,110	898,042	— 33,389	— 57,822	+	557,545	955	879
1900	627,877	598,563	1,226,440	617,652	555,183	1,172,835	— 29,314	— 62,469	+	53,605	953	899
Total 1891-1900	5,922,350	5,576,779	11,499,029	5,320,684	4,628,323	9,949,007	— 345,471	— 692,361	+	1,550,022	942	870
1901	678,550	643,954	1,322,504	546,880	514,900	1,061,780	— 34,596	— 31,980	+	260,724	949	942
1902	708,724	676,756	1,385,480	543,616	491,559	1,035,175	— 31,968	— 52,057	+	350,305	955	904
1903	715,729	684,733	1,400,462	594,263	553,450	1,147,713	— 30,996	— 40,813	+	252,749	957	931
1904	764,078	731,830	1,495,908	537,372	508,165	1,045,537	— 32,248	— 29,207	+	460,371	958	946
1905	705,287	674,287	1,379,574	660,503	633,154	1,293,662	— 31,000	— 27,354	+	85,912	956	959
1906	683,570	653,945	1,337,515	628,909	587,210	1,216,119	— 29,625	— 41,699	+	121,396	957	934
1907	674,894	644,360	1,319,254	629,117	611,540	1,240,657	— 30,534	— 17,577	—	78,597	955	972
1908	646,203	614,565	1,260,768	697,551	650,496	1,348,047	— 31,638	— 47,055	—	87,279	951	933
1909	656,301	625,692	1,281,993	551,407	522,769	1,074,176	— 50,609	— 28,638	+	207,817	953	948
1910	701,288	669,352	1,370,640	612,200	569,960	1,182,160	— 31,936	— 42,240	+	188,480	954	931
Total 1901-1910	6,934,624	6,613,474	13,554,098	6,001,823	5,643,203	11,645,026	— 315,150	— 358,620	+	1,909,072	955	940

^c As births were not registered in rural areas in 1891, the figures in columns 2, 3 and 4 of that year have been obtained by taking one-ninth of the totals of the years 1892—1900.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V. PART II.—NUMBER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS REPORTED FOR EACH SEX IN EACH NATURAL DIVISION DURING THE DECADE 1901—1910.

NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER OF BIRTHS.			NUMBER OF DEATHS.			Excess (+) or deficit (-) of female births over male births.	Excess (+) or deficit (-) of female deaths over male deaths.	Excess (+) or deficit (-) of births over deaths.	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Male	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.					
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Bengal ...	8,139,925	7,657,419	15,797,344	7,246,191	6,482,105	13,728,296	- 462,506	- 764,086	+ 2,069,648	941	895
West Bengal ...	1,421,976	1,336,671	2,758,647	1,405,575	1,260,245	2,665,820	- 85,305	- 145,330	+ 92,827	940	897
Central Bengal ...	1,352,036	1,263,286	2,615,322	1,410,741	1,241,680	2,652,421	- 88,750	- 169,061	- 37,099	934	880
North Bengal ...	1,943,458	1,845,878	3,789,336	1,799,544	1,597,089	3,396,633	- 97,580	- 202,455	+ 392,703	950	887
East Bengal ...	3,422,455	3,211,584	6,634,039	2,630,331	2,383,091	5,013,422	- 210,871	- 247,240	+ 1,620,617	938	906
Bihar and Orissa ...	6,934,624	6,619,474	13,554,098	6,001,823	5,643,203	11,645,026	- 315,150	- 358,620	+ 1,969,072	955	940
North Bihar ...	2,865,778	2,727,137	5,592,915	2,542,942	2,349,127	4,892,069	- 133,641	- 193,815	+ 700,846	952	924
South Bihar ...	1,685,028	1,607,677	3,292,705	1,595,950	1,581,580	3,177,530	- 77,351	- 14,370	+ 115,175	954	991
Orissa ...	832,657	791,791	1,624,448	770,630	745,242	1,515,872	- 40,866	- 25,388	+ 108,576	951	987
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	1,551,161	1,432,869	3,044,030	1,092,301	967,254	2,059,555	- 58,292	- 125,047	+ 984,475	962	886

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V-A—EXCESS (+) OR DEFICIENCY (—) OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS DURING THE DECADES 1891—1901 AND 1901—1911.

	EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS.				PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE EXCESS TO MALE EXCESS.			
	1891—1901.		1901—1911.		1891—1901.	1901—1911.		
	Male.	Female.	Male..	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	+1,238,711	+1,958,027	+1,826,535	+2,151,585	+	158	+	118
Bengal	+ 637,145	+1,009,571	+ 893,734	+1,175,314	+	158	+	132
West Bengal	+ 139,611	+ 108,899	+ 16,401	+ 76,426	+	142	+	466
Central Bengal	- 23,103	+ 47,433	- 58,705	+ 21,606	-	205	-	37
North Bengal	- 23,887	+ 84,032	+ 143,914	+ 248,789	-	352	+	173
East Bengal	+ 544,524	+ 679,237	+ 792,124	+ 828,493	+	125	+	105
Bihar and Orissa	+ 501,566	+ 948,456	+ 932,801	+ 976,271	+	158	+	105
North Bihar	+ 98,596	+ 336,480	+ 322,836	+ 378,010	+	341	+	117
South Bihar	+ 105,444	+ 143,476	+ 89,078	+ 26,037	+	137	+	29
Orissa	+ 121,062	+ 119,835	+ 62,027	+ 46,549	+	99	+	75
Chota Nagpur Plateau	+ 277,464	+ 348,665	+ 458,860	+ 525,615	+	126	+	115

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—NUMBER OF DEATHS OF EACH SEX AT DIFFERENT AGES.

AGE.	1905.		1906.		1907.		1908.		1909.		Total.		Average number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
Bengal Total	798,743	725,269	733,002	656,914	737,786	666,477	706,296	624,825	690,156	616,217	3,665,983	3,289,702	897
0—1 ...	182,082	157,482	167,043	142,352	154,917	133,746	165,330	138,488	166,262	140,986	835,634	713,054	853
1—5 ...	122,269	114,812	104,166	96,108	97,024	92,677	89,025	83,756	91,517	89,089	507,001	476,442	940
5—10 ...	73,679	56,342	61,317	47,716	63,966	50,753	54,825	43,177	55,413	43,098	309,200	241,086	780
10—15 ...	40,641	29,421	33,498	23,980	35,554	25,242	31,270	22,278	29,163	21,329	170,126	122,250	719
15—20 ...	38,768	47,629	33,477	41,566	36,293	42,824	33,017	38,379	31,358	39,617	172,913	210,015	1,215
20—30 ...	76,254	89,401	71,225	84,101	74,396	86,067	68,606	78,978	66,753	79,732	357,234	418,279	1,171
30—40 ...	74,147	63,349	72,221	59,989	75,554	64,253	72,883	60,462	68,690	57,733	363,495	305,786	841
40—50 ...	60,868	47,562	59,590	44,755	62,801	48,264	60,426	45,774	56,417	42,040	300,102	228,395	761
50—60 ...	50,124	45,473	50,022	43,352	52,974	46,258	52,266	44,954	47,420	39,946	252,806	219,983	870
60 and over ...	79,911	73,798	80,443	72,995	84,307	76,393	78,648	68,579	74,163	62,647	397,472	354,412	892
Bihar and Orissa Total	660,508	633,154	628,909	587,210	629,117	611,540	697,551	650,496	551,407	522,769	3,167,492	3,005,169	949
0—1 ...	146,331	129,490	140,117	124,295	132,448	119,929	148,734	135,099	123,057	109,761	690,687	618,574	896
1—5 ...	112,048	108,799	104,722	100,085	98,489	96,957	116,568	112,606	88,300	87,043	520,127	505,490	972
5—10 ...	56,429	48,647	52,225	43,432	53,497	47,165	57,271	46,618	43,066	36,341	262,488	222,203	847
10—15 ...	37,727	29,314	33,862	24,886	35,282	27,359	34,212	25,034	25,866	18,934	166,949	125,527	752
15—20 ...	25,207	22,408	24,018	21,003	24,254	22,608	25,510	22,421	18,086	15,629	117,075	104,069	889
20—30 ...	59,036	61,346	57,342	57,307	60,470	62,142	61,392	61,392	45,240	44,162	281,067	284,712	1,013
30—40 ...	56,092	53,944	55,343	50,120	56,691	53,360	62,835	55,587	47,327	41,140	278,288	254,151	912
40—50 ...	49,629	43,873	48,441	40,317	50,167	43,422	56,490	44,781	44,007	36,009	248,734	208,492	838
50—60 ...	45,261	46,676	44,164	44,248	47,025	48,107	54,326	52,513	43,274	43,753	234,050	235,297	1,005
60 and over ...	72,748	88,657	68,675	81,482	73,957	92,163	79,463	94,445	73,184	89,907	368,027	446,654	1,214

The figures shown against Bihar and Orissa for the year 1905 are exclusive of Sambalpur, for which figures are not available.

CHAPTER VII.

CIVIL CONDITION.

624. CIVIL condition is a term applied to domestic status. The statistics relating to it are contained in Imperial Tables VII and XIV, which show the number of persons of each sex who are either unmarried or married or widowed. In Part I of the former table statistics are given for the total population of each province, and for each religion by different age periods. In Part II similar information is furnished for each of the main religions in every district. Table XIV contains statistics for selected castes and tribes, the arrangement being the same as in Table VII, except that the age periods 5—12 and 12—15 are substituted for 5—10 and 10—15 respectively. At the end of this chapter five subsidiary tables will be found, viz.—

INTRODUCTORY.

Subsidiary Table I.—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex, religion and main age period at each of the last four censuses.

Subsidiary Table II.—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex at certain ages in each religion and natural division.

Subsidiary Table III.—Distribution by main age periods of 10,000 of each sex and religion.

Subsidiary Table IV.—Proportion of the sexes by civil condition at certain ages for religions and natural divisions.

Subsidiary Table V.—Distribution by civil condition of 1,000 of each sex at certain ages for selected castes.

The instructions regarding the entry of civil condition at this census were the same as in 1901, viz., that persons were to be shown as unmarried, married or widowed. Divorced persons were to be entered as widowed, and a woman who had never been married was to be shown as unmarried even though she was a prostitute or concubine. Persons who were recognized by custom as married were to be entered as such, even though they had not gone through the full ceremony, *e.g.*, widows who had taken a second husband.

Before proceeding to discuss the statistics, a short review will be given of the customs by which marriage is regulated, to which will also be added, under the instructions of the Census Commissioner, an account of certain customs connected with pregnancy and birth, and of relationships and their restrictions. The chapter will therefore be divided into two parts, viz., (1) General and (2) Statistical.

PART I.—GENERAL.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

625. Sexual intercourse between members of the same tribe is tolerated by some of the aboriginal tribes, provided either that the parties are not closely related or that they are not members of the same sept. Such intercourse frequently takes place at annual festivals, when considerable license prevails. Among the Kharias a marriage, as well as a festival, is an occasion for an orgy, in which the village youths and girls come together without a word of protest. The system of dormitories, in which the boys and girls sleep away from their parents, also facilitates the indulgence of youthful passions. The Oraons, for instance, have a common dormitory, known as *dhumkuria*, in which the boys sleep together, while the girls all sleep in the house of some old woman, who is supposed to look after them. She often winks, however, at their delinquencies, and pretends not to see a girl slip away to the boys' dormitory. In some villages, moreover, there is not this separation of the sexes, and both boys and girls sleep together in one dormitory. If a girl becomes pregnant, the putative father is expected to marry her, and he generally does so:

PREMARITAL INTERCOURSE.

otherwise he is punished by the Panchayat. Among the Santals, if the young lover belongs to the same sept and therefore cannot marry the girl, he is bound to provide her with a husband called *kiring-jawae*, i.e., a bought husband, because he is paid by the girl's lover or by her father for consenting to take her as his wife.

Premarital intercourse is also recognized by the Rajbansis in Purnea, among whom it is due to the expenses attending the marriage ceremony. A feast to the caste brethren is an essential feature of marriage. Unless and until such a feast is given, the marriage ceremony is void. If the man who wishes to marry has not been able to save enough money to provide a feast, he simply sprinkles water on the girl, and they are thereby united. They may live together and have children, but are not regarded as being properly married. The formal marriage may take place at any subsequent time, when the husband has got together the money required for the feast. As soon as the feast is given, the marriage becomes valid with retrospective effect.

626. Marriage by capture is still commonly practised by some of the aboriginal tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau.

MARRIAGE BY CAPTURE.

Among the Bhuiyas of the Orissa States, if a young man is in love with a girl, and either she or her parents will not consent to a marriage, he gathers together a band of his friends, and, when he gets an opportunity, carries her off, his companions guarding the flight. This method of obtaining a bride often leads to sanguinary conflicts, owing to the girl's friends attempting to prevent the abduction or to rescue her. A survival of marriage by capture is seen in another form of marriage among the Bhuiyas, which is effected with the consent of the girl. Her would-be husband takes her away from a group of Bhuiya girls in the forest. Her companions return to the village, where they report that she has been carried off by a tiger and urge the villagers to go in pursuit. A search party is organized, which, after going to the spot, returns to the house of the parents of the lover and demands the blood of the lad. His parents offer to pay blood money and to stand a village feast, and the wedding is then celebrated. In both these cases the abduction has to be regularized by the marriage ceremony and by feasting the community when it takes place.*

The Hos also practise marriage by capture, the young man carrying off the girl from some dance or market in spite of any resistance, real or feigned, that she may make. In this case the bride-price is settled afterwards. Traces of marriage by capture are also seen in the marriage ceremonies of many low classes, of which a regular feature is a mimic conflict between the *barat* (i.e., the procession of the bridegroom's friends) and the friends of the bride, which ends in the victory of the former.

627. Marriage by service is common among the Santals, Mundas and Oraons, and is also found among the Rajbansis and the Haris. The young man in this case wins

MARRIAGE BY SERVICE.

his bride by service, working in the house of her parents for a certain period of years, after which she is given to him as his wife, in the same way that Leah and Rachel were given to Jacob. Among the Santals this form of marriage is usual when a girl is deformed or ugly, and is also resorted to by parents who have only daughters or have grown-up daughters and infant sons. The *ghardi-iawae*, as the man is called, is generally a poor man who has not enough to satisfy the father's demand for his daughter. He therefore, pays by his labour, living with and working for his future father-in-law without wages for five years. He then gets two buffaloes, some rice and some agricultural implements, and sets up house for himself and his wife. If his wife has no brothers, and he stays on in the house and works for his father-in-law till he dies, he inherits all the immovable property and half the movable property, the other half going to the relatives of the deceased. Should the *ghardi-jawae* have a child, the names of the maternal grand-mother and grand-father are given first, instead of the name of paternal grand-parents, as is the usual practice. This may possibly be a trace of matriarchy.

Among the Mundas the "service son-in-law," who is known as *gharjawain* or *ghardamad*, stays in the house of his father-in-law and works for three years. He then takes his wife away to his own home, receiving a present of

* L. E. B. Cobden Ramsay, *Orissa States Gazetteer*, pp. 48, 49.

some land, two bullocks, and 12 maunds of rice. If, after his marriage, he remains with his father-in-law or mother-in-law, and takes care of them till their death, he inherits the whole property. There are three kinds of "service sons-in-law" among the Oraons, all of whom are called *erpajeon khaddi* (Hindi, *ahardamad* or *ahardi-jawai*). Some are practically servants, who receive food, clothing and wages, besides a yearly bonus, during their period of service, and when it is over, have to leave the house. The second kind may, after marriage, either stay in the house or set up a separate establishment. In addition to their pay, board and lodging, the yearly bonus, and the wife, they receive, on departure, a pair of bullocks and a plough, tools and various household articles. Lastly, a man, who is afraid that he may die without male issue, may adopt one or more young men, conferring upon them all the rights of inheritance due to a son or sons. The only conditions are that the young men must marry his daughters and work for him until his death. They get no pay, but the same treatment as a son. A widow may adopt a son on the same conditions, and on her death he will succeed to her husband's property.

628. The almost universal form of marriage at the present time is marriage by purchase, *i.e.*, either the bride or the bridegroom is paid for. Generally, the higher castes pay for the bridegroom, the payment being called *tilak* or *dahej*, while the lower castes pay a bride-price. The amount varies with the wealth and position of the parties. Naturally, a poor man is not expected to pay as much as a rich man, but, on the other hand, a man must pay more if he seeks a matrimonial alliance with a family having a better social position or greater wealth. Hypergamy also necessitates the payment of high fees, as the field of choice is limited. Educational qualifications put up the price of a bridegroom, not so much because of any belief in education as an advantage *per se*, but because the bridegroom is more likely to get remunerative employment. It is its potential, and, in some cases, its actual, value that makes a University degree a good asset. Unless it were thought that the bridegroom is, or is likely to be, in a position to maintain a family, he would stand a poor chance in the marriage market. In spite of the growing number of bridegrooms with University qualifications, their price is still very high. A Kayasth, for instance, in Champaran obtained Rs. 700 for a son who had passed the Entrance examination, whereas he would otherwise have received only Rs. 300. This, however, was an unusually cheap match for a Kayasth. Another youth in the same fortunate position secured Rs. 2,500, and the price of a Bihari B.A. husband has been known to run up to Rs. 3,500. In the richer province of Bengal the price of a Kayasth matriculate or graduate usually varies from Rs. 500 to Rs. 3,000, but there are instances of Rs. 10,000 being demanded and paid.

The possession of a degree may even change the whole situation and cause a bridegroom-price to be paid instead of a bride-price. It is reported from Bankura that the bride-price system prevails among the Sadgops, but if the bridegroom has a University degree, his father, so far from paying anything for the bride, has a handsome sum paid to him. Generally, however, though a certain amount of education is appreciated in a Sadgop bridegroom, the possession of landed property is more valued than the possession of a degree. A bride's father will pay as much as Rs. 300 for a boy with some landed property and a fair education, whereas he would otherwise receive Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 for giving his daughter in marriage. Among the Babhans and Rajputs landed property is sought after rather than educational proficiency. Rupees 15,000 have before now been paid for an uneducated Babhan zamindar with a big rent-roll. It should be added that it is not uncommon for a girl's father to undertake to pay for the cost of the bridegroom's education. The payment is thus spread over several years, and there is the prospect of a good investment if the boy has ability.

629. Age affects the price considerably. Where brides are bought, a girl who is getting on in years will not command so high a price as one who is younger. Where bridegrooms are bought, it is more difficult and expensive to find a husband for a girl who has attained puberty than for one who is still immature. Among the higher castes who take a price for bridegrooms, it is considered a disgraceful thing to take anything for girls. Only those who are poor will do so. The bridegroom in such cases is nearly always suffering from some infirmity or is an old man who would find it difficult to obtain a bride

otherwise. Occasionally, however, a man of high caste will pay for a bride when he really wants a wife to look after his house.

630. The following statement shows the prices generally paid for brides and bridegrooms, and the age at which marriage takes place, among different castes. Where there is no entry of a bride-price, it means that the bridegroom is paid for, and *vice versâ*.

CASTE.	Locality.	SUMS PAID FOR—		AGE OF—	
		Bride.	Bridegroom.	Bride.	Bridegroom.
AGURI	Burdwan	Rs. ...	Rs. 200—5,000	5—13	12—25
BABHAN	Bihar ... ..	...	20—2,000	10—12	12—20
BAGDI	Bengal	7—64	...	3—14	7—26
BAIDYA	Bengal ... ..	...	500—3,000	10—14	20—25
BAURI	Bengal	4 as. to Rs. 10	...	5—16	8—20
	Orissa	10—20	...	11—22	20—30
BHOTIA	Darjeeling	25 and upwards	...	16—17	20—24
BHUIYA	Chota Nagpur	2—7	...	7—12	10—14
BHUMIJ	Chota Nagpur	2	...	7—18	12—25
BINJHAL	Orissa	40	...	12	13—15
BRAHMAN	Bengal ... ..	...	500—5,000	8—14	17—20
	Bihar ... ..	...	10—3,000	7—15	12—20
	Orissa ... ..	...	100—200	7—11	12—20
CHASA	Orissa	10—100	...	11—22	20—30
CHERO	Palamau	5—10	...	8—10	12—13
DHANUK	Bihar	100	...	3—10	4—10
GANDHABANIK	Burdwan ... ..	...	50—300	9—12	16—20
GAURA	Orissa	10—40	...	10—12	12—25
GOALA	Bengal	100—400	...	5—10	11—20
	Bihar	5—100	...	1—8	2—16
GURIA	Orissa	2—40	...	5—10	5—10
JIMDAR	Darjeeling	15 and upwards	...	18 and over	18 and over
KAHAR	Bihar	50—100	...	8—14	8—14
KAIBARTTA	West Bengal	25—100	...	7—11	15—25
KANDH (Khond)	Orissa	20—60	...	16—30	16—40
KAORA	24-Parganas	15—50	...	5—9	10—25
KARAN	Orissa ... ..	...	100—3,000	11—22	18—30
KAYASTH	Bengal ... ..	...	200—5,000	9—14	16—25
	Bihar ... ..	...	50—1,000	7—15	11—25
KBWAT	Purnea	10—50	...	2—8	4—12
KHAURA	Bankura	5—10	...	7—9	11—16
KHANDAIT	Orissa	30—100	...	9—20	14—25
KHARIA	Ranchi	In kind	...	12—20	12—20
KHARWAR	Palamau	7	...	11—12	12—13
KOIRI	Bihar	50—100	...	8—14	8—14
KORA	Manbhum	2	...	7—12	12—20
KURMI	Bihar	2—100	...	8—14	8—14
LEPOHA	Darjeeling	100	...	16 and over	20 and over.
LIMBU	Darjeeling	40—60	...	16 and over	20 and over.
MANGAR	Darjeeling	60	...	14	18
MUNDA	Ranchi	5—80	...	12—20	15—20
MURMI	Darjeeling	25 and upwards	...	17	18
NAMASUDRA	Central Bengal	20—100	...	4—10	12—18
ORAON	Ranchi	10	...	12—20	12—20
PAN	Orissa	10—30	...	6—20	10—30
POD	24-Parganas	15—50	...	5—9	10—25
RAJBANSI	Cooch Behar	80—100	...	10—11	20—23
RAJPUT	Bihar ... ..	...	10—5,000	8—20	10—25
SADGOP	Bengal	30—500	...	7—13	9—22
SAHAR	Orissa	15—17	...	10—20	10—30
SANTAL	Southal Parganas	13	...	14—18	18—22
SAURIA PAHARIA (Maler)	Southal Parganas	13	...	16—17	18—20
SUBARNABANIK	Howrah ... ..	...	500—3,000	9—12	18—20
SUKLI	Midnapore	50—200	...	8—9	16—20
TELI	Bihar	100	...	5—10	5—16
TIYAR	24-Parganas	15—50	...	5—9	10—25

631. The price is generally settled by the parents, either directly or through intermediaries, but in some castes it is settled by the caste Panchayat and is not left to mutual agreement. The horoscopes of the boy and girl have to be carefully compared to see if the stars, under which they were born, harmonize, *i.e.*, whether the marriage is auspicious or not. It has been suggested that the object of consulting horoscopes is to see whether in a former life they have been members of different castes, which would of course preclude any alliance, but this is not the idea of the people themselves. The marriages of the Maitthil Brahmins are carefully regulated by a record called the Panj, which dates back many hundred years—it is said that it is at least a thousand years old, and the fact that it is written on palm-leaves attests its antiquity. No Brahmin can marry any woman whose birth has not been entered in the Panj. It is kept up by genealogists called Panjiaras, who go on annual tours, entering the names of the Brahmins born in each village during the year. The office is hereditary, but, before practising, the candidate must obtain the permission of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. The parties, who wish to arrange a marriage between their sons and daughters, employ Ghataks or marriage-brokers, and, after coming to an agreement, go to the Panjiara. The latter refers to the Panj and, if it shows that there is no bar to the marriage, grants them a certificate to that effect.

632. There is a general consensus of opinion that the prices to be paid for both brides and bridegrooms have risen of late years. In Cooch Behar, for instance, the average amount paid for a Rajbansi bride used to be Rs. 40 to Rs. 50, but is now Rs. 80 to Rs. 100. The cause of enhancement seems to be very largely the increased cost of living. It is partly also the result of greater facilities of intercommunication consequent on the extension of railways. The field of selection larger, but competitive prices have set in. The members of a caste in one place now have means of knowing that high prices are paid in another, and it is naturally considered necessary to demand no less. Apart from mercenary considerations, a high price argues a high position. Lastly, prices have been enhanced by new standards. It is no longer a question of a good family record and a fair amount of land. Educational qualifications are sought after, and the possession of them raises the price. Special circumstances may also come into play. In Hazaribagh, for example, a Bhuiya bridegroom, who a few years ago paid Rs. 3 for a wife, now has to pay Rs. 4. The increase is due to the number of men who have migrated to Burma or elsewhere, and, coming home with pockets full, are ready to pay a rupee more for a handsome bride. In Bihar, the increase is attributed by one correspondent to families ceasing to employ Brahmins to arrange marriages for them in consequence of the frauds that have been detected. The families themselves, it is said, are far more exacting than the Brahmin. A further cause of the enhancement of prices seems to be that in this, as in other respects, the low imitate the high castes, and there is a general levelling up.

633. It must not be imagined that bargains are always made. The amount is still often determined by custom, and this is generally the case where it is paid in kind. The idea of a price is obscured, and it is merely a customary obligation for the bridegroom to provide so many articles—ornaments, clothes, etc.—and to receive certain presents himself. The payment may be entirely or only partially in kind. The following schedule of the articles made over by a Sahar bridegroom in Orissa to his father-in-law is a relic of the days when barter was in vogue :—240 seers of paddy, 2 *saris*, a goat, 20 seers of common rice, four seers of fine rice, a seer of oil and $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of turmeric, besides Re. 1-4 in cash : the total value of these miscellaneous articles is Rs. 15. It should be added that the amount to be paid is frequently enhanced by the necessity of having to provide a caste feast.

634. Hindu custom makes it necessary that girls should be married before they attain puberty. A *sloka* of Parashar fixes their marriageable age at 8 to 10 years, while a *sloka* attributed to Manu extends it to 12 years, for it is laid down that a bridegroom of 24 should marry a girl of 8, and a man of 30 a girl of 12. In Bengal, these rules are observed by the lower castes, but among the higher castes the age of marriage is higher, and is steadily rising, so that the old rules have frequently to be broken. This is due, in a small

degree, to the more enlightened views that are coming into favour, but mainly to the high price commanded by bridegrooms. The expenditure necessary to secure a suitable bridegroom is becoming so heavy, that many fathers find it beyond their means to arrange marriages while their daughters are at an early age, and have reluctantly to wait till they have saved enough to meet it without ruining themselves. The attitude of the average father who has to defer his daughter's marriage is, in fact, that of Shakespeare's Apothecary—"My poverty but not my will consents." Kulinism is also partly responsible for the extension of the age-limit. Cases are common of Kulin girls being married at an advanced age, and some are condemned to a life of celibacy owing to the impossibility of getting a bridegroom from a family of equal status.

635. As is well known, the more enlightened Hindus have for some time past attempted to fix a reasonable amount as the price to be paid for bride or bridegroom, and to raise the age of marriage. The higher castes have protested at any monetary demand as not being enjoined by the Sastras, and have endeavoured to limit the price of bridegrooms, maxima such as Rs. 51 being fixed. These attempts have hitherto borne but little fruit. A society, called the Hindu Marriage Reform League, has also been started by Hindu gentlemen in Calcutta with the object of raising the age, at which girls can be given in marriage, to 16 years. Till recently such attempts have been made only by the higher castes, but the movement is spreading downwards. A general conference of the Namasudras held in 1908 resolved that any one marrying a son under 20 or a daughter under 10 years of age should be excommunicated. This resolution has had some effect, for it is reported that, in the Narail subdivision of Jessore, the age of a bride varies from 8 to 11 and that of a bridegroom from 16 to 20. In this subdivision it has further been determined that no Namasudra parent shall take more than Rs. 30 for a daughter and, if he is in affluent circumstances, nothing at all.

636. Orissa furnishes an exception to the rule that the low castes marry earlier than the high castes, for there both high and low castes marry their girls after as well as before puberty. Child marriage is the custom among the Brahman, Baniya and Jyotish castes, as well as among immigrant Kayasths, but other castes commonly marry their girls after puberty. Among the Brahmans, the usual age for the marriage of a girl is 7 to 11 years and for a boy 12 to 20, but, among other castes, it varies from 11 to 22 years, while men commonly marry as late as 20 to 30. Even the Karan women marry late, many not being wedded till after 20 years of age, and the same is the case with the Khandaits. Among the Brahmans, on the other hand, it is very uncommon for females to be spinsters at 20 or even at 16. Unlike Bengal, there is no difficulty in securing a husband, but it is no easy matter to obtain a suitable bride. The bride price is, in fact, so large, that many Brahman men have to remain unmarried till they are advanced in years.

637. It is a general rule that the bridegroom must be a few years older than the bride. Sometimes, among the illiterate classes, the parents do not know their children's age and have to go by their heights. The Goalas and Dhanuks use a measuring rope, and all is well if the boy is 2 or 3 inches taller than the girl. Some apparently regard the question of height as more important than that of age, *i.e.*, the essential point is that the bridegroom should be taller than the bride. The Sunris of Bihar and Chota Nagpur, when negotiating for the marriage of their children, state their height in *girahs*, and it is the right thing for a girl to be married when she is from 12 to 14 *girahs* high and a boy when he is from 12 to 16 *girahs*. The Kewats of Bihar are so strict on this point, that if the boy is shorter than the girl, or if his height is exactly the same as hers, it is believed that the union of the two will bring ill-luck, and the match is at once broken off*.

There is rarely any great difference of age when a boy is married for the first time, but, when a man contracts a second, third or fourth marriage, the disparity is often remarkable. Well-to-do widowers of 50 and over commonly marry girls of 12 years of age. One exceptional case reported

* I have not first-hand knowledge and merely quote from reports.

from Saran is that of a Kurmi man aged 36 who married an infant of 6 months. It is very rare for the bride to be older than the bridegroom, but in the same district a Rajput boy of 10 was married to a woman of 25 and a Goala boy of the same age to a woman of 24.

638. Among the Nepalese castes or tribes, adult marriages are the general rule. They are almost universal among the aboriginal tribes, to whom the idea of an early marriage, to be consummated when the bride attains puberty, is foreign. Marriage among them is based on the practical consideration that a wife must be old and strong enough for house and other work. The influence of Hinduization is, however, making itself felt, and marriages are beginning to take place at an earlier age. The age for marriage among Santals used to be 25 for men and 20 for women. Now a youth marries at 18 to 22, and a girl at 14 to 18 years of age, while cases of child marriage, though still comparatively few, are on the increase.

639. Infant marriages are almost confined to the lower Hindu castes and are most frequent in Bihar. They are specially common among the Bihari Goalas, whose children are generally married in the first three years of life. It is rare for a Goala bride to be older than 8 years, or for a bridegroom to be older than 16. To be a spinster or a bachelor after those ages is regarded as disreputable or argues some physical defect. Infant marriages among the higher castes are exceptional, but fathers who have lost children in infancy sometimes marry their daughters when they are only two or three years old, in the belief that their lives will be saved by being made members of another family. Some fifty years ago there was a practice called *Bagdan* among the Vaidik Brahmans of Bengal by which parents made agreements that if one had a son and the other a daughter, they should be married, but this practice has fallen into desuetude, presumably because the field of selection is larger. It still prevails, however, among the Goalas of Bihar.

640. *Sindurdan*, or smearing vermilion on the bride's forehead or on the parting of her hair, is generally regarded as the essential feature of the marriage ceremony. This is carried so far, that some castes consider it sufficient for a would-be bridegroom to smear some red paint on the forehead of the girl with whom he is in love. Even among the Musalmans of Purnea, if a man can manage to put vermilion on a woman's head, she is regarded as having been thereby married to him: the practice is, however, confined to the lower uneducated classes. Among the Santals this device is regarded as a regular form of marriage, though it is attended with some risk to the young lover. If he is caught in the act, he is soundly thrashed by the girl's relations. Otherwise, they go to his house, and if they find him, tie him up and beat him till he is half dead: cases have been known of youths being killed on such occasions. They also smash all the earthenware pots, break up the fireplace, and kill a couple of goats or pigs. They end by taking away some bullocks or buffaloes as a kind of bail, till the case is decided by the headman, who orders compensation to be paid to the girl's father. The two families then eat the bullocks or buffaloes and a goat contributed by the girl's family. A young Santal will sometimes smear vermilion on the forehead of a girl against whom he has some grudge, in order that he may divorce her and prevent her being married like other young girls.

Another essential feature of the marriage ceremony is that the bride and bridegroom eat together, thereby showing that she has been transferred to his family, but before the stage of *Sindurdan* and the common meal is reached, various formalities have to be gone through, which are so numerous and varied, that space forbids their mention.

The application of vermilion is probably a survival of a blood covenant between husband and wife. This is still actually observed by some castes, such as the Haris of Bengal, among whom a bride and bridegroom are smeared with each other's blood, which is extracted with a thorn from their fingers. It is reported that among the Dharhis and Dosadhs of Monghyr the fingers are lanced by a barber, and the blood is soaked in red cotton wool, which is enclosed in *pan*. The bride chews the *pan* containing the

bridegroom's blood, and the bridegroom that containing the bride's blood. A similar custom prevails among the Gulgulias ; only in their case the wool which absorbs the blood is used to dye the feet of the bridegroom and the bride. This is the last act in the marriage ceremony, after which she is taken away to his house.

641. The marriage of widows is opposed to the sacramental theory of marriage held by orthodox Hindus, but is commonly practised by the low castes. Even among them,

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however, the tendency is to give up the custom, its abandonment being regarded as a hall-mark of respectability. Some sub-castes, called Biahut in Bihar, claim a superior status because they do not allow widows to re-marry, while ambitious castes, such as the Kurmis of Bihar and the Chasas of Orissa, among whom the custom used to prevail, are discontinuing it in their desire to obtain a higher status. It is sometimes said that a re-married widow is regarded as a kind of concubine, but this appears to be too sweeping a statement. The distinction between widow marriage and concubinage is well defined and clearly recognized. In the first place a widow marriage can take place only between members of the same caste, while the only restriction on the choice of a concubine is that she must belong to a caste from which water may be taken. In the second place the consent of the castemen has frequently to be obtained before a widow is married, whereas no one would dream of consulting them before taking a concubine. Lastly, widow marriage is accompanied by a ceremony, though it is far less formal than at the marriage of a virgin bride. It usually consists merely of applying vermilion to the woman's forehead and putting bracelets on her wrists. If a bride-price is paid for a widow, it is small in amount and far less than is paid for a virgin bride : commonly nothing is paid at all. The Dhanuks and Chamars of Patna are, however, reported to prefer widows and to pay a higher price for them. The cause of this unusual custom is perhaps that their marriages are celebrated at an early age, and that a girl bride has to be supported for many years before she is able to add to the income of the family or be of any assistance to it.

642. At the same time, some castes hold a re-married widow in such low esteem, that her actual position is little better than that of a concubine. This is the case among the Santals, who believe that a woman is the property of her first husband and will rejoin him in the next world. In fact, they say that the second husband merely "hires" the widow for this life. The ceremony also shows the low estimation in which they hold the woman, for instead of smearing *sindur* on her forehead, the bridegroom smears it on a flower, which he thereupon places in her hair with his left (or impure) hand. Among the Kurmis of Manbhum a widow has to undergo the indignity of receiving *sindur* from the bridegroom's great toe. Among the Rajbansis a *dangua*, i.e., a man who marries a widow and is kept by her, is regarded with particular contempt : the woman can even turn him out of her house whenever she likes. So great is the disgust which he inspires, that it is said that if a cow dies, and a *dangua* removes its carcase from the cowshed, even the keen-eyed vultures will not eat it. Another story is that those sagacious animals—the elephants—will refuse to eat rice which has been tied up in grass and offered to them by a *dangua*.*

In Orissa the name *thainani*, which is applied to a re-married widow, is a term of contempt. She never has the privileges of a virgin wife ; she cannot prepare or touch *sraddha* offerings and she cannot join *sadhabas*, or women married for the first time, in the performance of ceremonies. She is formally repudiated by the family of her deceased husband. When she expresses a desire to marry again, the leading men of the village are called together and the ornaments given her at marriage are taken from her. Any children the women may have born to her first husband are also taken away, though she is allowed to retain a child at the breast till it is of marriageable age. This practice is also usual in Bihar. A solemn declaration is finally made that neither she nor her husband's family have claims on one another. This formal renunciation is called *elakabujhineba* or cessation of claims.

* Jalpaiguri District Gazetteer, p. 35.

643. Widow marriage (*dwitya* or *sanga* or *thain*) is very common in Orissa, and presents some peculiar features which may be mentioned here. It obtains among almost all castes, except the Bengali settlers, the Brahmans, the Karans and the Mahanaik section of the Khandaits, who are gradually working up to a higher standard of orthodoxy. The ceremony is generally of a simple character. Some ornaments and cloth are given to the bride, and the caste people have a feast. The particular ornament the presentation of which by the bridegroom to the bride appears to be indispensable, is a *bala* or bangle, so that widow marriage is sometimes called *Baladewa* (giving a *bala*). An odd number is very unlucky. A man may therefore marry a widow without danger if it is his second or fourth marriage, but not if he is a bachelor marrying his first or a widower marrying a third wife. When a bachelor takes a widow wife, he first goes through a form of marriage to a *sahara* tree. One of the branches of the tree is lowered and placed in his hand and a garland is tied round his wrist, as is generally done in the case of marriage with a woman. Then the widow is brought before the bridegroom, garlands are exchanged, and the bridegroom presents a *bala* to the bride and makes her wear it. If a widower marries for a third time, he also marries a *sahara* tree before he takes the widow as his bride, so that the tree becomes his third wife and the widow the fourth wife. The idea is simply superstitious. The Koltas say that if a bachelor marries a widow, he will become an evil spirit after death; he therefore goes through a mock marriage with a flower before the real marriage with the widow. There is a similar custom among the Halwais of Bihar. When a Halwai bachelor marries a widow, the ceremony takes place, as is the usual practice, in the widow's house, but before going there the bridegroom is formally married in his own house to a sword or a piece of iron, which he bedaubes with vermillion as if it were his bride.

644. The provisions of the Brahmo Marriage Act (III of 1872) do not appear to be utilized to any great extent for the re-marriage of widows. The total number of marriages celebrated under it in Bengal during the decade 1901-10 was only 335 (of which two-thirds took place in Calcutta), and in 34 cases only were the brides widows.

645. A special form of widow marriage, which is common among aboriginals and low Hindu castes in Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and is also practised to a certain extent in Bihar, is that which is sometimes called the levirate. Levirate is the designation of the Jewish custom by which a dead man's brother had to marry his widow, in order that he might continue his line—raise up seed to him, as it is commonly called.* The first son begotten by him succeeded to the dead man's property. This is a misnomer as applied to the Hindu custom by which a widow may be married to one of her husband's younger brothers. It must be a younger brother, and there is no idea that such a marriage is necessary in order that he may act as a kind of substitute for the dead man and produce offspring. In fact, he may marry the widow even though she already has sons, and he need not necessarily be a bachelor or a widower. The idea is that the woman belongs to the husband's family because they have paid the bride-price, and that her property must remain in the family. This idea is translated into practice by some castes and races. Among the Santals a younger brother who takes the widow as his wife (or co-wife if he has already been married), does not go through any marriage ceremony and no bride-price is paid, as they say they have already paid for her and she belongs to the family. Among the Hos and other castes, if either the younger brother or

* Cf. Deuteronomy, XXV, 5-10: "If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her. And it shall be, that the firstborn which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not put out of Israel. And if the man like not to take his brother's wife, then let his brother's wife go up to the gate unto the elders and say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in Israel; he will not perform the duty of my husband's brother. Then the elders of his city shall call him, and speak unto him: and if he stand to it, and say, I like not to take her, then shall his brother's wife come unto him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in his face, and shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto that man that will not build up his brother's house. And his name shall be called in Israel, the house of him that hath his shoe loosed."

the widow refuse to marry, and she marries some one else, her husband has to refund the bride price originally paid for her. Among the Gandas, the second husband of the woman is outcasted, if he fails to pay. Among the Binjhals the second husband has ordinarily to pay Rs. 5, five *kulas* of rice (a *kula* is a basket, which holds about ten seers) and five goats as a fine to the caste people, which are utilized for a feast. If a Binjhal marries the widow with the consent of the *debar* (husband's younger brother), he has to give a feast on a much smaller scale, one *kula* of rice and one goat being considered sufficient.

The marriage between the widow and her husband's younger brother is in any case not obligatory as among the Jews. Either may refuse the marriage, though among castes with whom the practice is in vogue it is generally recognized that it is the proper thing for her to consent. Still it is not absolutely incumbent on her: the caste people will not force such a marriage on her, though they will try their best to obtain her consent. If she does marry him, she retains the privilege of preparing offerings of milk, cakes, etc., for the gods and the ancestors, and of participating in other ceremonies, which she loses if she marries out of the family. Should both parties consent, the ceremony is of the same simple nature as at an ordinary widow marriage. In Orissa if the younger brother is a bachelor, he is first married to a flower before the ceremony is performed, just as he would in the case of any other widow.

646. The only locality where the Jewish conception of the levirate appears to be implicitly understood is Orissa, where the practice is known *Devarinasutoputti*, i.e., begetting a son through the husband's younger brother. This idea perhaps accounts for a curious modification of the custom which prevailed in Orissa over a century ago, by which a man could marry his brother's wife during a prolonged absence. Mr. Motte, in describing his journey through Balasore in 1766, wrote:—

“From this part of Orissa come all that people improperly called by the English Balasore bearers—a circumstance which contributes in some measure to the depopulation of the country. Seven thousand of the stoutest young fellows go into Bengal, and are employed as chairmen, leaving their families behind. These people stretch the Levitical law so, that a brother not only raises up seed to another after his decease, but even during his absence on service, so that no married woman lies fallow.”*

At the present time, if a husband has gone to Bengal or elsewhere for work and has been absent for two or three years, his wife can re-marry, and her choice is not confined to her brother-in-law. She is married as a widow, the bridegroom presenting her with some ornaments, including the indispensable *bala* or bracelet. Sometimes also a feast is given to a limited number of the castemen. Strictly speaking, the woman commits bigamy, but though she is looked down upon by the society to which she belongs, the union is generally recognized as a marriage. Another instance of the demoralizing effect of emigration is seen in Saran, where illegitimate births and the abandonment of illegitimate children are far more common than elsewhere. This seems to be a direct result of the absence of the husband or head of the family.

647. A mock marriage is the preliminary to the real marriage among the Bagdis. Early on the wedding morning, before the bridegroom starts in procession for the bride's house, he goes through a mock marriage to a *mahua* tree. He embraces the tree and bedaubes it with vermillion; his right wrist is bound to it with thread, and, after he is released from the tree, this same thread is used to attach a bunch of a *mahua* leaves to his wrist. Among the Kharwars not only the bridegroom but also the bride goes through the form of marriage to a mango tree, or at least to a branch of the tree, as a preliminary to marriage. The Kurmis of Chota Nagpur make the parties marry different trees, each separately in their houses on the wedding morning. The bride marries

* T. Motte, *Narrative of a Journey to the Diamond Mines at Sumbhulpoor*, Asiatic Annual Register, 1799.

a *mahua* and the bridegroom a mango. The bride wears on her right wrist a bracelet of the leaves of the *mahua*, walks round the tree seven times, has her right hand and right ear tied to the tree with thread, and is made to chew *mahua* leaves. The same ritual is performed by the bridegroom, with the difference that in his case the tree is a mango, and is circled nine times instead of seven. The same practice of marrying the bride to a *mahua* and bridegroom to a mango tree before the marriage procession starts prevails among the Mahilis. In Nepal Newar girls are married when children to a *bel* fruit, which is thrown into some sacred river after the ceremony: they are afterwards married to husbands when puberty is attained. In all these cases the marriage to a tree merely precedes the real marriage and is symbolical. It is a survival of a more primitive type of society, and its *raison d'être* is probably the belief that all possible misfortunes in married life are transferred to the tree, which acts as a kind of scapegoat.

648. A different motive inspires the mock marriage of girls who otherwise would have the stigma of attaining puberty without being wed. To avoid this, the Gonr sub-caste of Kandus in Bihar marry to a sword any girl who is unlikely to find a husband by reason of physical defects. The full marriage ceremony is performed, the caste Brahman officiates as priest, and red lead is smeared on the girl's forehead with the point of the sword. A girl so married wears ornaments, bedaubs the parting of her hair with red lead, and in every respect demeans herself as a married woman, though living in her father's house. In the event of her afterwards procuring a husband, the entire ceremony is performed afresh.* Such marriages are especially common in Orissa, where the girl is married to a flower or an arrow or a tree, if she is on the point of attaining puberty and a husband can be got for her. Among some castes, such as the Sahars, if a girl has through some mischance attained maturity before being married to an arrow, she is tied to a tree in a jungle. It is uncertain whether the idea underlying this is that she is married to the tree or that she is exposed to wild beasts or left as a prize for the first-comer. Sometimes the family avoid the shame of having an adult spinster in the house by giving her in marriage to an old man, who acts as husband *pro formâ*. His claim to keep her as a wife is not recognized, and if a chance of marrying her comes, she is married as if she was a widow. The following account of the ceremony among the Chasas may be taken as typical. The priest binds the girl's hand to the arrow with some *kush* grass. The girl venerates the arrow during her lifetime and never mentions it, just as she would never mention the name of a real husband. If a suitor presents himself afterwards, her marriage is *dwitua*, the same name as is given to the re-marriage of a real widow. The marriage is, moreover, like that of an ordinary widow, for the bridegroom need not attend the marriage, but may send his younger brother, who puts a bangle on the bride's wrist. A third class of mock marriage is performed when a bachelor marries a widow, of which an account has already been given.

649. The performance of a marriage ceremony is recognized as a necessary rite even by prostitutes whose life is the negation of marriage. In Bengal a girl who is intended for a life of shame goes through a form of marriage before or as soon as she reaches puberty. She is married either to a man, or to a plant, or to a sword or a knife. The man is generally an imbecile, but sometimes a Baishnab is hired to act as a bridegroom, or a prostitute's son takes the part. In any case, he is a husband *pro formâ* only and goes away after the marriage. A regular marriage ceremony is, however, performed by a low Brahman, if, as sometimes happens, one can be secured, or by a Baishnab priest, while a Mullah officiates among Musalmans. The ceremony is also performed if the girl is married to a plant (*e.g.*, a jasmine or rose), or a plantain tree, or a sword or a knife—a sword or knife is invariably selected by Muhammadan prostitutes, while a plant is preferred by Hindus. The symbolism is carried so far that the plant is carefully watered and the sword is kept locked up in a box, in the belief that if the one dies or the other is lost

* Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 415.

the girl becomes a widow. In fact, when the plant dies, she wipes off the vermilion smeared on her head and removes the iron bangle from her wrist just as if she was a widow. One correspondent reports that a prostitute was married to a cat "with great *eclat*" at Chinsura about 40 years ago, but no other instance of prostitutes marrying animals has been traced, and this appears to have been an exceptional case. Sometimes, it is said, the bridegroom is represented by the image of a man made of *sola* pith. No such ceremonies appear to be in vogue in Bihar, where what is called the *nathuni*, or nose-ring ceremony, merely means a feast and the handing over of the girl to some lover, who pays a high price for robbing her of her virginity. In Orissa, as soon as a young prostitute attains puberty, she goes through a rite of which the essential feature appears to be the worship of the sun. The girl holds up a handful of mustard seed and invokes the sun to grant her as many lovers as the seeds she has in her hands. The accounts of this rite vary. One correspondent reports that the worship of the sun is followed by a ceremony in which the girl is formally married to an arrow; another that a Brahman officiates during the sun worship, after which he performs *homa*. This being concluded, the girl is taken to the nearest temple for worship. In the evening other prostitutes come to her house, give her presents, put vermilion on her forehead, etc., and a feast takes place. Whatever the ceremony, the underlying idea is that a form of marriage is essential to remove the shame of remaining unwed when puberty is once attained.

650. Divorce is allowed for adultery or misconduct, and sometimes also for barrenness and incurable diseases; it is generally symbolized by breaking the iron bangle which is the insignia of a married woman or by tearing some leaves in pieces. Among some castes the consent of the Panchayat is necessary before a divorce can be effected; and among the Gandas of Sambalpur the consent of the Sethia or headman used to be necessary before a divorced woman was remarried. Fees were paid to him for his consent, and he was practically the owner of the women, selling them to their suitors and pocketing the proceeds.

It is rarely that a woman has the right to divorce her husband, but this privilege is enjoyed by the Newar women in Nepal. According to Colonel Kirkpatrick, a century ago Newar women were at liberty to divorce one man after another on the slightest pretence; and they still leave their husbands and marry again if their marriage proves uncongenial. The only intimation necessary before the woman leaves the house is that she should place two betel nuts in her bed. She is then free to choose another husband. At the same time, provided that she only cohabits with a man of her own or of a higher caste, she can, whenever she pleases, return to the house of her first husband and resume charge of his family.* This practice of divorcing husbands is said to be falling into desuetude among the Newars of Darjeeling. Among the Musalmans of the Purnea district the marriage tie appears not to be so binding as elsewhere. If a woman is discontented with her husband, she can go to the *hat* or village market and pick out a man that she wants to marry—naturally, he is a man with whom she had already been on terms of intimacy. All that she has to do is to throw some *murki* (fried paddy mixed with molasses) on him. Thereby she divorces her husband and is lawfully married to the man of her choice. Among the Santals also a woman can demand a divorce if her husband takes a second wife without her consent.

651. In Orissa concubinage prevails to such an extent, that it is a recognized institution to which little or no discredit attaches. Formerly it was so widely prevalent, especially among the Karans, that it has given rise to a caste, known as Shagirdpesha, numbering over 46,000. It has long been the practice among the Chiefs, Rajas and large zamindars for the bridegroom to receive a number of maid servants, who are young unmarried girls, as presents from his father-in-law at the time of marriage. The number is often very great, running up to 50 or 60, while one Raja had 100 concubines. These girls have a recognized position in the household. A

* Imperial Gazetteer, Article on Nepal.

separate room is allotted to each, and they are given a daily allowance of food from the zamindar's store-room, which they cook themselves. A few only, who are favourites of the Rani, are allowed to take their food from her kitchen. "Almost all the Rajas and big zamindars", writes one correspondent, "insist on having and get young unmarried girls as presents when they marry. The greater the number, the greater the *eclat* of the occasion. These girls are maids of all work, and the more handsome among them share the beds of their mistresses' husbands. This practice goes further in some cases, and it is not uncommon that, at the time of marriage, one or more of these girls are honoured with a garland and the girl so honoured is called Phul Bai and receives treatment almost on a par with that of the Pat Rani or principal wife." The custom is falling into desuetude with the advance of education and the raising of ethical standards. The example set by that enlightened ruler, the late Maharaja of Mayurbhunj, has had not a little to do with the result, for he would not allow any such presents to be given at his marriage and was the first to protest against the practice.

652. Polyandry may be of two kinds, viz., matriarchal, where a woman marries several men who are not related to each other, and fraternal, where brothers have a common wife. Fraternal polyandry only is found in this part of India, where it is practised by the Bhotias, and, in a modified form, by the Santals. Property among both races descends through the male and not through the female, as is the custom where maternal polyandry is in vogue. The rules regulating cousin marriage among the Bhotias of Sikkim are probably connected with the institution of fraternal polyandry. There it is not considered right that a man should marry his cousin on his father's side, though recently there have been a few cases where a man has married his father's sister's daughter. He may marry his cousin on his mother's side, whether the daughter of his mother's brother or of his mother's sister. The reason given is that the bone descends from the father's side and the flesh from the mother's. Should cousins on the paternal side marry, it is said that the bone is pierced, resulting in course of time in various infirmities. The Santals so far practise fraternal polyandry that a man's younger brothers have a recognized right to intercourse with his wife; they must, however, observe a certain amount of decency and not make too open a display of their relations. According to the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud, the younger brothers formerly enjoyed this privilege even after they were married, but at present the wife is usually common property only while they are unmarried.

653. Polygamy is recognized as admissible, but is generally prohibited by its expense or inconvenience, for few men can afford more than one wife or bear the domestic discord that the presence of two or more wives entails. Marrying more than one wife is, moreover, regarded by the better classes of Hindus as disreputable, unless a man's wife is barren, or has not borne him a son who will secure his salvation after death, or suffers from some incurable disease. Among the Sauria Paharias, or Maler, of the Sonthal Parganas polygamy is not only a recognized institution, but is regulated by definite rules. A man may marry five or six wives, and may even marry five or six sisters, provided he marries the eldest sister first and she consents to his marrying the others. He must marry the sisters in order of age, and, if already married to a younger sister, may not take an elder sister to wife. The first wife is the chief wife, and all others are her subordinates. The wives live in the same house. At night the husband sleeps in the centre, and the wives occupy beds on either side. In case of his having intercourse with a younger wife without the consent of the elder wife, he is liable to punishment by the Panchayat. For the first offence he is let off with a warning, but if he persists, he is fined.* The Santal's relations with his wife's younger sisters are probably a survival of the same kind of polygamy. He commonly enjoys their favours, and if one of them becomes pregnant, he must make her his wife. Such intimacy is not resented by his wife. On the contrary, she countenances and sometimes encourages it, though Santal wives are usually

* R. B. Bainbridge, *The Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills*, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, No. 4, 1907.

extremely jealous. A Santal uncle also commonly has sexual intercourse with his wife's nieces, this being a recognized privilege of his.

654. As is well known, polygamy was formerly common among the Kulin Brahmans. Vidyasagar mentions five men, resident in the same village, of ages varying from 20 to 70, who had an aggregate of 230 wives; the minimum number was 16, the husband in this case being only 20 years old, and the maximum was 62. The practice is dying out and the Kulins are becoming monogamous with the spread of education and a higher ethical standard. It is not yet, however, extinct: a Bengali gentleman informs me of three cases within his own knowledge in which 60, 8 and 4 wives have been married. The first two cases occurred in the last generation, while the third occurred in this generation, the gentleman concerned being a M. A. and B. L. Polygamy is also practised by the Maithil Brahmans, though it is falling into disfavour. It has given rise to a class called Bikauwas or vendors, who derive their name from the practice of selling themselves, or their minor sons, to girls belonging to lower groups. Some have as many as 40 or 50 wives, who live with their parents and are visited at intervals by their husbands. This form of polygamy is due to hypergamy, *i.e.*, the practice by which a man marries his daughter to a member of a higher group in the caste.

655. It is the usual custom for a Hindu bride to be married in her parent's house and to stay there till the marriage is consummated, when she finally goes to her husband's house. Among the Rajbansis, however, the bride goes to the bridegroom's house to be married. Until very recently it was the custom for the bride to be carried to the bridegroom's house on the back of her sister's husband; but they have now given up this custom as degrading. Another curious custom among them is that when a marriage takes place the bridegroom's sister's husband has the privilege of sitting near the altar and of erecting plantain trees round it. Among the Bediyas in Jessore a girl when married does not go to live in her husband's family. A separate loft (*tong*) in the compound of the bride's father's house is allotted to the couple, or the bride's father gives them a boat to live in, if the family live on the waters.

The Koltas of Orissa have a unique custom, *viz.*, that when the marriage of an eldest son or eldest girl is celebrated, the parents themselves have to go through a ceremony of remarriage (called *sup-bibaha*), which the child is not allowed to see. Possibly this is an expedient to ward off any insinuations as to the illegitimacy of their first child, or it may be a relic of a time when the couple began to live together informally, the ceremony being performed subsequently in order to legitimize their offspring. Among the Binjhals a man takes a wife when he succeeds to a zamindari, even though he may be married already. The new wife is the Pat Rani or principal wife.

In Sambalpur one peculiar ceremony is performed at the time of marriage by all classes. Before it takes place, some married women of the bridegroom's household go out at night to a river or tank and fill a *lota* with water. They take it to seven other households and ask them to give some water in exchange for some of that in the *lota*. By the time they get back, the water has become a mixture of water from seven houses. With this the bridegroom is bathed on the day of marriage, and is thereby purged of his unmarried state. A similar ceremony is performed in the house of the bride. With this may be compared the practice of Pokhra Khandai, which is observed by the Tharus and Tikulihars of Champaran. Formerly rich men celebrated their daughters' marriages by having tanks dug, water from which was used in the ceremony. The bride's father took water and grain in his hand and gave them to the bridegroom, saying "I give these to you with my daughter." The only survival of this practice now consists in the bride's and bridegroom's sisters' husbands having to dig earth. They also have to fry grain, this custom being called Lawa Bhunjai. It is said that formerly the celebration of marriages, and other religious and social ceremonies, began with the offering of sacrifices to fire, the oblations consisting of grain. The grain, after being parched by the bride's and the bridegroom's sisters' husbands, is mixed together, and the bride and bridegroom both eat it. Another curious ceremony is found among

the Mundas. When the bridegroom's procession arrives near the house or village of the bride, it is met by a procession from the bride's house. When the two processions meet, the mothers or the aunts (either paternal or maternal) of the bride and bridegroom advance with pitchers of water in their hands. Then they sprinkle water on one another with mango leaves, and, after washing one another's feet, embrace.

BIRTH CUSTOMS.

656. THE treatment of women and children at child-birth in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is generally regulated by the Sasthi system, which is so called because the worship of Sasthi, the tutelary goddess of young children and of women at child-birth, is an essential feature in it.

TREATMENT AT CHILD-BIRTH.
SASTHI SYSTEM.

The expectant mother is taken to a lying-in room (*sutika ghar*) shortly before delivery. The character of the room depends on the means and enlightenment of the family, but generally it is one of the worst rooms in the house, or a shed is erected outside in the compound. Among the poorer classes, the woman's accommodation is wretched. A portion of one of the living rooms may be screened off, or she may have to use the verandah; some doctors even state that the cowshed or kitchen is occasionally used. As a rule, when a separate room is assigned, it is small, dark and ill-ventilated. Bad as the ventilation would naturally be, the perflation of air is often absolutely impossible owing to windows and apertures being closed with mud or stuffed with rags; this is done in order to prevent the mother and child catching cold, or because of a superstitious belief that it is necessary to keep out evil spirits. The outside shed, moreover, is often damp, and no attempt is made to admit the sunshine. Among the better castes, the mother is regarded as impure, after giving birth to a child, for 30 days, if it is a girl, and 21 days if it is a boy, and among some of the lower castes for 6 or 12 days. It would therefore be out of the question to furnish the room, and her bedding is poor and meagre. She generally has some straw or an old torn mat to lie on, though sometimes a charpoy or *taktarosh* is allowed. A quilt made of dirty old rags serves as a coverlet, while her head rests on a dirty pillow or even a brick. However hot the weather, a fire is kept burning in the room day and night for at least five and, sometimes, as long as 21 days. The belief is that, unless the room is kept at a high temperature, the child will be an invalid or liable to catch cold all his or her life, while the mother will get pneumonia or typhoid. The more ignorant believe that the fire has magic power to save mother and child from the influence of evil spirits. Sometimes, however, the child is suffocated by the acrid fumes: all the same, its death is put down to malevolent demons. For the first five days at least, the mother is at the mercy of a low-caste midwife, who is called *agani* in some parts of Bengal, as it is her duty to keep up the fire (*agni*). No male may enter the room and the women of her family may not touch her: if they do, they have to be purified by a bath before resuming their household duties. No doctor can attend on her because of her impure state—this of course is not the case with the educated classes. In Orissa, should it be necessary to seek medical advice, a drop or two of oil that the young mother has touched is put into water, and the *kabiraj* or doctor makes his diagnosis from the way it floats and prescribes accordingly.

Heat is believed to be necessary for a speedy recovery. In addition to the warmth of the fire, the mother and child have hot dry fomentations, and the child after being rubbed with mustard oil is laid out in the sun for hours at a time: this is believed in some places to strengthen the cranial bones. Cold drinks are prohibited, as it is thought that they may bring on suppuration of the womb. Water is either not given at all or very sparingly for the first few days: in any case it is warm or tepid. To keep up her strength, the mother is given a concoction of which the main ingredients are hot spices, such as pepper and ginger, and warm *ahi*; when she can digest solid food, she eats fried rice (*chura*) and fried garlic.

On the fifth or sixth day the woman and child have a bath, and she is sometimes allowed to change her room. In any case the lying-in room is cleaned—not too soon, as in many parts the ashes of the fire are allowed to remain as they are till this day, while the sweepings of the floor and the dirty foul-smelling clothes are kept in a corner. The practice in this respect is not uniform, for the room is very often carefully cleaned soon after delivery. In Midnapore, it is reported that, after a child is born, the mother has to pass her hands and feet over some burning straw: the ashes of the straw, her soiled clothes and other refuse, a comb with a few strands of her hair, and a little turmeric, which has been rubbed on her left arm, are put into a pot, which is kept in a corner of the room and serves as a receptacle for refuse till this day.*

657. The sixth day is a very important one, as it is the day of the worship of Sasthi, which means “the goddess of the sixth.” In the evening, a representation of the goddess is made with cowdung (or in some places, of earth), in which some cowries are stuck. This is placed on the wall of the lying-in room, with a pot of water and some mango-leaves before it, and worshipped by the family. On the night of this day, it is believed, the Creator writes the destiny of the child on its forehead in indelible characters. An inkpot and pen are therefore placed ready for use at the door of the room. The antiquity of the practice is evident from the fact that an iron stylus and palm-leaves are frequently provided. When the sixth day is over, there is rejoicing, as the first six days are a critical period for tetanus—that common cause of death among infants, the umbilical cord being generally cut with dirty instruments (*e.g.*, a split bamboo or a conch-shell) and cowdung ashes applied to the freshly-cut end. It is believed to be caused by evil spirits, who are specially apt to attack both mother and child during her confinement. To protect them, various devices are adopted. The skull of a cow smeared with vermilion, with cowries stuck in the sockets of the eyes and, in some places, with a red rag across the horns, is frequently, but not invariably, placed on the outside wall of the room to drive them away. Iron is also commonly employed to ward off their attacks. In some places, an iron sickle or sword is placed under the mother’s bed,† or a sword, spear or other iron weapon is stuck up at the door, or several iron articles are hung up over it, *e.g.*, an iron spade, hoe, harrow and axe. Old shoes and bits of old net, or thorny twigs, are also suspended over the door, and sometimes the father fires off a gun in the belief that the noise will scare away the evil spirits.

The ceremonies observed by Maithil Brahmans in the Sonthal Parganas have several peculiar features. As soon as a child is born, straight lines about five inches long are drawn on the walls of the room, five for a daughter and ten for a son. On the sixth day, milk is sprinkled upon the head of the mother and the new-born babe. This must be done by the sister-in-law of the woman: ethnologists may be able to account for the choice of the latter. In the evening, the worship of Sasthi takes place. A square is painted on the walls, in the centre of which is a figure of Sasthi. To this figure the family make obeisance, and a feast is held to which friends are invited. The figure remains on the wall for six months, after which it is washed out with cow’s milk.

658. Another method of treatment is known as the Krishna or Satyanarayan system, or as Harilot. It is mostly followed by Vaishnava families, though not confined to them, *e.g.*, it is resorted to when women have had still-births. It is a more rational method, and is accompanied by fewer restrictions about food and drink. No fire is kept burning in the room; no *jhal* or concoctions of spices are administered. The woman is allowed cooling drinks, and given ordinary food. She is not regarded as unclean, and need not therefore be banished to an outhouse and left to the midwife’s mercies, but is attended

* This is not a universal practice; in some households the pot is thrown away at once.

† A cure for cramp is said to consist in placing a common iron key at the foot of a bed [Chapman’s *Biochemistry*, p. 98].

by women of the household during the period of her confinement. She and the child are also bathed in cold or tepid water soon after delivery. This system is so called, because the regime is determined by resignation to the will of God, and because Hari (Vishnu) is worshipped by the mother a few days after the birth of her child. She makes obeisance to the *tulsi* plant, takes a little holy earth from the place where it grows, and presents sweetmeats to the god with prayer. Sweetmeats are also distributed to children. This system is rarely followed, but is gaining popularity among the more enlightened Bengalis.

659. The Hindus believe that, when a man dies, his spirit hovers as a *preta* in the sky for one year, during which it is provided with food and drink every month in what is called the *Masika Sraddha*. At the end of the year, *Sraddha* is performed, the effect of which is that the spirit joins the spirits of his ancestors in the *Pitriloka*, or heaven of the *Pitris*, and there becomes a participator in the *Sraddha* offerings, more particularly of the funeral cakes (*pinda*). This belief precludes the idea that the spirits of the departed are reborn in the same family. If, however, an infant is born within one year of the death of a member of the family, it is generally thought that the spirit of the departed has come back. Sometimes also, if a child shows extraordinary precocity, he or she is regarded as a reincarnation of an ancestor. A correspondent informs me that a daughter of his, aged only 4 years old, when on the point of death, begged that she might be taken to the bank of the Ganges. Her last request was granted and she died on the riverside crying "Ma Ganga," "Ma Ganga." This knowledge of the Hindu religion by a child of such tender years was so extraordinary, that all the villagers were convinced that the spirit of the child was that of her grandmother, who had died ten years before.

660. There appears to be an express or implicit belief among some aboriginal tribes that souls return to animate human beings in the same family. It is a general belief among the Khonds that the souls of deceased persons (*mdari*) return to animate human bodies, but such persons must have been married, or at least have had sexual intercourse, during their lifetime. The souls of unmarried persons cannot enter the circle of family spirits, but are malevolent spirits, causing fever, ague, apoplexy, etc. Those of married people animate the foetus as soon as it is fully formed. The souls of old people are believed to possess similar powers even before their death. It is also said that if an expectant mother sees one of the ancestors in her dreams, the foetus is then endued with life, and begins to move in the womb. The soul of a dead man may animate two or more persons at the same time or in different generations.

In a report by Captain MacPherson, dated the 10th July 1844, regarding the practice of female infanticide amongst the Khonds, it is stated—"The Khonds believe that souls almost invariably return to animate human forms in the families in which they have been first born and received. But the reception of the soul of an infant into a family is completed only on the performance of the ceremony of naming upon the seventh day after its birth. The death of a female infant, therefore, before that ceremonial of reception is believed to exclude its soul from the circle of family spirits, diminishing by one the chance of future female births in the family. And, as the first aspiration of every Khond is to have male children, this belief is a powerful incentive to infanticide." Inquiry shows that there is no belief among the Khonds at the present time that the ceremony of receiving a child into the family on the seventh day after birth confers the privilege of re-entering the family at some future time. This power is acquired only when the child has become an adult and been married. The explanation is probably that, as it would be improper to destroy a child after it had been given a welcome in the family circle, it became the practice to destroy female children before the ceremony was performed.

661. Among the Chakmas and Maghs, when a child is born, its body is carefully examined to see if it has any red or black spot. If such a spot is found and it corresponds with the mark made with sandal-wood paste on the dead body of a relation, it is thought that that relation has been reincarnate

in the child. Further, if a dead man appears in a dream, and a son is born shortly afterwards, he is considered to be a reincarnation of the dead man. The Gonds also believe that a man can be born again in his family. His soul is brought back to the house on the fifth day after death. His relations go to the side of a river or stream and call him by name, after which they catch a fish or an insect and take it home. There they either place it in a room reserved for the spirits of dead ancestors or eat it in the belief that the dead man will again be born in the family.

662. The practice of naming children after ancestors also seems to point to a belief in the conservation of spirits in the same family. This is clearly expressed in the ceremony attending the naming of children among the Khonds. A Guru is called on the seventh day after its birth to discover by divination which of the ancestors has animated the new-born child. To make sure that the Guru has made no mistake, the child is placed on a new piece of cloth after having been bathed and fed. Should it fall asleep, it is a sign that the correct name has been discovered. If there has been a mistake, the ancestral spirit will show its disapproval by keeping the child awake and causing it to cry; the Guru is thereupon required to make another attempt at divination. The Santals also name their children after ancestors. The eldest son takes the name of his paternal grandfather, a second son that of his maternal grandfather, a third son that of the paternal grandfather's brother, the fourth son that of the maternal grandfather's brother, etc. A similar custom is observed in the case of girls, the names of relations on the female side being taken in the same order. Among the Bhuiyas the name of the grandfather is given to the eldest son, that of the great-grandfather to the second son, and then the names of collateral relatives according to seniority. A similar custom of naming children after ancestors prevails among the Hos, who have a method of divination like that of the Khonds to ascertain which name should be given. They repeat the name of the ancestors in turn and as each is mentioned, drop a grain of pulse (*urid*) in water; if the grain sinks, it shows that the proper name has been selected, if it floats, they go on till the right name is found.

The Hos have no idea of reincarnation, though it is believed that the spirits of the dead return to the house. Seven days after death the spirit is solemnly recalled. Ashes are spread on the floor of the house and four women sit at the corners, while the family and their guests sit near the door outside and invoke the spirit. Two go out and call to the *bongas* or evil spirits, praying that if any have taken the deceased, they will allow him to come back. The house is kept dark, and suddenly the women cry out "The spirit has come." They then light a lamp and look for the marks the spirit has left on the ashes. Some spirits leave the footprints of birds, some of snakes, others of cats, others of dogs. These footmarks show whether the spirit is happy or not. The greatest happiness is indicated by the footprints of birds, then of cats and then of dogs. The mark of a snake, however, shows that the spirit is in great misery. After this, the spirit is supposed to remain in an invisible form in the house, and a space is set aside for him in the inner room (*adina*), which no one but members of the family may enter.

663. Among Hindus every child has generally two names. One is the ordinary name by which the child is known to the outside world. The other is the *rashi nam*, i.e., a name containing the first letter of the *rashi* or sign (division of the zodiac) under which the child was born. This name, which is given at the *annaprasan* ceremony about six months after birth, is known only to the nearest relations and is used only in religious ceremonies. It is sedulously kept secret from the public on account of a superstitious belief that mischief can be done to the child through it. Many also have a third name, which is only used in the family or among relations and friends. The *rashi* name is frequently chosen by a species of divination. Two or more names are written out, and each is placed before a lamp; the name before the lamp that burns brightest is chosen. The upper classes frequently name children after gods or goddesses and mythological heroes, the idea being that the children will be protected by the deities, or will grow up to be great or famous like the heroes or heroines

whose names they bear. There is also an idea that virtue is acquired by mentioning the name of a god or goddess in addressing a child. Now-a-days such names are not so frequently given, but melodious or poetical names, *e.g.*, Jyothsna (moonshine) for a girl.

Among the low castes names are selected more or less at random. A child may be named after the day of the week on which it was born, *e.g.*, Sombari (born on Monday), or the name may mark some physical peculiarity, or it may even be the designation of some common article.

Among the Bhuiyas of the Orissa States the name of the grandfather is generally given to the eldest son, that of the great-grandfather to the second son, and then the names of collateral relatives according to seniority; but it is not unusual to give a name that commemorates some incident or event that happened on the day of the child birth. Thus, if the child is born on the anniversary of a festival, he may be called after it, *e.g.*, as Dasahara. If a European happens to pass through the village on the day of a child's birth, the child will be named Saheb or Gora (white man), while, if it is visited by a Musalman, a dealer, a peon or a constable, the child's name will be Pathan, Mahajan, Chaprasi or Sipahi (sepoy) as the case may be*.

664. If women have failed to bear children before, or if their children have been still-born or have died shortly after birth, opprobrious names are given in the belief that this will avert the evil eye or fail to attract the god of death. Such names as Tinkauri and Panchkauri are supposed to mean that the child is worth not more than three or five cowries. Similar names are Sachunia (the broomstick), Kangalia (the poor), Haran (the lost one) and the like. A boy needing special divine protection is often named Haribola. Superstitious parents will not disclose the names to outsiders and use such terms as Meghar Bap (father of Megha), Tukir Ma (mother of Tuki), etc. In Orissa there are often fictitious sales of children in order to save them from a premature death. The parents sell them at a small price to women belonging to such low castes as Dhoba, Hari, Dom or Ghasi, and repurchase them at a higher price. There is an actual, though momentary, transfer, for the children are handed over to the low caste woman, who gives them back to the parents after anointing them with turmeric powder mixed with water and oil. Similar sham sales are effected at the shrines of gods and goddesses, the priests in this case being the buyers. Among the middle and low classes children are named after the caste of the women to whom they are sold, so that a boy may be called Dhobai, Hari, Pan, Ghasia or Dom, and a girl Dhobani, Hariani, etc. Such names are often given too by parents without any fictitious sale. The belief underlying these transactions is that the parents have committed some sin which can only be expiated by the death of the child and that the low caste woman takes the place of the parents and acts as a scapegoat.

665. If a pregnant woman dies before delivery, her womb is ripped open and the foetus extracted. This gruesome task is performed by the husband himself at the burning ghat.

DEATHS IN PREGNANCY.

The *raison d'être* of the practice is said to be the hope of saving the life of the unborn child, but as it is postponed till the body is about to be cremated, this hope must be rarely, if ever, fulfilled. It is noticeable too that the foetus is buried while the woman is burnt, and it is probable that the origin of the practice was to prevent the woman becoming an evil spirit and injuring the family. The Bhuiyas of the Orissa States burn the embryo and the corpse on opposite banks of a stream, the idea being that as no spirit can cross a stream, the mother is unable to become a witch without union with her child. In all other cases the Bhuiyas bury their dead. When a pregnant Oraon woman dies, her ankles are broken and her feet wrenched backward to prevent her spirit walking; a bundle of thorns and a heavy stone are also placed over her grave to prevent the spirit getting out.

666. As is well known, it is the duty of Hindus to observe twelve purificatory rites, called *Sanskaras*, beginning with conception and ending with marriage, which are

RITES OF PREGNANCY.

* L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, *Orissa States Gazetteer*, pp. 49, 50.

intended to purify a man from the taint transmitted through his parents. Three of these are rites of pregnancy, viz., *Garbhadhan*, *Punsavan* and *Simantonnavan*. *Garbhadhan* is a ceremony which should be observed at the first appearance of the menses and be followed by cohabitation. It is intended to consecrate impregnation, the idea being as stated by Monier Williams, that a husband, before approaching his wife, should secure the solemn imprimatur of religion on an act which may lead to the introduction of another human being into the world.* This ceremony is now rarely observed except by the thoroughly orthodox. Even those families who recognize it as obligatory consider that their duty is discharged by a symbolical performance, a gold ring being passed under the bride's clothes. *Punsavan* is a ceremony which should be observed three months after conception, and before the period of quickening, with the object of securing male offspring. *Homa* is performed, the sacred fire being kindled and libations made of *ghi*, rice, plantains, etc. The husband touches the navel of his wife with a piece of gold and utters certain *mantras* at the dictation of a priest, by which the blessings of the gods of fire, water, and air are invoked. This ceremony also is almost obsolete. *Simantonnavan* is a ceremony designed for the purification of the womb and the unborn child, which may be observed in the 4th, 6th or 8th month of pregnancy. The main feature of the ceremony is that the husband parts the hair of the head of his wife with certain articles sanctified according to Vedic rites. This is done only in the case of a first pregnancy, and has fallen into desuetude except in very orthodox families.

Certain other rites which are not *Sanskaras* are observed far more commonly. The first of these is *Panchamrita*, which takes place in the fifth month. A mixture is made of five *amritas*, viz., milk, curd, *ghi*, sugar and honey, which are purified with *mantras* by the priest and given to the pregnant woman to drink in order that the child may be born with a pure spirit and a healthy constitution. Female friends and neighbours are invited to be present, and are given a feast. In Eastern Bengal a similar ceremony, called *Saptamrita*, is held in the seventh month, and sometimes also in the ninth month, when it is called *Nabamrita*. A woman who is expecting her first child is also given a series of entertainments in order that she may keep up her spirits and that her child may have a happy disposition. The first of these is called *Kancha Sadh*; *sadh* means the desire or craving of a pregnant woman. It takes place in the fifth month when the fact of pregnancy is clear. She is given various articles of food to eat, such as sweetmeats, fruits, etc., on an auspicious day; there is general rejoicing in the family circle, and a feast is held to which friends are invited. From the seventh month till delivery, more entertainments are given which are called *Pakka Sadh*, or *Sadh-bhakshan*. The nearest female relatives are expected to entertain her in turn and present her with a new *sari*. She has to put this on before eating, and is given various dainties to eat. Children are invited to sit with her and to help her in doing justice to the good fare. A little boy (never a girl) first of all hands her a morsel of food in order that she may give birth to a male child. The object of these entertainments is to keep her bright and cheerful: incidentally she secures a good stock of *saris*, a new one being given to her on each occasion.

667. The desire of Hindu parents is naturally to have male children, and

CAUSATION AND DETERMINATION
OF SEX.

there are various beliefs regarding the measures necessary to obtain male offspring. The general idea is that the male element must be able to prevail over the female element, in other words, that there must be an abundance of semen. It is also believed that the male principle is strong on even and the female on odd days: consequently, intercourse on even days (from the 4th to the 16th day after the commencement of menstruation) will produce a male child, and on odd days a female child. Various devices are adopted in order to ascertain the sex of the child before birth. Sometimes a *ganak* or astrologer foretells it by drawing figures with a piece of chalk; to make his calculations, he must know the numbers of letters in the

* *Religious Life and Thought in India*, p. 355.

names of the wife and husband, and the month in which the pregnancy commenced. Another common method of divination is as follows. A stone pestle and an earthen plate or lamp are covered with two cane baskets. A small boy is asked to uncover one of the two. If the basket over the pestle is taken off, it is believed the child will be a male; otherwise, it will be a girl. Occasionally offerings are made under a banyan tree on the day before the *Simantonmayan* ceremony, and the husband takes a leaf off the tree. The edge of this is steeped in the juice of a plant called *kantikari* and held to the nose of the wife. If she sneezes, it is believed there is a male child in the womb and, if not, a female child. There are also, of course, ideas, which are common to women in many countries, that the sex of the child can be known from the position of the womb and the colour of the nipples, that if the expectant mother looks dark and thin during her pregnancy, the child will be a male, etc. Some women also think that if conception takes place in the bright half of the lunar month, it will result in the birth of a male child, and, if it occurs in the dark half, in the birth of a female.

RELATIONSHIP.

668. Hindu females are debarred by custom from mentioning the names of their husbands and of their husbands' superior relatives, such as his father, his mother and his elder brother. Males do not, as a rule, mention the names of their daughters-in-law or of the wives of their brothers' or sisters' sons, but there is no strict rule on the subject as there is in the case of women. Orthodox women generally refer to their husbands' elder brothers and other superior relatives of their husbands by mentioning them as the "father of so and so." A husband, however, is usually called by his wife not the father of her son, but the son of her son, there being some superstitious objection to the use of the term "father" in connection with one's own husband. This, though the old custom, is not the universal practice, for in Calcutta and its neighbourhood women who have been educated not only call their husbands their son's fathers, but sometimes go further and actually call them by their names. Orthodox old-fashioned Hindu women not only never mention the names of their husbands and his near relatives, but also refrain from using words which are the same as or similar to those names. In order to avoid the difficulty arising out of this practice, curious devices are resorted to. Thus a woman, whose husband's name happens to be Madhu will, when speaking of honey (of which the word *madhu* is a Bengali equivalent), either refer to it in a round-about way by calling it *chakbhanga* (that which is taken out of the beehive) or transform it arbitrarily into Kadhu. Similarly, if the name of a husband's elder brother happens to be Panchu, the woman, in counting, will avoid the word *vanch* (five) because it bears a similarity to the name, and call it *nach* (a dance).

669. Great respect is paid by Hindu women to their husbands' elder brothers, whom they may not even speak to. Among the Santals there are special restrictions on the relations between an elder brother and his younger brother's wife. They must not touch one another; they cannot enter the same room, or remain together in the courtyard, unless others are present. Should she come in from work in the fields, and find the elder brother sitting alone in the courtyard, she must remain in the village street, or in another verandah of the house, till some other people enter the house. As a rule, too, she must not sit down in his presence: should it be really necessary for her to do so, she must sit on a low stool.

A similar rule is observed by the Mundas, among whom the younger brother's wife is forbidden to mention the name of the elder brother, or to sit in his presence, or touch him. The husband is similarly forbidden to mention the name of his wife's elder sister or to touch her. *Baynal* is the name given by Oraons to relations subject to such restrictions. The Revd.

A. Grignard, s.j., of Tongo, in Ranchi, writes :—" A man is *baynalas*, and a woman is *baynali*, to his and her younger brother's wives : and the latter are *baynali* to them. Again, a woman is *baynali* to her younger sister's husband, and he is *baynalas* to her. Between persons of different sexes, this relationship imports that they must never remain alone together, never touch each other's things, never walk in one another's shadow. Except in cases of absolute necessity, they are not allowed to, and will not, speak to each other. If two married brothers have separate houses, and the elder of the two calls at the younger's but does not find him at home, he may, if pressed by hunger, ask his sister-in-law for a little rice, but he must do so from the door-step. She will listen with her back turned towards him, and the rice will be put out on the threshold. If the younger brother is at home, his sister-in-law will leave the place directly the elder brother enters. This family bar lasts as long as life ; and it will be upheld even with respect to, and by, a widow or widower rendered perfectly helpless by loneliness and malady. The relations of a man with his wife's younger sister, and of a woman with her husband's younger brother, are perfectly free from trammels and restraints. Between two females (*e.g.*, a woman and the younger brother's wife) the *baynal* relationship imports nothing beyond an exaggerated respect on the one side, and motherly love on the other."

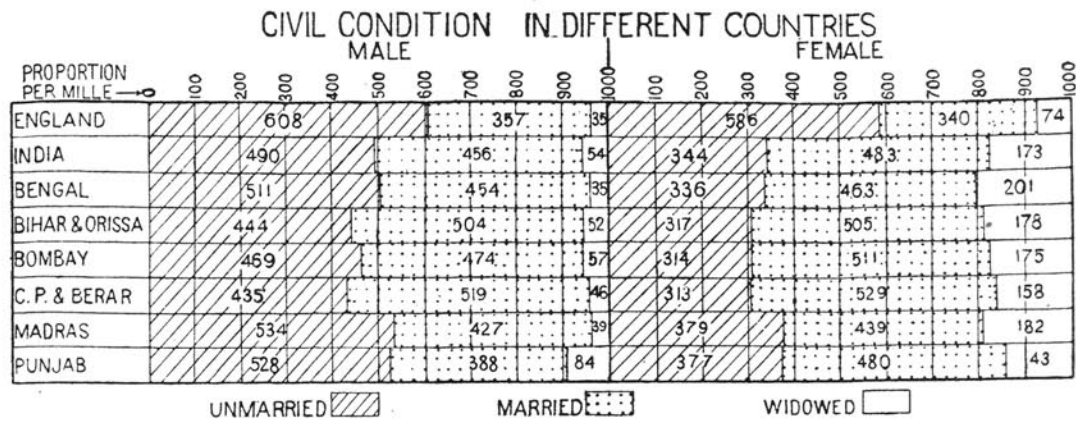
Among Oriya castes, such as Sahars and Gandas, a woman will step aside and leave the road, out of respect, for her husband's elder brother, her husband's maternal uncle and her younger sister's husband, but not for her elder sister's husband. If a Gond woman and her husband's elder or younger brother's son sit together at a meal, she cannot leave her seat first, even if she has finished her meal, but must wait till the nephew rises.

670. The maternal uncle plays an important part in the family life of many castes and tribes. At the time of *annaprasan*, which is an essential rite for Hindu children, he has the privilege of putting rice first into the child's mouth. At weddings many castes pay particular honour to the bride's maternal uncle, who receives special presents, this custom being known as *matul bidaya* or *matul byabakar*. Among the Oraons he cuts off the hair on a newly born babe's head. This must be done shortly after birth ; otherwise, the child would be boycotted for life. Young children are subject to fleshy excrescences of the scalp, which multiply and spread, developing into sores. Any such growth should be burnt, as soon as it appears, with a piece of heated turmeric ; but the operation cannot be a success unless performed by the child's maternal uncle. On the other hand, among the Gonds and Gandas of Orissa a curious respect is paid to sister's children (*bhinja* and *bhani*) by the maternal uncle and his wife, who will even take the dust of their feet, in spite of the difference of age. The nephew and niece may not take any food left by the uncle and aunt, and the latter take care to sit at some distance from them while eating, for fear that there might be even accidental touching of the food or the plate. A maternal uncle will also give his daughter in marriage to his sister's son. Such a marriage (called *bhaniadan*) is looked upon as the most honourable form of marriage. The maternal uncle not only gives away his daughter, but also bears all the expenses of the marriage, provides the caste-feast, etc., and will not take anything from the bridegroom. Though *bhaniadan* is allowed, the reverse, *i.e.*, the marriage of a man's son with his sister's daughter, is not permissible.

PART II—STATISTICAL.*

671. As pointed out in 1901, the most striking fact brought out by the statistics of marriage is the universality of the institution, especially among females. The number of persons other than those suffering from some bodily or mental affliction, who go through life unmarried, is extremely small. In England over 60 per cent. of the males and 58 per cent. of the females, but in Bengal only 51 per cent. of the former and 34 per cent. of the latter are unmarried. In Bihar and Orissa

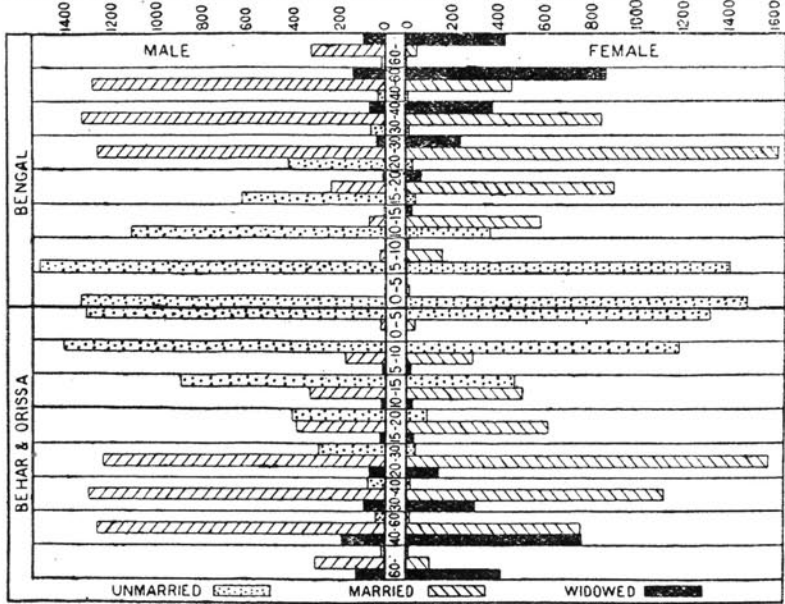
* This part has been written in collaboration with my Personal Assistant, Babu Naba Gauranga Basak, M.A., Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector.



the percentage is lower still, viz., 44 amongst males and 32 amongst females. In this latter province Hindus are in a strong majority, representing over four-fifths of the population, and, as is well known, it is a religious obligation for a Hindu to marry and beget a son, and also to get his daughters married before they attain puberty: the very name of son (*putra*) is due to the fact that he is the means of saving his father's soul from the hell called *put*. The universal prevalence of marriage among Hindus has had its effect on other sections of the community, for many have the same blood in their veins, being converts from Hinduism or the descendants of converts, while those who are on the border-line of Hinduism, and aspire to acknowledgement as Hindus, naturally emulate the example of orthodox Hindus. The prevalence of marriage is also, to a large extent, due to the fact that the prudential considerations of more advanced communities are not entertained. Apart from the price of a bride, it is no great expense for a man to take a wife, especially if he belongs to a joint family. Among the lower classes he has all the greater inducement to do so, because a wife is not only a domestic necessity but also a valuable helpmate, for she supplements the husband's income by work in the fields, etc.

672. The more prominent features of the statistics for age and sex are exhibited in Subsidiary Table I at the end of this chapter, and it is not proposed to mention in detail what can be more readily gathered from the tabular statement

DISTRIBUTION BY AGE & CIVIL CONDITION OF 10,000 OF EACH SEX



and the marginal diagram. Briefly, 45 per cent. of the males in Bengal and 50 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa are married, the corresponding ratio for females being 46 and 50½ respectively. The proportion of married persons is higher among females than among males up to the age-period 20—30, and after that the reverse is the case. In all age periods females have a lower proportion of unmarried persons, and a higher proportion of widowed, than the male sex. It is further noticeable that females are in a strong majority among those who have contracted a marriage below the age of 20, and among the widowed at all ages. The cause is briefly that (1) husbands are generally older than their wives, the disparity of age being often considerable, (2) elderly men commonly marry, but rarely old spinsters, and (3) widowers re-marry more than widows: in a large section of the community widow re-marriage is strictly prohibited, but there is no bar on widowers marrying a second or even a third or fourth time.

673. In Bengal only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the females and 22 per cent. of the

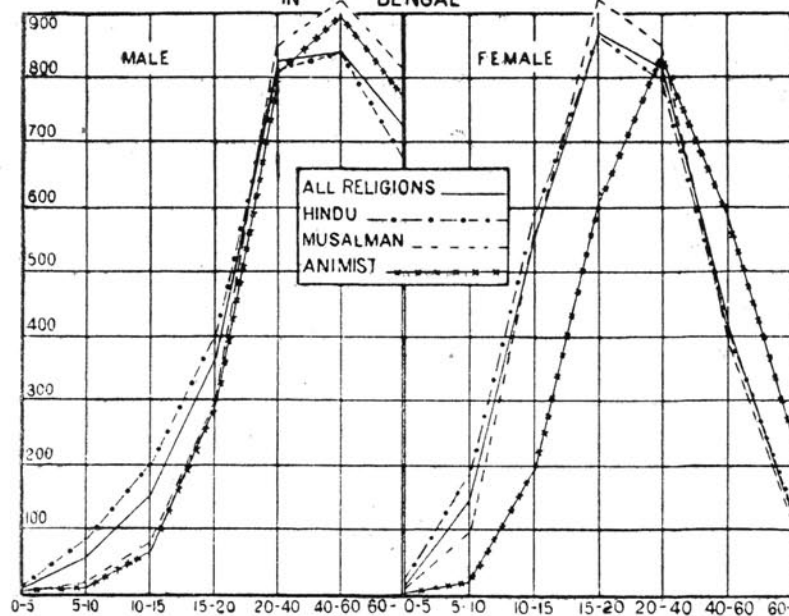
AGE PERIOD.	NUMBER PER 1,000 UNMARRIED.			
	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
0-5 ...	262†	445	297°	419
5-10 ...	297	420	318	375
10-15 ...	218	110	202	150
15-20 ...	122	13	90	31
20-30 ...	82	8	65	14
30-40 ...	12	2	16	5
40-60 ...	6	1·5	9	4
60 and over ...	1	·5	3	2

males are unmarried after they are 15 years of age. In Bihar and Orissa the proportion is 6 and 18 per cent. respectively. In the former province there are two unmarried youths aged 10 to 15 to every unmarried girl of the same age : in the latter the proportion is 4 to 3. After 20 years of age only one woman in 83 remains unmarried in Bengal, and one in 40 in Bihar and Orissa. The unmarried females consist of the following:—(1) Ge-

nuine spinsters, who are found amongst aboriginal and semi-Hinduized races, and also in some sections of the higher Hindu castes, such as Kulin Brahmans in Bengal, Karans and Khandaits in Orissa, and Rajputs, Brahmans and Babhans in Bihar. Among these castes hypergamy and the high price of bridegrooms often make it impossible for marriageable girls to be married till they are advanced in years. (2) Females suffering from infirmities like leprosy, blindness, etc., who cannot therefore get husbands. (3) Concubines, who are often kept ostensibly as maid servants, as in Orissa. (4) Prostitutes, who are not recognized as married, though they often go through a mock ceremony of marriage. Some idea of the proportion of prostitutes in the unmarried female population may be gathered from special statistics compiled for prostitutes in Calcutta. Here one-fourth of the prostitutes aged 20 and over returned themselves as unmarried; they represent half the total number of unmarried females of that age who were enumerated in Calcutta, and 4 per cent. of the total number enumerated in Bengal. As it is only reasonable to suppose that a large proportion of the prostitutes outside Calcutta are also unmarried, it may fairly be assumed that fallen women account for a considerable number of the unmarried females who are beyond the teens.

674. The percentage of married males is higher among Hindus than among Musalmans in every natural division of the two provinces, except West Bengal, North Bengal and the Chota Nagpur Plateau. The proportion of married females, however,

PROPORTION OF THE MARRIED PER 1000 OF EACH AGE PERIOD IN BENGAL

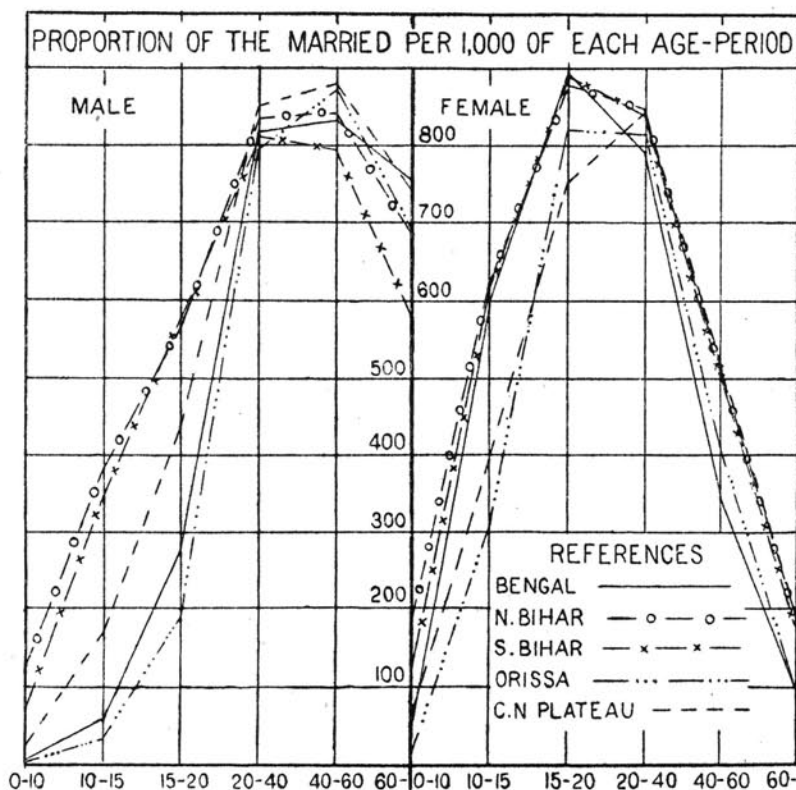


is higher amongst Muhammadans in all parts of Bengal, and lower in all parts of Bihar and Orissa except Chota Nagpur. As regards different age periods, the proportion of married persons in the male population of Bengal is higher among Hindus than among Muhammadans or Animists up to 20-40, but lower in the subsequent years. The same phenomenon is

° The fact that the proportion of married males is lower at 0-5 than at 5-10 seems due to the fondness for the number 5 in the returns and the consequent exaggeration of the age of infants who are under 5.

observable in the female population. Between 5 and 10 years of age one out of every eight Hindu girls in Bengal has gone through the marriage ceremony, and over two-thirds of those aged 10 to 15, whereas the proportion in the Muhammadan community is 9 and 56 per cent. respectively. The marginal diagram illustrates graphically the prevalence of early marriage and the prohibition of widow re-marriage amongst the Hindus of Bengal.

675. Bengal being a homogeneous province, there is not so much difference between the proportion of the married in different localities as there is in Bihar and Orissa with its four natural divisions having divergent characteristics. In the accompanying diagram, therefore, showing the proportions at each age period, Bengal has been treated as a whole, but each division of the other province has been plotted separately. Marriage appears to be a more universal institution, both among Hindus and Musalmans, in Bihar and Orissa than in Bengal. In the general population (including both Hindus and Musalmans) the proportion of married persons of both sexes is highest in North Bihar and



lowest in Orissa : in the former 545 per mille, and in the latter 439 per mille, are married. Among the Hindus the proportion of married women is lowest in North Bengal (427 per mille).

676. The next point to notice is the prevalence of early marriage and of its extreme form, viz., infant marriage, which exists in Bihar and Orissa, but is comparatively rare in Bengal. In the latter province 20,333 infants under five are married and 1,978 are widowed, whereas no less than 127,984 are married and 8,064 are widowed in Bihar and Orissa, though it has a smaller population. In Bihar

RELIGION.	MARRIED.				WIDOWED.			
	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.		BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
All religions ...	61	126	1,253	1,277	4	8	96	157
Hindu ...	32	82	1,083	1,565	1	5	89	388
Muhammadan ...	23	36	103	165	3	3	6	67
Animist ...	...	4	56	47	...	...	1	2
Buddhist ...	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Christian ...	2	1	6	...	...	...	...	...

and Orissa, too, as many as 2,030 infants under one year of age have gone through the marriage ceremony, while 553 are widowed. The corresponding figures for Bengal are only 187 and 12 respectively. In both provinces the majority of these infants are Hindus, but Musalmans Animists, Buddhists and Christians are also represented, though sparingly among them.

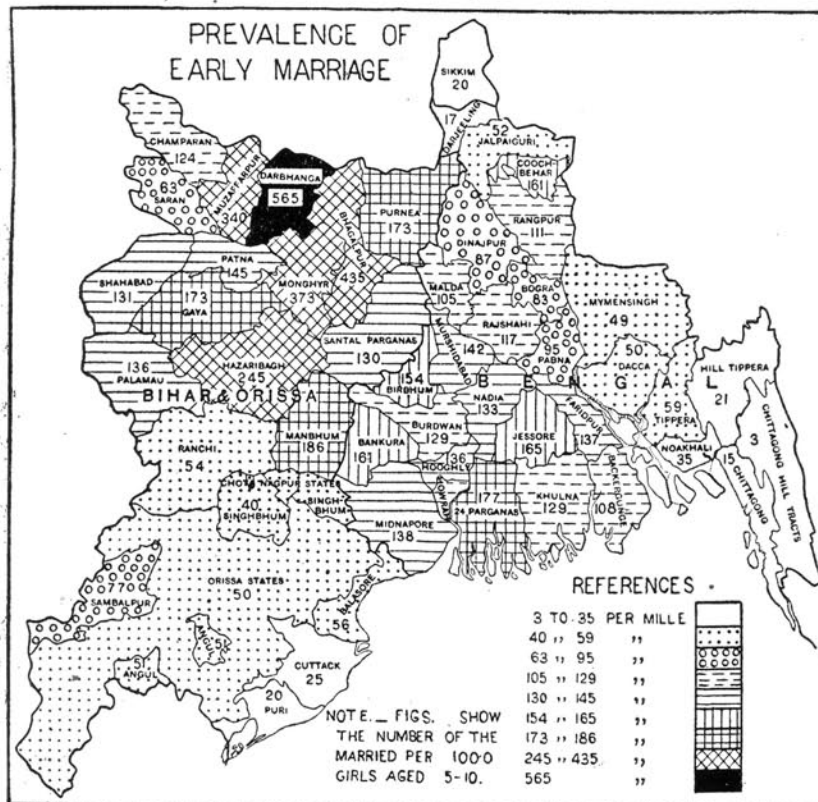
677. The proportion of the married per 1,000 children of either sex aged 5 furnishes a fair index of the prevalence of early marriage in different localities and amongst different communities. The figures for females are, however, sufficient for a

PROVINCE AND DIVISION.	MARRIED PER 1,000 AGED 5-10.					
	ALL RELIGIONS.		HINDU.		MUHAMMADAN.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Bengal	11	99	11	120	12	87
West Bengal	9	140	9	153	12	106
Central Bengal	19	151	12	151	26	154
North Bengal	12	98	18	90	9	108
East Bengal	9	68	7	88	10	61
Bihar and Orissa	110	194	126	219	65	147
North Bihar	198	308	228	345	62	142
Darbhanga	434	565	481	677	129	293
South Bihar	118	217	124	227	62	127
Orissa	4	32	4	33	3	13
Chota Nagpur Plateau	40	106	46	130	93	219

consideration of the question, as those for males correspond to them; the chief difference is that the proportion is less in the case of males owing to the higher age at which men marry. Early marriage is most prevalent in North Bihar, where three out of every 10 girls are married between the ages of 5 and 10.

Next, in order, come South Bihar (217 per

mille), Central Bengal (151), West Bengal (140), the Chota Nagpur Plateau (106), North Bengal (98) and East Bengal (68).



Orissa stands on a plane by itself, only one in every 33 girls at this age having contracted a marriage. In no district is early marriage so common as in Darbhanga. Here three-fifths of the Hindu girls between 5 and 10 are married, while the proportion among Muhammadan girls, though far lower, viz., 22 per cent., is higher than in any other part of the two provinces ---a fact which may fairly be taken to indicate the adoption or imitation of Hindu practices.

678. Infant marriage, i.e., marriage of children under one year of age, is also far more common in North Bihar, and in Darbhanga in particular, than elsewhere. This is ascribed in the last Census Report (page 259, paragraph 441) to the teaching and influence of the Maithil or Tirhutia Brahmans, to whom the celebration of the marriage ceremony is a source of profit. For a discussion of this and the other causes suggested for early marriage, the last Census Reports for Bengal and India may be referred to.

MARRIED FEMALES PER 1,000 UNDER 5.			
LOCALITY.	All Religions.	Hindu.	Muhammadan.
Bengal	5	5	4
Bihar and Orissa	32	36	20
North Bihar	59	64	21
Darbhanga	141	126	40

679. The marginal table given in paragraph 677 sufficiently shows that early marriage is distinctively a Hindu institution. As is well known, the Hindus look upon

marriage as a religious sacrament, essential and irrevocable. "The act itself, when completed, is best viewed in the light of a sacrament; the steps leading up to it are best viewed in the light of a contract"* Their *Sastras* enjoin the marriage of girls before puberty. Infant marriage is not contemplated, but the nubile age is fixed at 8 to 10 or 12 at the latest. A contributory factor is the number of restrictions imposed by the rules relating, to consanguinity, endogamy (*i.e.*, marriage within a certain circle), exogamy, (*i.e.* marriage outside a certain circle) and hypergamy (*i.e.*, marriage in a circle of higher social status). The effect of these rules is naturally to make parents anxious to get their daughters safely married before they attain an age when the sway of the passions may lead to irregular attachments and frustrate their observance. Among the Muhammadans not only has early marriage no religious sanction, but marriage is a civil contract, which admits of dissolution during the life-time of the parties; in fact, it may even be entered into temporarily for a short period. Strictly, therefore, a Muhammadan girl should be old enough to be an intelligent party to the contract, and to give her free consent. In spite of this, early marriages are commonly celebrated, though not to the same extent as in the Hindu community.

680. The usual practice of the Animists is to marry only girls who are

NUMBER OF MARRIED PER 1,000 AGED 5-10.			
Religion.	Province.	Male.	Female.
Animist
Arya
Brahmo
Buddhist
Christian

old and strong enough to be real help-mates. The same principle is observed by the Himalayan races, who form a large section of the Buddhists. Proportionately, the number of children who are married while still of tender years is far higher among the Aryas. It must be remembered, however, that the Arya movement in Bihar—it has not spread to Bengal—is of recent origin and has

not yet had time to produce its full effects, while those hitherto attracted by it have been, to a large extent, members of low castes that practise early marriage. The figures for Christians do not distinguish between Indian and other Christians, and the presence of married children among them must be attributed to converts whose children were married before they embraced Christianity.

681. It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the returns for the numerous castes dealt with in Subsidiary Table V, but the following salient features may be briefly noticed.

BY CASTE.

(1) Early marriage is more common amongst the lower castes than amongst the

NUMBER OF MARRIED GIRLS PER 1,000 AGED—							
Castes.	0—5	5—12	Castes.	0—5.		5—12.	
				Hindu.	Animist.	Hindu.	Animist.
Bengal.			Bengal.				
Bagdi	9	244					
Baidya	2	48					
Brahman	3	154					
Onamar	7	209					
Dom	13	267	Garo	4	121	90	
Kayasth	2	83	Tipu'a	2	15	10	
Bihar and Orissa.			Bihar and Orissa.				
Barhi	58	390					
Brahman	12	178					
Chamar	63	368					
Dom	23	240					
Kalwar	35	277	Bhumij	30	83	29	
Kayasth	8	60	Munda	10	3	67	31
Mongoloid races.			Oraon	11	9	62	21
Bhotia	2	13	Santal	19	5	158	26
Gurung	5	12					
Khambu (Jimdar)	5	25					
Lepcha	5	10					
Murmi	4	16					
Chakma	0	4					
Kuki	0	23					

higher, as shown in the margin. (2) Amongst castes common to both provinces, those who are natives of Bihar and Orissa marry at an early age far more commonly than those who are indigenous to Bengal. (3) Early marriage is comparatively rare amongst Himalayan castes and tribes, and also amongst aboriginal castes and tribes of Mongolian or Dravidian origin. (4) Early marriage is generally more common amongst Hinduized than amongst non-Hinduized members of aboriginal races. This, again, illustrates the influence of the Hindus upon their Animist neighbours.

* Ashutosh Mukerji, *The Position of Women in Bengali Society.*

682. Three causes might naturally be expected to operate against the practice of early marriage, or at least against its gaining greater vogue. These are (1) the wider diffusion of education, and incidentally, to a small extent, greater familiarity with a higher ethical standard, (2) the increase in the cost of living and (3) its consequence, or concomitant, viz., the rise in the price of brides and bridegrooms. There are grounds for the belief that these three factors are

VARIATIONS SINCE 1901.

	MARRIED GIRLS PER 1,000 AGED—					
	0—5.			5—10.		
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1911.	1901.	1891.
All Religions	17	22	16	142	156	167
Hindu ...	24	30	21	182	197	201
Muhammadan	6	12	11	95	108	124
Christian ...	2	4	4	7	7	20
Animist ...	3	6	4	20	21	9

producing some result, for, as shown in the margin, early marriages decreased to a small extent between 1891 and 1901, and to a greater extent in the subsequent decade, when the factors in question came more fully into play. The decrease is common not only to all the main religions, but also to all the natural divisions except the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where

early marriages appear to be on the increase, presumably as a result of the progressive Hinduization of its aboriginal population.

683. Some idea of the varying extent to which the marriage of widows prevails in different localities and among different communities may be gathered from the figures showing the number of widows among females aged 15—40, as this period includes women of marriageable age, who are not so old as to be barren or to have lost their personal attractions, and to be debarred thereby from marrying again.

WIDOW MARRIAGE.

684. In North Bihar, though early marriage is more common than elsewhere, the proportion of widows of the reproductive age is lower than in any other natural division. As a low age of marriage must naturally result in a high proportion of widows, this phenomenon

Number of widows per 1,000 females aged 15—40.

NATURAL DIVISION.	All Religions.	Hindu.	Muhammadan.
BENGAL ...	164	224	113
West Bengal ...	212	229	140
Central " ...	197	244	152
North " ...	151	210	120
East " ...	134	216	96
BIHAR AND ORISSA ...	122	125	123
North Bihar ...	125	125	127
South " ...	133	134	127
Orissa " ...	145	146	126
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	102	109	98

is only explicable by the greater frequency of widow remarriage. There is a comparative paucity of widows in Orissa and the Chota Nagpur Plateau, which seems to be due partly to the higher age at which marriages are contracted and partly to the practice of widow remarriage. This latter practice appears to be least in vogue in the more distinctively Hindu centres of Bengal, viz., West Bengal and Central Bengal.

685. The marginal statement illustrates the well known fact that widow marriage is much more frequent amongst Muhammadans than amongst Hindus. It also shows that, next to the Hindus, the Musalmans have more widows than other communities, such as Animists and Buddhists, who marry at an adult age and allow their widows to remarry. The difference in this respect between the Brahmos, who allow widow remarriage, and the Hindus, many of whom do not, is noticeable, but what is even more striking is that among those who have become adherents of the Arya Samaj, women are more generally relegated to widowhood than even among the general Hindu community.

BY RELIGION.

Number of widows per 1,000 females aged—

RELIGION.	15—20.		20—40.	
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
ALL RELIGIONS	61	42	197	140
Hindu ...	93	45	266	144
Muhammadan	35	37	139	141
Christian ...	21	45	96	144
Animist ...	...	27	...	99
Buddhist ...	28	...	92	...
Brahmo ...	26	...	128	...
Arya ...	...	82	...	193

* Not compiled, the actual figures being very small.

686. The figures for castes given in Subsidiary Table V establish the following facts. (1) The proportion of widows (per 1,000 females aged 20—40) is very small amongst the Himalayan tribes and castes, *e.g.*, Bhotia (67), Gurung (54), Lepcha (33), Khambu and Jimdar (73) and Murmi (53). (2) It is generally higher amongst the Hinduized members of aboriginal tribes than amongst the non-Hinduized :

Number of widows per 1,000 females, aged 20—40.

	Hindu.	Animist.
BENGAL.		
Garos	90	87
Munda	88	64
Oraon	136	87
Santal	115	122
Tippera	43	34
BIHAR AND ORISSA.		
Bhumij	134	...
Munda	134	111
Oraon	104	138
Pan	125	91
Santal	188	86

as already stated, the former practise early marriage more than the latter. (3) It is generally high amongst Baidyas (191), Brahmans (258), Kayasths (276), Rajputs (283) and other castes forming the upper strata of Hindu society. The proportion is higher still amongst Goalas (323), Chasi Kaibarttas (302), Kumhars (307), Nama-sudras (304), Sadgops (326), Sutradhars (285), Telis and Tilis (313), etc. All of these are castes ranking low in the social scale, who look upon the prohibition of widow remarriage as a visible sign of respectability and good status. (4) Widows are comparatively few amongst the low castes, like Chamars (140) Doms (197), Muchis (181), etc., who allow widow marriage freely, especially in Bihar and Orissa.

687. Widows are relatively more numerous than widowers at all ages and in all religions. Even in the Muhammadan community, where the remarriage of widows is not only countenanced, but even enjoined by Muhammadan law, widowers remarry far less frequently than widows. The disparity of the number of widowers and widows is even more pronounced in the case of the Hindus, who allow men to marry as often as they please, but, to a large extent, lay a ban on widows taking a second husband. The restrictions on marriage already referred to are, however, effectual in making the number of men who have the

Proportion of the widowed per mille of each sex in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

AGE.	ALL RELIGIONS.		HINDU.		MUSALMAN.		ANIMIST.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
ALL AGES ...	43	190	53	212	26	160	30	114
0—5 ... ..	...	1	1	2	...	1	0.1	1
5—10	2	7	4	10	...	4	0.3	2
10—15	6	24	9	30	2	17	1	7
15—20	13	54	17	67	7	35	8	30
20—40	41	170	48	190	29	139	36	100
40—60	133	573	133	575	68	596	85	394
60 and over ...	256	858	296	857	178	879	210	737

courage to contract a second marriage less than in the case of either Musalmans or Animists.

688. Both in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa there has been a steady decline during the last three decades in the proportion of widows at almost all age periods.

This seems to be due to the gradual rise in the age of marriage, and partly perhaps, in a small degree, to the greater prevalence of widow marriage. Amongst the educated members of some of the higher Hindu castes of Bengal, there is, as is well known, a movement in favour of the marriage of young widows, and a few such marriages have actually taken place among Hindu families of high social status. The proportion of widowers at different age periods has increased during the decennium amongst the Hindus and Animists, as well as in the general population of the two provinces, but has decreased among the Muhammadans.

689. The early marriage of girls is often associated with widow marriage, *e.g.*, in North Bihar both early marriage and widow marriage are more prevalent than elsewhere. Castes which get their children married

RELATION BETWEEN EARLY MARRIAGE AND WIDOW MARRIAGE.

at a tender age often allow widows to take a second husband, as will be seen

CASTE.	LOCALITY.	Number of married girls per 1,000 aged 5-10.	Number of widows per 1,000 females aged 20-40.
I.—Dhanuk	... Bihar	630	132
Goala ...	... Do.	436	125
Koiri ...	... Do.	370	131
Teli ...	... Do.	409	125
II.—Babhan	... Bihar	113	228
Gaura ...	... Orissa	96	148
Karan ...	... Do.	17	192
Kayasth	... Bengal	83	276
Kayasth	... Bihar	60	217
Khandait	... Orissa	42	194
III.—Bagdi	... Bengal	244	278
Gandhabank	... Do.	156	244
Goala ...	... Do.	313	322
Kaibartta	... Do.	210	380
Sadgop	... Do.	218	326

from the marginal table. The first group consists of castes with a low proportion of widows of the reproductive age and a high proportion of married girls of 5—10. The second group consists of castes in which the converse is the case. To this rule, however, there are many exceptions in the case of Hindu castes in Bengal, like those shown in the third group, which look upon the prohibition of widow marriage as a token of respectability, but at the same time generally marry at an early age. It must be remembered, moreover, that widow

marriage is not inconsistent with the absence of early marriage, for there are many communities, *e.g.*, Christians, Brahmos, aboriginal tribes, etc., which marry when they are adults and allow their widows to resume the married state if they desire to do so.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—PART I.—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF
1,000 OF EACH SEX, RELIGION AND MAIN AGE PERIOD AT EACH OF THE
LAST FOUR CENSUSES.

BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.

RELIGION, SEX AND AGE.	UNMARRIED.				MARRIED.				WIDOWED.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ALL RELIGIONS.												
MALES	481	477	478	467	476	482	480	493	43	41	42	40
0-5	991	990	993	960	9	10	6	39	2	2	1	1
5-10	942	941	945	826	56	57	53	185	6	5	6	6
10-15	842	837	826	809	152	158	168	414	13	12	12	14
15-20	626	608	594	572	361	380	394	829	41	37	38	38
20-40	136	134	132	133	823	828	830	882	133	106	107	97
40-60	28	26	21	21	839	868	872	750	256	240	245	231
60 and over	21	21	14	19	723	739	741					
FEMALES	327	318	315	297	483	483	481	490	190	199	204	213
0-5	982	977	983	884	17	22	16	111	1	1	1	5
5-10	851	836	827	313	142	156	167	657	7	8	6	30
10-15	422	402	372	50	554	572	604	885	24	26	24	65
15-20	77	77	64	9	869	868	882	802	54	55	54	189
20-40	15	16	10	4	815	808	809	428	170	176	181	568
40-60	7	7	4	4	420	415	416	858	573	578	580	858
60 and over	6	6	3	6	136	131	117					
HINDU.												
MALES	453	450	454	445	494	501	496	508	53	49	50	47
0-5	987	985	990	945	12	15	9	54	1	3	1	1
5-10	913	912	922	758	83	85	75	234	4	7	3	3
10-15	790	789	777	537	201	204	215	447	9	7	8	3
15-20	582	567	556	401	418	429	447	819	17	15	15	16
20-40	139	141	140	138	817	817	817	861	48	42	43	43
40-60	29	33	28	26	838	844	846	714	133	123	126	113
60 and over	26	25	18	22	678	701	701		296	274	281	264
FEMALES	297	290	291	278	491	492	487	495	212	218	222	227
0-5	974	968	978	861	24	30	21	133	2	2	1	6
5-10	808	793	791	300	182	197	201	666	10	10	8	34
10-15	383	370	350	50	587	600	621	871	30	30	29	79
15-20	72	75	59	9	861	859	876	786	67	66	65	205
20-40	13	14	8	3	797	792	793	431	190	194	199	566
40-60	6	7	4	3	419	416	418	857	575	577	578	857
60 and over	6	5	3	5	137	132	117					
MUSALMAN.												
MALES	524	516	513	504	450	457	460	469	26	27	27	27
0-5	998	996	997	988	2	4	3	12	...	...	...	...
5-10	981	980	982	898	19	19	18	99	...	1	...	3
10-15	920	912	904	642	78	86	93	349	2	2	3	9
15-20	696	675	657	119	297	317	335	853	7	8	8	26
20-40	125	116	111	9	846	855	861	927	29	29	28	64
40-60	12	11	8	11	920	919	924	821	68	70	68	168
60 and over	11	10	4		811	814	820		178	176	176	
FEMALES	362	351	341	322	478	478	479	485	160	171	180	193
0-5	993	987	988	918	6	12	11	79	1	1	1	3
5-10	901	887	872	292	95	108	124	686	4	5	4	22
10-15	426	402	346	29	557	578	636	929	17	20	18	42
15-20	44	44	33	7	921	917	930	830	35	39	37	163
20-40	11	11	7	4	850	842	841	404	139	147	152	592
40-60	4	6	4	6	400	391	385	879	596	603	611	873
60 and over	4	4	3	6	117	112	101					
CHRISTIAN.												
MALES	588	594	599	597	385	374	375	377	27	32	26	26
0-5	998	997	994	994	2	3	6	6	...	...	...	...
5-10	999	994	988	957	6	6	11	42	...	...	...	1
10-15	969	970	965	822	30	29	34	174	1	1	1	4
15-20	813	812	780	380	181	184	214	598	6	4	6	22
20-40	266	305	302	83	708	663	673	837	26	32	25	80
40-60	54	59	74	69	868	842	847	779	78	99	79	184
60 and over	41	39	37		748	745			211	216	184	
FEMALES	497	492	492	467	395	387	389	401	108	121	119	132
0-5	998	996	996	989	2	4	4	10	...	...	...	1
5-10	992	992	988	847	7	7	9	149	...	...	...	4
10-15	893	872	855	567	104	123	141	597	3	5	2	20
15-20	415	430	380	383	567	551	598	804	18	19	22	113
20-40	89	93	89	83	824	796	810	532	87	111	101	436
40-60	42	32	34	32	581	557	548	743	377	411	418	777
60 and over	31	29	23	38	226	207	207					

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—PART I.—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX, RELIGION AND MAIN AGE PERIOD AT EACH OF THE LAST FOUR CENSUSES—*concluded*.

BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA—*concluded*.

RELIGION, SEX AND AGE.	UNMARRIED.				MARRIED.				WIDOWED.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ANIMIST.												
MALES	558	575	582	550	412	399	393	431	30	26	25	19
0—5	996	997	997	988	4	3	3	12	1	...	...	...
5—10	990	985	993	988	10	11	7	12	3	4	...	...
10—15	937	935	931	904	62	64	67	95	1	1	2	1
15—20	699	702	686	638	293	291	306	354	8	7	8	8
20—40	154	166	160	122	810	804	810	856	36	30	30	22
40—60	21	21	18	12	894	902	911	935	85	77	71	53
60 and over	16	17	11	18	774	800	817	831	210	183	172	151
FEMALES	476	485	496	459	410	400	396	434	114	115	108	107
0—5	996	993	996	977	3	6	4	22	1	1	...	1
5—10	978	977	979	977	20	21	20	22	2	2	1	...
10—15	800	798	802	731	193	194	191	261	7	8	7	8
15—20	362	376	380	265	608	593	594	707	30	31	26	28
20—40	65	71	68	30	835	827	837	885	100	102	95	85
40—60	23	24	21	8	583	576	619	626	394	400	360	366
60 and over	18	17	15	15	245	235	259	258	737	748	726	727

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—PART II.—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX, RELIGION AND MAIN AGE PERIOD IN 1911.

RELIGION, SEX AND AGE.	BENGAL.			BIHAR AND ORISSA.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ALL RELIGIONS.						
MALES	511	454	35	444	504	52
0—5	999	1	...	982	17	1
5—10	988	11	1	885	110	5
10—15	940	59	1	724	264	12
15—20	720	274	6	498	479	23
20—40	151	817	32	117	830	53
40—60	30	833	137	27	845	128
60 and over	18	752	230	25	688	287
FEMALES	336	463	201	317	505	178
0—5	995	5	...	966	32	2
5—10	897	99	4	795	194	11
10—15	377	599	24	472	503	25
15—20	43	896	61	130	828	42
20—40	11	792	197	19	841	140
40—60	4	346	650	9	494	497
60 and over	4	93	903	8	175	817
HINDU.						
MALES	487	464	49	429	516	55
0—5	998	2	...	980	19	1
5—10	989	11	...	868	126	6
10—15	938	60	2	696	290	14
15—20	721	273	6	474	501	25
20—40	174	789	37	114	831	55
40—60	32	836	132	28	839	133
60 and over	25	679	296	32	836	132
FEMALES	292	451	257	300	516	184
0—5	994	5	1	962	36	2
5—10	874	120	6	769	219	12
10—15	295	671	34	434	539	27
15—20	33	874	93	104	851	45
20—40	10	724	266	15	841	144
40—60	4	301	695	7	490	503
60 and over	3	80	917	7	171	822

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX AT CERTAIN AGES IN THE MAIN RELIGIONS AND IN EACH NATURAL DIVISION.

MALES.												FEMALES.																									
RELIGION AND NATURAL DIVISION.		All ages.		0—5.		5—10.		10—15.		15—40.		40 and over.		All ages.		0—5.		5—10.		10—15.		15—43.		40 and over.													
		Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Widowed.	Married.											
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
BENGAL—																																					
All religions	...	511	454	35	999	1	01	988	11	1	940	59	1	273	701	26	20	852	128	336	463	201	935	5	5	897	99	4	377	599	24	19	817	164	4	279	717
Hindu	...	487	464	49	998	2	05	989	11	4	985	60	2	289	630	31	30	801	169	292	451	257	994	5	1	874	120	6	295	671	34	16	760	224	4	240	756
Musalman	...	531	445	24	999	1	03	988	12	3	940	58	2	255	723	22	10	904	86	363	475	157	995	4	1	909	87	4	419	564	17	18	869	113	3	312	685
WEST BENGAL—																																					
All religions	...	479	475	46	993	2	06	991	9	3	923	70	2	261	717	22	26	805	168	271	473	256	993	6	1	854	140	6	271	693	36	16	772	212	3	258	739
Hindu	...	477	473	50	993	2	05	991	9	3	927	71	2	264	707	29	29	790	181	260	470	270	992	7	1	840	153	7	230	730	40	13	758	229	4	244	752
Musalman	...	476	463	31	993	2	1	988	12	4	930	79	1	262	716	22	13	881	106	295	497	203	995	5	3	889	106	5	358	623	19	13	847	140	4	300	696
CENTRAL BENGAL—																																					
All religions	...	470	493	37	997	3	07	980	19	1	931	67	2	264	712	24	22	846	132	282	476	242	990	9	1	843	151	6	235	733	32	15	788	197	6	252	742
Hindu	...	454	499	47	997	3	09	987	12	1	930	68	2	276	696	28	30	809	161	265	456	279	991	8	1	842	151	7	212	748	40	12	744	244	6	231	763
Musalman	...	484	489	27	997	3	06	974	26	4	932	67	1	243	737	20	11	891	98	295	498	207	989	10	1	841	154	5	240	735	25	13	835	152	4	272	724
NORTH BENGAL—																																					
All religions	...	515	448	37	999	1	02	983	12	4	932	66	2	266	699	35	21	855	124	357	458	185	997	3	3	897	98	5	365	610	25	24	825	151	4	276	720
Hindu	...	499	448	53	999	1	04	982	18	5	934	64	2	310	647	43	35	798	167	344	427	229	997	3	4	904	90	6	422	549	29	27	763	210	4	247	749
Musalman	...	524	449	27	999	1	02	991	9	3	929	69	2	283	738	29	10	898	92	359	478	163	997	3	3	888	103	4	304	673	23	17	863	130	3	283	714
EAST BENGAL—																																					
All religions	...	542	480	28	999	1	02	991	9	3	932	47	1	288	690	22	16	876	108	375	457	163	996	4	4	929	68	3	478	506	16	19	847	134	3	306	691
Hindu	...	515	440	45	999	1	05	993	7	3	958	41	1	254	716	30	28	809	163	316	441	243	995	4	1	907	88	5	353	621	26	14	770	216	3	238	759
Musalman	...	554	426	20	999	1	01	990	10	3	970	49	1	272	709	19	10	914	76	400	465	135	996	4	3	936	61	3	520	468	12	19	885	96	3	343	654

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX AT CERTAIN AGES IN THE MAIN RELIGIONS AND IN EACH NATURAL DIVISION.

MALES.																			FEMALES.																			
All ages.						0—5.			5—10.			10—15.			15—40.			40 and over.			All ages.			0—5.			5—10.			10—15.			15—40.			40 and over.		
Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37		
RELIGION AND NATURAL DIVISION.																																						
BIHAR AND ORISSA—																																						
...	444	504	52	982	17	1	885	110	5	724	264	12	196	757	47	26	809	165	317	505	178	966	32	2	795	194	11	472	503	25	40	838	122	9	405	586		
...	429	516	55	980	19	1	868	126	6	696	290	14	188	763	49	27	802	171	300	516	184	961	36	3	769	219	12	434	539	27	32	843	125	8	400	592		
...	474	481	45	988	12	5	933	65	2	776	217	7	203	755	42	18	837	145	328	491	181	978	20	2	847	147	6	469	512	19	28	843	123	8	388	604		
NORTH BIHAR—																																						
...	394	546	60	966	32	2	793	198	9	598	381	21	165	779	56	33	799	168	267	545	188	937	59	4	674	308	18	343	620	37	23	852	125	7	413	580		
...	376	561	63	961	37	2	761	228	11	557	419	24	153	789	58	29	788	183	253	538	189	928	68	4	634	345	21	313	647	40	21	854	125	7	418	575		
...	482	473	45	990	10	5	936	62	2	790	203	7	223	735	42	18	842	140	331	486	183	977	21	2	832	142	6	484	495	21	30	843	127	8	381	611		
SOUTH BIHAR—																																						
...	408	520	72	982	17	1	877	118	5	637	348	15	168	765	67	39	754	207	280	527	193	968	30	2	772	217	11	354	617	29	19	848	133	7	407	586		
...	402	524	74	982	17	1	871	124	5	632	362	16	165	767	68	41	750	209	277	531	192	966	32	2	761	227	12	340	630	30	18	846	134	7	418	585		
...	462	478	60	932	17	1	936	62	2	752	212	6	182	766	52	17	797	186	308	494	198	985	14	1	866	127	7	472	510	18	28	845	127	8	393	599		
ORISSA—																																						
...	525	435	40	1,000	3	Nil	996	4	06	969	31	4	372	618	10	18	854	128	343	443	214	999	1	0004	967	32	1	683	305	12	31	850	119	6	410	584		
...	523	437	40	1,000	3	..	996	4	07	968	32	4	314	663	23	17	828	155	341	444	215	999	1	01	966	33	1	678	310	12	38	816	146	5	323	672		
...	579	398	23	999	1	..	997	3	1	985	15	4	334	648	18	16	884	100	384	418	198	999	1	Nil	986	13	1	824	175	3	41	833	126	4	329	667		
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU—																																						
...	495	469	36	994	6	2	959	40	1	826	170	4	298	753	33	20	849	131	390	465	145	985	14	1	889	106	5	591	395	14	34	859	107	14	427	559		
...	476	486	38	993	7	3	952	46	2	798	197	5	192	774	34	19	845	136	363	481	156	983	16	1	865	130	5	524	459	17	49	850	101	11	407	562		
...	433	354	33	986	13	1	905	93	2	660	331	9	122	846	32	18	867	115	328	532	140	970	28	2	774	219	7	319	662	19	21	881	98	9	441	550		

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—DISTRIBUTION BY MAIN AGE PERIODS AND
CIVIL CONDITION OF 10,000 OF EACH SEX AND RELIGION, 1911.**

RELIGION AND AGE.	MALE.			FEMALE.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BENGAL.						
ALL RELIGIONS	5,113	4,535	352	3,359	4,633	2,008
0—10	2,858	19	1	2,905	162	8
10—15	1,112	69	2	369	588	24
15—40	1,104	2,834	107	78	3,378	676
40 and upwards	39	1,613	242	7	505	1,300
HINDU	4,672	4,643	485	2,923	4,510	2,567
0—10	2,526	17	1	2,572	176	10
10—15	1,049	68	2	276	626	32
15—40	1,235	2,903	132	67	3,207	948
40 and upwards	62	1,655	350	8	501	1,577
MUSALMAN	5,308	4,454	238	3,678	4,750	1,572
0—10	3,143	22	1	3,176	156	7
10—15	1,167	72	2	426	573	17
15—40	981	2,786	85	71	3,527	460
40 and upwards	17	1,674	150	5	494	1,088
BIHAR AND ORISSA.						
ALL RELIGIONS	4,439	5,036	525	3,173	5,046	1,781
0—10	2,728	198	9	2,520	335	19
10—15	899	327	15	476	508	25
15—40	761	2,935	181	159	3,338	484
40 and upwards	51	1,576	320	18	865	1,253
HINDU	4,287	5,157	556	3,004	5,158	1,838
0—10	2,641	223	10	2,427	372	21
10—15	855	356	17	434	538	27
15—40	737	2,994	192	127	3,376	501
40 and upwards	54	1,584	337	16	872	1,289
MUSALMAN	4,740	4,810	450	3,277	4,915	1,808
0—10	2,989	128	4	2,699	256	13
10—15	973	273	9	450	491	19
15—40	743	2,766	152	112	3,336	483
40 and upwards	35	1,643	285	16	832	1,293

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—PROPORTION OF THE SEXES BY CIVIL CONDITION
AT CERTAIN AGES FOR THE MAIN RELIGIONS AND NATURAL DIVISIONS.**

Number of Females per 1,000 Males.

NATURAL DIVISION AND RELIGION.	ALL AGES.			0—10.			10—15.			15—40.			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
BENGAL.															
All religions ...	621	965	5,402	961	7,897	11,638	314	8,006	11,926	67	1,127	5,981	173	296	5,080
Hindu ...	558	904	4,929	948	9,889	12,892	245	8,601	15,080	50	1,028	6,664	123	282	4,200
Musalman ...	664	1,022	6,363	968	6,817	10,750	350	7,609	9,153	69	1,213	5,208	287	301	6,963
WEST BENGAL.															
All religions ...	559	982	5,462	925	13,092	16,046	232	7,841	15,868	62	1,087	7,687	157	336	4,631
Hindu ...	536	980	5,344	918	15,383	19,274	197	8,237	16,403	50	1,069	7,992	133	326	4,405
Musalman ...	614	1,001	6,696	944	8,200	7,980	304	6,122	12,000	57	1,164	6,179	318	357	6,885

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—PROPORTION OF THE SEXES BY CIVIL CONDITION
AT CERTAIN AGES FOR THE MAIN RELIGIONS AND NATURAL
DIVISIONS—*concluded*.

NATURAL DIVISION AND RELIGION.	ALL AGES.			0—10.			10—15.			18—40.			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
CENTRAL BENGAL.															
All religions ...	526	846	5,698	908	6,787	10,304	187	8,095	13,515	48	927	6,873	237	272	5,153
Hindu ...	496	779	5,083	915	10,028	9,262	167	8,059	15,336	35	837	6,826	176	261	4,339
Musalman ...	552	924	6,942	900	5,309	12,196	190	8,154	11,514	48	1,028	7,081	356	282	6,814
NORTH BENGAL.															
All religions ...	642	946	4,579	958	7,508	11,261	300	7,033	9,684	85	1,126	4,165	144	266	4,760
Hindu ...	607	840	3,816	972	4,710	9,356	345	6,553	10,318	75	1,025	4,259	94	244	3,527
Musalman ...	654	1,017	5,706	948	10,838	13,762	248	7,445	9,596	73	1,186	4,210	261	271	6,668
EAST BENGAL.															
All religions ...	671	1,030	5,817	994	6,985	10,861	405	8,748	10,360	68	1,252	6,172	165	305	5,609
Hindu ...	589	961	5,205	985	11,046	14,756	291	11,862	17,427	43	1,145	7,618	92	273	4,321
Musalman ...	703	1,062	6,520	998	5,873	9,008	444	7,688	7,798	74	1,300	5,206	268	317	7,226
BIHAR AND ORISSA.															
All religions ...	745	1,045	3,535	963	1,763	2,274	552	1,619	1,732	218	1,186	2,785	372	573	4,076
Hindu ...	728	1,040	3,442	955	1,739	2,196	528	1,571	1,671	179	1,172	2,716	313	572	3,981
Musalman ...	743	1,098	4,314	970	2,146	3,235	497	1,933	2,359	162	1,296	3,410	497	544	4,870
NORTH BIHAR.															
All religions ...	716	1,057	3,296	937	1,572	2,050	473	1,343	1,430	153	1,201	2,462	258	601	4,010
Hindu ...	711	1,051	3,147	926	1,534	1,992	466	1,246	1,370	151	1,182	2,334	280	617	3,869
Musalman ...	732	1,093	4,401	976	2,222	3,384	489	1,954	2,502	151	1,309	3,406	466	524	5,041
SOUTH BIHAR.															
All religions ...	710	1,048	2,750	949	1,782	2,221	459	1,460	1,575	122	1,181	2,133	191	603	3,174
Hindu ...	702	1,034	2,663	945	1,782	2,187	447	1,417	1,535	113	1,156	2,059	172	599	3,086
Musalman ...	785	1,216	3,886	984	1,772	2,926	548	2,183	2,611	209	1,481	3,309	595	637	4,166
ORISSA.															
All religions ...	706	1,101	5,784	1,004	7,494	17,750	650	9,099	23,717	135	1,352	6,910	417	481	5,408
Hindu ...	705	1,099	5,727	1,005	7,639	18,211	647	9,110	24,171	132	1,347	6,883	413	481	5,343
Musalman ...	741	1,175	9,487	977	3,125	8,000	722	9,928	6,000	149	1,561	8,698	354	479	9,800
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.															
All religions ...	803	1,010	4,150	983	2,606	3,848	616	2,002	2,843	365	1,123	3,248	754	550	4,696
Hindu ...	774	1,005	4,197	973	2,732	3,699	560	1,983	2,836	285	1,106	3,308	626	530	4,741
Musalman ...	740	973	4,054	929	2,254	3,016	389	1,606	1,681	173	1,023	3,058	519	517	4,833
Christian ...	887	1,026	4,103	1,028	1,037	4,222	792	3,308	4,455	519	1,190	2,861	768	652	4,771
Animist ...	886	1,039	3,982	1,020	1,670	7,096	780	2,517	4,431	571	1,214	3,068	1,211	622	4,481

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX AT CERTAIN AGES FOR SELECTED CASTES.

		DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 MALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.										DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 FEMALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
CASTE.	LOCALITY.	ALL AGES.					0-5					5-12					12-20					20-40					40 and over.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																									
		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.	Married.	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SUBSIDIARY TABLE V—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX AT CERTAIN AGES FOR SELECTED CASTES—continued.

		DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 MALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.												DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 FEMALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.																							
CASTE.	Locality.	ALL AGES.				0-5				5-12				12-20				20-40				40 and over.															
		Unmarried.		Married.		Unmarried.		Married.		Unmarried.		Married.		Unmarried.		Married.		Unmarried.		Married.		Unmarried.		Married.													
		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
1	2	487	458	55	998	978	21	982	17	770	221	9	164	788	48	28	790	184	301	458	241	993	6	1	503	185	6	81	844	75	11	719	270	3	270	727	
DHOBA (Hindu)	Bengal	415	531	54	978	21	1	806	187	7	546	430	24	84	863	53	17	815	188	305	527	168	956	40	4	710	277	13	235	724	41	16	859	125	18	417	565
DHUNIA (Musalman)	Bihar and Orissa	397	554	49	976	23	1	773	221	6	373	602	25	46	895	59	14	844	142	272	568	160	960	38	2	561	424	15	114	832	54	13	874	113	6	461	533
DOM (Hindu)	Bengal	424	517	59	986	4	...	984	36	2	597	337	16	91	848	61	29	799	172	263	528	209	986	13	1	723	967	8	107	830	63	8	795	197	5	354	641
DOM (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	435	516	49	980	19	1	891	103	6	457	499	44	55	896	49	28	826	146	354	517	129	977	33	2	749	240	11	193	736	51	46	833	121	55	497	448
DOSADH (Hindu)	Bengal	222	720	58	980	20	...	825	173	2	483	493	22	72	872	56	16	872	112	217	570	213	1,000	...	...	785	215	...	185	784	31	22	815	163	6	460	534
EUROPEANS AND ALLIED RACES (Christian).	Bengal	649	321	30	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	979	20	1	671	312	17	937	669	94	514	406	80	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	911	88	1	311	643	46	213	526	261
EUROPEANS AND ALLIED RACES (Christian).	Bihar and Orissa	591	354	35	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	960	40	...	575	335	40	225	633	142	503	431	66	1,000	...	...	1,000	...	...	854	146	...	273	692	35	189	579	232
GANDHABANIK (Hindu).	Bengal	456	493	51	995	5	...	987	13	5	771	221	8	156	803	41	29	814	157	295	462	243	997	3	...	837	156	7	64	833	103	13	743	244	4	282	714
GARO (Hindu)	Bengal	487	501	12	1,000	...	...	983	17	...	822	178	...	149	837	14	9	937	34	362	534	104	1,000	...	...	874	121	5	169	762	69	13	897	90	...	601	399
GARO (Animist)	Bengal	535	444	21	999	1	...	978	22	4	748	241	11	121	831	28	10	926	64	435	485	80	993	4	1	903	90	5	266	703	31	18	895	87	8	585	407
GAURA (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	501	460	39	1,000	2	...	977	23	3	779	218	3	134	831	35	10	845	145	327	469	204	1,000	...	...	902	96	2	280	695	25	10	842	148	4	339	637
GOALA (Ahrir) (Hindu)	Bengal	434	503	63	986	4	1	978	21	1	739	260	11	166	785	49	37	776	193	247	457	296	992	7	1	673	313	14	82	824	114	10	687	323	4	247	749
GOALA (Ahrir) (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	345	578	77	954	44	2	634	300	16	363	594	43	69	848	83	19	778	203	253	579	168	923	72	5	538	436	26	141	807	52	12	863	125	9	457	534
GOND (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	517	456	27	1,000	1	...	972	28	1	697	293	5	98	868	34	12	885	103	407	449	144	1,000	...	...	884	114	2	343	638	19	25	866	109	11	371	618
GURUNG	Bengal	542	433	25	999	1	...	990	10	...	839	159	2	192	790	18	77	818	105	468	452	80	993	5	...	988	12	...	670	327	3	88	858	54	18	660	322
HAIJAM AND NAPIIT (Hindu).	Bengal	487	454	59	999	1	...	985	14	1	775	216	9	165	787	48	28	771	201	285	443	266	992	7	1	775	215	10	72	838	90	7	695	298	4	248	748
HAIJAM (Musalman)	Bihar and Orissa	378	557	65	966	28	6	760	228	12	357	600	43	62	868	70	28	796	176	268	561	171	948	49	3	597	382	21	130	807	63	18	838	124	14	439	547
HARI (Hindu)	Bengal	452	507	41	983	17	...	931	44	5	557	416	27	91	872	37	47	829	124	283	455	262	990	10	...	625	339	36	180	730	90	85	621	294	38	156	806
HARI (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	439	486	75	996	4	5	926	73	1	522	468	20	80	838	52	15	764	221	317	509	174	982	18	4	810	186	4	190	780	30	17	855	128	4	435	561
INDIAN CHRISTIAN (Christian).	Bengal	455	486	59	993	2	...	930	19	1	672	307	21	103	835	62	23	803	174	299	501	200	992	8	2	786	207	7	111	832	57	10	801	189	12	334	654
INDIAN CHRISTIAN (Christian).	Bihar and Orissa	532	421	47	1,000	...	...	959	11	...	592	103	5	120	831	49	12	818	179	454	427	119	1,000	...	...	978	22	...	501	485	14	29	887	84	7	449	544
JOGI (Hindu)	Bengal	559	405	36	997	3	...	994	6	3	917	79	4	217	743	40	45	831	194	445	424	131	998	2	1	932	18	3	459	521	20	67	808	125	34	457	509
JOLAHA (Musalman)	Bengal	586	390	24	997	3	1	993	7	2	874	122	4	125	847	28	17	881	102	508	391	101	998	2	3	937	12	1	673	318	9	54	863	83	18	523	459
KAHAR (Hindu)	Bengal	512	442	46	999	1	1	987	13	2	820	175	5	176	790	34	38	793	169	296	459	245	996	4	3	794	199	7	52	882	66	13	727	260	3	239	768
KALWAR (Hindu)	Bengal	445	517	38	998	2	1	962	37	1	650	341	9	88	872	40	23	856	121	298	523	179	949	11	4	723	270	7	104	862	34	12	839	149	4	332	664
KALWAR (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	437	517	56	983	16	1	826	168	6	400	565	35	59	851	60	17	811	172	305	546	149	967	31	2	635	306	9	139	826	35	15	880	105	12	465	523
KAHAR (Hindu)	Bengal	736	525	52	993	7	...	940	60	...	432	560	8	103	846	51	21	875	104	237	570	193	997	3	...	782	216	2	244	705	51	68	772	160	6	490	504
KAHAR (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	410	525	65	983	12	2	875	120	5	450	521	29	59	862	79	16	803	181	271	529	200	978	20	2	729	258	13	123	838	39	12	850	138	7	390	603
KALWAR (Hindu)	Bengal	374	517	109	1,000	...	...	937	35	8	456	511	33	115	764	121	27	681	292	253	454	283	1,000	...	...	781	210	9	110	820	70	7	813	380	2	272	726
KALWAR (Hindu)	Bengal	497	450	53	999	1	1	938	11	1	787	206	7	182	774	44	29	788	183	310	449	241	993	6	1	817	177	6	118	803	79	14	720	266	4	257	739
KALWAR (Hindu)	Bengal	494	451	55	995	5	1	933	16	1	753	234	13	155	796	49	27	786	187	279	458	263	988	11	1	741	247	12	76	815	109	12	686	302	7	272	721
KALWAR (Hindu)	Bihar and Orissa	409	523	68	935	14	1	840	154	6	472	493	33	89	836	75	22	785	193	281	529	190	962	35	3	711	277	12	141	824	35	11	854	135	7	407	586
KAMAR (Hindu)	Bengal	471	467	62	998	2	1	932	17	1	755	231	14	158	788	54	32	775	193	281	464	255	993	6	1	767	223	10	90	818	92	11	716	273	4	283	713

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—DISTRIBUTION BY CIVIL CONDITION OF 1,000 OF EACH SEX AT CERTAIN AGES FOR SELECTED CASTES—concluded.

DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 MALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.										DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 FEMALES OF EACH AGE BY CIVIL CONDITION.																													
CASTE.	LOCALITY.	ALL AGES.				0-5				5-12				12-20				20-40				40 and over.																	
		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.											
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40 and over.
SANTAL (Animist) ...	Bengal ... Bihar and Orissa ...	544 568	420 403	36 29	993 996	2 4	1 2	985 990	14 10	1 1	789 694	198 294	13 8	147 119	813 843	40 38	16 17	863 858	121 125	450 485	426 425	124 90	998 994	2 5	1 1	963 973	35 26	2 1	412 438	532 522	36 20	32 46	846 868	122 86	12 12	483 545	505 443		
SONAR (Hindu) ...	Bengal ... Bihar and Orissa ...	375 429	539 498	85 73	1,000 935	... 12	... 3	937 877	13 118	... 5	633 520	312 441	55 39	184 103	730 825	86 72	26 28	808 759	166 213	264 301	503 509	233 190	1,000 974	... 24	... 2	947 755	53 233	... 12	287 160	634 787	79 53	21 12	692 853	287 155	... 8	523 411	477 581		
SUBARNABANIK (Hindu).	Bengal ...	421	531	48	999	1	...	932	17	1	751	239	10	162	801	37	98	772	130	250	510	240	934	16	...	889	108	3	188	757	55	17	732	251	8	428	564		
SUDRA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	532	400	68	1,000	4	1	985	14	1	776	217	7	183	760	57	24	727	249	339	425	233	999	1	3	899	93	3	198	751	51	46	717	237	21	288	691		
SUNRI (Hindu) ...	Bengal ... Bihar and Orissa ...	470 341	454 583	76 73	997 940	3 58	... 2	961 650	38 333	1 17	647 318	337 632	20 50	192 49	748 871	70 80	45 9	738 798	217 193	284 254	448 564	268 182	992 930	7 66	1 4	718 497	274 476	8 27	115 132	788 794	97 74	13 18	663 830	324 152	4 26	306 430	690 544		
SUTRADHAR (Hindu)	Bengal ...	495	448	57	999	1	...	990	10	1	789	201	10	174	777	49	23	783	189	300	445	255	997	3	2	814	179	7	104	815	81	8	707	285	4	251	745		
TANTI AND TATWA (Hindu).	Bengal ... Bihar and Orissa ...	448 361	494 582	58 57	998 948	1 49	1 3	982 656	17 325	1 19	723 433	261 524	16 43	138 63	808 880	54 52	33 15	791 835	171 150	273 237	471 580	256 183	993 913	7 84	4 3	741 517	251 455	8 28	121 155	791 797	88 48	11 11	711 858	278 131	8 6	314 431	678 563		
TELI AND TILI (Hindu).	Bengal ... Bihar and Orissa ...	457 364	476 570	67 66	999 960	1 36	... 4	978 720	22 267	3 13	693 377	292 583	15 40	158 61	787 870	55 69	40 20	745 799	215 181	245 263	434 566	290 171	991 939	8 58	1 3	678 570	309 409	13 21	87 132	808 813	105 55	11 12	676 863	313 125	3 10	271 434	726 557		
TIPARA (Hindu) ...	Bengal ...	544	419	37	987	13	...	994	6	...	853	144	3	101	860	39	8	847	145	496	435	69	1,000	2	...	935	15	1	488	502	10	20	937	43	7	596	396		
TIPARA (Animist) ...	Bengal ...	531	433	36	1,000	...	...	997	2	1	891	108	1	123	836	41	13	865	122	476	458	66	1,000	...	...	983	10	2	533	458	9	30	936	34	14	635	351
TIYAR (Hindu) ...	Bengal ... Bihar and Orissa ...	523 401	413 552	64 47	1,000 979	... 21	... 3	976 808	24 187	3 5	716 444	267 536	17 20	193 62	740 888	67 50	88 10	714 849	193 141	334 288	426 531	240 181	999 952	1 46	...	780 597	214 388	6 15	115 103	775 850	110 47	9 7	680 834	226 159	5 4	226 366	769 630		

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION.

690. The returns on which the discussion in this chapter is based will be found in Imperial Tables VIII and IX, in which the number of persons who are literate or illiterate is shown by age periods. In Table VIII statistics of literacy are given for the province as a whole, and for each religion returned, and also for the main religions in each district and city. The figures in Table IX deal with the literacy of individual castes, tribes and races grouped together for homogeneous localities. Further statistics, mainly proportional, are given in the following Subsidiary Tables at the end of this chapter :—

<i>Subsidiary Table</i>	<i>I.</i> —Education by age, sex and religion.
<i>Ditto</i>	<i>II.</i> —Education by age, sex and locality.
<i>Ditto</i>	<i>III.</i> —Education by religion, sex and locality.
<i>Ditto</i>	<i>IV.</i> —English education by age, sex and locality.
<i>Ditto</i>	<i>V.</i> —Progress of education since 1881.
<i>Ditto</i>	<i>VI.</i> —Education by caste.
<i>Ditto</i>	<i>VII.</i> —Number of educational institutions and pupils.
<i>Ditto</i>	<i>VIII.</i> —Main results of University examinations.
<i>Ditto</i>	<i>IX.</i> —Number and circulation of newspapers, etc.
<i>Ditto</i>	<i>X.</i> —Number of books published in each language.

691. At each of the last three censuses different instructions have been given regarding the entries relating to education to be made in the schedules. In 1891 the same classification was adopted as in 1881, the population being divided into three classes, viz., "Learning," "Literate" and "Illiterate." Those who were under instruction, either at home or at school or college, were entered as "Learning." Those who were not under instruction, but able both to read and write, were recorded as "Literate," and the remainder of the population as "Illiterate." It was found, however, that the return of the "Learning," i.e., children under instruction, was vitiated by the omission of children who had not long been at school, as they were entered as "Illiterate," and also of more advanced students, who were classed as "Literate." There were thus great discrepancies between the census returns of the number of "Learning," and the corresponding statistics of the Education Department. It was therefore decided in 1901 to confine the entry in the enumeration schedules to the two main categories of "Literate" and "Illiterate," the former being those who were able both to read and write, and the latter those who did not satisfy this standard. No other criterion, however, was laid down, and the standard to be adopted, in deciding whether a person could read or write, was left indeterminate. At this census a further condition was imposed, viz., that a person was to be recorded as literate only if he could write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it. The standard was therefore higher than that hitherto prescribed.

692. The new condition, if strictly applied, should have led to the exclusion of a number of persons who have hitherto been entered as literate, such as boys at school who can read and write a little, but are unable to write a letter, and also that large body of persons who can read but have not got further with their writing than signing their names or keeping accounts. In some cases the instructions were strictly followed, the result being a large diminution in the number of literates at early ages. In Nadia, for instance,

where the census was very carefully conducted, the number of literate persons under 10 years of age decreased by 47 per cent., and there was a decrease of 16 per cent. among those aged 10—15. On the other hand there was a small increase of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at the age period 15—20, and then an increase of 5 per cent. among those aged 20 and over. Elsewhere, the same exactitude was not shewn, especially in the case of persons able to read and write English. Still,

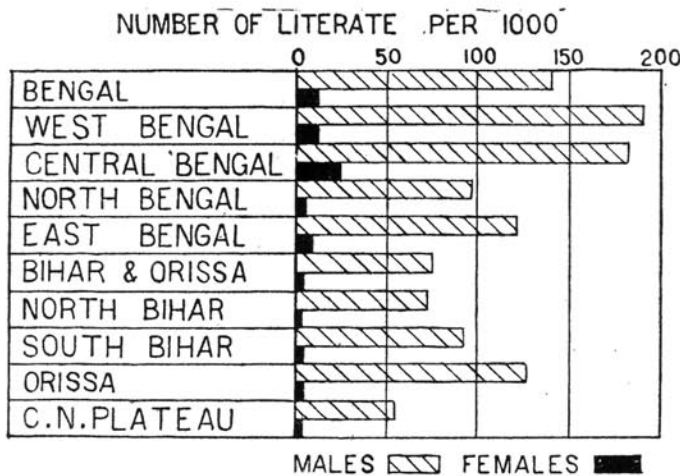
DIVISION.		NO. OF LITERATE MALES PER MILLE AGED 0—10.	
		1901.	1911.
West Bengal	...	49	36
Central "	...	37	34
North "	...	14	14
East "	...	17	16
North Bihar	...	9	10
South "	...	11	11
Orissa	...	25	12
Chota Nagpur plateau	...	8	6

the change in the instructions has affected the returns very materially, as may be realized from the marginal table, which shows that the proportion of literate males under 10 years of age has risen only in one division, is stationary in two and has fallen in five. It is perhaps superfluous to add that owing to the wider diffusion of primary education, and the natural growth of the population, since 1901, children under 10 would have shewn a large increase of literates had the definition remained the same.

BENGAL.

693. Taking the population as a whole, the total number of persons in Bengal who are literate is 3,575,231, or 7·7 per cent. of the population. Of these, 3,323,195 are males, and a little over a quarter of a million (252,036) are females : in other

EXTENT OF LITERACY.



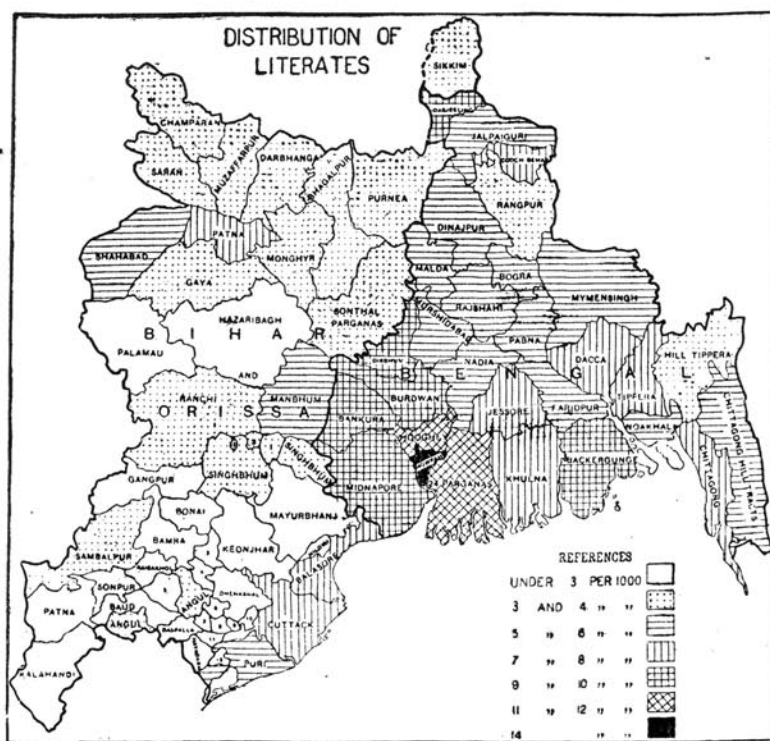
words, for every female who is able to read and write, there are 13 males. Considered in their proportion to the total male and female population, we find that one male in every seven and one female in every 99 is literate. This does not argue any very wide diffusion of education, but it must be remembered that a large proportion of the population consists of children who are either too young to learn or have only recently

begun their studies. Excluding those aged under 10, the proportion of literates among males is approximately one in five, and among females one in sixty-eight. There is a steady rise in the relative strength of male literates as they advance in years, the percentage being 14 per cent. between the ages of 10 and 15, and rising to 19 per cent. between 15 and 20, while at 20 and over it is 20 per cent. There is no such progressive advance in the case of females, for the ratio at the first two age periods is 18 and 19 per mille, respectively, and then falls (*i.e.*, among those aged 20 and over) to 13 per mille. The explanation of this apparent anomaly is that, the education of women being a development of comparatively recent times, the number of those who have received instruction is naturally greater among the younger generation. A secondary cause is that the education of a girl is rarely continued after she has left her home for her husband's house and undertaken the duties of married life.

694. Central Bengal is the most advanced part of the province from an educational point of view, 11 per cent. of the inhabitants fulfilling the standard of literacy. This position it owes mainly to the city of Calcutta with its large population of educated Europeans, Bengalis and others in professional, commercial and

clerical employment. West Bengal, with a proportion of 10 per cent., comes next on the list, and there is a marked decline in the other two divisions with their large Musalman communities. In East Bengal only one in 15 has even the rudiments of learning, and the nadir of ignorance is reached in North Bengal, only one out of every nineteen of its inhabitants being able to read and write.

As regards individual districts, Calcutta is *facile princeps*, one out of



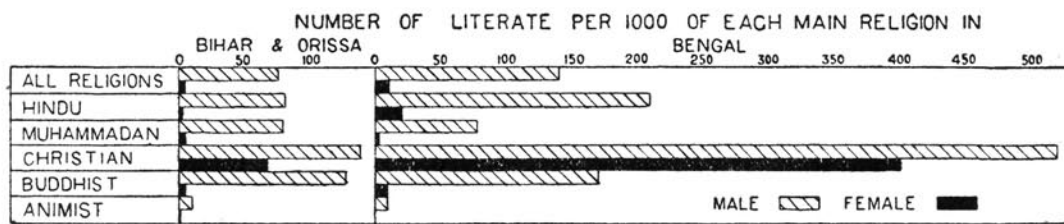
every three of its inhabitants having sufficient knowledge to pass the census test: this figure is surprisingly high considering how largely immigrants drawn from a low strata of society bulk in its population. There are four districts in which 10 per cent. or more of the people are literate, viz., Howrah (14), the 24-Parganas (12), Hooghly (11) and Burdwan (10). The district last named is closely followed by Darjeeling (9.9 per cent.), which has a considerable European

community; in only two other districts, viz., Midnapore and Bankura, does the literate population reach 9 per cent. At the bottom of the list come four districts and one State in which the ratio is under 5 per cent, viz., Mymensingh, Rajshahi, Rangpur, Malda and Hill Tippera. The State of Cooch Behar holds a comparatively high place, 7.4 per cent. of its population being literate. It is superior in this respect to no less than 16 of the Bengal districts, and is nearly on the same level as Dacca (7.5 per cent.), which is famous for the high standard attained by the people of the Bikrampur *pargana*. Education is, as might be expected, far more widely disseminated in the urban than among the rural population, more than one-third of the males and nearly one-seventh of the females resident in the towns or cities of Bengal being so far advanced as to come within the category of "Literate."

695. Though the Hindus constitute a little less than one half of the total population of Bengal, they contribute seven-tenths of the number of literates, and the Musalmans, who represent 52 per cent., barely three-tenths. The total number of Hindu literates is nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions and of Musalmans one million, so that approximately there are only two Musalmans to every five Hindus who can read and write. Christians alone account for 60,000 literates, of whom one-third are Indian converts, and Buddhists for 22,000. Excluding Europeans, the Brahmos have by far the highest proportion of literates, three-fourths of them being able both to read and write: among Brahmo children under 10 one out of every three is literate, which argues either great precocity or an inattention to the instructions that only those who could write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it were to be entered as literates. The proportion among other Indian communities is less than one-third of that among the Brahmos. The most advanced are the Indian Christians, of whom one-fourth are literate. Next come the Hindus with 12 per cent., and the Buddhists with 9 per cent. The backwardness of the Musalmans is apparent from the fact that only 4 per cent. can read and write. At the bottom of the list come the

DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION.

aboriginal races with an Animistic religion, who have a strength of nearly three-quarters of a million, but contribute less than 4,000 to the number of literates.



696. Education among the Hindus is most widely diffused in districts where they are least numerous. In East Bengal, where they are largely outnumbered by the Musalmans, out of every four Hindus is literate. In West Bengal, where the Hindus form a large majority, the proportion is only one in five. Of individual districts Backergunge contains more Hindu literates in proportion to its Hindu population than any other: then come, in order, Chittagong, Howrah, Tippera, Dacca and the 24-Parganas. The Hindus of Rangpur, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Hill Tippera are the most backward, less than 11 per cent. of them being included in the returns for literates.

In the case of Musalmans the same phenomenon is noticeable, viz., that the degree of literacy varies inversely with their strength. The highest place is held by the Musalmans of West Bengal, where they form a small minority, and the proportion of literates falls steadily as the community rises in numerical strength. In North Bengal only 8 per cent. of the Musalman males are literate, and the minimum is reached in East Bengal, where they are most numerous. In the division last named only one in every 15 Musalman males can read and write, whereas in West Bengal one in seven can do so. The districts in which the greatest ignorance appears to prevail among the adherents of Islam are Nadia, Mymensingh and Faridpur, where less than 5 per mille of the males are literate. The ratio is over 13 per cent. in all the districts of West Bengal; outside this area it is over 10 per cent. only in the 24-Parganas, Cooch Behar, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. In the last three districts only is education more general among Musalmans than Hindus, the explanation probably being that Jalpaiguri and Dinajpur include a large number of semi-Hinduized aborigines from the Chota Nagpur Plateau, while the Musalmans of Darjeeling include immigrants from more advanced tracts.

697. European and other cognate races, such as Australians and Americans, naturally head the list of literate races, but the extent of literacy among the Anglo-Indians is very nearly as great, 84 per cent. (or only 4 per cent. less) being able to read and write. The Brahmos come next with a ratio of 78. Among the Indian castes six stand in a class by themselves, viz., Baidya (53), Subarnabanik (45), Agarwala (42), Brahman (40), Kayasth (35) and Gandhabanik (31): the percentage of literates is shown in each case after the name. Three of these are trading castes, viz., Agarwala, Subarnabanik and Gandhabanik, with whom a knowledge of reading and writing is necessary to the transaction of business. Very different figures are returned for the males and females, as the latter take no active part in business and it is not therefore considered worth while educating them. The Subarnabaniks are the most liberal-minded, for among them 16 per cent. of the women can read and write, but only 4 per cent. and 5 per cent. respectively among the other two. It is noticeable that not only do the Baidyas come first in general literacy, but that their women are far more generally educated than those of any other caste. No less than 35 per cent. of the Baidya women are literate, and they leave the Brahman and Kayasth women far behind, the proportion in their cases being only 11 and 13 per cent. respectively. It may be added that the position of the Kayasth in the list, which is *primâ facie* low, may be ascribed to a large number of Sudras, a low caste of Eastern Bengal, passing themselves off as Kayasths.

As regards other castes, it is noticeable that two of the ambitious castes that are endeavouring to raise their social status, viz., the Chasi

Kaibarttas and Pods, have reached a very fair average of literacy. There is, however, a fall in the proportion of Chasi Kaibarttas compared with 1901, which is due to a number of Jaliya Kaibarttas returning themselves as Chasi : the number of educated persons among the Chasis is relatively $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as among the Jaliyas. The Pods, on the other hand, have made great strides, the proportion of literates having been nearly doubled. Considerable advance has also been made by the Namasudras and Rajbansis, but in spite of this only one in every 20 can read and write, whereas among the Chasi Kaibarttas one in nine, and among the Pods one in seven, can do so. The Maghs are the most advanced among the Buddhists, the proportion being the same as among the Chasi Kaibarttas. Of the Nepalese races, the Newars, who are nearly on the same level as the latter, come first, and then the Gurungs and Jimdars. Of the Bhotias only 6, and of the Lepchas only 3 per cent. can read and write. Among the Musalman classes the proportion of literates is very low, except among Saiyads, of whom 18 per cent. are literate. None of the lower Musalman classes have a proportion of even 5 per cent.

698. Considering how much higher a standard was imposed by the definition of literacy at this census, it was not to be expected that there should be any remarkable

VARIATIONS SINCE 1901. increase in the number of literates. There has, however, been an addition of 632,222, or $21\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in which all parts of the province share except Nadia and Midnapore. In the former there is a falling off of 2,448, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which, corresponds to the general loss of population. The change, however, must not be ascribed to this, or to a decline of literacy, but to the good work of the census staff. There was, as already stated, actually an increase in the number of literates aged 15 years or more, amounting to nearly 5 per cent., but this was wiped out by the large decrease among those under 15 years of age. The fact is simply that the enumerators very properly declined to enter as literate children who could not write and read a letter. In Midnapore where the number of literates has fallen by 30,876, or 10 per cent., five-sixths of the decrease has occurred among young persons under 15 years of age. Nearly the whole of the decrease is found in the Ghatal, Tamluk and Contai subdivisions, where the number of literates has fallen in every thana but Kedgere and Nandigram, two adjoining thanas in the extreme south-east. In the Sadar subdivision there is a decline in three thanas, two of which (Debra and Garhbeta) adjoin the Ghatal subdivision ; the third is Midnapore in the centre of the district, where, however, the decrease (346) is very small. Altogether, 15 out of 26 thanas show a decrease and, as they contain a population of Bengali Hindus and adjoin the districts of Hooghly, Howrah and the 24-Parganas, in which conditions are similar, and in which the number of literates has risen considerably, one would *a priori* expect an increase rather than a large decrease. On the other hand, it is in this area that educated and intelligent Bengali enumerators are most numerous and that the new definition of literacy would be understood and followed. We may safely infer, therefore, that the decrease is not real, but due simply to the care with which the instructions were followed. Even with this decrease, Midnapore stands fifth in order of literacy among the districts of Bengal, $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population being literate. Considering the fact there are 145,000 Animists (mostly Santals) in the district, who only contribute 551 literates, the present proportion of literates to the total population is remarkably high, and it is difficult to understand how in 1901 it could have been second in the list of literates, being surpassed only by Howrah. In this district, as well as in Nadia, the decrease is a testimony to the care with which the new definition of literacy was applied.

699. The result of this, as of the last, census is to show that the advance of education among females is relatively more rapid than among males : the actual increase of female

FEMALE EDUCATION. literates (90,342) is only a sixth of that returned for the stronger sex, but proportionately the growth (56 per cent.) has been thrice as great. The greatest advance has been made by Central Bengal, where the proportion of female literates has risen from 16 to 24 per mille. In West Bengal and East Bengal the gain represents 3 per mille, bringing up the ratio to 11 and 9 per mille respectively, while in the backward division of North Bengal it has risen from 3 to 5 per mille.

700. The last decade has witnessed a further diffusion of English education in Bengal, for the number of persons returned as literate in English has increased by 181,569, or 57 per cent., bringing up the total to 498,136, of whom 39,555 are Europeans, Armenians or Anglo-Indians : considered in relation to the total number of literates, one in every seven of those able to read and write has a knowledge of English. The aggregate is made up of 469,654 males, or 2 per cent. of the male population, and 28,482 females, or 1 per mille of the female population. Among the former there has been an increase of 172,600, or 58 per cent., and among the latter of 8,969, or 46 per cent. : the high proportional figure in the latter case is of course due to the small number returned in 1901. The proportional growth is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as great as that for general literacy and is little short of remarkable, in view of the higher standard required for entries of literacy, but, as already stated, I am of opinion that the definition prescribed was not strictly followed in recording literacy in English. It seems, for instance, *primâ facie* improbable that one out of every 12 Hindu boys under 10 years, and one out of every six aged 10 to 15, who have learnt to read and write should be so precocious as to be able to write a letter to a friend in English and read the answer to it. Yet this is what the returns would lead us to believe.

Naturally those who have sufficient acquaintance with English to be able both to read and write it are found in commercial and industrial centres, No less than a quarter of the total number were enumerated in Calcutta, where one man in five and one woman in 18 knows English. One-fifth were enumerated in the metropolitan districts of the 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah, among which Howrah is *facile princeps*, the ratio for males being 7 per cent. and for females 5 per mille. Next comes Darjeeling, where the presence of a European community is evidenced by the proportion for females being double as high as in Howrah.

The distribution by religion of those who are literate in English is naturally much the same as for general literacy. Excluding Europeans, the knowledge of English is most general among the Brahmos, of whom two-thirds are acquainted with it. They are followed by the Indian Christian community, whose converts are educated by European missionaries : the ratio among them is 9 per cent. The proportion among the Hindus is a little under 2 per cent., but it is thrice that returned for Buddhists and six times that returned for Musalmans (3 per mille). The order of precedence among different castes is different from that for general literacy. The first place is held by the Subarnabanik, to whom, however, the Baidya is very little inferior. Then come in order the Brahman, Kayasth, Gandhabanik and Agarwala.

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

701. From an educational point of view Bihar and Orissa lags far behind Bengal, for only $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or 4 per cent. of the population, are literate. Of these, 1,434,000 are males and 76,000 are females, the male literates thus outnumbering the female literates by 19 to 1. Altogether 7.6 per cent., or one in every 13, of the males can read and write, but among the females only one in every 50. At each age period too the proportion of literates per mille is far lower than Bengal as shown in the marginal statement for literate males per mille. Persons aged 15 and over who have succeeded in learning to read and write number 1,288,000, or over four-fifths of the aggregate number of literates, but represent only $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population at that age.

702. Orissa is far more advanced than any other part of the Province, one out of every 16 of its inhabitants having at least the rudiments of learning. It followed *longo intervallo* by South Bihar, where the literates constitute one-twentieth of the population. North Bihar is more backward than the South Gangetic districts,

Age period.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
0-10 ...	21	9
10-15 ...	136	66
15-20 ...	189	103
20 and over ...	199	114

the proportion of literates being under 4 per cent.; and the Bœotia of the Province is the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where only one of every 36 can read and write. Three districts stand in a class by themselves, viz., Patna and Balasore, which share the first place, 6·8 per cent. of their inhabitants being literate, and Cuttack, which is but little inferior with a ratio of 6·6 per cent. In only one other district, viz., Puri, is the proportion over 5 per cent. In the Feudatory States and in no less than six districts, viz., Champaran, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Singhbhum, Angul and Sambalpur, it falls below 3 per cent. The position of Champaran is noticeable, for it is far inferior to any other district of Bihar. The lowest place is held by Palamau, where the ratio is under 2 per cent. Among the denizens of cities one in every seven can read and write, the proportion being one in four among males and as low as one in 31 among females.

703. The returns for Hindus and Musalmans are very different from those

DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION.

for Bengal, for they are on exactly the same level from an educational point of view, the proportion of literates among both being 4 per cent. The latter figure is exactly the same as among the Musalmans of Bengal, and it is obvious therefore the followers of the Prophet are not more advanced in Bihar and Orissa, but that the Hindus there are far more backward than their co-religionists of Bengal. This is largely the result of the large number of uncivilised aboriginals in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, who have been absorbed into Hinduism. The Hindus of that tract number nearly 9 millions, or nearly three-tenths of the population of the Province, but they contribute under 300,000 literates, or one-fifth of the literate population.

From the marginal statement it will be seen that in the Province as a

DIVISION.	PRO. ORTION OF LITERATES PER MILLE.			
	HINDUS.		MUSALMANS.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
BIHAR AND ORISSA.	81	3	79	5
North Bihar	74	3	62	3
South Bihar	89	4	123	10
Orissa	127	4	139	9
Chota Nagpur Plateau ...	63	3	86	6

whole the males are, relatively, more, and the females less generally educated among the Hindus than among the Musalmans. It will also be seen that education is more widely diffused among the followers of the Prophet in every division except North Bihar, where, however, the Musalman community is strongest, numbering $2\frac{1}{3}$ millions, or two-fifths of the Musalman population of the Province. If the educa-

tion of Musalmans had proceeded as far in this division as it has elsewhere, the provincial average of literacy among them would be greater than among Hindus. Purnea is the only district in this division in which the proportion of literates among Musalmans does not fall below that for Hindus. Outside it there are only two districts (Balasore and the Sonthal Parganas) which return a higher ratio for Hindus than for Musalmans.

Taking the figures for male literates only, we find that 6 per cent. of the Hindus in the Chota Nagpur Plateau are literate : in Palamau the average is half that figure. Owing partly to the low standard of Champaran, the proportion is only $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in North Bihar, whereas it is 9 per cent. in South Bihar. Relatively the greatest number of Hindu male literates, viz., 12·7 per cent., is found in Orissa, while it exceeds 13 per cent. in both Cuttack and Balasore. The only other districts in which more than 10 per cent. of the Hindus are literate are Patna (12) and Puri (11). The proportion of male literates to the male Muhammadan population exceeds 10 per cent. in no less than 11 districts as well as in the Feudatory States. In three of these districts, viz., Singhbhum, Angul and Sambalpur, it rises above 26 per cent., but the actual number is very small, and a large proportion are probably immigrant Musalman traders. Excluding these three districts, the most advanced Musalman community is found in Patna, where 17 per cent. of the males and 2 per cent. of the females can read and write, and then in Cuttack, where the corresponding ratios are 16 and 1, respectively. As regards natural divisions, Orissa and South Bihar have relatively the largest number of educated Musalmans, and North Bihar the least : the proportion of literates in the division last named is only half what it is in the two former.

As in Bengal, the small Brahmo community is the most educated next to the Europeans, two-thirds of their number being able to read and write. Next come the progressive Aryas, a new sect who give a leading place to education in their propaganda. Though the sect is of recent origin in Bihar, and although its ranks are mainly recruited from the lower castes, already one in every five can read and write; it is noticeable that the proportion of female literates ($4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) is also unusually high. Among Indian Christians 8 per cent. are literate, which is only one-third of the figure returned for Bengal. The converts are, however, drawn from a different section of society, and are chiefly aboriginals. When it is considered that among their heathen brethren (the Animists) only one in every 200 is literate, and that a large proportion of them are young children, the extent of literacy among them must be regarded as striking testimony to the educational work of the missionaries.

704. The proportion of literates among Anglo-Indians, viz., 87 per cent., is

LITERACY BY TRIBE AND CASTE.

a little higher than in Bengal where the poor Kintals of Calcutta lower the average. The most educated Indian caste is the writer caste of Kayasths, among whom one in every three can read and write. The second place is shared by Karans, the writer caste of Orissa, and those keen traders the Agarwalas, the proportion of literates among both being one in four. They are followed by the Saiyads, of whom 18 per cent. are literate, and the Brahmans (17 per cent.). The only other castes in which the ratio is 10 per cent. or more are the Baishnabs (12 per cent.), Babbhans (10 per cent.) and Kalwars (10 per cent.); this proportion is, however, nearly reached by the Baniyas and Rajputs. The abyss of ignorance is found among the Animist races, among whom the average number of literates varies from 1 to 7 per mille. The latter figure is returned for the Hos, who may therefore be regarded as the least ignorant of the Animist tribes.

705. The number of persons literate in English is only one-sixth of that

LITERACY IN ENGLISH.

returned for Bengal, aggregating 81,888, of whom all but 5,321 are males. The net increase since 1901 has been 21,094 or 37 per cent., to which females contribute only 1,722.* The figures appear more reliable than those for Bengal, for applying the same tests we find that (1) only one-twentieth of the literate population is literate in English, (2) only one out of every 44 Hindu boys under 10 who can read and write has a similar proficiency in English, and (3) the proportion of those aged 10 to 15 is only one in 23. Of the total number, 8,018 are Europeans, Anglo-Indians or Armenians, leaving an aggregate of only 73,870, viz., 71,794 males and 2,076 females, for the Indian population of the province. The figures are so small that there is no object in discussing the local variations in detail. Patna heads the list, 1 per cent. of its males having an acquaintance with English, but it owes its position mainly to the presence of a British regiment at Dinapore. Elsewhere the average is very low, and in those districts which rise above the ruck the higher proportion of literates can be attributed to Anglo-Indian colonies or to European missionaries, employes in coal mines, iron works and other industrial concerns. As in Bengal, the Brahmans have the most general acquaintance with English, and then the Aryas. The proportion among the Musalmans (3 per mille), low as it is, is higher than among Hindus (2 per mille), who include so many low-castes and semi-Hinduized aboriginals. The Kayasth is easily first among the individual castes. The second place is held by the Saiyads, and the third by the Karans of Orissa, followed closely by the merchant caste of Agarwalas.

706. Since 1901 the number of literates of both sexes has increased

VARIATIONS SINCE 1901.

by nearly 110,000 or $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., viz., 85,000 or 7 per cent. for males, and 25,000 or 55 per cent. for females.† The latter figure clearly demonstrates the rapid strides being made by female education, though the actual number of girls or women who have learnt to read and write is still small, amounting only to

* In calculating the increase, Sambalpur and the Feudatory States are omitted, as figures for 1901 are not available for them.

† In making this calculation, British territory only has been taken excluding Sambalpur. That district and the Feudatory States have had to be excluded, as owing to charges of area figures for 1901 are not available.

76,000. The proportional growth of female literates is nearly exactly the same as in Bengal, but in the case of males it is less than half what it is in that progressive Province.

There has been a decrease in the number of literates in five districts and eight Feudatory States. Nowhere is the decrease as great as in Orissa, where the three districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore have an aggregate loss of 47,000, the percentage of decrease being 14 per cent. in Cuttack, 17 per cent. in Balasore and 26 per cent. in Puri. The compilation for these three districts was most carefully checked, the work being done over again to make sure that there was no mistake, and the results worked out yet again by the tick system as well as by sorting. The decrease is simply due to the fact that in Orissa many more learn to read than to write. The population is largely composed of devout Vaishnavas, whose object is to learn enough to be able to read Vaishnava scriptures, the knowledge of writing and composition being a secondary consideration. It is common to find people who can read printed matter, especially sacred books such as the Bhagavat Gita, but cannot write more than their names or the letters of the alphabet. All of these are necessarily excluded from the returns by the more precise definition of literacy. The same phenomenon is noticeable in eight of the Orissa Feudatory States, viz., Baramba, Tigiria, Nayagarh, Ranpur, Baud, Patna, Bamra and Kalahandi. The decrease in Nayagarh is extremely large, the number of literates falling from 12,000 to under 5,000, but *a priori* the figure for 1901 is suspicious, for the percentage ($8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) of literates to the total population was thrice as high as the average for the Orissa States, and at this census no district in the whole of the province has such a high ratio.

There also has been a falling off of nearly 5 per cent. in Muzaffarpur, the greater part of the decrease occurring in the thana of Hajipur, in which, it may be noticed, the general population also declined by 5 per cent. The proportion of literates in this thana has fallen from 6 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but the latter ratio is well above the average for the district. In this thana too the figures were thoroughly checked, and the results verified by the tick system. The only other district in which there has been a loss of literates is Hazaribagh, where it amounts to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This district is a backward one, where no considerable increase could be expected in face of the new definition, and it is noticeable that in the neighbouring district of Palamau the number of literates has risen by 66 only—an addition altogether incommensurate with the general growth of the population.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER PROVINCES.

707. The statement below has been prepared to show the extent of literacy in the two provinces dealt with in this report, compared with the other main provinces in India, and the rate of progress in each. Two age periods have been selected, viz., 5–15* and 15 and over, the former being the age period adopted by the Education Department as representing children of school-going age† : as explained in a former chapter, it includes all children 5 years old but under 15 years of age. The statement has unfortunately to be somewhat long, because in order to see what progress has been made, one has to consider not only the number of literates, but also the actual population from which they are drawn : for example, from the decrease of literates aged 5–15 in Bombay, one might assume that the education of the younger generation was declining instead of advancing, whereas it is really due to the loss of population of that age. The actual figures are, moreover, of interest as showing the numbers with which the Education Department in each province has to deal.

* In Table VIII statistics are given only for the age periods 0–10 and 10–15 and not for the period 5–15, but it may fairly be assumed that no children under 5 are literate (*i.e.*, able to write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it), the number of literates returned as aged 0–15 is therefore taken as identical with the number aged 5–15.

† The Education Department, instead of taking the census figures, calculates the number as representing 15 per cent. of the population. The basis of this calculation is fallacious, for the actual proportion is 27 per cent. for males and $25\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for females in Bengal, and 28 per cent. for males and 25 per cent. for females in Bihar and Orissa.

PROVINCE.	ALL AGES.			AGED 5--15			AGED 15 AND OVER.			
	Population.	Literates.	Per cent.	Population.	Literates.	Per cent.	Population.	Literates.	Per cent.	
BENGAL ...	1911 ...	43,305,642	3,575,231	7.7	12,216,153	592,799	4.9	27,510,601	2,982,432	10.8
	1901 ...	42,884,311	2,943,009	6.9	11,309,733	546,280	4.8	25,536,135	2,396,729	9.4
Variation...	Actual ...	+3,421,331	+632,222 ...	+906,420	+46,519 ...	+1,974,466	+585,703 ...			
	Proportional	+8.0	+21.5 ...	+8.0	+8.5 ...	+7.7	+24.4 ...			
BOMBAY ...	1911 ...	27,084,317	1,860,493	6.9	6,151,583	284,586	4.6	17,013,033	1,575,907	9.3
	1901 ...	25,468,209	1,626,683	6.4	6,780,472	303,975	4.5	15,660,356	1,317,708	8.4
Variation...	Actual ...	+1,616,108	+233,810 ...	-628,889	-24,389 ...	+1,352,677	+258,199 ...			
	Proportional	+6.1	+14.4 ...	-9.3	-7.9 ...	+8.6	+19.6 ...			
MADRAS ...	1911 ...	41,870,160	3,130,250	7.5	10,373,491	441,462	4.3	25,899,033	2,688,788	10.4
	1901 ...	38,623,066	2,436,743	6.3	10,191,369	340,438	3.3	23,203,145	2,096,305	9.0
Variation...	Actual ...	+3,247,094	+693,507 ...	+182,122	+101,024 ...	+2,695,888	+592,483 ...			
	Proportional	+8.5	+28.5 ...	+1.8	+29.7 ...	+11.2	+28.3 ...			
UNITED PROVINCES	1911 ...	48,014,080	1,636,052	3.4	11,824,626	260,414	2.2	30,365,373	1,375,638	4.5
	1901 ...	48,493,879	1,494,717	3.1	11,861,670	194,605	1.6	30,478,548	1,300,112	4.3
Variation...	Actual ...	-479,799	+141,335 ...	-37,044	+65,809 ...	-113,175	+75,526 ...			
	Proportional	-0.9	+9.5 ...	-0.3	+33.8 ...	-0.3	+5.8 ...			
BIHAR AND ORISSA	1911 ...	33,745,891	1,398,060	4.1	8,936,950	207,138	2.3	20,267,936	1,190,922	5.9
	1901 ...	32,600,834	1,288,575	4.0	8,527,200	201,285	2.4	19,735,792	1,087,290	5.5
Variation...	Actual ...	+1,145,037	+109,485 ...	+429,750	+5,853 ...	+532,144	+103,632 ...			
	Proportional	+3.5	+8.5 ...	+5.0	+2.9 ...	+2.7	+9.5 ...			

* The figures for Bihar and Orissa are exclusive of Sambalpur and the Orissa and Chota Nagpur States, as figures showing the number of literates in 1901 are not available.

708. In respect of literacy Bengal is superior to the other Provinces. Not only can it boast of a larger number of persons able to read and write, but the proportion of the latter to the whole population is higher than elsewhere. Next to it comes Madras, which is fast advancing to the same level, and then Bombay, which, however, contains only half as many literates. The proportional increase of literates aged 5—15 ($8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) since 1901 is a little in excess of the general growth of the population, but is much below that recorded for Madras and the United Provinces, the latter of which has a heavy leeway to make up. In Bengal, however, those who have actually learnt to read and write far outnumber those enumerated in either of these provinces; their number is 34 per cent. greater than in Madras, and is more than twice as great as it is in either Bombay or the United Provinces. The ratio of increase of literates aged 15 and over is greater than in any province except Madras. Considered in relation to the growth of population, it is even greater than in that Presidency, for it is 24.4 per cent. against 7.7 per cent. for the general population, the corresponding ratios in Madras being 28.3 per cent. and 11.2 per cent. The actual increase is also a little less than in Madras, but it exceeds by 148,000 that registered in Bombay, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa taken together.

709. Bihar and Orissa lags far behind Bengal, and the proportional growth of literates since 1901 is the smallest returned for any of the Provinces. In spite of this, the general average of literacy is higher than in the United Provinces. Among children aged 5—15 the progress of education during the last 10 years has been incommensurate with the growth of population, the increase of literates being barely 3 per cent., whereas the population of this age has had an addition of 5 per cent. Among literates aged 15 and over, however, there has been an advance of $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (compared with a growth of 2.7 per cent. in the general population) which is higher than the ratio (5.8 per cent.) returned for the United Provinces.

MISCELLANEOUS.

710. Statistics of institutions and pupils in each province according to the returns of the Education Department in 1891, 1901 and 1911 will be found in Subsidiary Table VII at the end of this chapter. In Bengal the

advance between 1891 and 1901 cannot be called rapid, the number of scholars rising by only 74,000 or 7 per cent., while the number of schools fell by 4,500; this, however, was not a real loss, as it was due to small, inefficient or ephemeral schools being closed down. The progress made during the last decade has been remarkable, there being an addition of nearly 4,000 schools and of 428,000 pupils: the proportional increase of the latter is no less than 38 per cent. The most noticeable feature in the returns is the advance made in female education, for girls' schools have been trebled in number and the students have multiplied over threefold: the actual number is still however, comparatively small, being 6,401 and 149,000 respectively. Primary education among boys has made the greatest strides; though the number of primary schools has decreased slightly, the number of pupils has risen by 200,000 or 26 per cent., and now aggregates over a million. High schools have 126,000 students on the rolls, the growth since 1901 being 33,000 or 35 per cent. The number (108,000) reading in Middle schools is less, but the increase in the decennium, viz., 51,000 or 89 per cent., has been greater. On the other hand, the popularity of Middle Vernacular schools is declining; they are now fewer by nearly 300 and have 12,000 fewer pupils than 10 years ago. Those who are sufficiently advanced for a collegiate education number 11,554 or 29 per cent. more than in 1901; of these, 9,304 attend Arts Colleges and 1,221 are students in Law Colleges.

The returns for Bihar and Orissa show much the same general features, there being a decrease of educational institutions between 1891 and 1901, but an addition of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the number receiving instruction. As in Bengal, the advance in the next decade was rapid, schools being more numerous at its close by nearly 4,000 and pupils by 237,000 or 50 per cent. There are now 27,000 colleges and schools with an attendance of 715,000, of whom 568,000 or four-fifths are pupils in primary schools. In this province also there has been a notable expansion of female education, the number of girls' schools rising since 1901 from 533 to 1,245, and of female scholars from 11,000 to 31,000. The number of students in High schools is 23,000 or a fifth of that in Bengal, while Middle English and Middle Vernacular schools taken together have only 24,833 pupils or two-thirds of the number found in the Bengal Middle Vernacular schools alone. Collegiate education is also on a far smaller scale, there being only 11 colleges with 1,311 students. It is noticeable that there is only one Law College with 11 students, while Bengal can boast of 11 such colleges with 1,221 students.

711. The statistics of the results of University examinations, which will be found in Subsidiary Table VIII, are of considerable interest. They show that between 1891 and 1901 there was a very large increase in the number both of candidates for different examinations and of those who satisfied the examiners. During the last decade, however, though there has been a moderate increase (9 per cent.) in the candidates for matriculation, *i.e.*, the Entrance examination, and a large increase (24 per cent.) in those appearing at the F.A. or Intermediate examination, there has been a relatively large decrease in the number of aspirants for the B.A. or B.Sc. and M.A. or M.Sc. degrees, and also of those examined in Medicine and Civil Engineering. The number of those who appeared at the Law examination, however, increased by over one-third, and they are now equal to two-thirds of the candidates for the B.A. or B.Sc. degree. I am not in a position to say how far these results are due to the revised University regulations. It is possible that prospective candidates for the degrees mentioned are deterred by the higher standard now demanded, but, on the other hand, it is noteworthy that, compared with 1901, the proportion of candidates that have succeeded in passing is higher in every case. In 1901 as many as 56 per cent. of the candidates passed the Entrance examination, but in no other examination did the proportion reach 43 per cent. In 1911, however, there was no examination which half or more of the candidates did not pass, and in the case of the Entrance examination the proportion rose to over 70 per cent. The increase in the ratio is especially great in the case of the B.A. or B.Sc. examination, which is now 61 per cent., or more than treble that of 1901.

712. Subsidiary Table X, which has been compiled from the records of the Bengal Library, throws a certain amount of light on the literary activity of the people during the last

UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS.

STATISTICS OF BOOKS.

decade. Statistics of previous decades for each of the new provinces could

LANGUAGE.	1901-1911.			1891-1901.
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Total.	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.
Bengali ...	10,535	63	10,598	9,331
English ...	3,019	209	3,228	2,580
Oriya ...	212	2,379	2,591	1,323
Hindi ...	501	941	1,442	968
Sanskrit ...	624	259	883	736
Musalmán-Bengali	290	...	290	286
Urdu ...	151	108	259	258
Others ...	770	76	846	361
TOTAL ...	16,102	4,035	20,137	15,843

not be obtained owing to the partition and re-partition of Bengal; but taking Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole, we find that the number of uni-lingual books printed and published during the ten years ending in 1910 is 4,294 or 27 per cent. more than in the preceding decade. In Bengal, works in Bengali account for nearly two-thirds of the total number, while English books represent a fifth. In Bihar and Orissa, though the Oriyas constitute less than two-fifths of the population, the books written in Oriya represent over half of the total number, and those in Hindi and Urdu one-fourth. The study of Sanskrit is still largely in vogue, for it comes fifth in the list for the two provinces. The extent to which it is studied is more apparent from the returns of bilingual books, those published in Bengali and Sanskrit during the decade numbering 1,346, or nearly half the total number of bilingual works printed and published in Bengal. Bengali and English books come second with a total of 903. In addition to this, Sanskrit was combined with English in 198, and with Bengali and English in 256, books. In Bihar and Orissa again the study of Sanskrit led to the publication of 352 books in Sanskrit and Oriya, and of 90 in Sanskrit and Hindi.

713. Statistics of the number and circulation of newspapers and periodicals in each province during the years 1891, 1901 and 1911 will be found in Subsidiary Table IX at the end of this chapter. The statement of circulation must be received with some

	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.
Newspapers ...	127	214,180	28	13,577
Periodicals ...	172	170,830	16	7,700
Total ...	299	385,010	44	21,277

caution, and the figures regarded as an estimate only. It must also be borne in mind that the circulation of newspapers is not confined to subscribers. The dissemination of news is far wider than the figures would indicate, for it is the common practice for any one who happens to be literate in a village to read the newspaper to the assembled villagers and receive their plaudits, if nothing more, for doing so. Of the newspapers published in Bengal, 66 with a circulation of 138,000, are written in Bengali. Their number has increased by 50 per cent. in the last 20 years, and their circulation has been doubled. Daily newspapers have not found much favour among Bengalis, and the great majority are weekly publications. There are 51 newspapers, written in English but owned, edited and read by Indians, all but eight of which are published weekly or monthly: their circulation is put down as 56,000. Monthly magazines are by far the most popular class of periodicals, accounting for four-fifths of the total number: there are 89 published in Bengali with 92,000 readers, and 46 published in English with 50,000 readers.

In Bihar and Orissa journalistic enterprise has not made much progress. The total number of newspapers is only 28, of which 9 are in English, 8 in Hindi and 6 in Oriya: their aggregate circulation is under 14,000. The number of newspapers has, however, been doubled in the last 10 years, and the circulation has gone up by 60 per cent. The circle of readers of periodicals is also small, and only 16 are published, all but one of which are monthly publications.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—EDUCATION BY AGE, SEX AND RELIGION.

RELIGION.	NUMBER PER MILLE WHO ARE LITERATE.											NUMBER PER MILLE WHO ARE ILLITERATE.			NUMBER PER MILLE WHO ARE LITERATE IN ENGLISH.		
	All ages.			0—10		10—15.		15—20.		20 and over.		Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
BENGAL.																	
All religions ...	77	140	11	21	3	136	18	189	19	199	13	923	860	989	11	20	1
Hindu ...	118	210	20	39	6	223	32	280	34	276	22	882	700	980	18	33	1
Musalman ...	41	79	2	9	1	70	4	106	4	123	3	959	921	998	3	5	1
Christian ...	466	521	402	165	153	488	500	585	508	664	493	534	479	598	361	410	304
European and other Christians.	883	906	851	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	117	94	149	873	896	841
Indian Christians ...	243	286	196	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	757	714	804	87	113	58
Brahmo ...	783	812	752	309	332	946	938	1,000	964	958	863	217	188	248	602	692	508
Buddhist ...	91	170	9	12	1	103	9	191	15	279	13	909	830	991	6	10	4
Animist ...	5	9	4	1	2	7	3	12	1	15	4	995	991	1,000	1	1	01
BIHAR AND ORISSA.																	
All religions ...	39	76	4	9	1	66	6	103	7	114	4	961	924	936	2	4	2
Hindu ...	41	81	3	9	1	70	5	110	6	119	4	959	919	997	2	4	1
Musalman ...	41	79	5	10	2	68	8	110	9	122	6	959	921	935	3	6	1
Christian ...	103	139	63	25	20	147	97	224	115	210	88	897	861	932	46	63	29
European and other Christians.	845	857	828	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	155	143	172	825	838	897
Indian Christians ...	76	107	45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	924	893	955	17	28	5
Brahmo ...	634	635	633	280	333	638	939	737	706	782	712	366	365	387	474	503	315
Buddhist ...	72	127	5	...	...	79	...	123	...	182	8	928	873	995	10	14	5
Animist ...	5	10	1	1	3	9	1	16	1	14	1	995	990	999	1	2	004
Arya ...	197	344	46	97	22	359	103	447	81	431	44	803	656	954	31	61	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—EDUCATION BY AGE, SEX AND LOCALITY.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER PER MILLE WHO ARE LITERATE.										
	ALL AGES.			0—9.		10—14		15—19.		20 AND OVER.	
	Tot. l.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	60	112	8	16	2	104	12	153	14	162	9
Bengal	77	140	11	21	3	136	18	189	19	199	13
WEST BENGAL	102	191	11	36	4	190	17	256	19	254	12
Burdwan	100	186	13	46	4	219	19	252	21	231	14
Birbhum	88	171	6	35	3	191	10	236	10	225	7
Bankura	94	184	7	34	2	186	9	256	13	251	8
Midnapore	94	181	7	20	2	136	9	243	12	260	8
Hooghly	111	199	21	42	7	232	30	266	32	248	23
Howrah	142	248	23	68	10	263	42	312	39	312	23
CENTRAL BENGAL	109	183	24	34	8	171	36	228	39	245	28
24-Parganas	124	216	17	43	5	214	26	272	27	287	20
Calcutta	321	396	164	153	78	444	273	470	260	419	166
Nadia	56	98	14	15	3	98	21	123	25	139	16
Murshidabad	58	103	9	16	3	106	14	147	14	157	10
Jessore	70	127	10	22	2	126	14	156	17	174	11
NORTH BENGAL	53	98	5	14	2	90	9	127	8	146	6
Rajshahi	46	86	5	9	1	70	9	110	9	133	6
Dinajpur	59	108	4	18	1	103	6	140	6	160	5
Jalpaiguri	56	99	4	15	2	85	6	118	7	141	5
Darjeeling	99	169	19	19	9	121	34	191	32	245	19
Rangpur	42	76	3	9	1	66	5	100	5	115	4
Bogra	59	111	5	17	3	116	11	146	5	170	5
Jabna	51	102	7	15	2	107	13	142	14	147	9
Malda	46	89	3	12	1	87	6	119	5	137	4
Cooch Behar	74	134	6	21	3	125	11	164	9	189	7
EAST BENGAL	66	121	9	16	2	123	15	172	16	180	11
Khulna	84	153	11	30	3	172	18	208	19	209	12
Dacca	75	134	16	21	4	149	27	205	29	192	20
Mymensingh	46	85	5	12	2	90	10	118	9	126	7
Faridpur	62	112	10	19	3	124	16	159	19	156	12
Backergunge	66	156	11	9	2	151	19	215	21	231	14
Tippera	71	132	8	17	2	127	13	188	13	198	9
Noakhali	62	118	6	12	2	96	10	172	9	202	7
Chittagong	67	132	7	17	3	103	10	175	11	222	9
Chittagong Hill Tracts	64	115	4	5	1	44	5	112	7	194	6
Hill Tippera	40	89	8	10	2	60	11	99	11	101	10
Bihar and Orissa	39	76	4	9	1	66	6	103	7	114	4
NORTH BIHAR	37	72	3	10	1	66	5	98	6	105	4
Saran	37	76	3	7	1	68	3	114	5	114	3
Champaran	26	51	2	5	1	43	4	65	5	74	2
Muzaffarpur	36	70	4	9	1	65	6	96	9	103	5
Darbhanga	41	81	3	11	2	75	6	111	6	118	3
Bhagalpur	40	78	3	14	2	76	6	107	6	110	4
Furnea	38	72	3	11	2	62	4	89	4	106	3
SOUTH BIHAR	48	93	5	11	1	85	6	134	10	133	6
Patna	68	126	9	17	3	117	14	181	18	171	10
Gay	43	84	4	9	1	75	4	122	7	122	5
Shahabad	46	92	4	11	1	91	5	138	8	129	5
Monghyr	40	77	4	8	1	66	5	106	8	115	4
ORISSA	64	127	5	12	2	90	8	152	10	194	6
Cuttack	66	133	5	14	2	98	7	163	10	203	6
Balasore	68	136	5	11	2	90	9	152	10	210	5
Puri	56	103	5	9	2	74	7	127	10	162	6
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	28	54	3	6	1	47	5	75	6	83	4
Hazaribagh	23	43	3	6	2	36	5	62	6	67	4
Ranchi	31	57	7	7	2	51	12	81	11	91	7
Palamanu	17	32	3	5	1	30	3	48	8	48	4
Manbhum	45	84	5	13	1	83	6	116	9	120	6
Singbhum	27	51	4	7	1	45	5	73	6	79	5
Sonthal Pargana	32	61	3	8	1	53	5	86	5	97	4
Angul	25	48	3	6	1	50	8	66	4	71	2
Sambalpur	28	55	2	2	3	50	4	81	5	82	2
Orissa Feudatory States	23	44	2	4	1	35	3	57	4	70	3
Chota Nagpur States	25	50	2	4	3	30	2	56	2	85	4
BENGAL—											
CITIES	291	372	134	136	63	407	233	452	220	400	133
BIHAR AND ORISSA—											
CITIES	147	251	32	39	14	234	54	379	63	315	33
SIKKIM	41	78	3	2	1	29	2	73	3	132	4

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—EDUCATION BY RELIGION, SEX AND LOCALITY.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER PER MILLE WHO ARE LITERATE.									
	HINDU.		MUHAMMADAN.		ANIMIST.		CHRISTIAN.		BUDDHIST.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	134	10	79	3	10	1	271	170	170	9
Bengal	210	20	79	2	9	4	521	402	170	9
WEST BENGAL	206	12	149	7	9	4	624	510	652	333
Burdwan	198	13	144	6	3	1	664	569	857	...
Birbhum	195	7	139	4	11	1	325	259	...	...
Bankura	202	7	154	8	12	3	460	376	...	...
Midnapore	193	6	133	8	8	1	548	377	...	...
Hooghly	211	23	163	8	3	1	762	737	500	...
Howrah	268	24	166	10	13	3	753	691	692	500
CENTRAL BENGAL	256	36	96	3	5	2	617	537	560	291
24 Parganas	251	23	153	4	9	...	396	248	735	182
Calcutta	442	150	222	37	...	...	822	774	545	296
Nadia	179	30	44	1	1	...	187	200	...	...
Murshidabad	160	16	62	2	3	...	743	730	...	...
Jessore	210	21	77	2	8	4	264	189	...	...
NORTH BENGAL	132	9	78	2	7	2	136	78	18	5
Rajshahi	174	21	62	1	5	...	387	288	444	...
Dinajpur	103	5	125	3	2	01	140	59	...	...
Jalpaiguri	103	5	121	4	15	3	198	73	127	4
Darjeeling	162	7	178	14	24	2	702	468	134	4
Rangpur	109	7	97	1	3	4	699	658	360	...
Bogra	178	16	98	2	3	3	385	329	...	...
Pabna	231	26	58	2	18	...	622	505	200	...
Malda	114	5	71	2	3	3	236	64	...	...
Cooch Behar	146	7	102	4	...	...	707	438	333	...
EAST BENGAL	236	25	68	2	17	1	263	151	172	9
Khulna	211	19	95	2	5	...	399	252	875	...
Dacca	263	40	62	2	23	...	170	89	388	...
Mymensingh	193	18	46	1	11	2	332	186	423	...
Faridpur	232	25	43	1	...	...	244	123	...	...
Backergunge	289	32	99	2	...	...	265	175	341	29
Tippera	264	22	81	2	...	...	589	483	149	4
Noakhali	246	17	79	2	...	...	319	118	346	11
Chittagong	275	20	81	2	17	11	662	556	214	13
Chittagong Hill Tracts	154	4	107	1	24	2	378	195	138	5
Hill Tippera	76	10	56	3	...	...	413	254	44	1
Bihar and Orissa	81	3	79	5	10	1	139	69	127	5
NORTH BIHAR	74	3	62	3	6	1	490	329	778	...
Saran	77	2	62	4	...	...	736	675	...	...
Champaran	52	2	39	2	...	...	290	99	...	...
Muzaffarpur	73	4	54	4	...	...	507	488	1,000	...
Darbhanga	84	3	55	3	...	...	730	531	...	...
Bhagalpur	79	3	73	6	6	1	597	425	1,000	...
Purnea	72	3	72	2	7	2	652	635	1,000	...
SOUTH BIHAR	89	4	123	10	5	...	800	696	476	...
Patna	119	7	174	20	...	...	893	817	1,000	...
Gaya	82	3	110	5	...	...	764	733	267	...
Shahabad	88	3	139	11	...	...	483	402	...	...
Monghyr	76	3	84	6	6	...	765	673	...	...
ORISSA	127	4	139	9	6	2	593	572	165	...
Cuttack	131	4	159	9	...	...	678	656	78	...
Balasore	137	5	115	5	6	2	529	540	...	...
Puri	108	4	116	12	...	...	525	427	217	...
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	63	3	86	6	10	1	105	39	98	...
Hazaribagh	44	3	47	6	4	3	509	371	...	...
Ranchi	83	5	146	11	13	2	93	25	1,000	...
Palamau	32	3	46	4	3	1	27	6	...	...
Manbhum	93	4	106	7	8	1	501	353	889	...
Singbhum	86	6	263	22	15	3	245	103	1,000	...
Sonthal Parganas	94	4	75	2	11	2	255	159	...	...
Angul	64	3	327	9	6	1	813	810	...	...
Sambalpur	56	2	289	18	3	...	141	70	667	...
Orissa Feudatory States	49	2	185	8	3	2	28	14	74	...
Chota Nagpur ditto	79	3	184	26	4	1	750	100	...	...
BENGAL—										
Cities	424	134	207	31	41	...	820	772	561	290
BIHAR AND ORISSA—										
Cities	249	25	244	30	...	...	780	817	500	...
SIKKIM	83	2	632	...	...	...	581	208	61	1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—ENGLISH EDUCATION BY AGE, SEX AND LOCALITY.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	LITERATE IN ENGLISH PER 10,000.											
	1911.										1901.	
	0—9		10—14		15—19		20 AND OVER.		ALL AGES.		ALL AGES.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	11	2	127	11	253	12	175	10	128	8	93	6
Bengal	18	4	206	18	385	18	265	16	197	13	136	9
WEST BENGAL	30	5	218	17	406	17	318	12	243	12	175	5
Burdwan	29	5	308	14	522	18	363	16	290	14	207	11
Birbhum	11	1	182	2	323	4	188	3	152	2	94	1
Bankura	6	3	130	1	272	5	171	2	131	2	110	1
Midnapore	7	2	50	5	145	5	135	6	92	4	75	3
Hooghly	35	4	418	12	657	18	460	13	372	11	351	2
Howrah	145	32	686	111	979	85	835	49	667	54	359	20
CENTRAL BENGAL	50	15	404	63	699	63	578	61	439	49	324	38
24-Parganas	25	4	295	13	509	16	387	17	295	13	251	8
Calcutta	524	222	2,414	853	2,475	776	1,883	604	1,829	558	1,323	455
Nadia	8	1	153	4	349	8	263	5	187	4	167	3
Murshidabad	9	4	147	3	360	7	200	6	152	4	106	2
Jessore	13	1	183	3	307	4	193	3	155	3	94	1
NORTH BENGAL	7	1	102	9	182	6	110	5	83	4	48	3
Rajshahi	3	2	70	2	196	2	110	2	79	1	58	1
Dinajpur	4	1	64	2	95	2	73	1	52	1	29	1
Jaipur	3	1	53	4	88	2	113	4	75	3	38	3
Darjeeling	85	55	377	212	363	150	344	93	306	101	130	63
Rangpur	4	3	56	3	109	4	72	3	52	2	30	2
Bogra	7	1	167	1	243	1	110	1	91	1	38	1
Fabna	11	2	214	3	411	5	199	4	161	3	93	2
Malda	2	...	54	3	133	1	79	1	56	1	33	...
Cooch Bihar	8	1	121	7	166	4	87	2	75	2	56	2
EAST BENGAL	9	1	164	5	337	6	173	4	135	3	80	2
Khulna	12	3	239	2	403	6	195	2	165	2	110	2
Dacca	19	1	267	13	611	14	303	9	233	8	148	3
Mymensingh	6	3	132	2	254	3	128	2	100	1	51	1
Faridpur	11	3	210	3	343	7	175	4	146	3	79	1
Backergunge	4	2	124	4	264	6	135	4	108	3	89	2
Tippera	7	1	137	4	300	3	134	3	110	3	55	1
Noakhali	4	1	93	1	256	3	127	2	91	1	39	...
Chittagong	11	2	132	9	308	9	225	8	148	6	83	4
Chittagong Hill Tracts ... ..	...	...	32	1	76	1	6	2	39	1	29	1
Hill Tippera	10	1	135	3	244	6	117	3	97	2	34	1
Bihar and Orissa	3	1	32	3	74	4	59	4	47	3	34	2
NORTH BIHAR	3	5	29	1	61	2	46	2	33	1	26	1
Saran	2	4	40	1	94	3	53	2	39	1	35	1
Champaran	1	2	16	1	42	1	32	1	22	1	23	1
Muzaffarpur	3	1	30	1	64	3	49	2	34	1	40	1
Darbhanga	3	1	27	1	45	2	44	2	30	2	15	1
Bhagalpur	5	1	43	3	93	2	65	3	47	2	24	1
Purnea	2	1	16	1	28	2	35	2	22	2	18	1
SOUTH BIHAR	5	2	38	6	105	8	81	5	56	5	49	3
Patna	11	4	81	20	207	21	135	11	102	11	94	9
Gaya	1	2	16	4	49	1	50	2	32	1	32	1
Shahabad	6	1	41	3	119	4	85	3	60	3	54	2
Monghyr	3	2	25	3	71	7	62	7	41	5	30	3
ORISSA	4	1	42	4	101	5	71	3	52	3	38	2
Cuttack	4	1	56	7	128	7	79	4	59	4	46	3
Balasore	3	1	32	2	73	4	67	3	46	2	31	1
Furi	4	2	23	1	74	4	60	4	42	3	31	1
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	2	1	29	2	63	4	56	4	36	3	29	2
Hazaribagh	7	1	50	4	69	3	63	4	44	3	35	3
Ranchi	2	3	43	2	138	4	86	5	56	3	28	2
Palamau	2	3	24	1	37	6	43	9	27	5	17	...
Manbhum	4	1	47	3	85	7	107	11	68	7	43	1
Singbhum	2	3	36	6	72	6	94	10	55	7	33	4
Sonthal Parganas	2	3	29	1	77	3	66	4	41	3	21	3
Angul ... ..	...	...	6	...	4	3	36	1	19	1	9	...
Sambalpur	1	1	24	1	52	3	39	2	27	2	...	...
Orissa Feudatory States	1	1	11	1	24	1	19	1	13	1	...	...
Chota Nagpur States	4	...	23	...	26	1	40	1	24	1	Not available.	
SIKKIM ... ..	...	...	16	...	84	...	53	2	36	1	...	...

The figures for 1891 are not available.

In calculating for the province as a whole and for natural divisions, areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—PROGRESS OF EDUCATION SINCE 1881.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.		NUMBER OF LITERATE PER MILLE.															
		ALL AGES.								15-19.				20 AND OVER.			
		Male.				Female.				Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.	
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.	1901.
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.		112	104	108	89	8	5	4	3	153	140	14	9	162	146	9	6
Bengal		140	127	134	117	11	8	6	4	189	175	19	13	199	175	13	9
WEST BENGAL		191	188	200	172	11	8	5	3	256	249	19	13	254	241	12	9
Burdwan		186	162	173	142	13	8	5	2	252	223	21	16	231	197	14	9
Birbhum		171	153	178	142	6	4	3	2	236	219	10	7	225	198	7	5
Bankura		184	183	185	167	7	5	4	2	256	243	13	10	251	241	8	6
Midnapore		181	205	194	175	7	7	4	2	243	257	12	10	260	273	8	8
Hooghly		199	197	243	205	21	14	9	4	266	257	32	22	248	240	23	16
Howrah		248	212	249	217	23	12	9	5	312	284	39	19	312	265	23	14
CENTRAL BENGAL		183	162	156	140	24	16	14	7	228	216	39	30	245	209	28	18
24-Parganas		216	202	210	191	17	13	19	5	272	269	27	21	287	258	20	14
Oudutta		396	316	325	311	164	115	90	66	470	425	260	204	419	323	166	108
Nadia		98	104	96	82	14	9	5	3	125	140	25	17	139	138	16	10
Murshidabad		108	106	103	83	9	6	4	2	147	152	14	10	157	152	10	7
Jessore		127	110	106	106	10	5	8	2	156	127	17	9	174	155	11	5
NORTH BENGAL		98	84	88	76	5	3	2	2	127	110	8	5	146	122	6	4
Rajshahi		86	80	79	67	5	4	3	3	110	107	9	5	133	118	6	4
Dinajpur		108	99	101	82	4	3	1	1	140	125	6	4	160	145	5	3
Jaipalguri		99	70	89	57	4	4	3	1	118	86	7	6	141	99	5	4
Darjeeling		169	119	133	82	19	14	7	7	191	184	32	21	245	165	19	17
Rangpur		76	64	68	68	3	2	1	2	100	78	5	3	115	94	4	1
Bogra		111	96	102	111	5	3	1	8	146	128	5	4	170	141	5	4
Pabna		102	91	93	83	7	4	2	2	142	127	14	7	147	134	9	5
Malda		89	74	79	68	3	2	2	...	119	104	5	4	137	107	4	3
Cooch Behar		134	107	106	80	6	4	3	2	164	134	9	7	189	152	7	5
EAST BENGAL		121	108	118	103	9	6	4	3	172	153	16	11	180	157	11	8
Khulna		153	124	115	102	11	8	4	2	208	165	19	13	209	170	12	10
Dacca		134	121	122	102	16	10	7	3	205	184	29	20	192	171	20	13
Mymensingh		85	69	79	67	5	4	3	2	118	94	9	6	126	104	7	5
Faridpur		112	97	109	95	10	6	5	2	159	137	19	13	156	136	12	7
Backergunge		156	147	151	118	11	9	5	3	215	210	21	14	231	200	14	10
Tippera		132	121	136	127	8	5	3	7	188	179	13	8	198	178	9	6
Noakhali		118	105	138	137	6	3	3	1	172	149	9	5	202	178	7	4
Chittagong		133	117	139	139	7	5	3	2	175	162	11	6	222	201	9	6
Chittagong Hill Tracts		115	79	...	...	4	3	...	...	112	80	7	3	194	130	6	4
Hill Tippera		69	41	...	...	8	2	...	...	99	53	11	3	101	62	10	2
Bihar and Orissa		76	75	75	54	4	3	2	1	103	96	7	4	114	110	4	3
NORTH BIHAR		72	66	68	44	3	2	1	1	98	89	6	3	105	98	4	2
Saran		76	73	69	47	3	2	2	2	114	89	5	3	114	118	3	3
Champaran		51	45	42	28	2	1	1	...	65	55	5	2	74	67	2	1
Muzaffarpur		70	78	91	46	4	3	1	1	96	100	9	5	103	115	5	4
Darbhanga		81	71	65	48	3	1	1	...	111	111	6	3	118	99	3	2
Bhagalpur		78	66	61	42	3	1	1	1	107	89	6	2	110	96	4	2
Purnea		72	57	66	48	3	1	...	2	89	72	4	3	106	81	3	1
SOUTH BIHAR		93	82	85	62	5	3	2	4	134	106	10	5	133	116	6	4
Patna		126	123	119	96	9	6	5	13	181	162	18	9	171	159	10	7
Gaya		84	72	76	59	4	2	1	1	122	91	7	3	122	100	5	3
Shahabad		92	86	74	54	4	3	2	1	138	106	8	5	129	121	5	4
Monghyr		77	58	74	43	4	2	2	1	106	79	8	4	115	80	4	2
ORISSA		127	151	134	103	5	4	3	3	152	176	10	7	194	215	6	5
Cuttack		133	150	144	98	5	5	3	2	163	183	10	7	203	219	6	5
Balasore		136	157	130	118	5	4	3	2	152	182	10	7	210	222	5	5
Puri		108	139	118	97	5	4	3	5	127	154	10	7	162	198	6	5
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU		54	50	47	37	3	2	2	1	75	64	6	4	83	78	4	3
Hazaribagh		43	52	57	31	3	2	2	1	62	77	6	3	67	78	4	2
Ranchi		57	51	36	30	7	5	3	2	81	70	11	8	91	86	7	5
Palamanu		32	37	...	...	3	1	...	...	48	49	8	2	48	60	4	2
Manbhum		84	77	69	58	5	3	2	1	116	92	9	6	120	112	6	4
Singbhum		51	48	52	41	4	3	4	1	73	58	6	4	79	72	5	3
Sonthal Parganas		61	47	37	33	3	2	1	2	86	66	5	4	97	71	4	2
Angul		48	39	35	37	3	1	...	...	66	47	4	2	71	59	2	1
Sambalpur		55	33	...	...	2	1	...	...	81	45	5	2	82	55	2	1
Orissa Feudatory States		44	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	57	...	4	...	70	...	3	...
Chota Nagpur States		50	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	56	...	2	...	85	...	4	...
SIKKIM		78	95	...	...	3	3	...	...	73	85	3	3	132	155	4	3

In calculating for the Province as a whole and for natural divisions, areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—EDUCATION BY CASTE.

CASTE.	NUMBER PER 1,000 WHO ARE LITERATE.						NUMBER PER 10,000 LITERATE IN ENGLISH.					
	1911.			1901.			1911.			1901.		
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
BENGAL.												
HINDU.												
Agarwala ...	417	632	39	407	569	42	424	652	23	184	265	...
Bagdi ...	19	41	1	16	30	2	8	16	4	5	9	...
Baidya ...	532	720	346	456	648	259	2,088	3,986	204	1,585	3,039	85
Baishnab ...	112	228	15	102	214	11	69	147	4	47	102	2
Barui ...	153	282	18	129	245	6	180	347	6	126	245	1
Bauri ...	10	20	4	4	8	3	3	5	1	3	1	...
Bhainmali ...	34	65	2	22	41	1	9	17	...	3	7	...
Brahman ...	399	644	113	358	639	56	1,090	1,990	41	819	1,569	11
Dhoba ...	55	103	3	55	103	3	28	53	3	14	27	...
Gandhabanik ...	314	559	51	318	510	63	586	1,103	34	1,018	1,756	39
Garó ...	3	5	...	12	24	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
Goala ...	77	135	6	63	130	4	65	116	2	39	81	1
Gurung ...	88	171	3	53	99	6	23	45	...	6	12	...
Jogi and Jugi ...	130	250	6	104	202	4	51	101	1	26	51	...
Kaibartta, Chasi ...	109	208	8	130	323	4	72	143	1	52	131	...
Kaibartta, Jalya ...	44	83	2	43	84	2	21	40	1	8	16	...
Kalu ...	107	205	6	103	204	4	31	59	1	31	62	1
Kamar ...	150	279	13	140	268	8	114	218	3	71	139	2
Kapali ...	60	116	3	...	...	...	26	51	1	...	...	...
Kayasth ...	347	569	134	309	538	79	980	1,866	50	759	1,475	43
Khambu and Jimdar ...	68	140	3	43	82	2	27	55	1	3	7	...
Koch ...	18	35	2	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...
Kumhar ...	80	152	5	66	125	4	57	110	2	27	53	...
Limbu ...	59	118	3	30	54	3	21	43	...	12	23	...
Maló ...	28	54	2	...	...	...	18	35	1	...	...	...
Mangar ...	30	59	...	54	99	5	6	12	...	3	6	...
Muchi ...	12	23	4	8	15	1	6	10	1	1	2	...
Namasudra ...	49	95	2	33	64	1	22	44	3	4	9	...
Napit ...	110	208	8	98	187	6	87	168	2	61	118	1
Newar ...	107	192	7	82	141	13	83	153	...	19	37	...
Patni ...	18	34	1	...	...	...	8	15	...	...	...	...
Pod ...	141	244	5	94	183	5	31	54	1	15	29	...
Rajbansi ...	51	97	2	32	60	1	8	16	1	3	6	...
Sadgop ...	140	264	14	139	268	12	186	361	10	165	328	2
Subarna Banik ...	451	683	163	323	519	81	2,187	3,871	98	1,514	2,685	74
Sudra ...	113	222	12	102	209	9	83	172	1	61	129	1
Sunri ...	149	275	19	208	407	12	184	319	45	107	213	1
Sutradhar ...	86	161	7	62	116	5	65	127	1	54	102	2
Tanti ...	145	258	20	111	206	11	204	377	14	140	270	4
Teli and Tili ...	163	302	16	163	303	11	193	364	12	127	243	2
Tipara ...	7	11	2	3	5	3	3	1	...	1	2	...
Tiyar ...	20	40	2	28	33	10	7	15	1	63	53	100
MUSALMAN.												
Dhobi ...	21	40	2	20	40	...	12	24	...	...	...	...
Hajjam ...	24	46	1	21	21	22	4	8	...	...	...	...
Jolaha ...	44	80	3	27	52	1	13	24	1	4	7	...
Kulu ...	26	48	1	23	44	1	11	21	...	2	5	...
Naiya ...	8	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Saiyad ...	177	308	34	169	297	30	259	488	10	170	320	6
CHRISTIAN.												
Anglo-Indian ...	840	847	833	...	...	...	8,279	8,394	8,164	...	...	...
Indian Christian ² ...	141	188	94	...	...	...	275	404	146	...	...	...
BUDDHIST.												
Bhotia ...	60	110	9	38	68	5	63	121	5	2	5	...
Chakma ...	53	100	1	45	83	2	18	35	...	11	21	...
Lepcha ...	29	58	1	29	52	5	19	37	...	6	12	...
Magh ...	110	211	13	87	173	8	50	101	1	24	51	...
Murmi ...	46	89	2	34	64	4	14	27	...	1	2	...

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

HINDU.												
Agarwala ...	250	481	25	242	475	15	167	340	...	108	219	...
Babhan (Bhumihar Brahman) ...	102	187	14	88	166	9	16	31	04	13	27	...
Baishnab ...	122	225	8	144	274	9	14	26	...	16	31	...
Baniya ...	97	191	5	89	180	2	20	39	1	17	22	...
Barai ...	19	37	1	21	45	3	4	7	...	3	7	...
Barhi ...	21	43	11	23	46	1	5	10	1	6	12	...
Bauri ...	3	6	1	5	8	2	...	...	...	1	2	...
Bhuiya ...	8	16	1	5	9	4	3	7	3	2	4	...
Bhumij ...	12	22	1	7	15	1	2	4	1	1	2	...
Brahman ...	168	317	18	158	336	7	81	156	6	49	105	1
Chamar ...	3	7	2	3	6	2	3	1	...	4	1	02
Chasa ...	30	59	1	38	74	1	2	3	02	2	3	...
Dhanuk ...	13	27	4	10	20	1	1	2	...	1	2	...
Dhobi (Dhoba) ...	8	17	1	10	19	4	1	2	1	1	2	...
Dom ...	4	7	3	3	7	3	1	2	...	...	...	...

² The figures for Indian Christians relate only to East and North Bengal, and differ therefore from those in Sub-Table I which relate to the whole Province.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS AND PUPILS ACCORDING TO THE RETURNS OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.*

CLASS OF INSTITUTION.	1911.		1901.		1891.	
	NUMBER OF—		NUMBER OF—		NUMBER OF—	
	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

BENGAL.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.								
COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.								
Arts Colleges	For boys ...	38	9,244	35	7,289	28	4,318
Law	„ girls ...	3	60	2	45	2	19
Medical Colleges	11	1,221	13	760	6	903
Civil Engineering Colleges	1	629	1	569	1	197
Training Colleges	1	328	1	271	1	271
Training Colleges	4	72	1	10	...	...
Total of Collegiate Education			58	11,554	53	8,944	38	6,203
SCHOOL EDUCATION—GENERAL.								
High English Schools	For boys ...	487	125,772	405	93,165	287	60,518
High English Schools	„ girls ...	13	1,495	5	523	...	...
Middle English Schools...	...	For boys ...	1,122	107,657	775	56,940	675	48,583
Middle English Schools...	...	„ girls ...	11	1,039	...	...	...	...
Middle Vernacular Schools	...	For boys ...	541	34,335	854	46,481	943	52,796
Middle Vernacular Schools	...	„ girls ...	21	2,303	15	1,017	...	...
Primary Schools	...	For boys ...	27,872	1,008,142	28,259	802,324	29,792	753,033
Primary Schools	...	„ girls ...	6,096	139,180	2,091	44,041	...	...
Female Schools†	2,137	41,980
Total of School Education—General.			36,163	1,419,923	32,404	1,044,491	33,834	956,883
SCHOOL EDUCATION—SPECIAL.								
Training Schools	...	For masters ...	127	2,227	10	575	...	...
Training Schools	...	„ mistresses ...	8	128	8	445	...	...
Medical Schools	10	2,063	7	938	...	...
Engineering or Surveying Schools	1	311	1	109	...	...
Industrial Schools	43	1,652	11	540	...	...
Commercial Schools	13	570	...	...	...	...
Madrasahs	393	15,376	23	2,692	...	...
Miscellaneous Schools	2,155	56,105	367	5,258	185	5,007
Total of School Education—Special.			2,750	78,432	427	10,557	185	5,007
Total of Public Institutions			38,971	1,509,909	32,884	1,063,992	34,057	968,093
PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.								
Advanced, teaching Arabic or Persian	147	4,769	192	5,330	361	7,207
Advanced, teaching Sanskrit	147	915	540	4,035	804	7,068
Elementary, teaching vernacular only.	...	For boys ...	135	3,058	529	7,041	1,176	8,456
Elementary, teaching vernacular only.	...	„ girls ...	18	280	1	2	...	...
Elementary, teaching the Koran	...	For boys ...	1,446	26,611	3,266	50,178	5,729	68,043
Elementary, teaching the Koran	...	„ girls ...	194	2,167	253	1,821	...	...
Other schools not conforming to Departmental Standard.	...	For boys ...	352	11,994	67	1,497	106	956
Other schools not conforming to Departmental Standard.	...	„ girls ...	37	2,114	...	...	...	...
Total of Private Institutions			2,476	51,908	4,848	69,904	8,176	91,730
GRAND TOTAL			41,447	1,561,817	37,732	1,133,896	42,233	1,059,823

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.							
COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.							
Arts Colleges ...	...	7	1,202	7	865	4	400
Law "	...	3	98	4	85	3	68
Training Colleges	...	1	11	...	...	...	...
Total of Collegiate Education		11	1,311	11	950	7	468

* Compiled for British territory.

† Details of female schools in 1891 are not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—NUMBER AND CIRCULATION OF NEWSPAPERS, ETC.

LANGUAGE.	Class of Newspapers and Periodicals (Daily, Weekly, etc.).	1911.		1901.		1891.	
		Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BENGAL.							
NEWSPAPERS.							
BENGALI ...	Daily ...	2	3,500	3	2,500	6	4,300
	Weekly ...	59	133,000	44	115,300	30	53,300
	Thrice a month ...	1	200	1	250		
	Fortnightly ...	2	600	5	1,750	6	3,400
	Monthly ...	2	600	5	1,600		
	Total ...	66	137,900	58	121,400	42	61,000
ENGLISH ...	Daily ...	4	10,300	5	5,800	Not available.	
	Bi-weekly ...	1	2,000	1	1,000		
	Weekly ...	14	14,050	11	6,420		
	Fortnightly ...	3	3,400	1	150		
	Monthly ...	29	26,730	1	500		
	Total ...	51	56,480	19	13,870		
HINDI ...	Weekly ...	7	17,900	2	13,000	6	9,600
	Monthly ...	1	500			2	300
	Total ...	8	18,400	2	13,000	8	7,200
PERSIAN ...	Weekly ...	1	1,000	1	1,000	1	250
URDU ...	Ditto ...	1	400	1	250	4	600
	Fortnightly ...			1	200		
	Monthly ...			1	200		
	Total ...	1	400	3	650	4	600
	Total of Newspapers.	127	214,180	83	149,920	55	69,050
PERIODICALS.							
ASSAMESE ...	Monthly ...	2	930			2	1,200
	Quarterly ...	1	500				
	Total ...	3	1,430			2	1,200
BENGALI ...	Weekly ...			1	1,000	1	1,000
	Fortnightly ...			2	1,600		
	Bi-monthly ...			1	750		
	Monthly ...	89	92,550	70	58,516	33	37,300
	Quarterly ...	2	1,000	1	750		
	Total ...	91	93,550	75	62,616	34	38,300
ENGLISH ...	Bi-weekly ...			1	25		
	Weekly ...	1	2,500	1	250		
	Fortnightly ...	3	3,500	2	1,050	1	500
	Bi-monthly ...	1	1,000				
	Monthly ...	46	50,150	22	15,175	5	3,175
	Quarterly ...	5	3,900	4	1,035	2	725
	Four-monthly ...	1	500				
	Half-yearly ...	1	400	1	7,500		
	Total ...	58	61,950	31	25,035	8	4,400
GARO ...	Monthly ...	1	750	1	750		
HINDI ...	Ditto ...	1	450	2	1,400	1	500
SANSKRIT ...	Ditto ...	1	500	1	250	1	250
ORIYA ...	Ditto ...	1	1,000				
ARABIC AND BENGALI ...	Ditto ...			1	1,000		
BENGALI AND ENGLISH.	Ditto ...	3	2,200	1	150	2	800
	Bi-monthly ...	1	1,400				
	Total ...	4	3,600	1	150	2	800
BENGALI AND SANSKRIT.	Bi-monthly ...			1	500		
	Monthly ...	7	5,350	4	4,460	3	1,250
	Total ...	7	6,350	5	4,960	3	1,250
ENGLISH AND SANSKRIT, HINDI AND MAITHILI.	Monthly ...			1	1,000		
BENGALI, ENGLISH AND SANSKRIT.	Ditto ...	2	750				
GUJARATI, HINDI, MARATHI, PUNJABI, TAMIL AND URIYA.	Ditto ...	2	1,000				
	Ditto ...	1	500				
	Total of Periodicals.	172	170,830	118	97,161	51	46,700
	GRAND TOTAL ...	299	385,010	201	247,081	106	115,750

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—NUMBER AND CIRCULATION OF NEWSPAPERS, ETC.—*concluded*.

LANGUAGE.	Class of Newspapers and Periodicals (Daily, Weekly, etc.).	1911.		1901.		1891.	
		Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.	Number.	Circulation.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
BIHAR AND ORISSA.							
NEWSPAPERS.							
BENGALI	Weekly	3	1,300	1	600	...	...
ENGLISH	Bi-weekly	...	...	1	400	Not available.	
	Weekly	6	2,010	2	3,100		
	Fortnightly	...	...	1	500		
	Monthly	2	1,017	...	...
	Four-monthly	1	500	...	...
	Total	9	3,527	4	4,000		
HINDI	Weekly	5	2,300	1	500	2	1,700
	Fortnightly	1	1,250	1	500	...	...
	Monthly	2	500	1	500	1	200
	Total	8	4,050	3	1,500	3	1,900
URDU	Weekly	2	1,100	2	750	4	900
ORIYA	Ditto	6	3,600	4	1,600	4	1,050
	Monthly	...	...	...	...	6	1,000
	Total	6	3,600	4	1,600	10	2,050
	Total of Newspapers.	28	13,577	14	8,450	17	4,850
PERIODICALS.							
BENGALI	Monthly	...	200	...	...	...	...
ENGLISH	Ditto	4	2,350	1	350	...	...
HINDI	Bi-monthly	...	...	...	...	1	250
	Monthly	5	2,500	2	450	4	1,250
	Quarterly	1	300	...	...	1	250
	Total	6	2,800	2	450	6	1,750
URDU	Monthly	...	...	1	500	...	...
ORIYA	Ditto	3	1,600	...	...	...	...
HINDI AND MAITHILI.	Ditto	1	500	...	...	...	...
HINDI AND SANSKRIT.	Ditto	1	250	...	...	...	...
	Total of Periodicals.	16	7,700	4	1,300	6	1,750
	GRAND TOTAL	44	21,277	18	9,750	23	6,600

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—NUMBER OF BOOKS PUBLISHED IN EACH LANGUAGE.

LANGUAGE.	NUMBER OF BOOKS PUBLISHED IN—										TOTAL.
	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1901—10.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
BENGAL.											
UNILINGUAL BOOKS.											
Abor-Miri ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	3
Angami-Naga ... ..	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	1	4
Ao-Naga	1	1	2	1	1	...	2	1	...	...	8
Arabic ... ..	...	...	1	1	2	1	...	1	2	3	11
Armenian	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Assamese	36	37	42	38	31	73	85	57	69	44	512
Bengali	1,032	1,199	938	954	843	1,022	901	976	1,140	1,530	10,535
Bhojpuri ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Bodo ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
English	320	346	253	255	209	319	259	303	339	416	3,019
French ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	3
Garo ... ..	...	...	2	...	3	...	1	1	...	2	9
Hindi	30	36	36	40	39	66	48	68	68	70	501
Ho ... ..	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Jamasari ... ..	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
Khasi	1	...	2	2	...	3	...	...	2	2	12
Latin ... ..	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	4
Lepcha ... ..	...	1	...	1	1	1	1	...	1	3	9
Lushai ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...
Maithili ... ..	...	4	6	...	...	9	3	1	...	...	1
Manipuri	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	25
Mikir ... ..	...	1	1	3	1	...	54	...	...	...	59
Mundari ... ..	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	2	...	1	7
Musalmani-Bengali	64	50	27	49	16	17	9	11	20	27	290
Nagpuria ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	2	...	5
Nepali	1	1	...	1	1	...	2	10	3	2	21
Oran (Kurukh)	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	4
Oriya	13	5	12	6	4	31	31	27	38	45	212
Paharia ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
Pali	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4
Persian ... ..	...	5	1	2	3	4	3	4	4	7	34
Rungadania-Rabha	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Sanskrit	65	65	77	74	53	52	52	48	57	81	624
Santali ... ..	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	5
Sema-Naga ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	2
Tangkul-Naga	1	...	1	...	...	...	3	1	1	2	9
Tibetan ... ..	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	1	2	3	11
Urdu	17	16	17	21	7	19	5	9	10	30	151
Total of Unilingual Books	1,586	1,770	1,421	1,451	1,218	1,623	1,469	1,524	1,766	2,274	16,102
BILINGUAL BOOKS.											
Ao-Naga and English ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
Arabic and Assamese ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
" " Bengali ... ..	...	...	...	2	1	...	1	9	19	9	41
" " English ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	5
" " Musalman-Bengali	14	7	6	7	3	5	3	3	6	1	55
" " Persian ... ..	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	1	...	5
" " Urdu	3	7	...	4	1	5	3	2	1	5	31
Assamese and English	1	2	2	...	4	2	3	3	2	6	25
" " Sanskrit	1	1	2	1	...	...	...	2	5	...	12
Bengali and Burmese ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
" " English	77	83	106	82	72	91	59	60	87	186	903
" " Hindi	1	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	1	1	6
" " Musalmani-Bengali ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2
" " Oriya ... ..	...	...	...	6	...	1	...	1	...	2	10
" " Pali ... ..	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	6
" " Persian	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	3
" " Punjabi	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
" " Sanskrit	151	127	101	110	104	137	107	171	171	167	1,345
" " Santali ... ..	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3
" " Traipuri ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
" " Urdu ... ..	...	...	...	...	1	4	...	1	...	2	8
Burmese and Hindi ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
English and French ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
" " Hebrew ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
" " Hindi	4	7	6	4	1	6	4	1	5	6	44
" " Latin	2	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	6
" " Manipuri ... ..	...	2	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	6
" " Mundari ... ..	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	3
" " Nepali ... ..	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	4
" " Oriya	2	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	6
" " Pali	1	...	...	3	6	...	...	...	1	...	11
" " Persian ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	3	5
" " Sanskrit	11	14	16	9	8	27	34	28	19	32	198
" " Tibetan ... ..	...	...	1	...	1	1	2	...	1	1	7
" " Urdu	2	4	5	...	1	3	1	...	3	4	23
Gujarati and Hindi ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
Hindi and Oriya ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2
" " Prakrit ... ..	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
" " Sanskrit	1	3	2	4	6	5	2	2	6	6	37
" " Urdu	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	1	5
Marathi and Sanskrit ... ..	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	2
Musalmani-Bengali and Persian	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3
" " Urdu ... ..	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	4

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—NUMBER OF BOOKS PUBLISHED IN EACH LANGUAGE—*continued.*

LANGUAGE.	NUMBER OF BOOKS PUBLISHED IN—										TOTAL.
	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1901—10.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
BENGAL—concluded.											
BILINGUAL BOOKS—concluded.											
Persian and Musalmani-Bengali ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
" " Turkish ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2
" " Urdu ...	...	3	...	2	...	1	...	3	2	2	13
Prakrit and Sanskrit ...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
" " Oriya ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Sanskrit and Tibetan ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	3	5
" " Oriya ...	2	1	...	6	...	6	9	3	6	1	34
Telugu and Oriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Total of Bilingual Books	283	268	250	242	217	308	236	302	345	449	2,900
TRILINGUAL BOOKS.											
Arabic, Bengali and Musalmani-Bengali ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
" " Persian ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
" " Urdu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5	3	1	10
" English and Persian ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
" " Urdu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2
" Musalmani-Bengali and Persian ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	2
" Bengali and Urdu ...	...	1	1	1	...	1	3	...	1	...	8
Bengali, English and Hindi ...	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	5
" " Pali ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
" " Persian ...	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	2	8
" " Sanskrit ...	15	31	29	28	29	23	18	14	39	30	256
" " Traipuri ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2
" " Urdu ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	3
" " Oriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
" Hindi and Manipuri ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
" " Sanskrit ...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	5
" " Oriya ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Musalmani-Bengali and Urdu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
" Pali and Sanskrit ...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	2
" Sanskrit and Oriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	2
English Hindi and Nepali ...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
" " Sanskrit ...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
" " Tibetan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
" " Urdu ...	...	...	1	1	1	1	...	1	...	2	7
" " Oriya ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
" Pali and Sanskrit ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
" Persian and Urdu ...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
" Sanskrit and Tibetan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	2
Total of Trilingual Books	22	36	36	36	33	25	25	26	51	42	332
QUADRILINGUAL BOOKS.											
Arabic, Bengali, English and Persian ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
" English, Persian and Sanskrit ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Bengali, English, Hindi and Sanskrit ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3
" Sanskrit and Urdu ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
" Hindi, Urdu and Oriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
Chinese, English, Manchu and Turki ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Total of Quadrilingual Books.	2	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	2	2	8
POLYLINGUAL BOOKS.											
Arabic, Assamese, Bengali, Burmese, English, Hindi and Latin ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Arabic, Bengali, English, Hindi, Persian, Sanskrit, Oraon and Oriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Arabic, Bengali, English, Hindi, Persian, Sanskrit and Urdu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2
Arabic, Bengali, English, Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu and Oriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
Arabic, Bengali, English, Hindi, Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu and Oriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
Arabic, Bengali, Hindi, Persian, Sanskrit and Urdu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Arabic, English, French, Latin, Persian, Sanskrit and Urdu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Arabic, English, Pali, Persian and Sanskrit ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Assamese, Bengali, Cachari, Hindi, Kachanaga, Khasi, Kuki, Lushai, Manipuri, Mikir, Santali, Urdu and Oriya ...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Bengali, Burmese, Chinese, English, Hindi, Tamil and Telugu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Bengali, Burmese, Chinese, English, Tamil and Telugu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Bengali, Delhiwal, English, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi and Telugu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi and Urdu ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
Bengali, English, Hindi, Marathi, Persian and Urdu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Total of Polylingual Books	...	1	...	...	1	1	2	...	...	2	15

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—NUMBER OF BOOKS PUBLISHED IN EACH LANGUAGE.

LANGUAGE.	NUMBER OF BOOKS PUBLISHED IN—										TOTAL 1901-10.
	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
BIHAR AND ORISSA.											
UNILINGUAL BOOKS.											
Arabic ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2
Bengali ...	5	2	3	5	...	3	2	4	24	15	63
English ...	33	22	17	12	20	21	16	26	27	15	209
Hindi ...	69	100	128	114	85	85	78	105	80	97	941
Khandh (Khond) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Khasi ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
Maithili ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	7	13
Mundari ...	...	...	2	2	...	...	3	1	2	2	12
Nagpuria ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Oraon ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	5
Oriya ...	140	157	173	195	181	245	312	296	320	360	2,379
Paharia ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Persian ...	1	...	...	...	...	3	...	2	1	...	7
Sanskrit ...	25	11	23	23	28	20	29	30	31	39	259
Santali ...	4	2	2	...	1	3	6	4	7	4	33
Urdu ...	9	11	6	10	4	9	6	21	22	10	108
Total of Unilingual Books	290	305	354	361	319	390	456	490	517	553	4,035
BILINGUAL BOOKS.											
Arabic and Persian ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	4
Urdu ...	3	1	...	3	...	4	5	...	11	...	30
Bengali and English ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Sanskrit ...	...	...	3	...	1	...	1	...	1	2	8
Santali ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Oriya ...	1	...	1	2	1	6	1	3	5	4	24
English and Hindi ...	5	1	1	2	...	1	1	2	3	1	17
Kol ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
Sanskrit ...	1	...	...	...	1	3	...	1	...	...	6
English and Santali ...	...	1	1	1	2	1	...	1	1	...	7
Urdu ...	1	...	...	...	4	...	3	1	...	...	9
Oriya ...	...	2	2	1	...	1	...	1	3	4	14
Hindi and Persian ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Sanskrit ...	8	9	12	7	11	8	9	8	11	7	90
Urdu ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	2
Oriya ...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	3
Maithili and Sanskrit ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Musalmani-Bengali and Persian ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
Persian and Urdu ...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	2	...	6
Sanskrit and Oriya ...	25	15	26	23	24	39	44	53	58	45	352
Urdu and Oriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Total of Bilingual Books	45	30	49	39	45	65	69	75	96	66	579
TRILINGUAL BOOKS.											
Arabic, English and Urdu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Persian and Urdu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2
Bengali, English and Sanskrit ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Oriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Hindi and Sanskrit ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
Oriya ...	...	...	1	1	...	3	3	2	2	4	16
Sanskrit and Oriya ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	5	10
Urdu and Oriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2
English, Hindi and Sanskrit ...	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	3	1	...	7
Santali ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Urdu ...	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Persian and Urdu ...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Telugu and Oriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Hindi, Maithili and Sanskrit ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	3
Total of Trilingual Books	3	3	4	1	...	5	5	5	10	15	51
QUADRILINGUAL BOOKS.											
Bengali, English, Hindi and Urdu ...	1	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Hindi, Sanskrit and Oriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	2
Urdu and Oriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
English, Hindi, Persian and Urdu ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Total of Quadrilingual Books.	1	2	1	2	...	...	1	1	...	1	9

CHAPTER IX.

LANGUAGE.

714. At this census revised instructions were issued regarding the entry of language in the schedules. In 1901, it was laid down that the language to be entered was that ordinarily spoken by each person, but this led to some curious results, persons returning not their native language but that which they commonly used in intercourse with the outside world. One German missionary working among the Mundas, for instance, returned Mundari as his language, and another, whose converts consisted of Oraons, as Oraon, while some Frenchmen engaged in the silk industry entered English as the language which they ordinarily used. To prevent such anomalies, it was laid down at this census that the language to be returned was that which each person ordinarily spoke *in his own home*: in the case of infants and deaf-mutes* the language of the mother was to be entered. This change in the instructions has led to greater accuracy in the returns. It was realized that the native language was to be returned, and not that which an immigrant might use in his new environment. The increase, for example, in the number of Marwari speakers from 11,000 to 37,000 is only partly explicable by increased immigration, and is mainly due to the revised instructions. The same cause has led to considerable variations in the case of languages for which another character is used, such as Bengali in Purnea, which is commonly written in the Kaithi character: in this district the number of Bengali speakers has increased eight-fold. Similarly, in the Orissa Division, where the Musalmans speak Urdu but use the Oriya character for it, the number returned as speaking Hindi and Urdu has risen by nearly 60 per cent.

715. Statistics of the languages returned will be found in Imperial Table X, where they are arranged under three main headings, viz., languages of India, Asiatic and African languages foreign to India, and European languages. In Bengal the languages of India are grouped in four classes, viz., Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Munda and Dravidian, a few entries being also placed under the heads Siamese-Chinese and Mon-Khmer. In Bihar and Orissa there are four groups, viz., Aryan, Munda, Dravidian and others. In this chapter the discussion of the figures will follow a scheme of classification drawn up by Sir G. Grierson, and prescribed by the Census Commissioner. At the end of the chapter three subsidiary tables are given as follows:—

Subsidiary Table I—Shows the distribution of the total population by language.

Subsidiary Table II—Shows for each district the number of persons speaking different languages per mille of the population.

Subsidiary Table III—Gives comparative figures for tribal languages, showing how many persons belong to the tribe and how many of them speak the tribal language.

716. It was realized that it would be hopeless to expect the people themselves to return their languages with any philological exactitude. The linguistic and dialectic distinctions made by the linguistic survey are not recognized, and its terminology is more or less foreign to the people. A person speaking Bihari, for instance, does not call his language Bihari, but Hindi, and he does not recognize such names as Magahi, Bhojpuri and Maithili as designations for different dialects of that language. In these circumstances, it was not attempted to obtain a record of them. All that it was possible to do was to lay down that the name by which a language was commonly known should be entered in the schedules. Some people were not contented with this simple rule. The Tiyars in the Patna State, for instance, returned Bengali as their mother-tongue, though their language is indubitably Oriya and is known as such.

* In one case the language of a deaf-mute was returned as *Atpat*, an onomatopoeic word describing the sounds he emitted.

717. The Musalmans were strongly averse to their language being entered as Hindi, and were anxious to have it returned as Urdu. The Hindus were opposed to the entry of Urdu, and complaints were received that, in some cases, Hindu supervisors or enumerators changed or tried to change entries of Urdu into Hindi. The question of the entry was, in fact, regarded as a question of religion. It was assumed that Hindus must speak Hindi and Musalmans Urdu, though the great majority speak neither one nor the other, but Bihari. The attitude of both shows strange ignorance of history, for Urdu largely owes its existence to the Hindus employed in the Mughal administration. "Urdu arose when the Hindus took to Persian education; if they had not been an apt medium for receiving and spreading the new dialect, Urdu would as little have formed itself during the reign of Shajahan as under the rule of the Pathans."* However this may be, the result of the agitation on the subject is that the number of persons recorded as speaking Urdu has jumped up from 89,677 to 542,059. Even in Bengal no less than 154,438 persons returned their language as Urdu, over two-fifths of the number being inhabitants of Midnapore.

718. There was also a tendency to return Persian and Arabic as the language ordinarily spoken, though the number of persons born in Arabia or Persia, or who are the descendants of Persians and Arabians, is very small. In many cases it was found that Persian was used as an honorific designation for the language spoken by Musalmans, or as a name for some form of an Aryan language spoken by aboriginals, *e.g.*, it was returned as the language of some Santals and Koras who had left their homes and spoke a corrupt form of Bihari. Arabic was also put down as the language of Musalmans who knew the Koran, or of Biharis who were present in Bengal at the time of the census. Some Binds of Shahabad, who were enumerated in Khulna, were thus credited with a knowledge of Arabic, though one might as well expect Doms to speak Sanskrit. Arabic was also entered in Orissa for Tamil, this being a corruption of Arava, a name given to Tamil by speakers of Telugu. Inquiry was made in as many cases as possible regarding the actual language entered as Arabic and Persian, with especial success in Bihar and Orissa, where the real number was found to be only 55.

719. The greatest difficulty was caused by the language of various aboriginal races, such as Hos, Karmalis, Mundas, Oraons and Santals, being entered simply as Kol, *Kolhe or Kolho*. Kol, in one form or another, is used indiscriminately in many parts for Oraon, Mundari, Santali, Karmali (a dialect of Santali) and other non-Aryan tongues, and the discovery of the real language was no easy task. Such entries were checked as far as possible by reference to the entry of caste and birth-place, but in many cases the caste was also recorded as Kol, and the district of birth gave no clue as to the real race. In such cases local inquiries were made, and specimens of the language actually spoken were obtained. This difficulty was most felt in the 24 Orissa States, where there were over 117,000 entries of Kol or Kolho. The classification of these entries has given somewhat different results from those obtained in 1901, when 92,000 entries of Kol were treated as Ho (in addition to 29,000 actual entries of Ho), whereas all such entries in the five Feudatory States then attached to the Central Provinces were classified as Mundari. A similar difficulty was presented by entries of Kora, which is a generic name for earth-workers of any caste, and also of a separate tribe. The language returned as Kora varied greatly in different parts, being Santali in one place and Mundari in others, but Oraon in the great majority of cases.

720. The Thars of Orissa States were a further source of perplexity. In some parts where an aboriginal tribe or caste speak an Aryan language, it does so with certain tribal peculiarities, and the language is not called Bengali, Oriya, Hindi, etc., but is referred to by the name of the tribe or caste concerned, the word Thar (*i.e.*, sign or symbol) being added. Common entires of this kind were Bindhani Thar, the language spoken by the Bindhanis or blacksmiths,

* H. Blochmann, *The Hindu Rajas under the Mughal Government*, Calcutta Review, Vol. LII, pp. 321 and 322.

and Kamari Thar spoken by the Kamars, both of which were found to be Hindi. The Thar does not, however, always denote an Aryan language : it is most commonly used as a suffix for non-Aryan languages, such as Koda Thar, Juang Thar, etc., Santali appeared as Santal Thar, Manjhi Thar, Majhiali Thar or Thar simply, while Bhumij was entered under numerous names, *e.g.*, Bhumij Thar, Bhumijali Thar, Tamaria or Tamria Thar, besides Tamaria Bhumij and Tamriali. Needless to say the most confusing entry was Thar simply, there being no clue to the actual language but the caste or locality.

721. In some cases, again, there is difficulty in classifying a dialect owing to the manner in which it varies in different localities, the admixture of words belonging to different languages and, occasionally, the character in which it is written. For instance, Kurmali is classified by Sir G. Grierson as a corrupt form of Magahi (Bihari), but it is written in the Bengali character and in some parts is said to be unmistakably Bengali. Panch Pargania or Tamaria is also classified as Magahi, but is reported to vary from place to place according to the admixture of Bengali, Bihari and Oriya : elsewhere, too, Tamaria is a name for Bhumij. In parts of Purnea, again, the language is a mixture of Bihari and Bengali, and Bihari fades imperceptibly into Bengali and *vice versa*. The character of the language in such cases will be referred to later in different sections of this chapter.

Lastly, there was the difficulty caused by misreadings or mis-spellings in the course of compilation. Much might be written on this subject, but such mistakes and their unravelling are merely curiosities of the census. To quote two small instances only, entries of two unknown languages were reported from one office, viz., Tipti and Boras. Reference to the entries of birth-place and caste at once solved the difficulty. The former was intended for Tibetan, the latter was a misreading of Oraon.

722. Before proceeding to discuss the returns for different languages reference may be made to the polyglot population found in border districts. The frontier district of Darjeeling has the greatest diversity of tongues. As shown in the margin, there

LANGUAGE.	Percentage to total population.	LANGUAGE.	Percentage to total population.
Nepali (Khaskura) ...	21	Other Nepalese languages.	5
Bengali ...	17	Lepcha ...	4
Jimdar ...	14½	Bhotia ...	4
Murmi ...	10	Dravidian languages ...	3
Hindi ...	6½	Munda languages ...	2½
Limbu ...	5	English ...	1½
Mangar ...	4		

are no less than 13 languages, or groups of languages, each of which is spoken by over 1 per cent. of the population. Though Bengali comes second in the list, it is current as a vernacular only in a limited area, viz., the Tarai (Siliguri subdivision) ; in the rest of the district only 1,299 persons speak Bengali. In the border districts of Bihar and Orissa there are extraordinary local variations, which can best be realized by reference to the marginal statement. It may also be mentioned that, besides the languages entered in this statement for the Sonthal Parganas, Malto, a Dravidian language spoken by the Sauria Paharias (Maler), is the vernacular of 8½ per cent. of the population in the Rajmahal subdivision, of 5 per cent. in Godda, and of 6 per cent. in Pakaur.

DISTRICT AND SUB-DIVISION.	PERCENTAGE TO TOTAL POPULATION OF SPEAKERS OF—		
	Hindi and Urdu.	Bengali.	Santali.
Sonthal Parganas	45	15	36
Dumka ...	40	14	45
Deoghar ...	82	4	12
Rajmahal ...	39	13	36
Godda ...	57	3	32
Pakaur ...	11	30	51
Jamtara ...	26	34	39
Manbhum ...	21	64	14
Sadar ...	13	73	13
Dhaubaid ...	46	26	17
Purnea ...	60	38	...
Sadar ...	80	17	...
Kishanganj ...	3	97	...
Araria ...	99	1	...

In Singhbhum there are three main languages, viz., Bengali, Oriya and Ho. Ho is pre-eminent-ly the language of the Kolhan, while Bengali is scarcely spoken outside Dhalbhum. Oriya, on the other hand, is mainly spoken in Porahat and Dhalbhum.

DISTRICT.	PERCENTAGE TO TOTAL POPULATION OF SPEAKERS OF—		
	Bengali.	Ho.	Oriya.
Singhbhum ...	16	37	18
Dhalbhum ...	40	1	11
Remainder of district ...	1	53	22

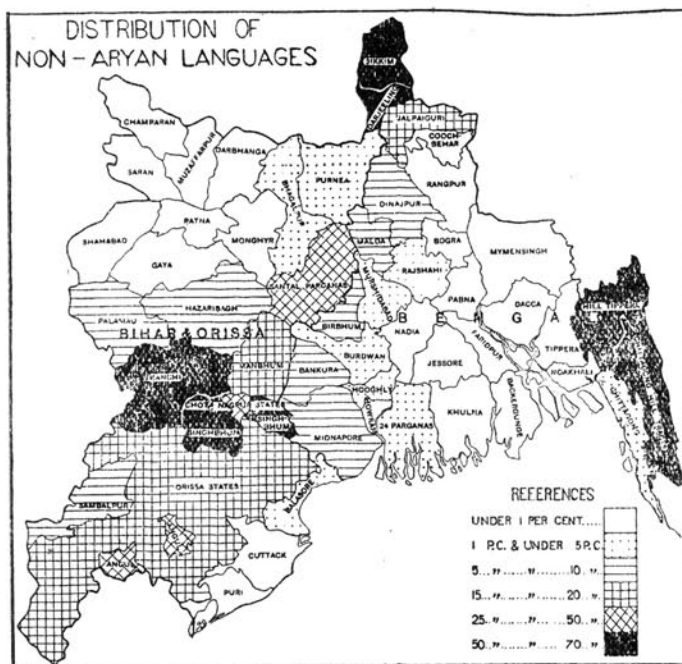
The industrial towns of Bengal, with their heterogeneous population of Bengalis and emigrants

from other parts of India, also have an astonishing variety of languages. No less than 50 different languages were returned in Calcutta, where 49 per cent. of the population speak Bengali, while Hindi or Urdu is the tongue of 41 per cent., Oriya of 4 per cent., English of 3 per cent. and Marwari of 1 per cent. Speakers of Hindi account for nearly half the population of Garden Reach, while in Howrah they outnumber those who speak Bengali by 4 per cent. In the mill towns of Bhatpara and Titagarh the predominance of Hindi is more marked; in the former there are four Hindi speakers to every Bengali, while in the latter Hindi is the language of three-fourths of the inhabitants. The population of Titagarh is particularly heterogeneous, for, in addition to Hindi, Bengali is spoken by 11 per cent., Telugu by 8½ per cent. and Oriya by 4 per cent.

723. Statistics of the distribution of the main languages will be found in Subsidiary Table I in which they are classified according to Sir G. A. Grierson's scheme. The Indian languages belong to one or other of the four linguistic families shown in the margin. The Indo-European languages correspond with those described as Aryan languages in the last report, and consist mainly of Bengali, Bihari, Oriya and Naipali. The Austro-Asiatic family is represented by the Munda languages, while the Dravidian languages include Oraon, Malto, Kandh (Khond), Tamil and Telugu. The

FAMILY.	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Number of speakers.	Ratio per mille.	Number of speakers.	Ratio per mille.
Indo-European ...	44,904,000	970	35,081,000	913
Austro-Asiatic ...	771,000	17	2,560,000	67
Dravidian ...	133,000	3	785,000	20
Tibeto-Chinese ...	446,000	10	125	...

The Tibeto-Chinese family comprises the Tibeto-Burman languages, which are subdivided into Tibeto-Himalayan languages (*e.g.*, Tibetan, Lepcha and Nepalese tribal languages) and Assam-Burmese languages, such as Bodo, Mech, Garo, Tipura and Burmese. The local limits of these four families are well defined. The languages of the Indo-European family are spoken throughout the plains, the Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian languages mainly in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and outlying districts. The



Chinese family consists of Sikkim and the north and south-east of Bengal, Tibeto-Himalyan languages being spoken in the former, and Assam-Burmese in the latter.

724. All the languages classified under this head belong to the Sanskritic sub-branch of the Indian branch of the Aryan sub-family. The majority of the people speak languages of the Eastern group, which is represented by Bengali, Bihari, Oriya and Assamese. The first three have their home in the two provinces after which they are called, but Assamese is the language of immigrants, being returned only by 1,258 persons.

725. Bengali is spoken by altogether 44,861,000 persons, of whom 42,566,000 are residents of Bengal. In the latter province it is the language of 92 per cent. of the population, and the number of its speakers has risen by 7 per cent. during the

INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY—
EASTERN GROUP

BENGALI.

last ten years, which is 1 per cent. less than the rate of growth among the general population. In Bihar and Orissa it is spoken by 2,295,000 or 6 per cent. of the total population, the border districts of Purnea, the Sonthal Parganas, Manbhum and Singhbhum accounting for over nine-tenths of the total number. Since 1901 the aggregate in this province has risen by 736,000, but there would have been an increase of only 78,000 or 5 per cent.

YEAR.	Hindi.	Bengal.
1901 ...	1,773,455	91,877
1911 ...	1,202,568	749,018
Variations ...	-570,887	+ 657,141

had it not been for the variations in Purnea, as shown in the margin. In a great part of that district it is difficult to say whether the language is Bengali or Bihari, for Bihar fades imperceptibly into Bengali and *vice versa*. In the main, however, it is Bengali with an admixture of Hindi, but it is written in Kaithi, the Bihari character, and not in Bengali. The paucity of the number returned as Bengali speakers in 1901 is due to the fact that the enumerators recorded this mixed dialect as Bengali on the strength of the written character, without regard to its philological nature. At this census, however, the character in use was not taken into consideration, but only the spoken language. It must not be imagined, therefore, that in Purnea Bihari is being replaced by Bengali. Sir G. A. Grierson estimated the number of Bengali speakers at 603,000, or nearly one-third of the population in 1901, and if that ratio is adopted, the Bengali-speaking population would be 663,000.

726. No attempt was made to collect statistics of dialects of Bengali, except Mal Paharia, and only three others appear in the returns, viz., Chakma, Kharia Thar and

DIALECTS OF BENGALI.

Pahira Thar.

Mal Paharia is, as the name implies, the vernacular of the Mal Paharias, nearly all of whom are found in the Sonthal Parganas. In that district no less than 34,414 persons, or nine-tenths of the total number of Mal Paharias, were returned as speaking this dialect. It is not a separate language, but merely a corrupt form of Bengali with here and there a Dravidian word, and it is said to resemble Kharia Thar. The Mal Paharias come of the same stock as the Maler or Sauria Paharias, but are a Hinduized and more civilized section residing in a different part of the district. They have cut off all connection with their congeners and have adopted the language of their more civilized neighbours. One group only retain the Malto language of their ancestors, and have not yet learnt the dialect used by the Mal Paharias of the south and west. They are found in Tappa Kunwarpal, a rugged tract difficult of access which lies on the boundary between the Sauria and Mal Paharias, and are said to be undistinguishable from the Saurias in language, habits and appearance.

Chakma is a debased dialect spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and written in an alphabet akin to that of Burmese. In 1901 it was returned by 44,000 persons or one-third of the inhabitants of that district, but the number is now only half that figure.

CHAKMA.

Kharia Thar, or the language spoken by the Kharias of Manbhum, is treated as a patois of Bengali by Sir G. A. Grierson, whose classification has been followed. Though over four-sevenths of them are returned as Animists, they are said to have lost their distinctive language, unlike members of the tribe in adjoining areas. Pahira Thar is the vernacular of the Pahiras or Paharias, a small community found in the same locality as the Kharias, viz., along the Dalma range of hills in Manbhum. Little is known about them or their language. They are said to be cognate to the Kharias, and Sir G. A. Grierson states that their dialect is the same, being called Kharia Thar or Pahira (Paharia) Thar according to the speakers.

727. Hindi and Urdu are spoken by altogether 26,850,000 persons, viz., 24,932,000 or two-thirds of the total population, in Bihar and Orissa, and 1,917,000 or 4 per cent. in Bengal. Since 1901 the number has decreased by 360,000 in the former province, but this does not represent a real loss. The change in the instructions about the entry of language has, as already shown, brought

HINDI AND URDU.

about a decrease of nearly 571,000 in Purnea. It has also been effectual in reducing the number of aborigines returned as speaking Hindi instead of their tribal language. Not to multiply instances, the number of Santali speakers in the Sonthal Parganas has risen by 28,000, though the Santals themselves are reduced in numbers. In Bengal, the Hindi-speaking population has grown by 430,000 or 29 per cent., the result mainly of immigration from Bihar and Orissa : the males speaking Hindi outnumber the females by 2 to 1. Calcutta and the metropolitan districts of Howrah and the 24-Parganas, where the mill hands are recruited chiefly from up-country, contribute one-third of the increase. Between them they contain 731,000 speakers of Hindi or Urdu, or over one-third of the total number in Bengal. A large increase is also registered in North Bengal, where the speakers of Hindi are more numerous by 182,000 or 42 per cent., than they were 10 years ago. This division now contains nearly 600,000 persons with whom Hindi or Urdu is the mother-tongue.

Urdu, as stated above, represents, for the greater part, merely the language spoken by Musalmans. It is impossible to say what the real number of speakers of Urdu is, but it is certain that the majority of those who returned Urdu as their mother-tongue speak either Hindi in a more or less debased form, or pure and unadulterated Bihari. True Urdu is spoken by the higher classes of Musalmans and by immigrants from up-country. In Orissa also the local Musalmans, though far remote from their Urdu-speaking co-religionists, and surrounded by speakers of Oriya, have preserved a fairly pure, though not very grammatical, Urdu as the language of their home life. They are, however, unable to write it in its proper character, but use the Oriya script. The revised instructions have brought about a great increase in the returns for Urdu in the sea-board districts of this sub-province ; in Cuttack alone the number has risen from 1,459 to 52,600.

728. Neither Urdu nor Hindi (without further specification) are recognized as languages in the prescribed scheme of classification, in which they are classified as Bihari, Eastern Hindi and Western Hindi. By far the most widely spoken of these languages is Bihari, the language of Bihar. It is not, however, confined to that sub-province, but also extends into Chota Nagpur and even into the Orissa States. It has three dialects, viz., Bhojpuri, Magahi and Maithili. Bhojpuri is so-called after the *argana* of Bhojpur in Shahabad and is *par excellence* the vernacular of Shahabad and the adjoining district of Saran. It extends on the west into the United Provinces and on the south into Ranchi, where Sir G. A. Grierson identifies it with the language called Nagpuria. In local estimation, however, Nagpuria should be classed as a separate dialect. It has, it is said, affinities to both Magahi and Bhojpuri, but the resemblance to the former is very much more marked. On the north, Bhojpuri is found in Champaran where there is a sub-dialect called Madhesi—literally the language of the middle land : the aboriginal Tharus also speak Bhojpuri, though some suppose that they have a distinct vernacular. Magahi or Magadhi derives its name from the ancient kingdom of Magadha, the nucleus of which consisted of the district of Patna and the north of Gaya. It is pre-eminently the vernacular of South Bihar, where it is current in the districts of Patna, Gaya and Monghyr. It spreads on the east into Malda, on the south and south-west into Hazaribagh and Palamau, and on the south-east into Manbhum, Singhbhum and the Chota Nagpur States. Maithili, the third of the dialects, is the language of the ancient kingdom of Mithila, the limits of which correspond to the modern Tirhut. It is now the vernacular of North Bihar, excluding the district of Champaran and Saran. South of the Ganges it is infected by Magahi, the result being a dialect called Chikka-Chikki, owing to the frequent use of the word *Chhik* in the conjugation of the verb substantive.

In the Linguistic Survey of India the number of speakers of Bihari in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is estimated at 23,143,888, viz., Bhojpuri 6,991,972, Magahi 6,565,758 and Maithili 9,586,158.* An estimate based on the results of the present census is somewhat above this figure, the

* Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V, Part II, pp. 14, 15, 32, 33, 44, 45, 187, 224, 278, 300, 311-14.

total for Bihari being estimated at 24,694,493, viz., Bhojpuri 7,095,023. Magahi 6,862,676 and Maithili 10,736, 794.*

729. Bathudi or Bathuri was returned as the language of 137 persons in the Orissa Feudatory States and Balasore. Specimens of the language were obtained, and it was found to be a patois of Hindi written in Oriya. The total number of Bathudis is 54,817, nearly all of whom were enumerated in the Orissa Feudatory States, mainly in Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj. There is unfortunately very little information regarding them or their origin. They are generally regarded as being of aboriginal descent, but according to a recent writer they were originally Buddhists with a rank equal to that of Brahmans, who sank to a low status on the destruction of Buddhism. Like Brahmans, they wear the sacred thread and observe *sraddha* on the eleventh day, but many of their observances are like those of aboriginals. In Mayurbhanj old buildings showing a high standard of civilization are attributed to them, and there are traditions of their having been a dominant race. Traces of Buddhistic worship are still found among them, Dharmaraj and Jagannath (who is regarded as an incarnation of Buddha) being two of their principal deities: it is noticeable also that formerly only Bathudis were allowed to officiate as priests in the worship of Dharma.† They say that their name was originally Batula or Bathula, but in Keonjhar they are known as Bahuri or Bauri, and it seems not impossible that they have had some connection with the Bauris of Orissa, who appear to be distinct from the Bauris of West Bengal.

730. Kurmali is a corrupt form of Magahi, which, as the name implies, is the tongue of the aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpur (not the Bihari cultivating caste of the same name). It was returned as the language of 211,411 persons in Manbhum, where the Kurmis number 291,729. It is not confined to them, however, but is spoken by many other castes. This patois is also known as Khotta or Khotta Bengali, and is written in the Bengali character. Locally it is regarded as a corrupt form of Bengali. It is reported that even in Ranchi, though Bihari words are used, the terminations are often Bengali. In Mayurbhanj it is usually called Kurmi Bengali or Kurmali Bengali, as well as simply Kurmi. With regard to its character, the late Maharaja of Mayurbhanj wrote as follows:—"The mother-tongue of the Kurmis of Mayurbhanj is Bengali, with the peculiar intonation belonging to them. These Kurmis have, as a rule, come from Midnapore and settled permanently in Mayurbhanj. Their dialect shows traces of Hindi and Oriya as well, but it cannot be called either." A corrupt form of Magahi is also spoken in thanas Gola and Kashmar, and in part of thana Rangarh in the south-east of Hazaribagh. This patois, which is called Het Gola, contains Bengali words and phrases and locally is considered to be Bengali.

731. There were 3,038 entries of Kurumali in the schedules of the Orissa States, which have been classified as Hindi on the authority of the Linguistic Survey. "Kurumali",

KURUMALI.

* The basis of the calculation, which is the same as that adopted by Mr. Gait in 1901, is as follows:—

Magahi includes persons enumerated in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa who were born in (1) Patna and Gaya, (2) $\frac{1}{4}$ Hazaribagh, (3) $\frac{1}{2}$ Monghyr, (4) $\frac{2}{3}$ Malda and (5) $\frac{1}{3}$ Ranchi and Palamau; also $\frac{1}{5}$ of the persons speaking Hindi and Urdu in the Sonthal Parganas, 9,444 persons in the Chota Nagpur States and 7,320 in the Orissa Feudatory States.

Maithili includes persons enumerated in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa who were born in (1) Darbhanga and Bhagalpur, (2) $\frac{2}{3}$ Muzaffarpur (3) $\frac{1}{2}$ Monghyr and (4) $\frac{2}{3}$ Purnea; and also $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Hindu and Urdu speakers enumerated in the Sonthal Parganas.

Bhojpuri includes persons enumerated in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa who were born in (1) Champaran, Saran and Shahabad and (2) $\frac{1}{3}$ Palamau and Ranchi. It also includes 103,966 immigrants from the United Provinces to Bihar and Orissa comprising immigrants from the districts of the United Provinces where Bhojpuri is spoken, viz., the whole of the Gorakhpur Division, Benares, Ghazipur, Ballia, $\frac{2}{3}$ Mirzapur, $\frac{1}{3}$ Jaunpur and $\frac{2}{3}$ Fyzabad.

According to another method of calculation, the number of Bihari speakers may be estimated at 25,131,627. The basis of this latter estimate is as follows:—In Bihar and Orissa, excluding the districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore, the number of Bihari speakers is taken to be the number of those returned as speaking Hindi or Urdu, after deducting (1) those who speak Eastern Hindi (116,574 in Sambalpur and the Orissa States and 508,898 elsewhere), and (2) of immigrants from the Central Provinces and United Provinces, except those from Gorakhpur, Ballia, Benares, the Benares State, Ghazipur and Mirzapur who speak Bihari. In Malda those who returned Hindi and Urdu as their language are assumed to be Bihari speakers. Elsewhere the estimate of Sir G. A. Grierson has been adopted, adding an extra 10 per cent. for increased emigration.

† Nagendra Nath Basu, *Modern Buddhism in Orissa* (1911), pp. 15—36, 145.

writes Sir G. A. Grierson, "on examination, turns out to be another instance of Eastern Magahi. Here the corrupting element is more Oriya than Bengali, and, moreover, the specimens received being written in the Oriya character, they have necessarily acquired a further resemblance in orthography to that language, which probably does not properly belong to them. Instances of borrowing from Oriya abound, but even some of these are curious distortions. On the whole the dialect agrees very closely with the Kurmalī Thar of Manbhum."^{*}

732. Panch Pargania or Tamaria is a dialect spoken mainly in the five PANCH PARGANIA OR TAMARIA. *parganas* of Tamar (whence the name Tamaria), Silli, Baranda, Rane and Bundu. According to the Linguistic Survey of India—"It closely resembles the Kurmalī Thar of Manbhum. The principal apparent difference is the result of the characters employed in writing. In Manbhum the character adopted is the Bengali, and the language is looked at, so to speak, through Bengali spectacles. Hence words are spelled as a Bengali would spell them. In the five Parganas, on the other hand, the Kaithi alphabet is used, and the language is looked at through Hindi spectacles." According to the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi (Mr. W. B. Thomson), "Panch Pargania or Tamaria is really a composite language formed of Bengali, Oriya and Bihari words and terminations. As spoken by some castes, it has a distinct resemblance to Oriya, and as spoken by others to Bengali, while as spoken by Kurmis and a few other castes who originally came from Bihar, it resembles Bihari. There is no valid reason why it should be classed as a dialect of Bihari rather than of Bengali or Oriya." Tamaria is also the name of a form of Bhumij spoken by the Tamarias, a section of the Bhumij tribe who were originally settled in the Tamar *pargana* of Ranchi. Those who returned Tamaria as their languages outside Ranchi have been treated, as in 1901, as speaking this Bhumij dialect, but it is quite possible that this classification is wrong, and that some of them really speak Tamaria Magahi and others Tamaria Bhumij.

733. Oriya is returned for 7,820,000 persons in Bihar and Orissa, where it is the language of one-fifth of the population. ORIYA. The number returned as speaking Oriya in this province has risen by nearly two millions or 35 per cent. since 1901, but this is mainly due to the transfer of Sambalpur and five Oriya-speaking States from the Central Provinces. Owing to this transfer and to the addition of Gangpur and Bonai, the number of persons speaking Oriya has been nearly doubled in the Orissa States. Outside Orissa the language is practically only spoken in Singhbhum and the Chota Nagpur States. In Bengal there are 294,000 speakers of Oriya, of whom two-thirds are resident in Midnapore. Practically all the remainder are immigrants, there being only one female to every eight males. Midnapore is the only district in the Presidency where Oriya is a native language, and here it is almost confined to the south of the district bordering on Balasore. It is a curious mixture of Bengali and Oriya, but according to Sir G. A. Grierson it is Oriya in its essence. "It has put on strange clothes like Peter in the 'Tale of a Tub,' but the heart that beats under the strangely embroidered waistcoat is the same." Babu Monmohan Chakravarti informs me that it differs from the main Oriya language not only phonetically but also in grammar, and should be regarded as a distinct dialect of Oriya. The returns for the last three censuses show that this form of Oriya is being first replaced by Bengali, the number of Oriya speakers in Midnapore being 572,798 in 1891, but falling to 270,495 in 1901, and again to 181,801 in 1911. The greater part of the decrease has occurred in the south and south-east of the district, viz., in the three thanas of Dantan, Gopiballabhpur and Egra, where the aggregate has fallen from 255,800 to 171,031 since 1901. The speakers of Oriya now represent only one-third of the total population of these three thanas, whereas in 1901 they accounted for two-thirds of it. In Egra, Oriya has practically disappeared, the number being reduced from 57,292 to 160. On the other hand, there has been an increase of 40,000 in Ramnagar,

^{*} Linguistic Survey of India, Volume V, Part II, pp. 166, 172.

where the Oriya speakers now form two-thirds of the inhabitants instead of one-seventh as in 1901. These variations are due to the character of the language which is partly Bengali and partly Oriya, and to the instructions that the language ordinarily spoken in the home was to be entered. In the first three thanas the tendency of the people is obviously to regard their language as Bengali, and in the latter to look upon it as Oriya.

734. The Mediate group is represented by Eastern Hindi, which is the language of Oudh, Baghelkhand and Chhattisgarh.

MEDIATE GROUP—

EASTERN HINDI.

In the provinces dealt with in this report two dialects of Eastern Hindi are current in two widely separated areas. One dialect is known as Awadhi, literally the language of Oudh, which is spoken by Musalmans in five districts of Bihar. In Muzaffarpur this dialect is spoken by low caste Musalmans, the majority of whom belong to the Jolaha or weaver caste. It is hence known locally as Jolaha Boli. In Saran, Awadhi is not spoken by the lowest class of Musalmans, who use the local Bhojpuri, but by those of the middle class, and is known locally as Bihari Hindi. In Champaran, Awadhi is spoken by middle class Musalmans, and by people of the Tikulihar caste: the Awadhi spoken by the latter is locally known as Tikulihari, and that spoken by the middle class Musalmans is called Shekhai. On the south the dialect is current among the Musalmans of the districts of Gaya and Shahabad. "This Musalman dialect is an interesting survival of the influence of the former Muhammadan Court of Lucknow. It is frequently heard by Europeans in Bihar, as it is used as a kind of language of politeness by uneducated non-Musalmans of the same country, much as Urdu is used by their betters."* The total number of persons in the five districts above-mentioned with whom it is the common vernacular is estimated by Sir G. A. Grierson at 504,454. The number of persons speaking Awadhi outside this area is estimated by him at 111,358, viz., 3,214 in Bhagalpur, 1,230 in Orissa and 106,814 in Bengal.

735. Laria or Chhattisgarhi is a dialect of Eastern Hindi spoken in Sambalpur and the five States transferred from

LARIA OR CHHATTISGARHI.

the Central Provinces, viz., Patna, Sonpur, Bamra, Rairakhol and Kalahandi. It is usually called Laria in this area, Laria meaning simply "eastern." It is thus equivalent to "the language of the east," just as Awadhi is sometimes called Purbi. Sir G. A. Grierson is of opinion that this dialect found its way through Jubbulpore and Mandla, being introduced in comparatively late times by the Aryans who first settled there. Thenceforward, owing to its geographical isolation, the dialect developed its own peculiarities. He estimates the number of Laria speakers in Sambalpur and the five neighbouring States at 176,643, and in the remaining Orissa States at 1,311. The number of persons returned as speaking Hindi or Urdu in the former group is 115,263 (70,650 in Sambalpur and 44,613 in the five States), and inquiry shows that their language is really Laria. Sir G. A. Grierson classes Binjhawari, Kalanga and Bhulia as broken dialects of Laria; but no distinction between them and Laria is recognized locally. They are regarded merely as the ordinary Laria spoken by members of the castes after whom they are named.

736. The languages grouped under this head, and spoken in the two

WESTERN GROUP.

provinces dealt with in this report, are Western Hindi. Rajasthani, Gujarati, Panjabi and Banjari (one of the Bhil dialects), which are chiefly spoken by immigrants.

Western Hindi is the designation of the modern Indo-Aryan vernacular of the Gangetic Doab and the country to its north.

WESTERN HINDI.

The principal dialect is Hindustani, whose home is the Upper Gangetic Doab in the country round Meerut, but which is commonly employed as a *lingua franca* throughout the north of India. The Persianized form of Hindustani is known as Urdu, and there is also a Hindi form of Hindustani which was invented by the teachers of the college at Fort William and owed its origin to the need of text-books for the college. "It was intended to be a Hindustani for the use of Hindus, and was derived from the indigenous Sanskrit. Owing to the popularity of the first book

* Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VI, p. 9.

written in it, and to its supplying the need for a *lingua franca* which could be used by the strictest Hindus without their religious prejudices being offended, it became widely adopted and is now the recognized vehicle for writing prose by those inhabitants of Upper India who do not employ Urdu."

Urdu, as already stated, has been returned as a generic term for the language of Musalmans in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and includes not only Urdu spoken by indigenous Musalmans and the Urdu immigrants from the north of India, but also Hindi and Bihari.

737. Rajasthani is a term applied to the language of Rajputana, and its most important dialect is Marwari. The latter is returned as the mother-tongue of 37,478 persons (19,145 in Bengal and 18,333* in Bihar and Orissa), all, needless to say, Marwari immigrants or their descendants. In Calcutta alone, where there is a wealthy and influential community of Marwari merchants, it is returned for 8,968 persons. There is a large increase over the figures of 1901 (10,625), which is partly due to greater immigration, for the number of persons born in Rajputana and enumerated in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa has risen from 40,572 to 51,747. The greater part of the increase however is to be attributed to the greater accuracy of enumeration resulting from the revised instructions about the entry of languages.

738. Gujarati is shown as the speech of 7,382 or 3,014 more than in 1901. All of these are immigrants, except 282 persons in Midnapore called Siyalgirs, who speak a corrupt form of Gujarati called Siyalgiri. They are a small community with criminal propensities, which are probably an hereditary legacy. They seem to have migrated to their present home about 150 years ago, and were probably camp-followers of the Marathas. Their vernacular, which is derived from a dialect closely related to Gujarati Bhili, shows that they came from Western India, probably from the border districts between Central India, Rajputana and Bombay, which are the habitat of Bhil tribes.

Punjabi appears in the returns as the language of 6,595 persons. These are immigrants from the Punjab, who come to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, leaving their wives at home: there are approximately ten males among them to every female. Half of the total number were enumerated in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas.

739. Banjari, or as it is sometimes called Labhani, is one of the Bhil dialects, which is spoken by the Banjaras, a well-known tribe of grain and salt carriers in Central India. At this census 6,804 Banjaras were enumerated in Sambalpur and the Orissa Feudatory States, but the number who returned Banjari as their language was only 5,747. They are not found outside this area, but apparently they formerly penetrated to Bihar, for there is a reference to them in the *Rivazu-s-Salat*, in which it is stated that Ali Vardi Khan sent an expedition under a Rohilla Afghan named Abdul Karim Khan (who is described as the chief of the Afghans of Darbhanga) "against the Banjara tribe, who were a class of marauders and murderers, and who in the guise of traders and travellers used to plunder the imperial domains and treasures. Abdul Karim Khan, subduing the Banjara tribe, gained a large booty."

740. Eastern Pahari is the name given in the Linguistic Survey to Naipali, or as it is sometimes called Khaskura, though this latter designation is not usually employed by the Nepalese themselves in this part of India. It is the *lingua franca* of the Nepalese, being the language of the Hindu castes and also a vernacular spoken by those tribes who have a tribal language of their own. They speak the latter among themselves, but Naipali in their intercourse with others. At this census it was returned

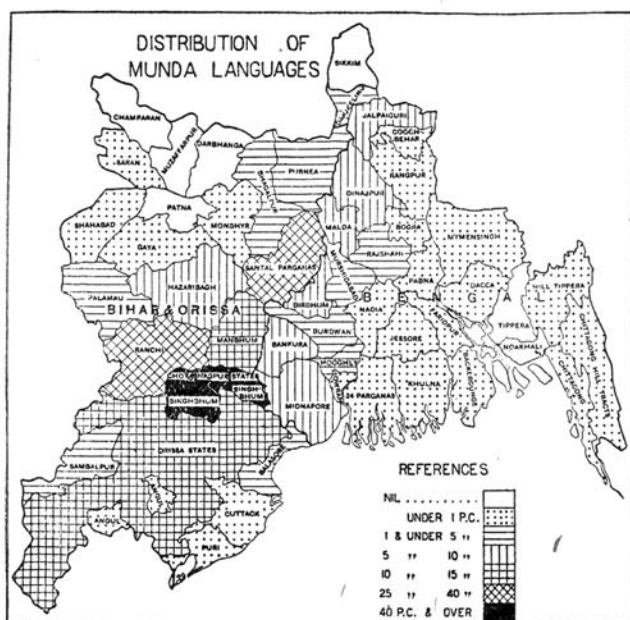
LOCALITY.	1911.	1901.	Increase per cent.
Darjeeling	56,768	45,320	25
Jalpaiguri	32,356	11,403	184
Sikkim	28,078	15,836	77

*Including 26 persons in Monghyr, whose language was entered as Jaipuri.

by 121,587 persons, viz., 90,844 in Bengal, 28,078 in Sikkim and 2,625 in Bihar and Orissa. The remarkable increase which, as shown in the margin, has taken place since 1901 in Jalpaiguri is due mainly to the fresh influx of immigrants from Nepal: the number of those born in Nepal and enumerated in the district has risen from 19,000 to 34,000. In Darjeeling some of the increase may perhaps be due to tribal languages being abandoned, but the greater part must be attributed to the change in the instructions about language, which made it clear to the enumerators that the mother-tongue was to be entered in the schedules. In Sikkim the growth must be ascribed largely to the present census having been more complete than its predecessors, as a result of which an addition of 49 per cent. in the general population of the State is now recorded: the proportion of Naipali speakers to the total population, viz., one-third, is the same as it was ten years ago. Two-thirds of the persons in Bihar and Orissa whose language was returned as Naipali are inhabitants of the frontier districts of Bhagalpur and Champaran. In Bhagalpur the number has risen from 523 to 1,395; the latter figure agrees very closely with that returned in 1891, viz., 1,171. In Champaran, on the other hand, the number has fallen from 7,231 to 515. The decrease is extraordinary, but I can offer no explanation for it.

741. The languages of the North-Western group are represented only by Sindhi and Kachchhi, which were returned for a small number of immigrants, viz., 113 speakers of Sindhi and 443 of Kachchhi. Marathi, which belongs to the Southern group, is more strongly represented, being returned by 3,756 persons.

742. The Austro-Asiatic family is divided into two sub-families called Mon-Khmer and Munda. The former is represented by only 70 speakers of Khasi, whereas the latter has $3\frac{1}{2}$ million speakers. The great majority speak the language designated Kherwari by Sir G. A. Grierson, to whom we



owe the discovery that Santali, Mundari, Bhumij, Birhar, Koda, Ho, Turi, Asuri, Agaria and Korwa are not separate languages, but closely connected dialects of one and the same language. These dialects are spoken mainly in the Chota Nagpur Plateau and in a few outlying districts, as well as by emigrants to the tea gardens in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling or to the Barind in Dinajpur and Malda. The other languages of this sub-family are Kharia and Juang, which are also current in the same area. In the Chota Nagpur Plateau the Munda languages are spoken by one-fifth of the total population, the highest proportion being reached in Singhbhum (60 per cent.), the home of the Hos. Then come the Sonthal Parganas (37 per cent.), which is one of the main centres of the Santals, and Ranchi (30 per cent.), where Mundas and Kharias are in greatest strength. Outside the Chota Nagpur Plateau the Munda languages are most commonly spoken in the adjoining district of Bankura (9 per cent.), where there is a strong Santal community, and in Dinajpur (7 per cent.), where the Santals are settling in the Barind.

743. Santali is by far the most widely spoken of all these dialects, being the speech of over 2 millions of people. The actual increase since 1901 represents 18 per cent., whereas

SANTALI.

the Santal community has grown by 13 per cent. Under this head are classified Mahli and Karmali, which are dialects of the main language. Over one-third of the speakers of Santali (as distinct from Karmali and Malhi) are found in the Sonthal Parganas, while Manbhum and the Orissa Feudatory States each account for one-sixth of the total number: outside the Chota Nagpur Plateau over 156,000 are found in Midnapore, 114,000 in Dinajpur and nearly 100,000 in Bankura. There appear to be no signs of the Santals abandoning their language, for Santali has been returned by no less than 96 per cent. of the tribe.

The case is different with the speakers of Karmali, for though 21,842 persons returned their caste as Karmali in Bihar and Orissa, only one-third spoke that sub-dialect.

The Karmalis are an aboriginal caste of iron-smelters and black-smiths found mainly in the Sonthal Parganas and Hazaribagh. Mahli also appears to be dying out, there being 25,000 speakers of it who represent under one-third of the tribe: 15,000 of these are inhabitants of the Sonthal Parganas.

744. Mundari is spoken by a little over half a million or one-fourth of the number that speak Santali. The greater number of persons whose speech is Mundari are found in Ranchi, where the total is 350,000; Singhbhum and the Orissa States account for another 100,000. Among the Mundas, as among the Santals, there appears to be no defection from the tribal language, which is spoken by 94 per cent. of the race. The number of Mundari speakers has increased by no less than 30 per cent. since 1901, owing mainly to the accession of Mundas caused by the transfer of Sambalpur and five Feudatory States from the Central Provinces. A part of the increase is also accounted for by a number of persons being classified as speakers of Mundari who were grouped with the Hos at the previous census.

745. Ho is far more centralized than Santali, being practically confined to Singhbhum, the two adjoining States of Kharsawan and Saraikela, and the Orissa States. Singhbhum alone contains two-thirds of the total number, while in the Orissa States they are mainly found in Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj, of which the border marches with Singhbhum. The Hos have retained their language to a remarkable degree, the actual number of speakers (420,000) falling short of the number belonging to the tribe by less than 2,000.

746. The Bhumij, on the other hand, have to a very large extent given up their own language, only 35 per cent. of them speaking it. The number returning it as their mother-tongue has risen since 1901 by 19,000 or 20 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, but has fallen by 3,000 or 13 per cent. in Bengal. The majority of the Bhumij in the latter province are inhabitants of Midnapore, where they have adopted the language of their Bengali neighbours: only one-third of them still speak their own language. In Bihar and Orissa the Bhumij are found in greatest strength in Manbhum, which contains 116,000 of them. Here less than 7,000 or 6 per cent. speak Bhumij, but this is an improvement on 1901, when barely 2 per cent. returned Bhumij as their language. Commenting on this result, Mr. Coupland, formerly Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum, writes:—"The small number of persons speaking Bhumij is perhaps partly accounted for by the fact that the Bhumij of Eastern Barabhum at any rate, and probably of a larger area, profess Bengali as their mother-tongue, though they speak freely with their Santal neighbours in so-called Santali, which a closer examination by an expert would probably show to be a survival of their own original dialect. The aspirations of the upper grades of Bhumij to take position as Rajputs and the general spread of Hindu religious ideas among them, no doubt, account largely for the extent to which they have given up their own language for Bengali.*" In Singhbhum the adoption of Bengali has not proceeded so far, for 35,000 out of 52,000 Bhumij returned their ancestral language as their mother-tongue.

* Manbhum District Gazetteer, pp. 72-73.

747. The most widely spoken of the other Kherwari dialects is Kora (or Koda or Kuda) which is returned as the speech of 24,000 persons. Considerable difficulty was experienced over the entries of Kora, especially in the Orissa States where it is called Kuda or Kura ; for, in addition to being the name of a tribe, it is used as a generic name for earth workers, who call their language as well as their caste Kora. In Sambalpur and some of the adjoining States, such as Rairakhol and Brama, the Kisans, who speak a corrupt form of Oraon, call themselves Kuda or Kura : in their case, therefore, the language returned as Kuda is Oraon. In Pal Lahara and Sonpur the Koda language is also corrupt Oraon : the speakers in the former calling themselves Kisan, or Koda, or Dhangar Koda. In Mayurbhanj however it is Mundari, and in Nilgiri it is reported to be really Santali, the speakers calling themselves Matia or Kuda. Special care was taken to classify the entries of Kuda or Koda in the Orissa States under their proper head both for caste and language ; but it is not certain that there has been the same accuracy in other places, where the Koras are immigrants among a foreign population, and it is consequently not so easy to obtain reliable information about them. The discrepancy between the number of Koras (95,480) and the number speaking the Kora dialect (24,035) is therefore probably not so great as would appear at first sight, as the name Kora is commonly used by various castes of earth-workers who do not belong to the Kora tribe or speak their language.

748. The other Kherwar dialects are numerically insignificant, aggregating only 21,832, as shewn in the margin. Agaria has practically disappeared, for only four per mille of the tribe still speak it. Turi again is spoken by only one-tenth of the Turis, but Asuri and Birjia hold their own : Birjia is a sub-dialect of Asuri. Half the Birhors speak Birhar (or Birhor), while two-fifths of the Korwas are true to the speech of their forefathers. The decrease shown against the latter language is due to the transfer to the Central Provinces of Jashpur and other States in which the wilder Korwas live. Singli, which is shown separately, is said to be a form of Korwa. The revised instructions about the mother-tongue being spoken must be held responsible for the increase

	1911.	1901.
Agaria	112	323
Asuri	4,006	3,126
Birhar	1,038	526
Birjia	1,323	1,377
Korwa	8,904	15,882
Singli	1,614	173
Turi	6,449	3,220

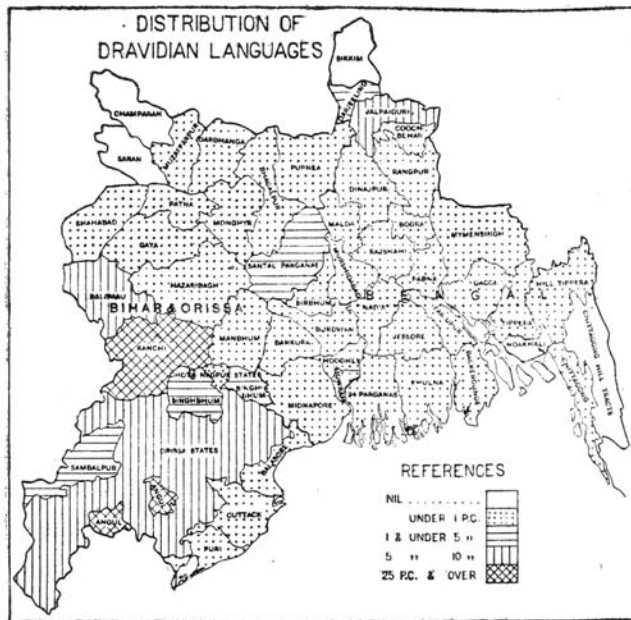
among the Turis, the whole of which has occurred in Ranchi and North Bengal, notably in the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri.

749. Juang is the language of the primitive tribe of the same name, so primitive, indeed, that they had no knowledge of the metals until the 19th century, while their women wore only leaves till 1871 when they were first clothed by order of the Government. They number 12,480, nearly all residents of the Orissa States, and Juang is spoken by 12,313.

Kharia is fairly widely diffused. It is spoken mainly in Ranchi and the Orissa States, but Kharia colonies are also found in Sambalpur and the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri. The number of persons speaking this language has risen by 34,000 or 43 per cent. since 1901, owing to the addition of Sambalpur and the adjoining Feudatory States.

750. The languages of the Dravidian family are spoken by 918,000 persons and belong for the most part to the Dravida group, which comprises the indigenous languages of Oraon, Malto and Malhar, and also Tamil, which is spoken by immigrants from Madras. Oraon is the language of 677,000 persons, of whom 559,000 were enumerated in Bihar and Orissa, and 117,000 in Bengal. In the former province the language is chiefly spoken in the Chota

Nagpur Plateau, notably in Ranchi, which contains 358,000 Oraon speakers.



The Oraons however are a pioneer race, who are found far afield. "Labour is the birthright of the pure Dravidian; whether hoeing tea in Assam, the Duars or Ceylon, cutting rice in the swamps of Eastern Bengal, or doing scavenger's work in the streets of Calcutta, Rangoon and Singapore, he is recognizable at a glance by his black skin, his squat figure and the negro-like proportions of his nose."* It is this pioneer spirit which accounts for their presence in districts so far from their homes as Purnea, the 24-Parganas, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri: over 58,000 speakers of

Oraon were enumerated in the district last named, where they furnish a large proportion of the labour force on the tea gardens. The number speaking the language has risen by $24\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. since 1901, and now constitutes nine-tenths of the tribe.

751. Kisan was returned as their language by 4,547 persons in Sambalpur and the Orissa States, and by 191 labourers in the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri. It was classified as

Oraon, inquiry having shown that it was a corrupt form of that language. In Sambalpur and the Orissa States the Kisans, who are also called Kura or Kora, are very possibly an offshoot of the Oraons, early settlers in the country, whose language has been affected by intercourse with the Oriyas. They now form a distinct caste, and will neither marry with the Oraons nor eat rice in their houses.

752. Malto is the language of the Maler or Sauria Paharias, a Dravidian tribe of the Santal Parganas. Their total strength MALTO, MALHAR AND TAMIL. is 64,864, and the number returned as speaking Malto is 11 more. The difference is due to the fact that a certain number of Mal Paharias also returned their language as Malto. The results now obtained are somewhat different from those of 1901, when there were only 48,270 Maler or Sauria Paharias, but the language returns showed 60,777 speakers of Malto. The census of the Sauria Paharias in that year was however defective, and there appears to have been some confusion between Malto and the patois of Bengali spoken by the Mal Paharias.

Malhar is the language of the small Malhar community found mainly in the Chota Nagpur Plateau. It was returned by only 236 persons. Tamil has 3,354 representatives among immigrants from Madras.

753. The Gond language is fast disappearing, as the Gonds have become Hinduized and adopted the Aryan languages of their neighbours. It now appears in the returns as the language of only 4,221 persons, though the

Gonds themselves have a strength of 236,000: in other words, only one out of every 50 Gonds speaks his own language. Those who still retain it are practically confined to the Orissa States.

754. Two languages of the Andhra group of the Dravidian family are spoken in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, viz., Kandh (or Kui) and Telugu. Kandh is the language of the aboriginal Kandhs (who are generally called Khonds), while Kui is their own name for themselves. The number returned as speaking Kandh has risen since 1901 from 55,655 to 136,711, owing mainly

* Imperial Gazetteer of India, Volume I, page 296.

to the transfer from the Central Provinces of the State of Kalahandi, in which there are 67,274 speakers of Kandh. This State, the State of Daspalla and the district of Angul are the chief centres of the Kandh language, and elsewhere it has fallen into desuetude. The marginal statement sufficiently

DISTRICT OR STATE.	NUMBER OF—	
	Kandhs.	Kandh speakers.
Angul	52,934	51,053
Kalahandi	110,458	67,275
Daspalla	13,499	10,480
Patna	45,440	47
Baud	18,136	477
Bamra	7,333	46

illustrates the extent where it has fallen to which it has lost ground in some places, whereas it has more or less held its ground in the three localities first mentioned. The Kandhs of Angul are inhabitants of the Khondmals, one of the two subdivisions of that district, which is practically a reserve for them, so that they have maintained their tribal polity, their purity of race, their primitive religion and their tribal language more or less intact. In Kalahandi only one section of

the Kandhs retains the language. They live in the almost inaccessible hill tracts of this State, and still practise the nomadic form of cultivation called *jhum*. They have different dialects corresponding to the dialects spoken in Gumsur and Kinedi, and in many cases interspersed with Telugu. These Kandhs call themselves Paharia or Dangria Kandhs, whereas the other Kandhs, who have settled down in the more open country and taken to regular cultivation, are known as Kachharia Kandhs. They are more and more assimilating Hindu customs, no longer eat, drink or intermarry with their brethren of the hills, and have dropped their own language and speak Oriya.*

755. The number of persons speaking Telugu was 18,680 in 1901, but has now risen to 31,463, of whom 10,683 were enumerated in Bengal and 20,780 in Bihar and Orissa. The increase is due simply to the greater influx of immigrants. In the 24-Parganas alone the number of Telugu speakers has risen from 294 to 5,154 owing to the attraction of labour to the mills: over 3,000 were operatives from Ganjam and Vizagapatam employed in the mills at Titagarh. The greater number of the Telugus in Bihar and Orissa were enumerated in the districts and States of Orissa, between which and the northern districts of Madras there is regular intercourse.

756. The languages belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese family, which are classified under the Tibeto-Burman sub-family, are spoken in Bengal by 446,000 persons or 1 per cent. of the total population. They are also spoken by 59,000 persons in Sikkim, where they constitute two-thirds of the population. The languages of this family in Sikkim and the British districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri belong to the Tibeto-Himalayan branch, and are spoken by the Bhotias, Lepchas and Nepalese hill races.

This branch is divided into three groups, of which the first is the Tibetan group, under which four languages are classified, viz., the Bhotia of Tibet, Sharpa Bhotia, the Bhotia of Sikkim (or Denjongke) and the Bhotia of Bhutan (Lhoke). The names show that the Bhotia languages differ according as they are spoken in Tibet, Sikkim, Bhutan and Eastern Nepal, Sharpa being a name meaning "eastern" which is applied to those Bhotias who have migrated from Tibet and settled in the east of Nepal. The total number of persons speaking Bhotia languages at this census is 26,494, of whom 12,433 were enumerated in Sikkim and nearly all the remainder in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. The aggregate has increased by 4,000 since 1901, the result of increased immigration. The number speaking each language is—Sharpa Bhotia 5,795, Bhotia of Sikkim 11,562, Bhotia of Bhutan 3,993 and Bhotia of Tibet 5,144. The last heading also includes all entries of Bhotia in which there was no specification of country, and in which reference to the entry of caste or tribe gave no clue to their character.

757. The group mentioned in the margin includes Lepcha and the languages of several Nepalese tribes or castes, viz., Gurung, Murmi, Sunuwar, Mangar and Newari, besides Toto. The comparative statement in the

TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY.
TIBETO-HIMALAYAN BRANCH.
TIBETAN GROUP—
BHOTIA.

NON-PRONOMINALIZED
HIMALAYAN GROUP.

* L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, Orissa States Gazetteer, p. 200.

margin shows the number of persons speaking each of these languages at this

LANGUAGE.			1911.	1901.
Gurung	...	...	1,052	6,142
Lepcha	...	...	20,606	19,274
Mangar	...	...	16,573	16,661
Manjhi	...	...	736	902
Murmi	...	...	35,954	32,062
Newari	...	...	6,980	7,491
Sunuwari	...	...	4,464	5,006
Toto	...	...	256	170

and the last census. It is said that when a Nepali knows Naipali as well as his tribal language, he prefers to return the former. On the other hand, the revised instructions about the entry of language should *à priori* have resulted, as elsewhere, in a larger number of persons returning the tribal language. It is impossible to say how much effect those two factors had, and whether one counter-balanced or outweighed the other; but I am inclined to believe that

the tendency to return Naipali was only slightly checked by the orders on the subject. It is noticeable that there is a substantial increase only among the Murmis, while the number speaking Lepcha has risen slightly, the increase being commensurate with the growth of the Lepcha race. Mangar is stationary, but Newari, Sunuwari and Gurung have lost ground. The decrease in the number of Gurung speakers is especially noticeable. In 1901 barely two-fifths of them were faithful to their mother-tongue, but the proportion is now reduced to one-sixteenth, and in Sikkim only 22 out of 6,000 returned Gurung as their language. The returns for this language would in any case be small, as the Gurungs of Eastern Nepal, and their brethren in Sikkim and Darjeeling, do not speak the language of the tribe to anything like the same extent as the Gurungs of Western Nepal. But the number is decreasing so rapidly, that it appears only a matter of time before it is abandoned altogether.

758. All the languages of this group that appear in the returns belong to the Eastern sub-group, viz., Dhimal, Thami, Limbu and the Kiranti languages, *i.e.*, Yakha, Khambu and Jimdar, all of which are spoken in Sikkim, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri.

Jimdar is by far the most widely spoken of all these languages, being the mother-tongue of 55,063 persons, of whom 39,260 were enumerated in Bengal (the great majority in Darjeeling) and 15,803 in Sikkim. It has been returned almost universally by the Jimdars, there being only 4,164 who disclaimed the language. There were a few entries of Dungmali, Tulung, Lohorong, Chaurasya and Kulung, which are treated in the Linguistic Survey as dialects of Jimdar. The names, however, are only designations of Jimdar septs, and the return of caste was in most cases Jimdar. Khambu has lost popularity as a name, and was returned by only 850 persons. As will be shown in Chapter XI, there is reason to believe that the Khambus and Jimdars are of the same stock, Khambu being originally a tribal name and the Jimdars a Hinduized section of the tribe.

The Limbus returned Limbu as their language to the number of 22,389 out of a total of 25,466. The number of speakers is only 354 more than it was 10 years ago, whereas the Limbus have added over 2,000 to their numbers. Yakha is the mother-language of the small Yakha community, who are closely allied to the Jimdars; it was returned by 1,335 persons or 26 more than the actual number of Yakhas. The difference is probably due to some Yakhas being returned as Indian Christians without specifying their caste. Dhimal and Thami are numerically insignificant, being spoken only by 444 and 292 persons, respectively.

759. The second branch of the Tibeto-Chinese family is designated Assam-Burmese, and consists of the Bodo and Burma groups, the languages appertaining to which are spoken by 279,000 persons in the south-east of Bengal, chiefly in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Hill Tippera. The number of their speakers has increased by 32,500 or 13 per cent. since 1901.

The most important language of the Bodo group is Tipura or Mrung, which is the mother-tongue of the Tipuras or Tiparas, a Mongolian race who appear to be identical with the Mrungs of Arakan. Three-fourths of them

PRONOMINALIZED
GROUP. HIMALAYAN
EASTERN SUB-GROUP.

JIMDAR AND KHAMBU.

LIMBU, YAKHA, DHIMAL AND
THAMI.

ASSAM-BURMESE BRANCH.

BODO GROUP—
TIPURA OR MRUNG.

are found in Hill Tippera, and nearly all the remainder in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, there being only small colonies in the adjoining districts of Tippera and Chittagong. The number of persons speaking Tipura (126,269) has risen by 24 per cent. during the last 10 years, owing to the growth of the tribe: only 3,756 failed to return Tipura as their language.

760. The Garo language is spoken by 38,773 persons, of whom 33,351 were enumerated in Mymensingh and 3,048 in Jalpaiguri. The home of the language is the Garo Hills, by which Mymensingh is bounded on the north. During the last 10 years the number of speakers has not altogether kept pace with the growth of the tribe, and the proportion of those who returned Garo as their mother-tongue to the number whose caste was entered as Garo has consequently fallen from 94 per cent. to 90 per cent.

761. The Koches of Bengal have with few exceptions abandoned their own language and speak Bengali. According to Sir G. A. Grierson—"There can be little doubt that the original Koches were the same as the Bodos. 'Koch,' 'Mech' and 'Bara' or 'Bodo' all connoted the same tribe, or, at most, different septs of the same tribe. This is well shown by the traditional origin of the Koch Kings from a Mech father and Koch mothers. In Assam the name 'Koch' is no longer that of a tribe, but rather that of a Hindu caste, into which all converts from the different tribes—Kachari, Garo, Lalung, Mikir, etc.—are admitted on conversion. The case is very much the same in Bengal. The name 'Koch,' in fact, everywhere connotes a Hinduised Bodo who has abandoned his ancestral religion for Hinduism and the ancestral Bodo language for Bengali or Assamese. There is, however, in Dacca, the Garo Hills and Goalpara a small body of people who are known as Koch or Pani Koch, who still speak a language belonging to the Bodo group, and are either animistic or nominal Hindus."* In Dacca 3,525 Koches entered their language as Koch, and 3,001 more are returned for Mymensingh. In the latter district Koch is spoken by a small community called Koch Mande, living in the Madhupur Jungle, who are either a remnant of the Koch tribe or Garos with a slight veneer of Hinduism. The total number claiming to speak Koch has been reduced by half since 1901, though those who returned themselves as Koch by caste have an addition of 82 per cent.

762. The aggregate returned under this head is 21,726, while the number of the tribes or castes with whom it is a mother-tongue is 22,540, viz., 1,810 Kacharis and 20,730 Meches. The head-quarters of the language is the three central districts of Assam Valley, viz., Darrang, Nowgong and Kamrup, and in Bengal it is practically confined to Jalpaiguri with its population of 20,173 Meches. The language has remained stationary since the last census, though the Meches have lost nearly 4,000, probably because on becoming Hinduised they have adopted some other name to conceal their origin.

Rabha is a language spoken by the Rabhas of Assam, where it is fast dying out. It was returned by only 704 persons in Jalpaiguri and Dacca.

763. The Kuki-Chin group is represented by six different languages, but by only 31,769 speakers. All are numerically insignificant, except Manipuri and Kuki. Manipuri is spoken almost to a man by the Manipuris of Hill Tippera, who on absorption into Hinduism have adopted the name of Kshattriya. Kuki is a term applied promiscuously to the hill races who do not understand Bengali in Hill Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where also the speakers of the other languages are found.

764. The last of the groups of the Assam-Burmese branch is the Burma group, which is represented in Bengal by Burmese and the allied language of Mru. The latter is returned by 11,284 persons, of whom all but 214 were enumerated in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Burmese is more widely spoken, being returned by

	Number of Koches.	Number speaking Koch.
1901 ...	70,375	12,622
1911 ...	128,436	6,598

Sub-group.	Language.	Number.
Meithei ...	Manipuri ...	16,613
Old Kuki ...	{ Hallam ...	2,941
	{ Rangkol ...	556
Central Chin ...	Lushai ...	581
	{ Khami ...	1,050
	{ Khweymoi or Kumi ...	
Southern Chin ...	Khyang ...	501
Unclassed ...	Kuki ...	9,527

42,346 persons in that district, by 21,194 in Chittagong, by 8,701 in Backergunge and by 1,610 in Hill Tippera. The total number of persons speaking it in Bengal

DISTRICT.		Number of Maghs.	Magh speakers.
Chittagong	Hill	46,238	42,344
Tracts.			
Chittagong	...	68,913	20,947
Hill Tippera	...	1,930	1,610
Backergunge	...	8,819	903
Noakhali	...	426	36
Dacca	...	35	22
Tippera	...	1,578	6
Mymensingh	...	4	1

is 74,158, of whom the great majority are indigenous, for only 2,600 persons born in Burma were present in Bengal at the time of the census. Those who speak it are mainly Maghs, who use a dialect current in Arakan and hence known as Arakanese. No less than 65,869 persons returned their language simply as Magh, as shown in the marginal statement, which also gives the number of Maghs in each district. The difference in the figures is due to the fact that the Maghs are a mixed race, some aboriginals of the country, as in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, others later immigrants

from Arakan, and others again of mixed birth. In Chittagong, for instance, there are three sections. One is an off-shoot of the Maghs of the Hill Tracts, who are called Jhumia Maghs from their nomadic system of cultivation: they speak Burmese and write it in a corrupt Burmese character. The Roang Maghs, who are found in the Cox's Bazar subdivision, are the descendants of Arakanese immigrants. The earliest were refugees who fled to Chittagong at the close of the 18th century after the invasion and conquest of Arakan by the Burmese. A later body sought British protection shortly before the first Burmese war in 1824. The name Raong is merely a corruption of Rakhaing, the indigenous name for Arakan. Their language and their names are Burmese; their religion is Buddhism; they do not, as a rule, understand Bengali, and never speak it among themselves. Both the Jhumia and the Raong Maghs probably belong to the same original stock, but the former, having long been settled in Chittagong and the hill country to the east, regard themselves as autochthonous, while the latter belong to a more recent stream of immigrants from Arakan. The physical characteristics of both are unmistakeably Mongolian. Their stature is low, the face broad and flat, the cheek-bones high and wide, the nose flat and bridgeless, and the eyes small with eyelids obliquely set. The Rajbansi or Barua Maghs are the offspring of Bengali women by Burmese men or, more generally, of Arakanese mothers by Bengali fathers. They have intermarried for generations with Bengalis, speak only Bengali, and are in fact Bengalis in all but their religion, which is Buddhism.

765. There is a tendency among educated Indian gentlemen who have made a study of languages to reject the distinctions recognized by the Linguistic Survey.

DIALECTS.

Objections are chiefly raised to the differentiation of dialects and sub-dialects, on the ground that they are based on variations in vocabulary rather than in grammar. The dialects, and even more the sub-dialects, are, it is stated, in some cases nothing but variants of the main language as spoken by different classes, castes or tribes, or in different localities. The general opinion is that the variations must be very marked, and that they must include changes in grammatical form, before they have a right to be classed as dialects. The language of the villager differs from that of the townsman, the patois of the ignorant peasant from the pure diction of the educated scholar, and there are also variations in different parts of the country; but mere provincialisms or differences of pronunciation or vocabulary are, it is urged, not a sufficient criterion for demarcation into dialects or sub-dialects. On this point I may be permitted to quote from a report by Babu Manmatha Nath Sen, District Census Officer at Sambalpur, and afterwards Deputy Superintendent of Census in charge of the Central Office at Cuttack, whose remarks refer primarily to the treatment of Binjhari, Kalanga and Bhulia as dialects of Chhattishgarhi or Laria in the Linguistic Survey. It should be added, however, that though classed as dialects in the Survey, it is stated that they are "rather jargons than dialects, and that the correctness of

the Chhattisgarhi depends a great deal on the personal equation of the speakers." Apart from this question, his note is of interest as throwing light on the mutual intelligibility of dialects, and also on their local and social distribution in an area where numerous different languages are current.

"Bhulia, Binjhware or Binjhali and Kalanga have been shewn separately as forms of Laria or Chhattishgarhi. But they are nothing more than Laria or Chhattisgarhi, intermixed to a more or less extent with Oriya and other neighbouring languages. The castes speaking Laria, in some cases, differ slightly in their dialect: for instance, Laria spoken by a Mali will slightly differ from that spoken by a Teli, and both from Laria as spoken in Chhattisgarh; but a little investigation shows that the differences in these cases, as well as in the case of Bhulia, Binjhware, etc., are dependent on the degree to which the speakers have been exposed to the influence of Oriya or other languages, and are not such as to entitle them to separate entry in a family of languages. If they are to be shewn separately, Oriya as spoken in Sambalpur should also be shown separately, as Sambalpuri Oriya also differs, to the same extent, if not more, from the pure form of the tongue as spoken in the heart of Orissa.

"While in Sambalpur I collected specimens of Laria spoken by several castes and compared them, so as to ascertain how far the form of speech differed on account of the difference in caste, and found that each differed from the other to some extent. A careful observer, when once versed in these differences, can at once detect the caste. The difference between these forms of speech are however not greater than the difference in Oriya as spoken by a man of Cuttack. There is a good deal of difference in the pronunciation and vocabulary of the Cuttack Oriya and Sambalpuri Oriya, the latter having absorbed many Hindi words. There are also differences in minor points of grammatical structure, e.g., a Sambalpuri will place a negative before the verb and in Cuttack after it. The verbs, too, take more shortened forms in Sambalpuri Oriya than in Cuttack Oriya, e.g., where a man of Cuttack will say *karuchanti*, the Sambalpur man will say *karuchan* and, in a more vulgar form of speech, *karsan*. Still a Sambalpuri will make himself intelligible to a Cuttack man. The difference in the pronunciation of the common people even in Cuttack and Puri is so marked, that one can at once detect it. There are also diversities—though of a minor nature—in the speech of people living in urban and rural areas, and in the language of men and women in the same area. To quote examples, the townsmen of Cuttack will pronounce *r* in place of *l*, saying *hara* instead of *hala* (plough). Again, a man of Sambalpur or Cuttack will use the word *karuchhi* for 'am doing,' while a woman of Sambalpur will say *karsin* and a woman of Cuttack *karuchi*."

As regards other languages and dialects, it may be pointed out that the difference between Chhattisgarhi and the other two dialects of Eastern Hindi, Bagheli and Awadhi is not great. For instance, *is*, the termination of the past tense (e.g., *kahis*, he said; *maris*, he struck), which is what everybody notices in Chhattisgarhi, is "the typical shibboleth" of a speaker of Eastern Hindi, and is commonly heard in Calcutta among servants belonging to Oudh. Sir G. A. Grierson is, indeed, of opinion that if a Chhattisgarhi speaker was set down in Oudh, he would find himself at home with the language of the locality in a week.

766. Instances of tribes being bilingual are frequent. The Nepalese tribes, some of which are crystallizing into castes, are generally bilingual, speaking Naipali (or

Khaskura), the *lingua franca* of the Nepalese, in their intercourse with others, but using only the tribal language among themselves. To this rule the Gurungs are a notable exception, only one in every sixteen speaking the Gurung tongue. In Western Nepal, it is true, the Gurungs are acquainted with the tribal language, but in Darjeeling and Sikkim the Gurungs are immigrants from Eastern Nepal, where the great majority speak only Khaskura. The Nepalese castes, as distinct from tribes, have no language, however, but Naipali:

curiously enough, the language as spoken by the Kamis, a low blacksmith caste, is regarded as a well of Naipali pure and undefiled. The Munda and Dravidian races are also more or less bilingual in districts where they live side by side with Hindus speaking Aryan languages. This is particularly the case in border districts, such as Manbhum. There, writes Mr. H. Coupland, formerly Deputy Commissioner, "the members of the aboriginal tribes are to a large extent polyglot, speaking Bengali or Hindi, usually the former, in addition to their own dialect even where, as in the case of the Santals, they are a sufficiently numerous community to force a knowledge of their own language on their neighbours, and on the courts and offices with whom they come into contact." The same phenomenon is observable in Sambalpur and the eastern States of Orissa. Some races, such as the Mundas and Oraons, stick tenaciously to their language, but in speaking with their Hindu neighbours use the vernacular current in the district or State. For this feature the prescription of an Aryan language as the language of the Courts is partly responsible, but even more the necessities of commercial and social life in areas where there is a mixed population.

767. In the Bengal Census Report of 1901 it was stated: "The gradual disappearance of the non-Aryan dialects is only a matter of time. Even now it is only in the remoter tracts, and in the less accessible and inhospitable hills, that they still flourish. The process of absorption will doubtless go on with increasing rapidity, as communications begin to improve and intercourse with the outside world becomes more and more continuous." From the preceding account it will have been seen that this process is going on among some of the Nepalese tribes, notably the Newars, Sunuwars and Gurungs, but that others, such as the Jimdars and Murmis, and also the Lepchas, show no tendency to give up their language in favour of the *lingua franca* of Naipali. In the Chota Nagpur Plateau some races, such as the Gonds and Bhumij, have practically abandoned their language, and the Kandhs appear to have followed their example in tracts where they have come into contact with communities speaking Aryan languages. On the other hand, they show no inclination to do so in localities where they are more or less in isolation, such as Angul and the hill tracts of the Kalahandi State. On the whole, however, the figures of this census show no signs of the non-Aryan language falling into desuetude in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, even though that tract is being largely opened up and its people brought into contact with Aryan-speaking races. Even among the Bhumij of Bihar and Orissa, among

TRIBE.	PERCENTAGE SPEAKING TRIBAL LANGUAGE.	
	1911.	1901.
Ho	99½	95
Kharia	76	69
Munda	94	92
Santal	99	94
Oraon	90	83

whom one might expect the process to be accelerated, the proportion of persons speaking Bhumij has increased from 35 to 39 per cent. The marginal figures for five of the chief tribes having Munda or Dravidian languages or dialects, and numbering in all 4 millions, indicate that, so far from deserting their own language, they are clinging to it. There is in all cases an increase in the relative number of those retaining their forefathers' speech, which is largely, no doubt, due to the revised instructions regarding the entry of language. Even after allowing for this, the increased proportion is very noticeable when it is remembered that these races are spreading over the country away from their native homes, where they are more likely to adopt the language of Aryan communities or to enter the latter in the schedules because they have to speak it to the people round them: about one-third of the Santals, over one-third of the Oraons and one-eighth of the Mundas were enumerated in Bengal.

768. At the same time, there can be no doubt that absorption into Hinduism often leads to partial defection from the tribal language. The figures in the

margin give, for 16 Munda and Dravidian tribes in Bihar and Orissa, a

TRIBE.	HINDU.		ANIMIST.	
	X.	XIII.	X.	XIII.
	Number speaking tribal language.	Total number.	Number speaking tribal language.	Total number.
Asuri	205	333	2,727	3,099
Bhumij	99,739	266,025	5,831	6,647
Birhor	462	1,387	551	953
Gond	3,994	209,815	218	25,856
Ho... ..	57,991	60,406	357,481	358,815
Juang	1,175	1,310	11,138	11,530
Kandh (Khond)	13,430	135,834	123,276	167,049
Karmali	2,711	16,341	4,414	5,501
Kharia	21,823	37,887	56,699	67,585
Kora	3,741	41,568	336	7,415
Korwa	3,602	7,300	5,106	6,931
Mundari	71,883	88,840	318,885	321,600
Oraon	41,853	52,482	413,144	422,191
Santal	252,614	271,280	1,127,964	1,128,170
Sauria Paharia or Maier.	5,709	5,517	57,162	57,279
Turi	1,283	44,513	1,415	2,886

comparative statement of the number of persons returned as Hindus and Animists that speak the tribal language. While religion appears to make little difference in some cases, *e.g.*, among Santals and Hos, probably because their Hinduization is only skin-deep; it does make a great difference in the case of others, such as Bhumij, Birhors, Kandhs, Karmalis, Kharias, Korwas, Mundas, Oraons and Turis, among whom the proportion is much higher among Animists than among Hindus.

The extent to which the aborigines adopt the garb of Hinduism; and with it the language of the Hindus, depends a good deal on their

relative strength in areas where there is a mixed population. The Gonds, for instance, were a dominant race, who became feudal lords of the Brahmans and other Hindu castes. The subject races raised no objection to the Gonds entering the fold of Hinduism, and as the Gonds gradually absorbed the religion and customs of the Hindus, Oriya displaced Gondi. The position of the aborigines and the Hindus is now reversed. The caste system is rigid, and the aborigines being in a minority are regarded as pariahs: they are contemptuously referred to as among the unclean helot races, *e.g.*, 'Ganda, Ghasi, Kol, Kharia.' There is no inclination on the part of the Oriya Hindus to welcome them in their circle, and the aborigines are forced to live in their own settlements and be content with their own society. In such circumstances, they naturally cling to their own language and their distinctive customs. It is only in the neighbourhood of towns, where they come into close contact with the Hindus, that Oriya displaces the non-Aryan tongue. On the other hand, where the aborigines form a majority and are landed proprietors, as in Ranchi, they are not regarded with contempt. A minority can with difficulty ostracize a majority, and consequently it is easy to obtain admission in the ranks of Hindus, and thereby win the respectability attaching to the religion of a more civilized community.

769. In many parts there are traces in the local toponomy of the influence of languages which are no longer spoken by the people. Legends of the presence, or even the rule, of the races that spoke such languages persist, and tradition ascribes various remains to them. This is especially the case with districts adjoining or near to the Chota Nagpur Plateau, such as Gaya and Shahabad. In the former the remains of rude forts in the south of the district are ascribed to the Kols: even at the foot of Pretsila, a sacred hill near the town of Gaya, rude stone circles are said to be their work. Shahabad, according to local tradition, was held by Cheros who were eventually conquered by Savars or Suirs, a generic name for hill races; while the traditions of the Oraons relate that they held the fort of Rohtasgarh till ousted by the Hindus. In these two districts several names of places or rivers may be identified with Kolarian or Dravidian names, though they are often so corrupted or transformed that their origin is not apparent. Many more have disappeared altogether owing to their displacement by Aryan names. Even in Ranchi, with its large Munda population, Mundari names are apt to disappear, as Aryan names with the same meaning are adopted in their place, *e.a.*, the Bihari name for "the village of the fig-tree" is substituted for the Mundari designation. The old names have been kept in the settlement records, but whether that will preserve them in popular parlance is doubtful.

770. To give a few instances of Kolarian and Dravidian names in localities on the southern fringe of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where Bihari is now the

universal language, a person travelling along the Grand Trunk Road to Gaya, halts at the dâk bungalow of Dumri in Hazaribagh close to the border of the district: this means the village of the fig-tree, *dumbari* being the Dravidian designation for a fig-tree. Further along, in the district of Gaya, he comes to the picturesque village of Kahudag, which is a Kolarian name, *dag* being a corruption of *da'a* meaning water. The river Damodar has the same derivation, being a duplication of *da'a* (water) and *odar* (water). Another march further up the Grand Trunk Road is the village of Sherghati, which now bears a Hinduistic name but contains an old fort said to have been built by the Kol Rajas. In this district there are several other places of which the names are undoubtedly Kolarian, e.g., the *pargana* of Kutumba and the village of Pachamba in the south-east of the Nawada subdivision; the ending *amba* is frequently found in Oraon village names, its meaning being a spring of water. Pachamba means an old spring; Kutumba is very possibly a corruption of Kitamba meaning the foul spring.* There are similar traces of Dravidian names in Orissa. To mention one common instance, *pada* (not the Bengali *pāra*) is a non-Aryan word meaning village, which is found as the termination of many place names, e.g., Kenduapada in Balasore, Baripada in Mayurbhanj, Chatrapada in Cuttack, etc. Further inland, in Sambalpur and the adjoining Feudatory States, there are many place names of non-Aryan origin, of which Mr. B. C. Mazumdar has given the following account:—"We meet with a large number of such geographical names, as Bâh-Mundâ, Mundâ-mahal, Munder, Utu (âtâ)-birâ, Kulhâ-birâ, and many other names of Mundari origin; and also many such geographical names of other non-Aryan origin, as Gujâ (meaning hill, the name of a particular hill about 10 miles north-west of Sambalpur), Sir-Gujâ (the name of a State to the west of Lohardaga), Bheren (the name of a river as well as of a zamindari in Sambalpur), Sir-Girdâ (the name of a village), Jhâr-Sir-Girdâ (Jharsuguda railway station), Loi-Ra, Loi-Sing and so forth. The Kandh name Jorr for a river has been retained even in the name of the river Katjorri which is far away from Sambalpur and flows past Cuttack. Many old geographical names have been Hinduised, but in many cases the history of the names have not been obliterated....According to the mythology of the Gonds, their principal god Lingo had his seat on the west in the Central Provinces. Wherever the Gonds moved and made their colony, they consecrated a hill in the name of Lingo and named the hill as Bâro-pâhâr. Thus it is that we have got a Bâro-pâhâr range in Bargarh subdivision of the district of Sambalpur. The Gonds invariably named some hills and forests in their new settlement after the sacred geographical names of their old home."†

771. To turn to a different locality, the names of places, hills, rivers, etc., in the Darjeeling district frequently furnish evidence of the presence of the Lepchas or Bhotias, though they are greatly corrupted by the Nepalese, who are almost as bad linguists as the English. Other names have been transformed by the Bengalis, e.g., Mahanadi is a corruption of Mahaldi, a Lepcha name meaning the winding river. In some cases the original name has been almost or altogether lost. The name Jaldhaka, for example, is now commonly used instead of Dichhu, which is merely a word of dual origin meaning water; *di* is a Bodo, and *chhu* a Bhotia word for water. It is possible that the root of the name Tista is also *di*, but Hindu scholars have derived it from *trisrota*, i.e., three currents. The Bhotia name for this latter river is Tsang-chhu or the pure water, while the Lepchas call it the Rangnyung or the great straight-going water.

* F. Hahn, *Dravidian and Kolarian Place Names*, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part III, 1903.

† B. C. Mazumdar, *Sonpur in the Sambalpur Tract* (1911), pp. 18—20.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION BY LANGUAGE (ACCORDING TO CENSUS).

LANGUAGE.	BENGAL.				BIHAR AND ORISSA.			
	Total number of speakers 000's omitted.		Number per mille of population of Province (1911).	Where chiefly spoken.	Total number of speakers 000's omitted.		Number per mille of population of Province (1911).	Where chiefly spoken.
	1911.	1901.			1911.	1901.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I. LANGUAGES OF INDIA ...	46,253	42,834	998·8	.....	38,426	35,540	999·7	
A. INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY ...	44,904	41,768	969·8	.....	35,031	32,734	912·7	
Aryan sub-family— Indian Branch— Sanskritic sub-Branch—								
1. Eastern Group— Hindi and Urdu* ...	1,917	1,487	41·4	Whole Province.	24,933	25,293	648·7	Bihar and Chota Nagpur Purnea and Manbhum. Orissa.
Bengali ...	42,566	39,874	913·3	Whole Province.	2,295	1,559	59·7	
Oriya ...	294	341	6·4	Midnapore.	7,820	5,862	203·5	
2. Northern Group— Naipali (Khasakura) ...	91	57	1·9	Darjeeling and Jalpai- guri.	3	8	·07	Bihar and Chota Nagpur
3. Western Group— Marwari (Rajasthani) ...	19	2	·4	Whole Province.	18	9	·5	Whole Province.
Others ...	17	7	·4	.....	12		·3	
B. AUSTRO-ASIATIC FAMILY ...	771	671	16·6	.....	2,559	2,210	66·6	
Munda sub-family—								
Mundari ...	50	32	1	North Bengal.	475	371	12·4	Chota Nagpur Plateau. Chota Nagpur Plateau. Singbhum and Orissa States. Singbhum and Orissa States Ranchi and Orissa States.
Santal ...	665	491	14·4	West and North Bengal.	1,419	1,270	36·9	
Bhumij ...	21	24	·5	West and North Bengal.	108	87	2·7	
Ho ...	4	·3	·08	Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri.	417	367	10·8	
Khasia ...	6	·4	·1	Jalpaiguri.	107	75	2·8	
Others ...	25	19	·5	.....	35	40	·9	
C. DRAVIDIAN FAMILY ...	133	88	2·8	.....	785	595	20·4	
1. Dravida Group— Oron o: Kurukh ...	117	82	2·5	North Bengal.	559	461	14·5	Chota Nagpur Plateau. Southal Parganas.
Malto ...	2	1	·04	Murshidabad.	63	60	1·6	
2. Andhra Group— Kandh or Kul ...	...	...	...	.....	137	55	3·6	Angul and Orissa States.*
Others ...	14	5	·3	.....	26	19	·7	
D. TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY ...	446	407	9·6	.....	·1	·5	·003	
Tibeto-Burman sub-family—								
Tibeto-Himalayan Branch—								
1. Tibetan Group— Bhotia ...	14	14	·3	Darjeeling and Jalpai- guri.	·07	·05	·002	North Bihar.
2. Non-pronominalized Himalayan Group— Murmi ...	29	27	·6	Darjeeling.	...	...	...	North Bihar.
Mangar ...	14	14	·3	Darjeeling.	·02	·2	·0007	
3. Pronominalized Hima- layan Group— Jimdar ...	39	34	·8	Darjeeling.	...	...	...
Limbu ...	14	16	·3	Darjeeling.	...	...	...
* (b) Assam-Burmese Branch—								
1. Bodo Group— Bodo Mech or Plains Kachari. ...	22	21	·5	Jalpaiguri.	...	...	...
Garo ...	39	36	·8	Mymensingh.	...	...	...
Tipura or Mrung ...	126	102	2·7	Hill Tippera.	...	...	...
2. Burma Group— Burmese ...	74	64	1·6	Chittagong and Chitta- gong Hill Tracts.	·01	·08	·0003	South Bihar.
Others ...	75	79	1·6	.....	·01	·002	·0003	
E. OTHER LANGUAGES ...	·01	...	·003	.....	2	...	·006	
II. LANGUAGES FOREIGN TO INDIA.	52	50	1·2	.....	10	9	·3	

* The great majority of those returned as Hindi and Urdu really speak Bihari. The estimate of the number of Bihari speakers given in the Linguistic Survey of India is 23,143,888, of whom 6,991,972 speak Bhojpuri, 6,565,758 Magahi, and 9,586,158 Maithili. According to the estimate given in the preceding Chapter it is 24,694,493, or, if a different method of calculation is adopted, 25,131,627.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II—DISTRIBUTION BY LANGUAGE OF THE POPULATION OF EACH DISTRICT.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	NUMBER PER 10,000 OF POPULATION SPEAKING					
	Bengali.	Hindi and Urdu.	Tibeto Burman languages.	Munda languages.	Dravidian languages.	Other languages.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BENGAL	9,192'36	414'07	96'27	166'44	28'67	102'19
WEST BENGAL	8,750'40	458'02	'02	519'45	13'53	258'58
Burdwan	9,026'80	456'08	'04	474'28	2'08	40'72
Birbhum	9,016'29	309'11	...	660'04	8'24	6'32
Bankura	9,071'67	40'74	...	882'38	'23	4'98
Midnapore	8,286'19	386'04	...	641'16	15'44	661'17
Hooghly	9,198'57	479'50	'04	208'78	32'56	80'55
Howrah	8,518'68	1,272'89	'07	10'69	25'80	171'87
CENTRAL BENGAL	8,853'52	910'19	'32	39'92	32'69	163'36
24-Parganas	8,693'77	997'33	'008	67'02	66'90	174'98
Calcutta	4,904'40	4,106'19	2'81	1'15	53'30	952'15
Nadia	9,861'62	108'80	'006	'63	16'37	12'58
Murshidabad	9,105'59	738'45	'01	114'14	81'28	7'53
Jessore	9,960'62	32'20	'006	'38	1'14	5'66
NORTH BENGAL	8,811'12	571'68	149'28	275'23	87'28	105'41
Rajshahi	9,544'38	203'66	'15	155'58	82'28	8'55
Dinajpur	8,731'95	447'73	'84	735'76	78'10	5'62
Jaipalguri	6,760'01	1,227'76	372'58	541'24	647'29	451'12
Darjeeling	1,731'69	656'67	4,713'01	266'16	295'73	2,336'74
Rangpur	9,590'37	344'01	1'16	45'34	2'16	16'96
Bogra	9,587'13	331'06	...	73'35	3'40	5'06
Pabna	9,751'03	170'61	'03	67'29	'81	10'18
Malda	7,169'53	2,175'36	...	640'66	10'46	3'99
Cooch Behar	9,592'01	35'968	16'17	3'90	'11	28'13
EAST BENGAL	9,747'38	95'01	149'93	1'73	'64	4'81
Khulna	9,957'76	27'01	...	8'88	'01	6'34
Dacca	9,800'43	173'71	18'60	'47	'10	6'69
Mymensingh	9,728'92	187'70	80'44	'11	'06	2'77
Faridpur	9,938'20	58'61	'03	'01	'05	3'10
Backergunge	9,938'73	21'66	35'90	'02	'0082	3'69
Tippera	9,950'34	41'22	6'11	...	'12	2'21
Noakh li	9,993'85	5'09	'34	...	...	'72
Chittagong	9,792'82	39'60	152'64	3'12	2'67	9'15
Chittagong Hill Tracts	4,259'44	4'29	5,672'69	48'43	...	15'15
Hill Tippera	4,261'87	273'68	5,349'52	29'14	31'05	54'74

DISTRICTS.	NUMBER PER 10,000 POPULATION SPEAKING					
	Hindi and Urdu.	Oriya.	Bengali.	Munda languages.	Dravidian languages.	Other languages.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BIHAR AND ORISSA	6,486'83	2,034'66	597'09	665'93	204'26	11'23
NORTH BIHAR	9,411'03	'04	535'65	34'81	10'07	8'40
Saran	9,996'15	'03	1'94	'009	...	1'88
Champaran	9,956'70	'01	3'82	...	...	9'47
Muzaffarpur	9,993'61	'02	2'53	...	'007	3'84
Darbhanga	9,992'27	'01	2'97	...	'07	4'68
Bhagalpur	9,831'74	'06	16'93	117'59	10'20	23'48
Purnea	6,044'16	'11	3,764'60	120'25	60'28	10'60
SOUTH BIHAR	9,955'21	'19	9'26	22'57	2'06	10'71
Patna	9,969'77	'02	13'43	...	'04	16'74
Gaya	9,988'98	...	6'33	'51	'16	4'02
Shahabad	9,982'74	'71	5'40	'03	8'37	2'75
Monghyr	9,885'93	'07	12'47	81'66	'0094	19'87
ORISSA	286'42	9,563'23	85'81	28'30	30'68	5'56
Cuttack	307'82	9,596'37	63'11	'36	25'97	6'37
Balasore	303'26	9,386'41	178'40	111'55	16'86	3'52
Puri	224'95	9,677'32	37'11	'02	54'63	5'97
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	3,076'42	3,082'18	1,209'01	2,004'55	611'13	16'71
Hazaribagh	9,177'09	'65	60'76	740'91	11'28	9'21
Ranchi	4,283'01	47'42	86'57	2,994'06	2,579'99	8'95
Palamanu	9,290'96	'09	3'97	138'01	564'47	2'50
Manbhum	2,117'95	12'15	6,354'05	1,486'90	13'72	15'23
Singbhum	494'29	1,794'27	1,563'72	6,003'77	114'03	29'92
Sonthal Parganas	4,451'80	'75	1,456'83	3,720'12	354'85	15'65
Angul	22'36	7,320'06	7'72	21'30	2,623'35	4'31
Samalpur	949'35	8,341'68	13'11	199'88	437'24	58'74
Orissa States	293'64	7,564'03	214'11	1,397'08	515'18	15'96
Chota Nagpur States	635'33	2,896'68	1,859'05	4,539'04	58'33	11'57

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—COMPARISON OF CASTE AND LANGUAGE TABLES.

LANGUAGE.	Strength of tribe (Table XIII).	Number speaking tribal languages (Table X).	LANGUAGE.	Strength of tribe (Table XIII).	Number speaking tribal languages (Table X).
1	2	3	4	5	6
I—ARYAN SUB-FAMILY—			II—TIBETO-BURMAN SUB-FAMILY—concluded.		
1. BANJARI—			11. KUKI (HALLAM)—		
Bihar and Orissa	6,326	5,747	Bengal	5,611	2,941
II—TIBETO-BURMAN SUB-FAMILY—			12. LEPCHA—		
1. TOTAL BHOTIA—			Bengal	11,083 ^c	11,328
Bengal	16,936	13,934	Sikkim	9,233	9,278
Sikkim	12,414	12,433	TOTAL	20,316	20,606
TOTAL	29,350	26,417	13. LIMBU—		
(a) SHARPA BHOTIA—			Bengal	16,878	13,944
Bengal	5,329	4,217	Sikkim	8,584	8,445
Sikkim	1,543	1,578	TOTAL	25,462	22,389
TOTAL	6,877	5,795	14. LUSHEI—		
(b) BHOTIA OF SIKKIM—			Bengal	59	581
Bengal	1,234	1,151	15. MANGAR—		
Sikkim	10,251	10,411	Bengal	21,516	13,521
TOTAL	11,485	11,562	Sikkim	3,182	3,026
(c) BHOTIA OF BHUTAN—			Bihar and Orissa	874	26
Bengal	5,150	3,989	TOTAL	25,572	16,573
Sikkim	189	4	16. † MANIPURI—		
TOTAL	5,339	3,993	Bengal	16,419	16,613
(d) BHOTIA (TIBETAN OR UNSPECIFIED)—			17. MRU (MURUNG)—		
Bengal	5,223	4,627	Bengal	12,391	11,284
Sikkim	426	440	18. MURMI—		
TOTAL	5,649	5,067	Bengal	30,900	28,599
2. BODO, MECO OR PLAINS KACHARI—			Sikkim	7,446	7,355
Bengal	22,540	21,726	TOTAL	38,346	35,954
3. GARO—			19. NEWARI—		
Bengal	43,001	38,773	Bengal	9,602	5,599
4. GURUNG—			Sikkim	2,947	1,270
Bengal	10,961	1,030	Bihar and Orissa	157	11
Sikkim	6,058	22	TOTAL	12,706	6,880
TOTAL	17,019	1,052	20. SUNUWAR—		
5. JAMDAR—			Bengal	4,323	3,556
Bengal	43,290	39,260	Sikkim	984	908
Sikkim	15,814	15,803	TOTAL	5,307	4,464
TOTAL	59,104	55,063	21. TIPURA (TIPARA)—		
6. KHAMBU—			Bengal	130,025	126,269
Bengal	1,811	823	22. TOTO—		
Sikkim	67	27	Bengal	235	256
TOTAL	1,878	850	23. YAKHA—		
7. KHAMT—			Bengal	1,283	1,311
Bengal	1,461	1,050	Sikkim	26	24
8. KHYANG—			TOTAL	1,309	1,335
Bengal	791	501	III—MUNDA SUB-FAMILY—		
9. KOCH—			1. ‡ AGARIA—		
Bengal	125,046	6,598	Bihar and Orissa	3,039	112
10. KUKI—			2. ASURI—		
Bengal	5,563	9,527	Bengal	1,100	790
			Bihar and Orissa	3,716	3,216
			TOTAL	4,816	4,006

The figures in columns 2 and 5 include not only Hindus, Animists and Buddhists, but also Christians.

^c There were also 1,598 persons in Darjeeling returned as Indian Christians, without specification of caste or race, whose language was entered as Lepcha.

† The Manipuris were returned as Kshattriyas by caste.

‡ Agaria is spoken by a hill tribe in Chota Nagpur. There is also a cultivating caste of the same name in Orissa, the members of which speak Oriya; the figures for the latter caste are excluded.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—COMPARISON OF CASTE AND LANGUAGE TABLES—*concluded*.

LANGUAGE.	Strength of tribe (Table XIII).	Number speaking tribal languages (Table X).	LANGUAGE.	Strength of tribe (Table XIII).	Number speaking tribal languages (Table X).
1	2	3	4	5	6
III—MUNDA SUB-FAMILY—<i>concl'd</i>.					
3. BHUMIJ—			12. SANTALI—		
Bengal	90,282	21,263	Bengal ... { Total ...	685,385	664,479
Bihar and Orissa	272,694	105,866	{ Mahli ...	15,965	3,230
TOTAL	362,976	127,129			
4. BIRHAR—			Bihar and Orissa ... { Total ...	1,493,331	1,419,357
Bihar and Orissa	2,340	1,013	{ Karmali ...	21,842	7,125
			{ Mahli ...	64,189	22,069
5. BIRJIA—			TOTAL	2,178,716	2,083,816
Bihar and Orissa	1,415	1,323			
6. HO—			13. TURI—		
Bengal	1,349	3,530	Bengal	17,666	3,748
Bihar and Orissa	420,422	416,456	Bihar and Orissa	47,429	2,701
TOTAL	421,771	419,986	TOTAL	65,095	6,449
7. JUANG—			IV—DRAVIDIAN FAMILY—		
Bihar and Orissa	12,840	12,313	1. GOND—		
8. KHARIA—			Bihar and Orissa	235,690	4,212
Bengal	16,105	6,437	2. KANDH—		
Bihar and Orissa	133,872	107,190	Bihar and Orissa	302,883	136,711
TOTAL	149,977	113,627	3. MALTO (Sauria Paharia)—		
9. KORA—			Bengal	1,661	1,668
Bengal	46,497	19,958	Bihar and Orissa	63,203	63,207
Bihar and Orissa	48,983	4,077	TOTAL	64,864	64,875
TOTAL	95,480	24,035	4. ORAON—		
10. KORWA—			Bengal	165,337	117,256
Bihar and Orissa	14,231	8,717	Bihar and Orissa	587,411	559,496
11. MUNDARI—			TOTAL	750,048	676,751
Bengal	67,252	50,298			
Bihar and Orissa	490,948	475,416			
TOTAL	558,200	525,714			

The figures in columns 2 and 5 include not only Hindus, Animists and Buddhists but also Christians.

Chapter X.

INFIRMITIES.

772. As at previous censuses, four infirmities have been recorded, viz., insanity, deaf-mutism from birth, total blindness and leprosy. The statistics compiled from the returns will be found in Imperial Tables XII and XII-A, the former of which shows the ages of afflicted persons and also their distribution according to locality, while the latter furnishes information regarding the infirmities from which different castes and tribes suffer. At the end of this chapter the following four subsidiary tables are given.

INTRODUCTORY.

Subsidiary Table I shows the number of persons afflicted in each district per 100,000 of the population at each of the last four censuses.

Subsidiary Table II shows the distribution of infirmities by age per 10,000 of each sex.

Subsidiary Table III shows the number afflicted per 100,000 at each age period and the number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.

Subsidiary Table IV gives the same information as Subsidiary Table III for each of the castes for which figures were compiled.

773. The instructions to the enumerators regarding the record of infirmities were that only persons who were blind of both eyes, or insane, or suffering from corrosive leprosy, or deaf and dumb from birth were to be entered in the schedules, and that those who were blind of one eye, or suffering from white leprosy only, or who had become deaf and dumb after birth were to be excluded. All possible care was taken to see that the instructions were followed, but it must be admitted that the results are not altogether complete and accurate, chiefly because the census staff consists of an improvised agency without medical knowledge. In the returns for insanity, persons who are not insane but merely weak-minded are entered, as well as those who are idiots or who suffer from violent forms of mental derangement. The deaf-mutes should be confined to those who have been deaf and dumb since their birth, but there is a tendency to enter persons who are only mute or only deaf, and among the latter to include elderly persons suffering from senile deafness. The blind similarly include those who are not totally blind, but whose sight has become impaired with old age: to a small extent also those persons who have lost the sight of one eye are apt to be entered as blind.

Apart from errors made by the enumerators, there can be no doubt that the returns are not complete, owing to the deliberate concealment of facts by members of families in which there are persons suffering from one or other of the infirmities in question. This part of the census work is regarded, especially by the better classes, as an unfair inquisition. They are by no means inclined to give the enumerator an insight into their family troubles, and their reluctance is all the greater in the case of their women, more particularly daughters of marriageable age. It is for this reason largely that males suffering from infirmities outnumber the females by three to two. On this and other accounts the statistics of infirmities are, next to the returns for age, the least satisfactory of those obtained by the census.

774. The total number of persons in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa suffering from each infirmity, as recorded at each of the last four censuses, is noted in the margin. It will be observed that whereas there was a general and steady decline for every infirmity between 1881 and 1901, the last decade has witnessed an increase in all cases except that of leprosy. The decrease in the first 20 years was not peculiar to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, but common throughout

VARIATIONS.

Infirmity.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
Insane ...	24,530	22,941	25,628	30,675
Deaf-mutes ...	59,843	53,154	70,165	85,495
Blind ...	73,998	70,859	73,480	97,350
Lepers ...	35,320	37,377	46,390	56,523
Total ...	193,691	184,331	215,663	270,043

India, and was attributed to the higher standard attained at each successive census, *i.e.*, to the exclusion from the returns of persons whose infirmities did not fall within the scope of the definitions given in the instructions to the census staff. The variations since 1901 will be discussed, later in this chapter, in the sections dealing with each infirmity. Here it will be sufficient to state that the increase is all the more noticeable, in view of the greater accuracy of enumeration. *A priori*, the exclusion of erroneous entries should have resulted in a decrease, but on the other hand some increase was to be expected on the present occasion, owing to the improvement in the process of tabulation resulting from the use of special slips for infirmities. These two factors may be taken as counterbalancing one another, and the figures may be accepted as representing the actual variations during the last ten years. At the same time, it must be remembered that the increase in the number of afflicted persons has been only 5 per cent., whereas the increase in the population has been 7 per cent.

775. The marginal figures show the number of afflicted persons, and their proportion per 100,000 of the population, in each of the two provinces dealt with in this report.*

DISTRIBUTION.

Insanity is much more prevalent in Bengal, the number of insane persons

INFIRMITY.	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Number.	Proportion.	Number.	Proportion.
Insane ...	19,978	43	4,552	12
Deaf-mutes ...	32,125	69	27,718	72
Blind ...	32,747	71	41,261	107
Lepers ...	17,485	38	17,835	46
Total ...	101,681	220	91,152	237

being both actually and relatively four times as great as in Bihar and Orissa. Blindness, however, is far commoner in the latter province, as is only natural considering its hot dry climate. There is not much difference in the figures for lepers and deaf-mutes, but relatively Bihar and Orissa suffers most.

776. Diagrams showing the age distribution of afflicted persons of both sexes are given later in this chapter for each infirmity. Here it may be stated, in order to avoid repetition later, that they have one common feature. The number of children under 10 years of age is small in all cases, because parents are naturally reluctant to recognize the existence of infirmities in their children or to acknowledge that they are afflicted so long as there is any real prospect or imaginary hope of recovery. The returns for children consequently cannot be said to represent the facts completely.

AGE RETURNS.

777. A note of warning must also be sounded regarding the statistics of infirmities by race, nationality, tribe or caste given in Subsidiary Table IV. Proportional figures are given in this table, and sometimes they yield extraordinary results if the actual figures are not referred to. It will be seen, for instance, that in Bengal the highest incidence of insanity among females (347 per 100,000) is found among the Chasas, a respectable caste of Oriya cultivators, but actually only one female of that caste was returned as insane. The relative figures for the caste in Bengal, also show an extraordinarily high incidence both of blindness and leprosy, but the figures are worked out from only 19 blind persons and 15 lepers, who were presumably emigrants from their homes. Very different results are apparent in the returns for Bihar and Orissa, where the total number of Chasas dealt with was over 800,000. In other cases too it will be seen that the proportion is very much higher for castes enumerated away from their homes. For instance, the figures for the Dhanuks, a Bihari caste, are very much higher in Bengal than in Bihar and Orissa, and the same is the case with the Rajwars, a caste found mainly in South Bihar and Chota Nagpur. In view of these circumstances, abnormal figures for castes outside the province of origin will not be taken into account in the subsequent sections dealing with the distribution of infirmities by castes.

In Bengal those who returned themselves as Kaibarttas without further specification appear to suffer most from different infirmities. The incidence of

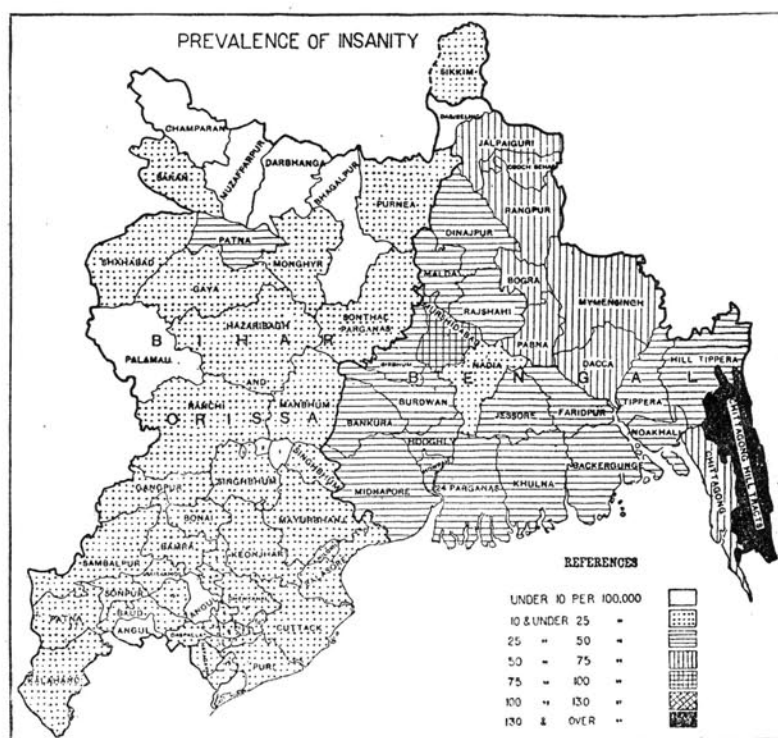
* The details in the statement do not agree with the total, owing to the former including, and the latter excluding, double infirmities.

infirmities is very much lower among the Jaliya Kaibarttas, who are mostly fishermen, and the Chasi Kaibarttas or Mahishyas who are mostly cultivators. In Bihar and Orissa those unfortunate persons who have lost caste, and bear the generic name of Ajat, appear to be the most afflicted. A high general incidence (except for insanity) is also found among the Saraks, a small caste, mostly weavers by occupation, who are descendants of the early Jains and still have a vegetarian diet.

INSANITY.

779. In Bengal every district and State except Darjeeling and Nadia has a ratio of over 25 insane persons per 100,000 of the population, but in no part of Bihar and Orissa does the proportion rise to that figure except in Patna, where there is a central lunatic asylum. In five districts, moreover, viz., Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Bhagalpur (which form a solid block in the north of the province), Palamau and Angul, as well as in the Chota Nagpur States, the proportion falls below 10 per 100,000.

In Bengal insanity is most prevalent on the eastern side of the Bhagirathi, and the greatest incidence is found in North Bengal and East Bengal. The highest district ratio is returned by the Chittagong Hill Tracts (157 per 100,000) and then by Cooch Behar (71), Jalpaiguri (71), and Chittagong (68). The high ratio of Murshidabad (75) is simply due to its containing a central lunatic asylum: excluding the inmates drawn from outside districts, the ratio is one of the lowest in Bengal. The reasons for the high incidence in these districts are obscure. It is noticeable, however, that Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts adjoin Burma, where

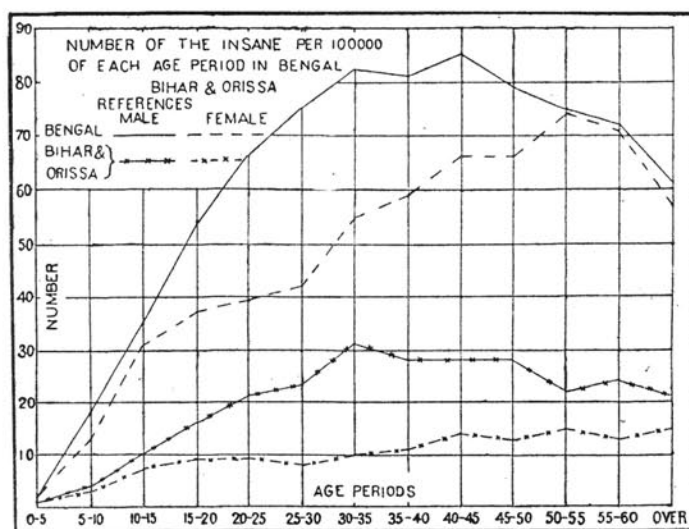


insanity is very common, and that a considerable portion of the population have a Burmese strain. The Maghs, who are descended from Burmese either in the immediate or remote past, have an unusually large proportion of insane persons (8 per 10,000). It is difficult to draw any inferences regarding Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri. There is very little insanity in Darjeeling and Sikkim to the north, and it is not specially prevalent in Rangpur and Dinajpur to the south. Nor can it be said to be due to the constitution of the population, as the Mongolian element is far stronger in Darjeeling and Sikkim, and the proportion of insane persons among the Koches of Bengal is unusually small. On the other hand, it is fairly high among the Meches, a distinctively Mongolian race, and among the Rajbansis, who are believed to be allied to the Koches, if not of the same descent. In Bihar and Orissa the local variations are comparatively small. Insanity is most prevalent in Orissa, and then in South Bihar, while it is least common in North Bihar. Outside Orissa the worst districts are Ranchi, Manbhum, Singhbhum and Sambalpur.

780. Between 1891 and 1901 the number of insane persons in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, according to the census returns, decreased by 10 per cent., but the present census

shows an increase of 7 per cent. The general population, however, has grown at the same rate, so that proportionately the number of insane persons is the same as in 1901, viz., 35 per 100,000 among males and 23 per 100,000 among females. In Bengal the ratio for males is exactly the same as it was in 1901, but among females it has risen by 1 per 100,000. In Bihar and Orissa, however, there has been a decrease of 1 per 100,000 both among the male and female population. The decrease here may be ascribed, in part at least, to more accurate enumeration. It is noticeable that the proportion of children below 10 years of age to the total number is 5 per cent. in this province and 6 per cent. in Bengal, whereas in 1901 it was 7 per cent. in the two Provinces taken together: the difference is probably due to a smaller number of the congenitally weak-minded being included in the returns. In Bengal there are marked local variations. There has been a considerable decrease in the number of insane persons in West Bengal, but elsewhere there is an increase. In Central Bengal the rise is due to the concentration of lunatics since 1901 in the central lunatic asylum at Berhampore in the Murshidabad district. If this district is left out of account, the number of insane persons in Central Bengal is stationary.

781. The marginal diagram shows the number of insane persons of both sexes per 100,000 of the population. The number is small in early youth, because insanity is an infirmity of maturity. It is naturally not so common among children, with undeveloped minds and sheltered lives, as among adults who have to face the wear-and-tear of life.



though there is no heavy drop till 50. In the case of females the increase is more gradual, the period at which the number increases most being 25 to 45, i.e., the child-bearing age. Briefly, the diagram shows that in both sexes insanity is a disease of early manhood or womanhood and of middle age.

782. In Bihar and Orissa there are 2 insane males to every insane female. There is far less disparity between the sexes in Bengal, where the numbers are 3 to 2. The proportion of females to males is lowest in West Bengal (1 to 2) and highest in North Bengal (4 to 5): the proportion in East Bengal is nearly as high as in the latter division. The age statistics further show that at every age period insanity is relatively more common among females in Bengal than in Bihar and Orissa. Among young children aged 0—5 in the former Province, there are 110 insane girls to every 100 insane boys: the proportion falls to under 70 between 5 and 15 years of age and then rises to 75 at 15—20. After 20, it gradually sinks until there are 65 females to every 100 males at the age period of 45 to 50, after which the disparity between the sexes almost disappears. The proportion of females in Bihar and Orissa is far smaller, for, except among women over 50 years of age, it is always below 60. Both the census returns and the returns of admission to lunatic asylums show that insanity among women is less common than in European countries.

According to the late Major Robertson Milne, I.M.S., Superintendent of Central Lunatic Asylum at Berhampore, "Were it not for the *pardah* system, it is highly probable that the numbers of the women patients would be very much increased. But even taking that into consideration, and as the result of private inquiries, the fact remains that the women of India are less liable to mental disorders than are their European sisters.*

783. In considering the returns of insanity by race and caste, the figures for males only will be taken into account (except for Europeans and Anglo-Indians), the returns for females being not altogether reliable. At the head of the list stand the Kaibarttas of Bengal other than Chasi or Jaliya with a proportion of 244 per 100,000, and then the poor outcastes of Bihar and Orissa known as Ajat (231). The Bengal Baniya comes third, and next to him the Anglo-Indian, with a ratio of 160 for males and 181 for females. Insanity among the Europeans is far less common, the proportions being 96 and 147 respectively. Both among Anglo-Indians and Europeans the females appear to be more liable to loss of reason than males: the explanation in the case of Europeans is undoubtedly that the men are a picked race, many of whom have to pass a medical examination before coming to this country, and that women transplanted to India are more easily affected by the trials of a monotonous life in a tropical climate and an uncongenial environment. The only other castes in which the proportion is over 100 per 100,000 are the Baidyas and Bhumij of Bengal.

784. The number of persons confined in lunatic asylums at the time of the census was 1,241 (1,019 males and 222 females), or 298 more than in 1901. There are three lunatic asylums in Bengal, situated at Bhawanipore (in Calcutta), Berhampore and Dacca: the former is intended for Europeans and Anglo-Indians only, and the two latter for Indians. In Bihar and Orissa there is only one asylum situated at Patna (Bankipore). The number of insane persons in these asylums is comparatively small. Not only is the accommodation limited, but under the law in force in India only criminals, or persons who are declared dangerous to themselves or to others, or who are wandering about without proper guardianship and unable to take care of themselves, can be sent to asylums. The majority of lunatics are kept by their friends, and it is only when they have committed crimes, or have become homeless vagabonds, or dangerous to the public, that they can be confined in a lunatic asylum.

About two-fifths of the inmates are criminal lunatics, who have been admitted under one or other of the sections of the law relating to lunatics. The first class includes those persons who, being accused of having committed a crime, are found, after due observation by a medical officer, to be of unsound mind, and consequently incapable of making a defence; in other words, they are held to be unable to understand the nature of the proceedings against them and to be unfit for trial. Their cases are then remanded under section 466 of the Criminal Procedure Code for the orders of Government, which authorizes the detention of the accused in an asylum until he is declared fit to stand his trial, or until further orders. The second class includes those who, having been tried for their crimes and found guilty, are declared to have been insane at the time of the crime and unable to realize the nature of their act, or that it was wrong or contrary to law. They are then acquitted on the ground of insanity, and the case is referred to Government, which may direct their confinement in an asylum or some other suitable place of custody. A lunatic may, in such cases, be made over to the care and custody of a friend or relative on the latter giving security. The accommodation in the asylums being limited, the policy is to restrict admissions to lunatics (1) who are dangerous, (2) who are absolutely incapable and have no one to look after them, and (3) whose criminal propensities are a real nuisance to society. Increased strictness has eliminated the less serious cases of lunacy, and the inmates are, to a very large extent, hopeless cases.†

* *Clinical Report on the Berhampore Asylum for 1909*, Indian Medical Gazette, May, 1910.

† Resolution on the Triennial Report on Lunatic Asylums in Bengal (1909—11).

785. A considerable proportion of the lunatics admitted to the asylums suffer from "Toxic (hemp-drug) Insanity," due to

TYPES OF INSANITY.

indulgence in *ganja* (*Cannabis sativa* v. *Indica*), which is smoked with tobacco: of 103 male patients admitted into the Berhampore Asylum in 1909, insanity could be definitely ascribed to previous indulgence in *ganja* in no less than 32 cases.* Insanity of this kind always takes the form of a state of mental exaltation, accompanying or succeeding which there is a certain degree of mental enfeeblement. The cases may be classified under four heads as follows:—

(1) *Ganja* intoxication.—This is a mild state of mania, lasting from a few hours to a few days, which may be recognized by two symptoms. There is, first, a tendency to talkativeness of a foolish, delusional, and often incoherent character, and, secondly, a tendency to the performance of mischievous or indecent acts. The condition it induces is, however, different from that produced by alcohol, for the gait of the *ganja* inebriate is but slightly ataxic, and his movements and actions exhibit a purposiveness not seen in the alcoholic drunkard. These cases of *ganja* intoxication are comparatively rarely seen in the asylums.

(2) Acute *ganja* mania.—This is an acute state of mental exaltation and confusion, characterized by fleeting delusions of grandeur, and often also of persecution, by restlessness, and sometimes by indecency and destructiveness: sleeplessness is another prominent feature. The patient grimaces, gesticulates, is noisy, garrulous and forgetful of time and place; he neither knows nor cares where he is, how long he has been there, or whence he has come. These cases have a duration of about fourteen days to two months. Improvement is gradual as a rule, but sometimes recovery is extraordinarily abrupt. The recovery is, however, rarely complete, and generally the patient is left with some degree of weak-mindedness.

(3) Chronic *ganja* mania.—The symptoms are identical with those of acute mania, with which indeed this type of insanity commences. The patient lapses into a state of mild sub-acute mania, of which the salient features are extreme irritability and a tendency to garrulousness, which is often abusive. He suffers from fleeting delusions of exaltation and a poor memory of time and place. This condition may continue for many years, and terminates generally in weak-mindedness, very rarely in complete dementia.

(4) Weak-mindedness.—This is the insanity resulting from constant indulgence in *ganja* to excess, which has been described by Dr. Warnock of the Cairo Asylum under the name of *Cannabina Mania*. Irritability, an extremely defective memory for place and time, foolish but mild delusions of grandeur (which are never fixed but vary from day to day or week to week), a tendency to loquacity and indolence are the main features of this type. As in all varieties of hemp-drug mental disorders, general sensibility is diminished. Many of the persons suffering from this form of *ganja* insanity are either *sadhus* or their disciples: it is this diminished sensibility which enables *fakirs* and *sadhus* to undergo such painful ordeals as lying on beds of nails, etc. In India it might be termed "Sadhuistic insanity," for it is the insanity with which many of its religious ascetics are afflicted.

786. The second main type of insanity is "Toxic (alcoholic) insanity," which is due to excessive indulgence in alcohol. There is reason to believe that alcohol, as a causative factor in the production of mental disorder, is becoming of increasing importance, owing to a growth of intemperance among the lower castes. The latter formerly had bouts of drunkenness on days of festival, but now their bouts are not confined to feasts and festivals. The third type is "Epileptic insanity," which need not be described, and the fourth is "General paralysis of the insane." The latter is so far a comparatively rare disease among natives of India, though lamentably frequent in Europe: Colonel G. F. A. Harris, I.M.S., C.S.I., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Bengal, states that in 30 years he has only seen three genuine cases in India, the subjects being a Hindu, an Afghan and an Armenian.† The fifth type is "Systematised delusional insanity (Paranoia)," which is

* The proportion in 1911 was 38 per cent.

† Annual Returns of the Lunatic Asylums in Bengal for 1910.

also rare. Lunatics suffering from this form of insanity have strong delusions of persecution and inflated ideas of their dignity. Such cases are very intractable and rarely recover. The sixth type is "Homicidal melancholia," *i.e.*, melancholia of a homicidal character, and the seventh type is "Phthisical insanity." Beggars are specially liable to the latter. As long as they can get enough to keep them in fair health, they do not, as a rule, suffer mentally, provided they do not indulge in drugs. But should they be afflicted by tuberculosis, the progressive asthenia of that complaint makes them less able to follow their calling. This preys on their minds, and they suffer from an irritable melancholia. Tuberculosis, it may be added, is four times commoner in the insane than in the sane, and is fostered by their associations and habits.*

787. The educated classes believe that insanity is due to mental disorder, for which various things may be responsible, such as family bereavements, financial losses, disappointment in love, religious fanaticism, the immoderate use of intoxicating liquor or drugs, especially *ganja*, etc. It is commonly attributed to excessive indulgence in sexual passion, and also to abstinence from sexual intercourse when maturity has been obtained. This latter belief often leads to unfortunate results. When a youth is seen to be in danger of becoming insane, the consummation of the marriage which he contracted as a boy is hurried on as a means of saving him. His tottering reason is only too often overthrown and hopeless lunacy ensues. The power of drugs to produce insanity is firmly believed in, and it is generally agreed that it is frequently caused by love philtres given by neglected wives in the hope of winning or regaining their husband's love.

788. The lower classes have a curious medley of ideas on the subject. Physically, insanity is thought to be due to an excess of bile in the system or to worms in the head. Ultimately it is due to the anger of the gods or evil spirits. Neglect of the worship of the gods, or the curse of a *yogi*, *sadhu* or other holy man, may produce it; it is specially liable to attack those who practise Tantric arts but fail to control the spirits they evoke, and devotees of Kali who gaze upon frightful spectres, while worshipping at the dead of night at a burning ghât or sitting on dead bodies. Generally, however, it is attributed to demoniacal possession. The evil spirit may be moved by motives of passion as well of vindictiveness. *e.g.*, a male spirit may take possession of a girl of prepossessing appearance, while female spirits enter into handsome young men. The spirit which is most commonly thought to produce madness is Brahmadaitya, the spirit of Brahman who has died an unnatural death, *e.g.*, by murder or suicide. This spirit dwells in *pipal* trees: to spit on the root of a pipal tree in which Brahmadaitya resides, or to make water in its shade, is fatal to the reason. Another curious belief is that persons with yellow moustaches or with tapering heads are apt to become insane.

789. The beliefs of the aboriginal races are similarly primitive. The Hos believe that insanity is caused either by excess of bile, or by the wrath of a *bonga* or evil spirit at some insult or injury, *e.g.*, when money is buried by a man and removed by some one else after his death (the idea being that they are the property of the *bonga*), or when the *bonga's* residence (a tree, river or hill) is desecrated by a man easing himself or making water. The cutting of trees in a sacred grove (*jahira*) also amounts to desecration and produces insanity, but this belief is not much of a deterrent when the supply of wood for domestic purposes is disappearing. The Bhumij believe that insanity is the result of the possession of evil spirits (*bhuts*) or of the evil eye of witches. If an exorcist or witch-doctor fails to effect a cure, it is believed that it is a disease due to a disordered brain or the consequence of some sin committed by the lunatic. It may, for instance, be caused by disrespect to the family *bhut*, failure to subscribe for the worship of the village deity, or desecration of the sacred grove; or it may be the result of a man having fallen a victim to some powerful evil spirit, whom he tried to exorcise. The Santals similarly believe that insanity is due to possession by

* Major C. J. Robertson-Milne, I.M.S., *Clinical Report on the Berhampore Asylum for the year 1909*, Indian Medical Gazette, Vol. XLV, No. 5, May 1910.

bongas or evil spirits, either because of the enmity of a witch who has control over a *bonga*, or because a *bonga* has fallen in love with a human being. In the former case the *bonga* is supposed to work the wicked will of the witch as a reward for her allowing herself to be seduced by him. In the latter case, the *liaison* with the *bonga* may go on without any evil consequence, but on the other hand it may end in insanity and death. The belief among the Kandhs (Khonds) is similar to that of the Hos. According to them, a mild attack of insanity is caused by an excess of bile in the system, while a severe form is attributed to obsession by either the Earth goddess or the Hill god.

790. The Nepalese attribute insanity to the following causes—(1) The direct or indirect influence of evil spirits who desire their victims to become their slaves after death; (2) the effects of poisonous herbs, roots or fruits administered, in food or in drink, by enemies; (3) the curse of an elderly man laid on a younger member of the same or of a different family; (4) accidental injuries to the head; and (5) mental trouble due to anxiety, grief, disappointment, excessive sexual indulgence and immoderate drinking. The Lepchas and Bhotias also attribute insanity to the black magic of sorcerers, such as Paharia Bijuas, Dhamis or Jhankins, Limbu Yabus and Lepcha Phön-böns, who use their evil craft at the instigation of some enemy. Sometimes it is believed to be the result of the wrath of an unappeased family deity or the evil influence of a malignant spirit called Gyalpo. Insanity in a male is attributed to a Gyalpo, but insanity or idiocy in a woman to a female water sprite called Men-wö. The learned believe it to be a family taint, due to mysterious causes, *e.g.*, the intermarriage of close relations.*

791. Insanity is believed to be hereditary, but it is recognized that it may skip a generation. It is thought that it is more easily transmitted through the mother, there being a saying that madness is due to a mother and ignorance to a father. Among the aboriginals, however, there appears to be no fixed idea about insanity being hereditary, but rather that when it persists in a family, it is due to the continued anger of an evil spirit. Thus, among the Bhumij, the recurrence of insanity in a family is attributed to their having erected their homestead, or reclaimed some land, in an enchanted place or having used timber from the sacred grove for the rafters of a house. The Santals again have no idea of causative connection, except in so far as they believe that the same family is persecuted by the same *bonga*. The Hos think that insanity cannot be transmitted, the idea being that it is the result of a personal offence or neglect. A son who does not take the precaution of appeasing the angry *bonga* that has afflicted his father with insanity, may also be attacked after his father's death, but this is only another expression of the same idea. The Kandhs (Khonds) consider that mild insanity can be transmitted from father to son, as the latter inherits the tendency to accumulation of bile. If, however, insanity appears in an acute form, it is believed that a deity has not been properly appeased by the father's sacrifices and still hungers for fresh victims.

292. Madness being due to possession by an evil spirit, every attempt is made to appease or exorcise it. In Midnapore, for instance, when a man is first attacked, exorcists (*ojhas* or *gunias*) are called in. They hold smoking chillies to the nostrils of the patient, chant *mantras*, addressing the spirit in filthy and obscene language, all with the idea of driving it away. When these means prove futile, they prescribe a diet calculated to force the spirit to leave his victim in fear of losing his caste, for Brahmadaitya is the spirit of a high-caste Brahman.† The unfortunate patient has therefore to consume soup made of toads, faecal matter, etc. When these abominable nostrums fail, the use of medicated oils and of indigenous herbs and drugs is resorted to. Among the Santals there are elaborate ceremonies for exorcism, which proceeds by regular steps. The

* I am indebted for the above account to the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim.

† Insulting forms of worship are not unknown. "Usually the object of the worshipper is to propitiate the deity he is addressing, but occasionally his aim seems to be to inspire disgust. Thus, in the worship of Alaksmi, the officiating Brahman offers jute leaves, not flowers, with his left, or impure, hand. The idea seems to be that the goddess will be annoyed at this treatment, and will in consequence depart elsewhere. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part III, 1903, p. 31.)

first thing the *Ojha* does is to find out by divination whether he can effect a cure or not. He applies a little oil to two *sal* leaves, and rubs them together on the ground, muttering an incantation the while. By looking at the impressions formed on the leaves, he professes to know whether he will be able to do anything or not. He then proceeds to find out the *bonga's* name, how he is to be appeased, etc., and names the articles required, *e.g.*, animals for sacrifice, a nail of iron or copper, partly straight and partly twisted, etc. As soon as the patient's family have got them together, they ask him to appoint a day for his final work. On the day fixed the lunatic is made to touch the sacrificial animals, and the *Ojha* makes passes round him, at the same time repeating certain incantations. Next, the *Ojha* and some of the villagers take the animals outside the village boundary, where they sacrifice and eat them. When they have finished their meal, they return to the house, where the *Ojha* prepares medicine, which the patient takes. Then the whole company drink up the beer, which has been brewed for the occasion. The medicine is repeated at intervals. The family wait a year and if in the meantime the patient recovers, they give the *Ojha* his fees; if there is no cure, he gets nothing. The *Ojha* is more fortunate than other practitioners, as he is allowed a year for his cure to work. Less formal methods are employed by the *Bhumij*. The exorcist smears a leaf with oil, looks into it and then declares the patient to be possessed by a certain spirit. He then performs a ceremony of exorcism, which consists of incantations appropriate to the spirit concerned, after which a black goat (or sometimes a lamb), 2 or 3 cocks, a girdle, a garland, a small basket and a looking-glass are offered for the propitiation of the evil spirit. Among the *Khonds* the earth goddess demands the sacrifice of a pig, the hill god of a goat; if these prove ineffectual, the mad man is left to his fate.

793. Among Bengalis offerings are made to Kali on the day of the new moon in the hope of effecting a cure. The most popular of her shrines is that at Tirol in the Arambagh subdivision of the Hooghly district. Insane persons are taken and *pujas* performed, after which the priests give an iron bracelet (*bala*) for the lunatic to wear. Great is the fame of Kali's bracelet. "I had," writes a correspondent, "occasion to pass through this village about two years ago, and the villagers extolled its virtues to such an extent that I could hardly believe them. They told me that not only Hindus, but people of other nationalities, and even Europeans, resort to the village for the cure of insane: that however turbulent or boisterous the mad person may be, he becomes as quiet as a lamb when he comes within the precincts of the village. Such is the influence of the goddess." It is not absolutely necessary that the insane person should be taken to Tirol. The consecrated *bala* can be brought from it by a member of the family, and the priests will also send one by parcel post, if ordered. The bracelet is worn for life, or is sent back to the temple if a cure is effected, in which case thank-offerings are made. Flowers taken from Kali's shrine are also efficacious if put in a small metal casket and worn as an amulet. Amulets called *kabaj*, *i.e.*, charms written or carved on the leaves of the *bhuria* plant, are worn with the same idea, and in the case of Musalmans, texts from the Koran.

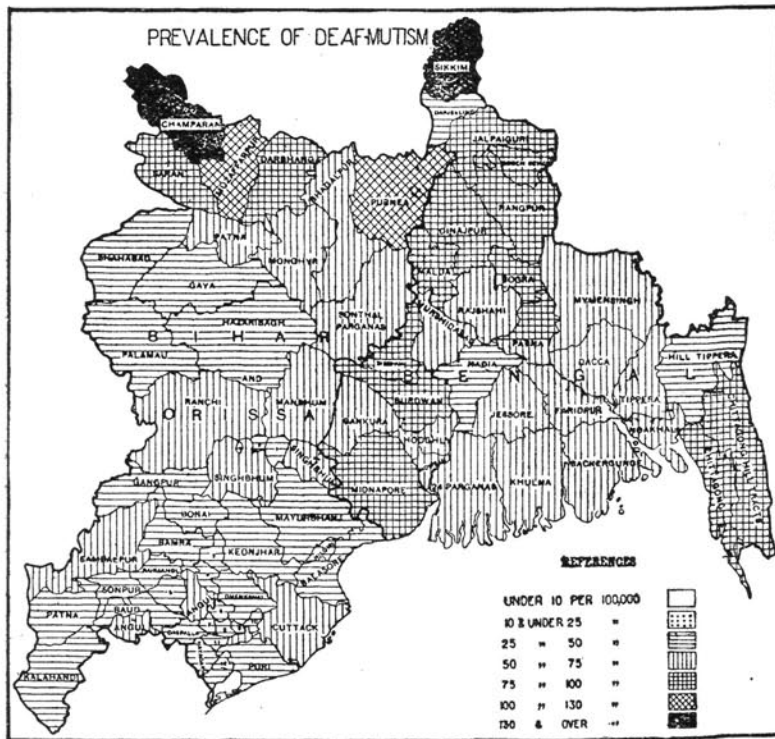
In Bihar alms are given away in the hope of procuring the favour of the gods. The colour of the articles distributed varies according to the god propitiated. If Saturn's goodwill is to be won, everything must be of a reddish colour, such as red cloth, red wheat and red *gur*; if Saturn, they must all be black, *e.g.*, black cloth, black iron, black *til*, black *urid*, etc. Here too the bracelet of "Pagla Kali" is held in repute.

794. The medical treatment of the insane is designed with an eye to its cooling effects on the brain and nervous system. Ordinarily, a lunatic person's head is shaved to admit of a free application of medicinal oils, which are specially prepared by Kavirajes to keep the head cool. In acute stages he is made to drink the milk of green cocoanuts, which have been buried for 24 hours in soft silt at the bottom of old tanks. He is also made to bathe once a day, if not oftener, in old tanks choked with weeds and vegetable matter, the water of which is considered cooler than that of fresh water tanks. Sometimes, too, the mud taken from these putrid tanks is plastered on its head, or aloe pulp is mixed with water and applied in the form of an

emulsion. Cool drinks are given and a simple diet of pot-herbs. A favourite remedy is soup made from a particular kind of frog (called *sona bang* or the golden frog) and soup prepared from a vegetable known as *susuni sak*. The juice or sap of palm leaves and various roots, plants or trees, such as plantains and fig trees, is also administered. If violent, he is confined in a dark room, and either bound hand and foot or has a heavy clog of wood fastened to his ankle. Altogether, the lunatic's life in Bengal is not a happy one.

DEAF-MUTISM.

795. Deaf-mutism is most prevalent in Sikkim, North Bihar and North Bengal. Sikkim is by far the most affected area, 27 per 10,000 of its population being deaf-mutes, while Champaran is far ahead of any other district, with a ratio of 17 per 10,000. The average is only about half this latter figure in the other districts in which the infirmity is prevalent, viz., Saran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Purnea, Malda, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and the State of Cooch Behar. All these districts and States lie to the north of the Ganges and are watered by Himalayan rivers: in all of them deaf-mutism is associated with cretinism and goitre.*



number of deaf-mutes is well above the average. In the Siliguri subdivision of Darjeeling they represent 10 per 10,000 of the population and in Rangpur 8 per 10,000: in the latter district over 5,000 cases of goitre are treated annually, but even this figure gives no indication of the extent to which the disease prevails.†

796. In Champaran the area most affected is the south-western portion of the Motihari subdivision, which comprises the thanas of Motihari, Kesaria, Madhubani and Gobindganj. In these four thanas the ratio varies from 21 to 35 per 10,000, the latter figure being reached in the Motihari thana, which is watered by the Dhanauti. The affliction is not so prevalent in the north of the district, and is least common in the south-west, i.e., in the Adapur and Dhaka thanas, the ratio falling to 6 per 10,000 in Adapur. The area of greatest incidence nearly exactly corresponds with the limits of the Majhawa *pargana*, which has a sinister reputation in Bihar. It is regarded as a home of idiots—to ask a man if he comes from Majhawa is tantamount to calling him an idiot, and deaf-mutes are known locally as Majhawa *bagar*. In the district, generally, the physique of the people is below that of the average Bihari. "In nearly every village there are a certain number of people who look miserable specimens of humanity, and in the district, as a whole, the proportion

* Goitre is also common in Bhutan, and cretinism is found there. Captain Kennedy, I.M.S., who accompanied the Political Officer in Sikkim on a mission to Bhutan in 1909-10, writes that, out of 202 cases treated by him, one in four had goitre, and there were two cretins. Goitre in Purnea, a centre of deaf-mutism, was noticed as early as 1788 A.D., when the author of the *Riyazu-s-Salat* wrote: "Tumours of the throat, in men and women generally, as well as in wild beasts and birds, are common." This is not an exaggerated statement, as dogs, horses and fowls often have thynoid swellings in this and other districts.

† Rangpur District Gazetteer, p. 52.

of chronic invalids strikes one as unusually large. An unsightly form of goitre is very prevalent and the number of cretins is remarkable." * Deaf-mutism is specially prevalent near the Dhanauti, a tortuous river with an unhealthy neighbourhood. Formerly there were flourishing villages along its banks, but gradually the river-bed became silted up. Fever of a malignant type broke out and the population was decimated.†

797. Since 1901 the number of deaf-mutes in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa has increased by 6,689 or 13 per cent., while in Sikkim it has risen by 7½ per cent. In Bengal, Bihar and Orissa the increase occurs both among those aged 20 and over, and also

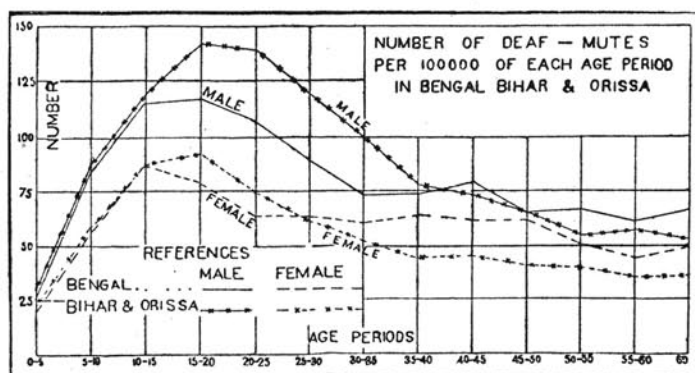
CENSUS.	UNDER 20 YEARS.		20 AND OVER	
	Ma'e.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1911	17,837	11,712	18,275	12,019
1901	16,868	10,628	15,641	10,017
Increase	969	1,084	2,634	2,002

among those who are under 20 years of age, the latter being persons born during the decade or under ten years of age at the last census. Very little, if any, of the increase can be due to persons suffering only from senile deafness being returned under this head, for the number of deaf mutes aged 50 and over is only 167 or 4 per cent. more than in 1901. In that year they represented 8 per cent. of the total number, but now the proportion, though the same in Bengal, has fallen to 7 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa.

798. The local variations are of a curious character. In the area of greatest prevalence there have been decreases in the extreme east in Champaran and Saran, but in nearly all the other districts there have been increases, viz., in Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Purnea, Malda and Dinajpur. On the other hand, there have been decreases in Bhagalpur, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar. The decline in Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri is small, but in Bhagalpur and Darjeeling it is so remarkable that it must probably be ascribed to insufficient enumeration: in the latter district it is noticeable that no deaf-mutes are found in two out of five thanas, and that the returns for all infirmities are far below those of 1901. In Saran the falling off is small, but it is considerable in Champaran, where every other infirmity has also lost ground except insanity. Both these districts suffered from famine in 1897, the former in a minor and the latter in a major degree; and the decrease might be attributed to its effects in thinning out these unfortunate persons who are largely dependent on charity. On the other hand, both Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga exhibit increases, though they were also famine-stricken in 1897 and have since suffered, the former from scarcity and the latter from two famines. Elsewhere there have been considerable increases in Cuttack, the Orissa States, Midnapore, the 24-Parganas, Faridpur, Bogra, Tippera and Chittagong.

799. From the marginal diagram it will be seen that the number of deaf-mutes of either sex rises till the age period 10 to 15 in Bengal, and 15 to 20 in Bihar and Orissa, and then drops steadily. The explanation is that deaf-mutism is a congenital affection and that deaf-mutes generally are short-lived.

DEAF-MUTISM BY AGE AND PROPORTION OF THE SEXES.



At the same time, the paucity of deaf-mutes over the age of 40 to 45 is evidence of the comparative accuracy of the returns, persons afflicted with the deafness of old age being excluded from the schedules. As in other countries, there is a marked disproportion of the sexes, males being

largely in excess. They preponderate most in Bengal, where there are approximately 8 males to every 6 females, the proportion in Bihar and Orissa

* Champaran Famine Report of 1897.

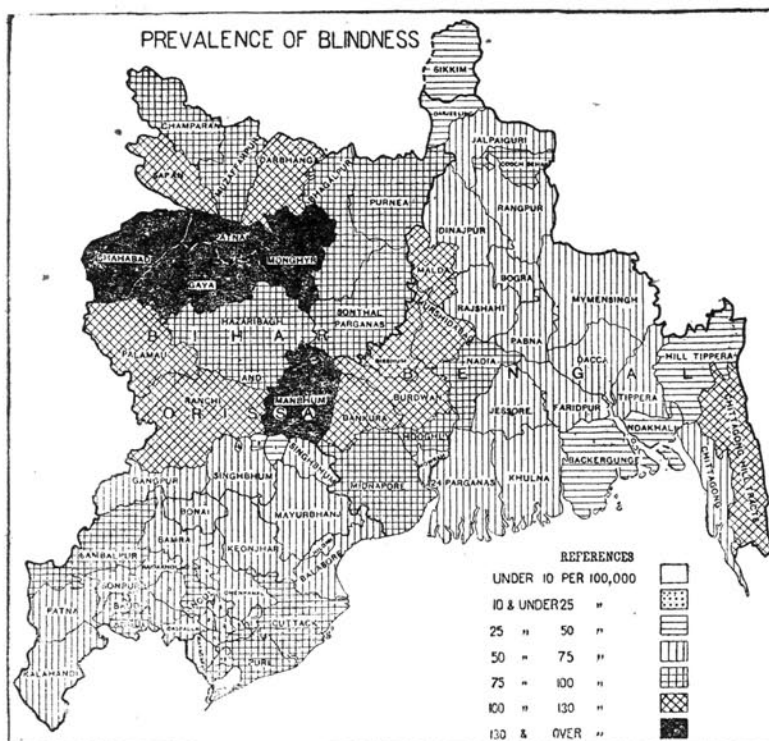
† Champaran District Gazetteer, p. 59.

being 9 to 6. In this latter Province there are 64 female deaf-mutes, and in Bengal there are 68, to every 100 males suffering from this affliction.

800. Proportionately more deaf-mutes are found among the outcastes called Ajat than among any other caste or race, the ratio being as high as 1,755 per 100,000 among males and 1,444 among females. The distribution of Ajat deaf-mutes is, however, very local, five-sevenths being found in Champaran and the remainder in Muzaffarpur. The Kaibarttas of Bengal also have an unusually large number of deaf-mutes, and they are followed *longo intervallo* by the Nau-Muslim or converts to Islam in Bihar and Orissa: the actual number of deaf-mutes among the latter is however only 23. No other race or caste in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa is on the same plane, but high ratios are returned for the Saraks (all in Manbhum), Haris and Bhats in Bihar and Orissa and for the Baniyas in Bengal. Deaf-mutism is very common among the castes or races resident in Sikkin, as is natural, for its prevalence is a matter of locality rather than of race. Even here, however, there are considerable variations. The Murmi heads the list, closely followed by the Brahman, while high figures are also returned for the Lepcha and Khas or Chettri. The Bhotia and Khambu (Jimdar) are far less frequently born without speech and hearing, and in this respect are better off than the Bengal Baniya or the Haris and Bhats of Bihar and Orissa. Figures which have been specially prepared to show the distribution of deaf-mutism among the castes of Champaran also indicate that it cannot be correlated with caste or race. The Ajat heads the list, one out of eight being deaf-mute. High proportions are also returned, in a descending scale, for the Babhans, Tambulis, Baishnabs, Nats, Kasarwanis and Bhars, who have very different modes of life. The infirmity is least common in such widely different castes as the Atiths, Doms, Halalkhors, Kayasths, Kewats, Musahars, Tharus, Saiyads and Musalman Dhobis, in all of which the proportion falls below 1 per 1,000.

BLINDNESS.

801. The distribution of blindness is what one would naturally expect, for it is least common in areas where the climate is humid and the country green, and most common in districts with an arid soil and a hot dry climate, where the eyes are affected by the fierce glare of the sun and, in the hot weather, by clouds of dust driven before a scorching wind. Nowhere is it so prevalent as in South Bihar, where these latter conditions prevail: then comes, *longo intervallo*, North Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and the Chota Nagpur Plateau occupy an intermediate position, and at the bottom of the list stand North, Central and East Bengal. The four worst districts are Patna, Gaya, Shahabad,



Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, and East Bengal. The four worst districts are Patna, Gaya, Shahabad,

Monghyr (which make up the natural division of South Bihar) and Manbhum, in all of which the proportion of blind persons is 130 or more per 100,000 of the population.

802. The returns of successful operations for cataract during the last decade (1901 to 1910) also afford testimony to the extent to which Bihar suffers from diseases of the eye. Altogether 37,326 such operations were performed (compared with 15,987 in the previous decade), of which 12,419 or one-third took place in South Bihar and 6,238 or one-sixth in North Bihar: in other words, Bihar accounts for half the total number in the two Provinces. The returns for individual districts also show very much the same local distribution of blindness as the census returns: conditions in Calcutta are of course exceptional, and there is consequently little correspondence between

DISTRICT.	Number of operations	Number of blind per 100,000.
Calcutta	8,320	73
Patna	4,071	179
Gaya	3,997	161
Shahabad	3,406	192
Saran	2,238	116
Murshidabad	1,717	111
24 Parganas	1,556	52
Champaran	1,368	81
Muzaffarpur	1,021	80

the medical and census statistics. In no other district than those shown in the margin were there as many as 1,000 successful operations in the 10 years. while in Orissa the aggregate was below that number. The Oriya, unlike the Bihari, dreads the surgeon's knife and will rather be blind than face an operation.

803. Blindness is chiefly due to neglected inflammation of the eyes, combined with poorness of constitution and the application of caustic remedies. Cases in which senile decay causes cataract and various forms of ulceration, especially of the cornea, are very common. These, though easily amenable to treatment in their earlier stages, are often not submitted for treatment at the hospitals, until vision has been hopelessly destroyed. and it is too late for any treatment to be of use. Ophthalmia is specially common during the months of April and May, when the hot west winds, loaded with dust, are blowing. It is often only a mild form of conjunctivitis, but among the poor it takes the form of purulent ophthalmia, resulting in total destruction of the eye, or in the formation of permanent opacities of the cornea.

804. The number of blind persons in the two Provinces has risen by 3,139 or by 4 per cent. since 1901. As shown in the margin, the increase is common to both sexes, and has occurred at all ages, except among females aged 50 and over. The increase is all the more

CENSUS.	UNDER 50 YEARS.		50 YEARS AND OVER.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1911	24,052	17,427	15,317	17,202
1901	22,823	16,141	14,660	17,235
Variation ...	+ 1,229	+ 1,286	+ 657	- 33

noticeable because of the largely enhanced number of successful operations for cataract—the aggregate during the decade was actually more than half the total number of blind persons enumerated in 1901—and *primâ facie* the restoration of sight to such a large propor-

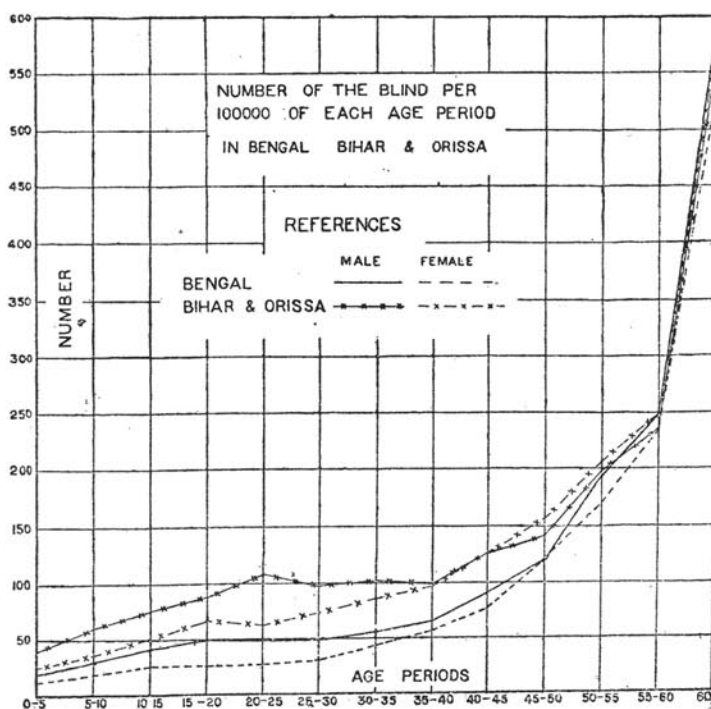
tion should have had some effect in diminishing the blind population. On the other hand, the proportional growth of blind persons falls short of the general growth of population. Compared with 1901, blindness is relatively less prevalent among both sexes in all parts of the two Provinces, except (1) Central Bengal, where the proportion is the same, (2) Orissa, where the proportion of blind females has risen by 6 and of males by 10 per 100,000, (3) South Bihar, where there is a rise of 9 and 11 respectively, and (4) East Bengal, where the proportion for blind males has risen by 2 per 100,000.

805. The age distribution of the blind is apparent from the diagram, in

DISTRIBUTION BY AGE.

the next paragraph which mainly serves to illustrate the well known fact that blindness is a senile affection. The number rises very slowly till the age of 45 to 50 is reached, after which it mounts rapidly. One point is of interest, viz., that in Bengal the proportion of blind women is always a little less than that of blind men, whereas in Bihar and Orissa the ratio among females above 40 or 45 years of age is consistently higher than among males. The explanation of this fact is given below. Blindness is more common among males than among females, probably because males, living a more exposed life, are more liable to have their sight impaired. The medical returns also show that cataract is more frequent among men, or at any rate that men have recourse more freely to the surgeon for relief; in 16,500 successful operations the proportion of males to females was 3 to 2.

806. The Bengali woman is far less subject to eye diseases than her



sister in Bihar and Orissa. Among the blind population of the latter Province males outnumber females by 23 per cent., whereas in Bengal the excess is under 3 per cent. Among young children under 10 years of age the proportion of the sexes is very nearly the same in both Provinces, but once childhood is passed, the female of Bihar and Orissa begins to suffer much more than the Bengali woman. From 20 to 40 years of age blindness among the former becomes more and more common, and from 40 and over there are more blind women

than men. In Bengal, too, there is the same upward rise, but even at 60 years of age and over the proportion of blind women to blind men is only two-thirds. The greater liability to blindness among women in Bihar and Orissa is probably due to the conditions of their life. Their physical surroundings (*e.g.*, a dry climate, an arid country and a fierce glare) are more trying to the sight than in Bengal. The structure of the Bihari houses, with their thick mud walls, has also an injurious effect. They are neither so spacious or well-ventilated as the Bengali homesteads, where bamboo walls allow of a more thorough perflation of air. As the Bihari women progress in years, the accumulative effect of a life spent in small, dark, smoky rooms tells on them more and more.

807. The Kaibarttas of Bengal, other than Chasi and Jaliya Kaibarttas,

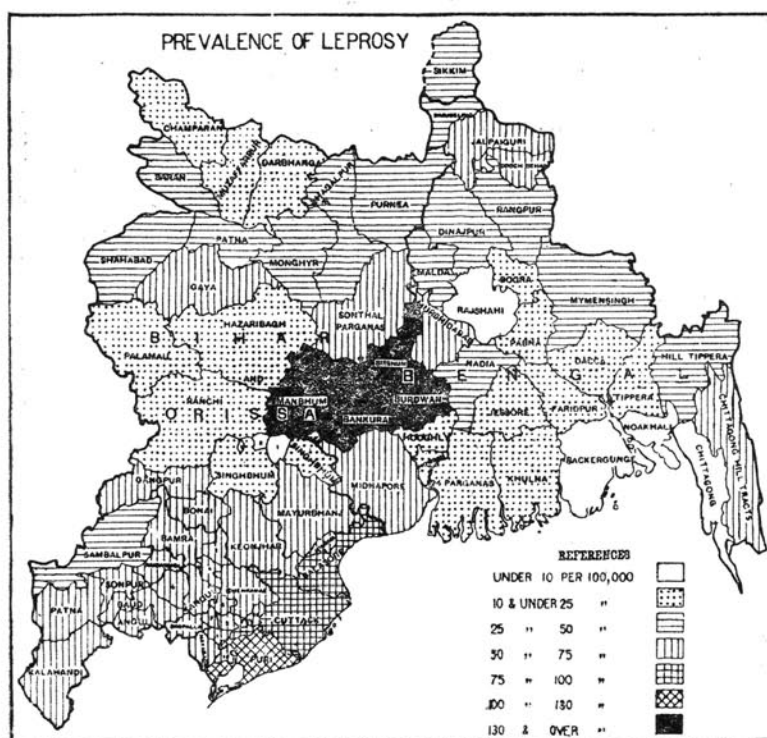
BLINDNESS BY CASTE AND RACE.

show the greatest liability to blindness, and then the Saraks in both Provinces, the Bhats and Halalkhors in Bihar and Orissa, and the Rajwars in Bengal. The aboriginal races do not suffer in any marked degree. Among the Hos blindness is almost unknown, while the Kandhs (Khonds) and Santals are far less liable to loss of sight than the Mundas and Oraons. Castes such as the Karans, Kayasths, and Baidyas are also not specially afflicted, though a tendency to blindness might *a priori* be expected because of their literary habits, the strain on the eyes caused by study, and a poor physique. The Bauris again, who form a large proportion of the mining population, where coal dust might affect the eyesight, are more immune than the Bagdis, whose habits,

food and manner of life are otherwise much the same. For these and other variations among the 165 different castes for which statistics have been compiled, I can offer no explanation.

LEPROSY.

808. Leprosy is unusually prevalent in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa owing to two leper centres, viz., the four inland districts of Bankura, Burdwan, Birbhum and Manbhum, and the three seaboard districts of Cattack, Balasore, and Puri, which between



them contain 12,605 lepers or over one-third of the total number. The disease is most rife in the four districts first named, where there is an average of 16 lepers per 10,000 of the population. The greatest intensity is reached in Bankura with a ratio of 23 per 10,000: this district is, indeed, the blackest leper spot in the whole of India. In the Orissa districts the proportion is 10 per 10,000, and the disease is evenly diffused through all the three districts.

Elsewhere it is most common in the Sonthal Parganas (which adjoins the leper districts of Birbhum, Burdwan and Manbhum) and in the district of Gaya: the number of lepers in the latter district is slightly swollen by immigrants, the town of Gaya being a sacred place of pilgrimage to which lepers are attracted in the hope of charity from pilgrims.*

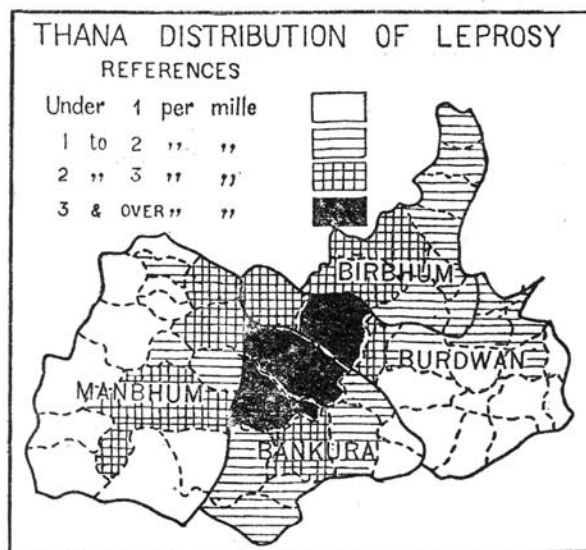
There is a definite geographical distribution of leprosy. The lower delta, included in Central and East Bengal, which has a humid climate and a soil composed mainly of recent alluvium, is most immune. The whole of the north of the two Provinces is also in a favourable position, though there are two exceptions, viz., the State of Cooch Behar and the district of Jalpaiguri in the submontane country known as the Tarai. South Bihar and the Chota Nagpur Plateau, with a drier climate, are more exposed to the ravages of the disease, while it is rife in the country to the south and south-east of the Plateau.

809. The reason for its excessive prevalence in the three seaboard districts of Orissa and the four inland districts on the fringe of the Chota Nagpur Plateau are unknown. They are inhabited by different races and their physical configuration varies widely. The inhabitants of the former are mainly orthodox Hindus: the latter contain a population, in which an aboriginal element is fairly strong. The seaboard districts consist of three distinct tracts, viz., a maritime fringe, a central zone of alluvium, and an upland and somewhat sterile strip of submontane country. The inland

* At the time of the census plague was raging in Gaya town, and foreign-born lepers avoided the place. In Puri town out of 113 lepers, more than half came from outside the district, some hailing from such distant places as Bundelkhand and Gwalior.

districts are partly lateritic uplands and partly an alluvial delta, and, as will be shown in next paragraph, it is in the lateritic area that the disease is most prevalent. It is least prevalent in the seaboard districts at the north-east of Bay of Bengal (viz., Backergunge, Noakhali and Chittagong) and in Rajshahi, in all of which the proportion of lepers is under 10 per 100,000 of the population.

810. In Bankura the highest incidence is found in the rolling upland



country to the north-west, where lepers represent 4 to 5 per mille of the population. Every other part of the district in which there is lateritic soil has a ratio of 1 to 3 per mille, whereas it falls below 1 per mille in the alluvial country in the extreme east (thanas Kotalpur and Indas). In Manbhum leprosy is most frequent in the border thanas adjoining the west of Bankura and having the same physical aspects. In Burdwan the proportion is 3 per mille in the Asansol subdivision, where the soil is lateritic, and does not exceed 2 per mille in the alluvial area. In Bir-

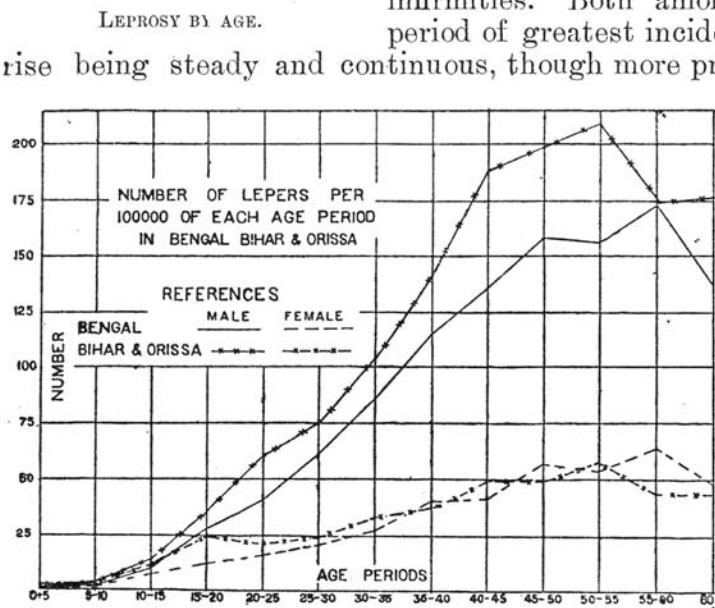
bhum the proportion is 2 to 3 per mille in the Suri and Dubrajpur thanas to the south-west, where the country is similar to the Asansol subdivision, and it is under 2 per mille throughout the rest of the district, which is partly alluvial. The marginal map will show how the disease concentrates in, and radiates from, a strip of land lying partly in Burdwan and partly in Bankura.

811. Since 1901 there has been a general decline of leprosy throughout both Provinces. The number of lepers has fallen by $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and their proportion per 100,000

of the population from 72 to 62 in the case of males and from 23 to 21 in the case of females. In the two leper centres the decrease is specially noticeable, for there has been an improvement in all the three Orissa districts and also in Burdwan, Birbhum and Bankura. The sole exception is Manbhum, in which there has been a slight increase of 63 lepers or 3 per cent., which is, however, far below the growth of the general population (19 per cent). Increases are recorded for Gaya and the Orissa States, but these are not of much importance. In the latter the present census was more complete than its predecessor, while the severe epidemic of plague which raged in Gayā in 1901 either killed off or drove out of the district a number of its leper population. Plague being also present in the town at this census, it was partially evacuated, but the inhabitants merely moved out to the villages and did not leave the district.

812. The decline in the number of lepers may be due to several causes. Part of it may, with some reason, be ascribed to the stress of hard times, especially in Bihar and Orissa. The Province had a series of lean years, scarcity prevailing in several districts in one year or another. Those unfortunate persons who depend on charity are among the first to feel the pinch, for the stream of private benevolence dries up in hard times, and the margin between sufficiency and privation, narrow at all times, disappears. The old naturally die off first, and it is significant that there has been a decrease of 10 per cent. in the number of lepers aged 50 and over. Such an explanation would be less applicable to Bengal where the people's prosperity was scarcely checked by the pressure of high prices. The decrease may also be due, to a small degree, to more accurate diagnosis of cases of leprosy, complaints such as leucoderma and secondary syphilis being excluded from the returns. Even, however, allowing for this, the decrease has been so general and so continuous during the last 30 years, that there is justification for the belief that leprosy is gradually and slowly becoming less common.

813. The age distribution of lepers is very different from that of other infirmities. Both among males and females the period of greatest incidence is from 20 to 60, the rise being steady and continuous, though more pronounced among males, for whom the returns are more complete. The same characteristic was noticed by Mr. Gait in 1901, whose remarks on the subject may be quoted. "A leper's life is a comparatively short one. According to one of the most reliable estimates (that of Daniellsen and Boeck), the average duration of life from the date of attack is only 9½ years for tuberculated and 18½ years in the case of anæsthetic leprosy. It follows that the steady proportion of lepers between the ages of 20 and 60 indicates a marked rise in the liability to infection between those ages."



814. Both in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa there are approximately 3 male lepers to every female leper. The proportion of the sexes at different age periods, however, differs considerably, and specially at the first period (0—5). Among young children of this age there are 117 females to every 100 males in Bihar and Orissa, but less than half that number in Bengal. In both Provinces the proportion gradually and steadily falls until the age of 45—50, when the proportion is almost the same, there being 28 female lepers in Bengal, and 25 in Bihar and Orissa, to every 100 male lepers. After the age of 50, however, there is a rise in the relative number of females: the proportion for elderly female lepers in both Provinces is very nearly the same as for females in their full maturity, *i.e.*, between 25 and 30 years of age.

815. The castes that appear to be most affected by leprosy are the small Sarak community in Bengal and then the Hajjams and Indian Christians. The high figure in the last case is explicable by the fact that a number of them are inmates of leper asylums, where they have been converted to Christianity: it is not likely that it implies any special liability to the disease. Both Bagdis and Bauris suffer to a marked degree, but with them leprosy is probably a matter of locality rather than of race or manner of life, for they form a considerable proportion of the population of the leprous districts. Other castes of Bengal in which leprosy is especially common are (in a descending scale) the Lohar, Kaibartta, Mali and Khaira. In Bihar and Orissa the most afflicted are the Mayra, Sarak and Kalu: their local distribution is, however, limited, for all the lepers among the Mayras and Kalus were enumerated in the Sonthal Parganas and Manbhum, and the Sarak lepers in Manbhum only.

816. In order to ascertain whether any castes are specially liable to the disease in the leper area, *i.e.*, the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura and Manbhum, statistics have been prepared of the castes in those four districts, among which there are 100 or more lepers, or which have an aggregate strength of over 50,000.

* CASTE.	Number of lepers.	Proportion per 100,000.	CASTE.	Number of lepers.	Proportion per 100,000.
1. Bagdi ...	612	158	14. Kayasth ...	50	72
2. Baisnab ...	132	175	15. Kora ...	32	63
3. Bauri ...	1,219	331	16. Kumhar ...	78	112
4. Bhuiya ...	64	102	17. Kurmi ...	251	80
5. Bhumij ...	92	67	18. Mal ...	54	80
6. Brahmar ...	354	113	19. Napit ...	88	149
7. Chasi Kaibartta...	87	168	20. Rajput ...	206	353
8. Dom ...	251	215	21. Sadgop ...	326	138
9. Gandabanik ...	106	203	22. Santal ...	233	85
10. Goala ...	419	222	23. Suni ...	268	98
11. Hari ...	116	162	24. Tani ...	74	102
12. Kalu ...	223	232	25. Teit and Titi ...	291	233
13. Kamar ...	123	144	26. Sheikh ...	590	108

The result is shown in the margin. The highest incidence is found among the Rajputs and then among the Bauris, while the Bhumij, Kayasth, Kora, Kurmi, Mal and Santal

suffer the least. Of the latter all but the Kayasths have a strong aboriginal strain, but so also has the Bauri. It is not apparent why the Rajputs should have proportionately four times as many lepers as the Kayasths, or why the latter should be more immune than the Brahmans. The Bauris and Bagdis, again, have very much the same occupations, customs and manner of life, but leprosy is twice as frequent among the former as among the latter.

817. The law relating to leprosy, which is in force in both Provinces, is the Lepers Act (III of 1898), an Act applicable to all India, which was introduced in 1901 in place of the Bengal Lepers Act of 1895. This Act provides for the establishment of asylums to which lepers may be sent from specified areas, for the arrest of pauper lepers found wandering in such areas, and for their detention in an asylum. It also empowers the Local Government to prohibit lepers from engaging in certain trades or occupations likely to endanger the public health. The asylums established under it are the Albert Victor Leper Asylum at Gobra near Calcutta and the asylums at Purulia in Manbhum, Raniganj in Burdwan, Bhagalpur and Muzaffarpur. The asylum at Gobra is a Government institution managed by a Board appointed by Government; the rest are under the management of the Mission to Lepers in India and the East, assisted by contributions from Government. Under section 9 of the Act notifications have been issued prohibiting lepers in certain localities from following certain trades or occupations connected with the bodily requirements of human beings, or from doing certain acts likely to endanger public health. The localities in question are the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum and Manbhum, the Muzaffarpur thana (excluding two outposts), the towns of Calcutta, Cossipur-Chitpur, Manicktollah, Tollygunge, Garden Reach, Howrah, Krishnagar, Bhagalpur, the South Suburban Municipality and Fort William. These have also been specified as local areas from which lepers may be sent to specified asylums.

818. The Albert Victor Leper Asylum at Gobra was declared to be an asylum under the Lepers Act in 1901: the areas from which lepers may be sent to it are Fort William, Calcutta, the Suburban Municipalities and the Krishnagar Municipality. The Purulia Leper Asylum is the largest asylum in the two Provinces, containing accommodation for over 600 lepers. It was established in 1887, and in 1902 was declared to be an asylum to which lepers might be sent from the district of Manbhum. From the outset the working of this asylum has been in the hands of the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission: its popularity is such that most of the inmates go there of their own free will, and the number sent under the Act is generally very small. A large majority of the inmates, however, are such as could legally be sent there, and in consideration of this fact, and of the good work done by it, Government gives the asylum an annual capitation grant, which is at present fixed at Rs. 12,000 a year. The Raniganj Leper Asylum, established in 1893, was declared to be an asylum under the Act in 1907: the local areas from which lepers may be sent to it are the districts of Burdwan and Birbhum. It contains about 200 lepers, and receives annually from Government a capitation grant calculated at the rate of Re. 1-8 a month for each inmate that is a leper within the meaning of the Act. The Bhagalpur Leper Asylum was established in 1890 and was brought under the operation of the Act in 1908. The town of Bhagalpur is the local area from which lepers under the Act may be sent to it. Government contributes a capitation grant at the usual rate of Re. 1-8 per head a month. The Muzaffarpur Leper Asylum was declared an asylum under the Act in 1909, and the Muzaffarpur thana (excluding the independent outposts of Minapore and Sakra) was specified as the local area from which lepers might be sent to it. A capitation grant at the usual rate is made from Provincial revenues.

819. There are also asylums at Asansol, Bankura and Lohardaga, belonging to the Mission to Lepers in India and the East, which have not been brought under the operation of the Lepers Act, but are assisted by Government contributions. The Lohardaga Asylum is the oldest in the two Provinces, having been started in 1884 at the instance of the Revd. F. Hahn of Gossner's German (Evangelical Lutheran) Mission. That at Asansol was

started about six years later, and that at Bankura in 1902. The Rajkumari Leper Asylum at Deoghar, the Puri Leper Asylum (started in 1905) and the Sambalpur Leper Asylum are private institutions maintained from subscriptions. There is also an asylum in the State of Mayurbhanj, which was opened in 1907. It is subsidized by the Maharaja and is visited by members of an Australian Mission called the Mayurbhanj State Mission. Altogether 1,227 lepers (811 males and 416 females) were enumerated in the different asylums.

From the preceding account it will be seen that all the asylums in the two Provinces except that at Gobra are maintained either by the Mission to Lepers in India and the East or depend upon private charity. Government, however, makes considerable grants for their upkeep, and in the decade 1901-1910 contributed Rs. 1,29,052 (Rs. 24,250 as building grants and Rs. 1,04,802 as annual subventions), while local bodies subscribed over Rs. 4,000.

820. The work in the Mission asylums is partly evangelistic, for it is desired to make converts, and partly philanthropic, as the lepers are given shelter, clothed and fed.

THE WORK IN THE ASYLUMS.

It is also to a large extent medical, but as it has not yet been established that there is any effective cure for this mysterious disease, the treatment is of a comparatively simple character, and is applied with the object of giving relief, rather than with a hope of actual cure. The most important part of the work is preventive, the worst and most dangerous cases being segregated, while special efforts are made to save the untainted children of leprous parents from contagion. It is recognized that the disease being not hereditary but contagious, the best chance of successful work lies in separating children from diseased parents and protecting them from contamination.

821. The most recent authoritative pronouncement regarding the causation of leprosy is that of the Conference of

CAUSATION OF LEPROSY.

Leprologists presided over by Professor Virchow, which was held at Berlin in 1897. The conclusions arrived at by this body of experts were briefly that:—(1) The disease is communicated by the bacillus, but its conditions of life and methods of penetrating the human organism are unknown. Probably it obtains entrance through the mouth or the mucous membrane. (2) It is certain that mankind alone is liable to the bacillus. (3) Leprosy is contagious, but not hereditary. (4) The disease has hitherto resisted all efforts to cure it. A similar Conference held at Bergen in 1909 confirmed these views.

Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson, F.R.S., has advanced another theory, viz., that leprosy is due to eating badly cured fish. His views are—(1) the leprosy is caused by a bacillus, which gains access to the body through the stomach, and not by the breath or by the skin. (2) That in the great majority of cases in which grown-up persons become lepers, the bacillus enters the stomach in connection with badly cured fish, eaten in a state of partial decomposition and not sufficiently cooked. (3) That the bacillus is not present in any other form of fish-food. (4) That it is but very seldom that the bacillus is present even in such fish, and that it is especially likely to be found in fish which has been imported from a distance. (5) That a very small quantity of tainted fish may suffice to introduce the bacillus, and that a long period is necessary before its results will be observed.

822. Mr. Hutchinson's theory is not confirmed by the results of the census over the areas where leprosy is most prevalent. In Bankura, in particular, which is the worst leper centre in either Province, the consumption of badly cured fish is extremely rare. On the other hand, it is common among the Nepalese races, who fulfil the conditions necessary according to Mr. Hutchinson, for (1) the fish they eat is badly cured, (2) it is eaten very largely, (3) it is in a state of partial decomposition and (4) it is imported from distant places. In every bazar frequented by the Nepalese such badly cured fish may be seen. Its condition will be sufficiently described by a quotation from Mr. Inglis, an old planter of North Bihar. "Large quantities of dried fish are sent to Nepal, and exchanged for rice and other grains, or horns, hides and blankets. The fish-drying is done very simply in the sun.

It is generally left till it is half putrid and taints the air for miles. The sweltering, half-rotting mass, packed in filthy bags, and slung on ponies or bullocks, is sent over the frontier to some village bazar in Nepal. The track of a consignment of this horrible filth can be recognized from very far away. The perfume hovers on the road, and as you are riding up and get the first sniff of the putrid odour, you know at once that the Nepalese market is being recruited by a fresh accession of very stale fish. If the taste is at all equal to the smell, the rankest witches' broth ever brewed in a reeking cauldron would probably be preferable.* The localities where the Nepalese are found in greatest strength have little leprosy, viz., Darjeeling, where the proportion of male lepers per 100,000 is 45, and, Sikkim, where it falls to 16. The figures for Nepalese castes, moreover, show that the incidence of leprosy is very low; out of 35,000 persons belonging to different Nepalese castes in Sikkim only 6 are lepers.

823. Experiments with Deycke's Nastin treatment of leprosy were made in 1909-10 by Major Anderson, I.M.S., Civil Surgeon of Manbhum, in the Purulia Leper Asylum, and the results were so far encouraging as to lead to their continuance. Nastin is the name given by Professor Deycke and Dr. Reschad, two physicians in the Imperial Ottoman Service, to a fatty substance extracted from 14 days old pure cultures of a species of streptothrix (*S. Leproides*), which is found in cases of leprosy to be associated with the true bacillus of leprosy. Drs. Deycke and Reschad hold that the leprosy bacilli contain a fatty substance similar to, or biologically related to, Nastin, which not only prevents these bacilli themselves from being attacked and destroyed by the human phagocytes, but by its action on the healthy human tissues, renders the latter favourable for subsequent invasion by the leprosy bacillus. Though Nastin does not act directly on the leprosy bacilli, it immunizes the healthy tissues against the action of this fat, so that the healthy phagocytes of the tissues can attack and destroy the leprosy bacilli. The Nastin injection, in brief, produces an immunization against the fatty substance with which the bacilli are impregnated and on which is dependent their comparative unassailability. Professor Deycke holds that Nastin injection will exercise no curative influence in the severest and most advanced cases of leprosy, especially if accompanied with complications of the internal organs: such cases are quite incurable by any known treatment. In cases of somewhat less severity cure is rare, but with careful dosing the condition may be prevented from getting worse. In cases of medium severity, or in light cases, the leprosy processes can, in most cases, be arrested, and generally a more or less important retrogression of the leprosy symptoms may ensue. "In the majority of cases," wrote Professor Deycke in 1909, "irrespective, of course, of the most severe and hopelessly advanced forms, it will be possible to arrest the process; in many cases there will be obtained a distinct improvement, which is evidenced in a particularly pronounced manner by increase in strength and general health, and unmistakeable retrogression of the leprosy symptoms."

An account of other methods of treatment will be found in the *Indian Medical Gazette* for July 1911 and July 1912. Reference to them is not required in this report, because they have not, so far as the writer is aware, been applied in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

* J. Inglis, *Sport and Work on the Nepal Frontier*, p. 218.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I—NUMBER OF PERSONS AFFLICTED PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION AT EACH OF THE LAST FOUR CENSUSES—continued.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	INSANE.				DEAF-MUTES.				BLIND.				LEPERS.			
	Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.		Male.		Female.	
	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.	1901.	1891.
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
BENGAL—concluded.																
EAST BENGAL	53	47	62	74	40	36	51	56	78	66	94	104	54	45	60	69
Khulna	48	44	45	58	44	38	48	56	85	62	80	92	60	43	59	65
Dacca†	71	66	79	85	41	40	47	55	76	74	36	101	55	55	23	73
Mymensingh	60	56	67	74	42	42	53	46	82	80	123	111	64	58	90	72
Fardpur	45	27	51	66	32	22	41	49	73	34	78	85	51	21	47	47
Raekergunge	37	39	56	63	31	35	53	60	62	57	92	84	38	33	52	63
Tippura	35	25	44	67	31	19	45	54	74	55	107	112	48	29	57	67
Noakhali	28	34	47	78	31	30	56	67	88	82	113	124	49	49	63	68
Onitdagong	79	77	82	104	59	56	64	84	99	83	116	143	57	53	82	108
Chittagong Hill Tracts	137	120	184	...	181	134	174	...	83	64	85	...	77	65	84	...
Hill Tippera	44	58	95	...	56	39	45	...	48	48	163	...	39	44	86	...
BIHAR AND ORISSA																
NORTH BIHAR	16	17	20	29	8	9	10	16	90	95	139	192	55	56	78	109
Saran	12	13	19	33	6	6	8	18	132	150	210	264	80	85	116	145
Champaran	16	16	22	23	7	8	7	10	127	135	195	188	70	67	129	96
Muzaffarpur	9	10	15	22	3	3	6	10	144	145	156	225	81	78	77	119
Darbhanga	11	9	12	25	5	5	5	16	121	117	155	179	70	62	70	82
Bhagalpur	10	13	16	29	6	7	6	16	66	127	180	225	43	73	99	134
Purnea	18	25	29	53	13	13	20	34	139	130	189	283	95	84	130	174
SOUTH BIHAR																
Patna†	20	17	21	22	9	8	9	13	67	63	91	175	40	35	50	103
Gaya	38	38	40	36	14	12	12	23	64	61	62	227	42	34	37	151
Shahabad	16	12	28	22	7	5	8	10	59	54	136	121	30	27	42	66
Monghyr	17	13	14	16	7	7	9	7	86	88	110	172	48	51	65	92

In the calculations for each Province and Natural Division, those areas for which figures are not available, have been left out of account.

† There are leper asylums at Patna (Manbhum), Gobra (Calcutta), Deoghar (Sonah Parganas), Lohardaga (Ranchi), Raniganj and Asansol (Burdwan), Bankura, Bhagalpur, Sambalpur, Muzaffarpur and Puri. Excluding the inmates who were born outside the districts in which these asylums are situated, the proportion of lepers per 100,000 persons of each sex is:—Manbhum males 157 females 105; Calcutta males 18 females 50; Sonah Parganas males 97 females 47; Ranchi males 13 females 10; Burdwan males 183 females 72; Bankura males 313 females 155; Bhagalpur males 49 females 16; Sambalpur males 60 females 34; Muzaffarpur males 42 females 4 and Puri males 174 females 57.

‡ There are leper asylums at Bhawanipur (Calcutta), Beahmpore (Murshidabad), Dacca and Patna. Excluding the inmates who were born outside the districts in which the asylums are situated, the proportion of lepers per 100,000 persons of each sex is:—Calcutta, males 36 females 29; Murshidabad males 37 females 18; Dacca males 53 females 39; Patna males 16 females 18.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—NUMBER OF PERSONS AFFLICTED PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION AT EACH OF THE LAST FOUR CENSUSES—concluded.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	INSANE.								DEAF-MUTES.								BLIND.								LEPERS.							
	Male.				Female.				Male.				Female.				Male.				Female.				Male.				Female.			
	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
ORISSA ...	24	27	27	34	10	12	12	16	72	64	116	126	33	29	59	70	92	82	89	106	69	63	93	128	159	170	168	190	48	49	59	61
Cuttack ...	23	27	23	31	10	12	12	15	87	59	115	116	39	29	62	64	107	97	89	108	80	73	95	139	148	153	128	171	43	44	48	57
Balsore ...	23	24	28	28	11	13	10	15	65	86	109	176	30	38	57	101	63	45	62	84	56	44	60	107	159	187	185	214	45	53	59	64
Puri ...	27	28	41	47	8	14	19	21	51	50	124	95	23	21	53	50	94	89	117	124	61	63	119	128	180	189	229	204	60	58	82	75
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU ...	15	18	17	23	9	11	11	15	63	60	65	92	44	43	40	59	91	97	88	107	102	109	101	131	66	75	51	69	37	40	41	38
Hazaribagh ...	11	13	12	18	8	8	6	13	62	54	73	105	35	40	46	60	100	94	85	116	93	90	100	145	16	15	20	26	7	9	13	15
Ranchi ...	20	21	25	20	14	17	16	16	55	60	77	81	47	55	51	58	100	122	148	122	109	141	148	152	13	35	37	40	10	13	20	26
Palaman ...	10	12	13	16	5	13	13	16	49	63	90	103	60	48	52	62	150	148	140	137	212	205	190	180	158	107	160	106	120	139	87	
Manbhum ...	19	24	27	32	13	14	16	16	86	83	90	103	60	48	52	62	150	148	140	137	212	205	190	180	158	107	160	106	120	139	87	
Singbhum ...	14	19	17	27	11	16	24	24	82	66	85	87	59	52	60	55	55	67	74	70	63	81	89	81	30	47	48	52	17	32	24	44
Sonthal Parganas ...	14	17	12	23	7	11	8	13	72	82	49	91	50	59	28	57	88	103	42	76	97	123	46	84	100	122	57	69	47	50	25	32
Angul ...	4	16	23	45	3	3	8	22	69	66	101	165	40	39	44	85	96	96	123	154	90	95	127	136	84	77	73	163	35	39	38	78
Sambalpur ...	19	16	...	...	8	6	...	...	63	57	...	...	50	41	...	...	83	79	...	...	113	84	...	...	60	37	...	...	34	29	...	...
Orissa Feudatory States ...	15	18	...	...	...	7	9	...	...	51	40	...	...	33	26	...	69	65	...	...	67	65	...	...	64	64	...	...	36	32	...	...
Chota Nagpur States ...	8	10	...	...	...	3	7	...	45	63	...	...	35	36	...	...	39	80	...	...	37	67	...	...	12	23	...	...	3	17	...	...
SIKKIM ...	13	46	...	...	7	32	...	...	297	355	...	...	233	385	...	...	36	71	...	...	21	57	...	...	16	55	...	...	40	25	...	...

In the calculations for each Province and Natural Division, those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

* There are leper asylums at Purulia (Manbhum), Gobra (Calcutta), Deoghar (Sonthal Parganas), Lohardaga (Ranchi), Raniganj and Asansol (Burdwan), Bankura, Bhagalpur, Sambalpur, Muzaffarpur and Puri. Excluding the inmates who were born outside the districts in which these asylums are situated, the proportion of lepers per 100,000 persons of each sex is:—Manbhum males 157, females 105; Calcutta males 18, females 20; Sonthal Parganas males 97, females 47; Ranchi males 13, females 10; Burdwan males 183, females 72; Bankura males 49, females 16; Bhagalpur males 60, females 34; Muzaffarpur males 42, females 4 and Puri males 174, females 57.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II. PART I.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE INFIRM BY AGE PER 10,000 OF EACH SEX.

AGE.		INSANE.										DEAF-MUTES.									
		Male.					Female.					Male.					Female.				
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17				
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.																					
Total		10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0-5	...	65	116	166	183	98	152	150	249	432	458	339	459	517	536	467	553				
5-10	...	530	575	518	677	554	658	538	594	1,569	1,616	1,349	1,190	1,569	1,658	1,310	1,128				
10-15	...	815	872	748	811	850	975	733	696	1,670	1,729	1,233	1,161	1,524	1,597	1,039	988				
15-20	...	909	930	827	857	1,015	982	822	810	1,268	1,355	965	849	1,325	1,358	937	764				
20-25	...	1,006	996	924	2,116	1,029	988	890	1,740	1,074	972	850	1,628	1,098	991	820	1,475				
25-30	...	1,358	1,313	1,249	2,182	1,090	974	1,014	871	1,100	1,008	871	1,028	1,028	878	843	1,475				
30-35	...	1,350	1,238	1,256	2,182	1,103	1,060	1,084	1,861	813	807	823	1,502	774	798	814	1,318				
35-40	...	1,084	1,055	1,034	1,480	857	848	954	1,861	586	519	656	1,502	520	484	593	1,318				
40-45	...	978	946	1,065	1,480	959	1,006	1,014	1,574	514	489	690	1,178	520	502	673	1,176				
45-50	...	594	564	598	882	565	575	668	1,165	283	282	422	879	296	291	428	1,176				
50-55	...	530	583	622	882	752	641	766	1,165	262	277	552	879	305	330	561	988				
55-60	...	244	246	328	882	309	281	358	1,311	119	114	278	1,154	118	138	320	988				
60 and over	...	537	566	665	882	819	860	1,009	1,311	310	344	922	1,154	394	449	1,193	1,610				
BLIND.																					
AGE.		Male.					Female.					Male.					Female.				
		1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
		18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33				
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.																					
Total		10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
0-5	...	404	379	421	406	304	271	275	257	32	29	48	63	80	87	83	192				
5-10	...	727	705	712	707	485	433	402	388	78	83	98	146	167	170	187	257				
10-15	...	735	748	708	592	445	449	386	297	224	250	256	271	435	450	379	386				
15-20	...	590	628	572	475	452	441	401	293	427	411	415	440	704	700	579	612				
20-25	...	667	666	582	1,029	558	495	375	764	598	571	525	1,444	783	756	643	1,560				
25-30	...	663	638	582	1,113	602	492	565	914	979	965	909	1,444	965	978	899	1,560				
30-35	...	556	543	548	1,144	520	492	484	914	1,212	1,182	1,154	2,470	1,117	1,053	1,138	2,032				
35-40	...	637	638	548	1,144	520	492	484	914	1,331	1,272	1,259	2,470	1,034	1,008	1,038	2,032				
40-45	...	518	523	502	1,184	552	517	528	1,074	1,463	1,272	1,259	2,368	1,204	1,249	1,317	1,922				
45-50	...	776	783	766	1,184	877	910	1,044	1,384	1,059	1,144	1,085	1,533	833	797	835	1,922				
50-55	...	444	452	505	3,350	495	543	594	3,885	474	487	512	1,533	1,034	1,049	1,000	1,474				
55-60	...	2,671	2,676	2,821	3,350	3,596	3,710	3,885	4,629	1,079	1,076	1,230	1,266	1,175	1,340	1,394	1,635				

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II—PART II.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE INFIRM BY AGE PER 10,000 OF EACH SEX, 1911.

AGE.	INSANE.						DEAF-MUTES.						BLIND.						LEPERS.					
	Bengal.			Bihar and Orissa.			Bengal.			Bihar and Orissa.			Bengal.			Bihar and Orissa.			Bengal.			Bihar and Orissa.		
	Male.	Female.	10,000	Male.	Female.	10,000	Male.	Female.	10,000	Male.	Female.	10,000	Male.	Female.	10,000	Male.	Female.	10,000	Male.	Female.	10,000	Male.	Female.	10,000
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17								
0-5	61	100	80	90	417	483	449	568	319	266	479	331	38	66	97	93								
5-10	555	568	427	483	1,579	1,566	1,558	1,572	574	434	1,572	521	75	132	50	200								
10-15	831	847	754	863	1,696	1,464	1,642	1,596	614	389	842	483	205	389	243	477								
15-20	934	1,041	807	882	1,265	1,385	1,272	1,254	538	391	636	483	444	630	411	773								
20-25	1,024	1,031	937	1,017	1,032	1,055	1,121	1,151	476	387	696	497	584	783	613	784								
25-30	1,386	1,112	1,247	979	1,046	1,021	1,160	1,036	558	443	784	639	1,030	1,033	939	953								
30-35	1,292	1,112	1,584	1,056	728	753	909	800	559	480	755	688	1,227	1,091	1,127	1,208								
35-40	1,075	856	1,120	863	613	569	556	487	540	453	570	567	1,353	1,090	1,127	1,208								
40-45	969	947	1,010	969	557	550	466	483	666	613	649	709	1,395	1,153	1,279	1,253								
45-50	578	562	657	580	298	322	268	264	569	569	472	541	1,049	1,098	1,080	1,253								
50-55	532	753	523	747	291	317	238	290	881	972	633	811	1,049	1,098	1,080	1,253								
55-60	241	309	257	309	127	118	109	118	521	570	367	442	521	521	477	355								
60 and over	522	762	597	1,114	351	397	262	391	3,175	4,033	2,225	3,288	1,055	1,217	1,102	1,335								
Total	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000							

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000 OF EACH AGE PERIOD
AND NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES.

BENGAL.

AGE.	NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000—								NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES.			
	Insane.		Deaf-mutes.		Blind.		Lepers.		Insane.	Deaf-mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages	50	36	81	58	78	63	56	19	671	676	773	320
0—5	2	2	25	19	18	11	2	1	1,096	783	642	560
5—10	18	13	83	57	29	18	3	2	687	671	584	560
10—15	35	31	115	86	40	25	10	7	695	584	490	609
15—20	54	37	117	79	48	25	25	12	745	740	562	454
20—25	66	39	106	64	47	26	41	16	676	621	629	429
25—30	75	42	90	63	46	30	61	21	535	660	614	321
30—35	82	55	74	60	55	42	86	27	578	698	664	266
35—40	81	59	74	65	63	56	115	40	555	627	648	252
40—45	85	66	79	62	90	76	136	42	656	668	711	265
45—50	79	66	65	61	119	120	158	57	653	730	773	277
50—55	75	74	68	50	192	170	156	54	950	737	852	338
55—60	72	71	61	44	246	234	173	64	861	627	831	325
60 and over	61	57	66	48	572	533	137	48	979	764	982	369

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

All ages	16	8	90	55	111	104	71	23	518	636	974	338
0—5	1	1	30	22	40	25	1	2	583	791	672	1,167
5—10	4	3	88	58	60	38	4	3	586	642	589	841
10—15	10	7	119	87	75	50	14	11	593	618	560	664
15—20	16	9	142	92	88	67	36	24	566	627	740	637
20—25	21	9	139	74	107	61	60	21	562	653	695	432
25—30	23	8	119	61	97	72	75	24	406	568	815	349
30—35	31	10	99	52	101	85	103	33	545	600	888	341
35—40	28	11	78	44	93	97	141	37	399	557	969	259
40—45	28	14	73	45	125	125	188	49	621	659	1,063	276
45—50	23	13	65	41	141	157	193	49	457	629	1,116	248
50—55	22	15	54	39	198	207	208	57	739	806	1,155	307
55—60	24	13	57	35	235	249	174	44	623	686	1,172	281
60 and over	21	15	53	36	556	569	176	43	966	946	1,440	343

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000 PERSONS OF EACH CASTE, AND NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES.

HINDUS, ANIMISTS AND CHRISTIANS.

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE.	Locality.	NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000.								NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES.			
		INSANE.		DEAF-MUTES.		BLIND.		LEPERS.		Insane.	Deaf-mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
AGARIA	Bihar and Orissa	37	36	119	73	82	95	37	73	1,000	625	1,182	2,000
AGARWALA	Bihar and Orissa	19	14	68	35	105	69	37	...	666	454	588	...
AJAT	Bihar and Orissa	231	38	1,755	1,444	139	568	277	76	200	1,000	5,000	333
AMAT	Bihar and Orissa	6	9	140	81	104	53	55	16	1,500	604	531	294
ANGLO-INDIAN... ..	Bengal	160	181	43	11	85	149	21	...	1,133	250	1,750	...
ATITH	Bihar and Orissa	12	4	127	43	94	115	98	32	333	387	1,391	375
BABHAN	Bihar and Orissa	12	3	74	32	89	62	51	3	253	423	666	61
BAGDI	Bihar and Orissa	11	11	159	89	193	268	296	167	1,000	571	1,411	577
	Bengal	32	18	73	54	92	86	153	49	580	750	950	327
BAUDYA	Bengal	104	47	45	34	97	65	32	9	457	750	674	286
BAISHNAB	Bihar and Orissa	39	19	109	59	179	193	154	64	437	488	973	375
	Bengal	68	38	80	50	153	129	131	46	669	760	1,020	422
BANIYA	Bihar and Orissa	52	13	159	80	215	188	95	41	250	518	966	439
	Bengal	210	163	263	433	228	650	123	135	500	1,067	1,846	714
BARAI	Bihar and Orissa	12	14	145	67	179	149	150	32	1,125	473	852	218
BARHI	Bihar and Orissa	13	7	90	54	127	130	35	10	571	633	1,085	290
BARNAWAR	Bihar and Orissa	25	12	25	107	135	143	111	36	500	4,500	1,090	333
BARUI	Bengal	54	28	89	54	58	43	22	1	480	554	685	50
BAURI	Bihar and Orissa	16	10	52	46	138	148	272	144	652	894	1,090	540
	Bengal	20	22	53	46	102	173	395	237	1,133	890	1,732	619
BEDEA	Bihar and Orissa	23	14	138	107	54	128	15	...	666	833	2,571	...
BELDAR	Bihar and Orissa	11	2	57	40	88	145	77	7	260	720	1,641	88
BHANDARI	Bihar and Orissa	21	7	86	58	94	95	138	28	333	714	1,055	215
BHAR	Bihar and Orissa ... ..	...	...	95	147	27	204	34	19	...	1,643	8,000	600
BHAT	Bihar and Orissa	40	...	224	83	295	110	112	...	...	429	432	...
BHOGTA	Bihar and Orissa	10	5	41	23	69	89	8	5	500	562	1,296	666
BHUINMALI	Bengal	60	34	86	61	84	76	34	7	560	694	886	214
BHUIYA	Bihar and Orissa	12	9	45	45	110	123	78	32	789	1,061	1,183	438
	Bengal	16	6	37	32	59	41	227	60	333	714	591	224
BHULIA	Bihar and Orissa	6	6	70	24	41	59	70	30	1,000	333	1,428	416
BHUMIJ	Bihar and Orissa	8	9	57	44	84	106	77	48	1,181	851	1,372	690
	Bengal	111	16	54	45	61	57	154	93	149	870	962	631
BIND	Bihar and Orissa	10	3	76	46	119	134	35	10	333	687	1,280	318
BINJHAL	Bihar and Orissa	13	3	29	25	46	69	62	19	250	888	1,571	316
BRAHMAN	Bihar and Orissa	30	9	102	44	123	73	82	23	307	434	597	278
	Bengal	93	41	66	49	82	54	43	16	388	656	579	337
CHAIN	Bihar and Orissa	19	...	64	48	159	102	51	24	...	800	680	500
CHAMAR	Bihar and Orissa	10	7	94	60	110	109	49	12	769	702	1,129	268
	Bengal	46	48	134	156	121	210	133	66	600	672	1,000	287

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000 PERSONS OF EACH CASTE, AND NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES—*continued*.HINDUS, ANIMISTS AND CHRISTIANS—*contd.*

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE.	LOCALITY.	NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000.								NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES.			
		INSANE.		DEAF-MUTE.		BLIND.		LEPERS.		Insane.	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Lepers.
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
CHASA	Bihar and Orissa	18	8	57	30	78	59	129	36	493	549	777	292
	Bengal	130	347	777	347	1,684	2,083	1,684	694	1,000	1,167	462	154
CHIK	Bihar and Orissa	19	19	96	94	109	132	13	13	1,000	1,000	1,235	1,000
DHANUK	Bihar and Orissa	9	6	96	52	126	117	59	12	720	592	1,017	224
	Bengal	163	67	136	99	190	265	109	33	333	600	1,143	250
DHOBIA	Bihar and Orissa	19	12	97	65	113	126	84	30	706	702	1,173	370
	Bengal	37	27	103	53	78	57	43	12	682	475	685	255
DOM	Bihar and Orissa	15	7	71	45	95	79	120	35	500	647	858	301
	Bengal	1	25	130	105	119	148	200	113	600	781	1,205	547
DOSADH	Bihar and Orissa	12	5	95	72	169	139	67	9	500	820	897	153
	Bengal	34	22	24	22	153	122	43	11	286	400	344	111
DUMAL	Bihar and Orissa	18	3	48	41	79	94	109	44	167	875	1,231	417
EUROPEAN AND ALLIED RAOES.	Bengal	96	147	20	40	20	80	14	...	785	1,000	2,000	...
GANDA	Bihar and Orissa	5	7	37	26	48	52	22	16	1,400	718	1,120	739
GANDHABANIK	Bihar and Orissa	8	9	50	52	185	138	76	77	1,000	1,000	727	1,000
	Bengal	72	10	67	68	81	77	129	30	139	1,025	953	234
GANGAI	Bihar and Orissa	13	...	96	48	71	89	75	22	...	565	1,412	333
GANGAUTA	Bihar and Orissa	33	7	81	72	147	142	71	7	231	969	1,052	107
GARERI	Bihar and Orissa	16	17	81	33	115	85	23	6	1,143	444	804	300
GARO	Bengal	51	37	78	33	161	155	60	42	727	411	943	692
GAURA	Bihar and Orissa	12	11	67	43	94	86	92	32	952	681	994	371
GHASI	Bihar and Orissa	23	14	135	70	141	120	23	25	625	543	896	1,125
GOALA OR AHIR	Bihar and Orissa	10	5	96	55	112	111	44	10	531	578	995	226
	Bengal	38	34	71	63	82	91	92	62	729	727	904	548
GOKHA	Bihar and Orissa	9	17	65	29	48	21	148	58	2,000	467	455	412
GOLA	Bihar and Orissa	25	18	50	29	65	58	137	36	714	571	889	263
GOND	Bihar and Orissa	19	10	73	59	81	77	63	34	545	824	968	541
GONR	Bihar and Orissa ... ..	...	3	...	85	3	56	...	6	...	...	19,000	...
GONRHI	Bihar and Orissa	8	9	78	22	111	75	65	4	1,200	306	714	73
GOSAIN	Bihar and Orissa	56	8	64	50	161	215	56	8	143	750	1,300	143
GURIA	Bihar and Orissa	17	7	98	45	132	108	196	52	417	486	872	281
HAJJAM	Bihar and Orissa	22	8	116	76	167	157	59	14	381	691	993	250
HALALKHOR	Bihar and Orissa	11	11	22	64	359	181	65	21	1,000	3,000	515	333
HALWAI	Bihar and Orissa	24	17	122	50	123	97	41	7	706	419	793	172
HARI	Bihar and Orissa	41	26	242	167	159	176	133	62	667	718	1,151	487
	Bengal	38	33	100	96	104	90	127	38	764	932	837	294
HO	Bihar and Orissa	1	1	5	7	2	1	3	...	500	1,455	400	...
INDIAN CHRISTIAN	Bihar and Orissa	16	1	43	35	74	70	190	192	95	825	959	1,028
	Bengal	53	30	60	47	86	70	634	321	522	731	757	472
JOGI AND JUGI	Bihar and Orissa	23	45	124	125	158	307	119	6	2,000	1,000	1,929	48
	Bengal	58	38	85	48	70	54	27	7	641	548	758	265

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000 PERSONS OF EACH CASTE, AND
NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES—*continued*.

HINDUS, ANIMISTS AND CHRISTIANS—*contd.*

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE.	LOCALITY.	NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000.								NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES			
		INSANE.		DEAF-MUTE.		BLIND.		LEPERS.		Insane.	Deaf- mute.	Blind.	Lepers.
		Ma'e.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
KAHAR	Bihar and Orissa	16	11	105	64	201	209	106	20	769	689	1,183	218
	Bengal	19	45	57	96	81	146	47	55	1,125	792	853	550
KAIBARTTA (Total) ...	Bihar and Orissa	11	19	143	70	78	70	54	25	1,500	500	916	480
	Bengal	35	22	67	42	75	63	39	11	611	613	821	272
KAIBARTTA (Chasi) ...	Bihar and Orissa	7	...	29	...	7	...	7	...	...	...	...	...
	Bengal	29	18	58	36	62	57	36	10	587	614	900	269
KAIBARTTA (Jaliya) ...	Bihar and Orissa ... ..	...	...	44	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Bengal	54	37	77	50	101	71	31	10	655	637	678	327
KAIBARTTA (Unspecified)	Bihar and Orissa	17	29	202	107	116	107	79	39	1,800	541	943	500
	Bengal	244	193	698	431	858	495	387	92	724	566	529	217
KALU	Bihar and Orissa	22	14	134	109	259	299	308	127	600	800	1,138	406
	Bengal	61	33	104	96	136	124	233	109	470	914	894	461
KALWAR	Bihar and Orissa	24	10	117	62	95	70	47	5	429	548	753	119
KAMAR	Bihar and Orissa	19	9	112	65	117	112	72	27	477	598	996	385
	Bengal	48	31	70	57	92	66	62	26	591	750	666	388
KANDH	Bihar and Orissa	12	5	36	21	49	61	85	39	444	623	1,288	484
KANDRA OR KADMA ...	Bihar and Orissa	15	7	64	19	81	37	148	42	545	313	492	306
	Bengal ... ..	...	27	183	60	97	81	81	27	...	323	833	333
KANDU	Bihar and Orissa	14	7	125	74	144	140	63	8	500	630	1,040	130
EAPALI	Bengal	42	37	78	54	81	58	21	8	848	661	687	353
KARAN	Bihar and Orissa	38	8	58	14	56	39	118	25	222	268	750	226
	Bengal	45	11	112	39	101	58	63	31	250	333	555	470
KARMALI	Bihar and Orissa	18	...	72	19	72	65	9	9	...	250	875	1,000
KASARWANI	Bihar and Orissa	43	7	144	71	100	118	29	14	167	500	1,286	500
KASERA	Bihar and Orissa	7	7	40	40	87	20	47	7	1,000	1,000	231	143
KAYASTH	Bihar and Orissa	42	16	107	43	139	75	40	5	365	382	514	127
	Bengal	93	46	73	50	88	61	23	11	471	631	658	458
KEWAT	Bihar and Orissa	22	6	78	50	126	105	89	39	318	690	891	462
	Bengal	34	13	68	51	80	140	216	77	333	666	1,571	316
KHAIRA	Bihar and Orissa	20	...	39	123	59	170	69	95	...	3,250	3,000	1,429
	Bengal	20	5	55	43	119	138	353	220	250	818	1,208	648
KHANDAIT	Bihar and Orissa	22	7	77	28	99	73	130	39	354	406	810	331
	Bengal	14	103	7	367	7	425	7	374	2,000	15,000	16,500	14,500
KHARJA	Bihar and Orissa	27	11	64	63	116	99	135	26	429	1,030	883	700
KHARWAR	Bihar and Orissa	14	9	31	34	71	108	14	11	667	1,184	1,567	833
KHATWE	Bihar and Orissa	7	...	96	55	110	106	56	13	...	642	1,066	258
KHETAURI	Bihar and Orissa	8	...	76	35	114	77	91	14	...	500	733	167
KISAN	Bihar and Orissa	16	10	70	61	102	82	16	20	667	923	842	133
KOCH	Bengal	13	16	27	18	116	118	239	10	1,250	647	987	400
KOIRI	Bihar and Orissa	15	7	166	100	132	129	47	8	484	614	999	175
KOLTA	Bihar and Orissa	3	6	13	40	20	69	10	16	2,000	3,125	3,583	1,667
KORA	Bihar and Orissa	5	10	39	14	140	62	24	10	2,000	375	448	409
	Bengal	59	44	89	58	103	146	133	63	750	666	1,429	481

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000 PERSONS OF EACH CASTE, AND
NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES—*continued.*HINDUS, ANIMISTS AND CHRISTIANS—*continued.*

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE.	LOCALITY.	NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000.								NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES.			
		INSANE.		DEAF-MUTE.		BLIND.		LEPERS.		Insane.	Deaf- mute.	Blind.	Lepers.
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
KUMHAR ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	11	9	99	72	105	144	62	23	786	728	1,375	373
	Bengal ...	54	28	81	63	93	71	59	20	493	729	719	326
KURMI ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	15	6	96	58	143	150	61	17	412	616	1,061	287
	Bengal ...	29	23	137	68	195	217	111	88	636	398	391	631
LOHAR ...	Bengal ...	40	18	75	30	86	121	421	206	428	384	1,333	465
MAGH ...	Bengal ...	81	86	57	52	86	56	21	9	1,098	944	655	461
MAHLI ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	6	...	47	78	41	44	28	50	...	1,667	1,077	1,778
MAHURI ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	81	7	144	64	108	222	45	93	111	563	2,583	2,600
MAL ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	...	24	8	65	75	73	183	178	...	800	1,000	1,000
	Bengal ...	22	2	92	19	144	55	158	93	111	216	396	609
MALI ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	7	10	73	43	83	137	70	39	1,400	588	1,655	551
	Bengal ...	22	65	132	117	99	129	386	...	2,500	750	1,111	...
MALLAH ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	5	4	107	76	109	97	54	10	889	802	1,005	220
	Bengal ...	84	133	137	309	84	442	158	508	750	1,077	2,500	1,533
MALO ...	Bengal ...	35	33	40	37	85	64	39	9	909	882	722	220
MAL PAHARIA ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	5	...	5	46	5	56	5	5	...	9,000	11,000	1,000
MAYRA ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	43	26	188	95	179	276	384	164	600	500	1,524	422
	Bengal ...	54	25	75	57	75	49	87	76	391	656	562	757
MEOH ...	Bengal ...	65	82	112	205	47	72	233	41	1,143	1,666	1,400	160
MUCHI ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	32	...	63	39	128	96	146	96	...	600	750	652
	Bengal ...	19	17	45	39	34	41	15	1	804	739	1,035	270
MUNDA ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	32	34	95	74	147	133	58	33	1,125	812	942	590
	Bengal ...	17	6	51	40	34	40	45	25	333	722	1,083	500
MUSAHAR ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	...	5	49	36	86	87	84	43	895	755	1,038	517
NAMASUDRA ...	Bengal ...	48	36	86	53	71	51	29	8	729	604	706	265
NAPIT ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	23	17	91	79	137	187	74	108	750	875	1,375	1,461
	Bengal ...	52	34	90	58	83	67	41	20	622	613	763	468
NUNIYA ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	11	3	79	58	122	105	60	9	513	815	962	167
ORAON ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	18	13	63	47	139	148	16	11	825	813	1,155	703
	Bengal ...	15	13	56	43	67	63	18	7	769	660	800	313
PAN ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	11	5	68	31	82	79	94	33	462	474	995	369
PASI ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	12	8	61	35	105	152	74	15	667	565	1,443	196
PATNI ...	Bengal ...	15	23	18	30	40	38	76	8	1,500	1,600	909	95
PATRA ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	28	10	80	41	80	71	91	41	400	571	1,000	500
PATWA ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	48	...	132	35	96	164	36	...	...	273	1,750	...
POD ...	Bengal ...	42	36	54	38	53	38	14	5	819	687	692	308
RAJBANSI ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	32	20	104	68	106	112	85	23	556	593	950	250
	Bengal ...	65	47	86	53	73	64	80	21	675	584	816	244
RAJPUT ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	20	4	99	43	103	73	62	7	214	421	650	113
	Bengal ...	91	57	107	128	104	171	243	146	364	692	952	344
RAJU ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	19	15	91	50	42	62	160	35	800	542	1,455	214
RAJWAR ...	Bihar and Orissa ...	9	12	49	42	143	162	140	13	1,333	875	1,135	380
	Bengal ...	141	134	347	269	358	281	499	208	846	688	697	370

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV TO CHAPTER X.—NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000 PERSONS OF EACH CASTE, AND NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES—*continued.*

HINDUS, ANIMISTS AND CHRISTIANS—*concluded.*

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE.	LOCALITY.	NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000.								NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES.			
		INSANE.		DEAF-MUTES.		BLIND.		LEPERS.		Insane.	Deaf-mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
RAUNIAR	Bihar and Orissa	29	10	78	53	124	41	45	22	333	667	333	474
SADGOP	Bihar and Orissa	31	36	39	36	85	118	131	64	1,000	800	1,182	412
	Bengal	50	18	91	40	95	51	163	24	353	437	525	148
SAHAR	Bihar and Orissa	6	4	48	23	92	93	136	95	667	523	1,082	746
SANNYASI	Bihar and Orissa	9	...	94	56	113	28	47	9	...	600	250	200
SANTAL	Bihar and Orissa	9	6	42	33	37	48	41	22	689	802	1,310	543
	Bengal	15	9	39	35	41	44	58	34	580	878	1,058	582
SARAK	Bihar and Orissa	67	28	323	113	390	480	349	113	400	333	1,172	308
	Bengal	51	...	51	100	307	50	1,073	400	...	2,000	166	381
SAVAR	Bihar and Orissa	15	8	15	54	74	46	245	54	500	3,500	600	212
SHAGIRDPESHA	Bihar and Orissa	20	4	133	73	103	69	128	38	250	704	857	385
SOKIAR	Bihar and Orissa ... ..	...	13	45	13	105	93	45	...	...	333	1,000	...
SONAR	Bihar and Orissa	27	8	91	60	113	108	53	7	321	674	975	125
SUBARNABANIK	Bihar and Orissa	81	41	121	104	172	218	212	52	500	833	1,235	238
	Bengal	87	30	129	47	99	64	35	25	324	345	619	666
SUDH	Bihar and Orissa	13	...	33	7	108	37	90	27	...	231	357	314
SUDRA	Bengal	69	44	69	32	85	49	30	6	694	510	633	238
SUNRI	Bihar and Orissa	17	1	95	63	134	136	94	55	762	678	1,041	605
	Bengal	67	27	86	57	79	99	240	115	385	640	1,196	460
SUTRADHAR	Bengal	61	37	54	45	93	75	52	26	571	780	753	458
TAMBULI	Bihar and Orissa	30	15	142	45	142	165	137	30	500	321	1,181	222
	Bengal	71	21	63	67	109	97	50	59	294	1,067	885	1,167
TANTI	Bihar and Orissa	11	7	102	55	125	111	90	38	750	594	986	473
	Bengal	48	21	103	50	91	92	59	27	395	440	916	420
TELI AND TILI	Bihar and Orissa	24	7	85	57	123	113	69	20	309	700	952	295
	Bengal	57	34	79	62	86	79	125	57	552	725	856	419
THARU	Bihar and Orissa	11	17	51	64	45	29	17	12	1,500	1,200	625	666
THATHERA	Bihar and Orissa	23	...	78	36	163	87	31	15	...	500	571	500
TIPARA	Bengal	36	45	29	19	42	36	29	14	1,208	632	821	474
TIYAR	Bihar and Orissa	21	6	59	28	155	141	59	28	333	529	1,000	529
	Bengal	37	30	74	49	65	69	39	10	800	650	1,057	262
TURI	Bihar and Orissa ... ..	...	8	9	95	41	95	5	62	...	11,500	2,555	15,000

MUSALMANS.

DARZI	Bihar and Orissa	11	15	97	62	108	139	34	15	1,500	706	1,421	500
DHOB	Bihar and Orissa	4	...	46	4	25	8	46	...	...	90	333	...
DHUNIA	Bihar and Orissa	7	6	141	99	139	115	70	6	1,000	804	946	90
PAKIR	Bihar and Orissa	9	26	123	97	169	120	55	9	3,000	850	763	166
JOLAH	Bihar and Orissa	14	10	119	79	144	131	61	16	800	748	1,023	295
	Bengal	26	21	59	38	49	61	19	11	700	555	1,067	483
KALAL	Bihar and Orissa	6	10	137	35	84	55	30	20	2,000	304	785	800
KULU	Bengal	34	14	55	45	55	36	12	4	375	769	615	333
KASSAB	Bihar and Orissa ... ..	...	...	73	95	29	54	73	...	...	1,400	2,000	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000 PERSONS OF EACH CASTE, AND
NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES—concluded.

MUSALMANS—concluded.

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE.	LOCALITY.	NUMBER AFFLICTED PER 100,000.								NUMBER OF FEMALES AFFLICTED PER 1,000 MALES.			
		INSANE.		DEAF-MUTES.		BLIND.		LEPERS.		Insane.	Deaf- mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
KUNJRA	Bihar and Orissa	8	10	113	60	114	117	45	10	1,428	594	1,137	250
MALLIK	Bihar and Orissa	21	36	158	71	211	293	243	151	2,000	533	1,650	739
NAU MUSLIM	Bihar and Orissa ... ..	...	100	463	797	199	299	66	...	...	2,235	2,000	...
NIKARI	Bengal	47	65	124	47	77	77	29	65	1,385	381	1,000	2,200
PATHAN	Bihar and Orissa	21	8	109	68	128	104	74	27	409	672	875	392
	Bengal	45	14	91	60	90	92	111	31	232	507	790	213
SAIYAD	Bihar and Orissa	54	6	128	103	115	116	56	28	125	842	885	520
	Bengal	45	28	63	74	69	65	32	9	529	1,000	808	250
SHEIKH	Bihar and Orissa	19	15	132	98	114	102	68	18	817	766	928	258
	Bengal	38	24	75	55	84	72	50	11	582	686	795	211

SIKKIM.

BHOTIA	Sikkim ... ..	...	17	202	284	47	67	47	84	...	1,308	1,333	1,667
BRAHMAN	id	69	36	451	179	174	...	...	...	500	385	..	...
KHAMBHU	id	25	13	164	76	38	25	...	...	500	462	667	...
KHAS	id	31	...	336	409	...	...	31	...	...	1,091	...	...
LEPCHA	id ... ..	...	...	364	367	21	46	21	161	...	941	2,000	7,000
MURMI	id ... ..	...	...	459	241	27	...	27	54	...	529	...	2,000

CHAPTER XI.

CASTE.

824. At the last census statistics of all castes and tribes were compiled, but it was realized that the compilation of figures for a great number of minor groups, each of which formed an infinitesimal fraction of the population, involved an expenditure of time and labour which was incommensurate with the value of the results. At this census it was laid down by the Government of India that the caste table should give statistics only for the more important castes and for any others which Local Governments for special reasons might wish to include. At the same time it was stated that any Local Government might, if it wished, order a complete table to be prepared. The then Government of Bengal availed itself of the discretionary powers allowed to it, and decided that figures should be compiled only for castes or tribes which in 1901 numbered 50,000 or more, for other castes or tribes that accounted for 25,000 or more in any single district, and for any other castes, tribes and races that were of local importance or of special ethnological interest. The castes coming under the last category were selected in consultation with the District Officers. Table XIII therefore gives statistics only of selected castes and tribes for Bihar and Orissa and in Bengal for the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions, the district of Darjeeling and the State of Cooch Behar, all of which were under the Bengal Government at the time of the census. Altogether 205 castes and tribes are entered in the table for Bihar and Orissa besides European and allied races. In Eastern Bengal statistics were compiled for all castes and tribes but not for European races : over 450 groups with a strength varying from 1 to 22,000,000 will be found in the table for this sub-province, but half of them have under 1,000 representatives. It is to be regretted that when the trouble was taken to record the numerical strength of such a large number of communities, it was not decided to compile statistics for such races as the English Irish, Scotch and other European nationalities.

825. No part of the census aroused so much excitement as the return of castes. There was a general idea in Bengal that the object of the census is not to show the number of persons belonging to each caste, but to fix the relative status of different castes and to deal with questions of social superiority. Some frankly regarded the census as an opportunity that might fairly be taken to obliterate caste distinctions. The feeling on the subject was very largely the result of castes having been classified in the last census report in order of social precedence. This "warrant of precedence" gave rise to considerable agitation at the time and proved a legacy of trouble. The agitation was renewed when the census operations of 1911 were instituted. Hundreds of petitions were received from different castes—their weight alone amounts to 1½ maunds—requesting that they might be known by new names, be placed higher in the order of precedence, be recognized as Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, etc. Many castes were aggrieved at the position assigned them, and complained that it lowered them in public estimation. The Subarnabaniks, in particular, were offended at being placed low down in the list, whereas in 1891 they were grouped with other Bania castes among Vaisyas. Others thought it a suitable opportunity to advance new claims. It was impossible to comply with these requests, as it was decided from the outset that there should be no classification of castes by status.

826. The methods pursued by the castes who desire to attain a higher status follow a more or less stereotyped plan. One of the first steps is to obtain favourable *vaavashthas* or rulings from complaisant Pandits. These refer to the present occupations and manner of life of the caste, and quote verses from ancient works to show that they are like those of the *varna* from which the caste claims to be an offshoot. Other Hindus do not care what rulings the Pandits give, provided that their own status is not affected. Their treatment of the

aspirant caste remains the same, and they rarely pay attention to the rulings. Recently, however, a body known as the Samaj Raksha Sabha of Benares took disciplinary measures against certain Pandits who had pronounced in favour of a section of a Bengali caste that claimed to be Vaisyas. The Sabha found that their *vyavashtha* was wrong and compelled all but one of the Pandits to withdraw it and to return the money they had received. The Pandit who refused to recant or refund the money was punished by being deprived of the services of his priest.

The ruling of the Pandits is also frequently reinforced by pointing out the similarity of the present caste name to the historic name of some respectable but extinct tribe or caste. This argument is usually based on some phonetic similarity, *e.g.*, Pod and Pundra. But there is little or no attempt to prove historical connection, or to show that the modern and archaic names are, or ever have been, colloquial equivalents.

827. Another expedient is to adopt an entirely new name which points to a respectable origin. As a case in point may be mentioned Mahishya, a designation recently assumed by the Chasi Kaibarttas, a cultivating community, in order to distinguish themselves from the Jaliya Kaibarttas, who follow what Hindus regard as a degrading occupation, viz., fishing. Mahishya is a name derived from *mahisha* (meaning a buffalo), which was given to a mixed caste by the Sanskrit law-givers, and was probably applied to a caste or tribe of cattle-keepers and graziers: it is mentioned in the *Gautama Dharma Sutra* (a work not later than 300 B.C.), in which a Mahishya is described as born of a Vaisya woman by a Kshattriya father. More frequently, however, ambitious castes, strive to attain greater respectability not by adopting a new name but by calling themselves Kshattriyas or Vaisyas (two of the old *varnas* or "estates" of Manu's days) or their fallen descendants (Bratya). The next step is to enter the name in registered deeds and to cite that fact as a proof that it is their proper designation. This is an easy enough matter. One low caste man who claimed a magniloquent new title for his caste, went so far as to declare: "In respect of caste we may designate ourselves as we like in documents that may be presented for registration."^{*}

Recently two new and ingenious expedients have been adopted by the low Bengali castes. The first is to declare that their ancestors were Buddhists and were degraded by the victorious Brahmans, or by King Ballal Sen, when Brahmanical supremacy was re-established. The second is to allege that originally they were not Bengalis, but immigrants from up-country, whose original status was not recognized in the country of their adoption.

828. The following is a list of the names, other than those generally recognized, that were claimed at this census.

NEW NAMES.

The list is divided, for facility of reference, into castes that wished to have themselves returned as (A) Brahmans, (B) Kshattriyas, (C) Vaisyas and (D) under other names.

Caste.	Locality.	Name claimed.
A.		
Babhan ...	... Bihar	... Brahman.
Belwar ...	... Saran	... Brahman.
Namasudra	... Bengal	... Namasudra-Brahman.
B.		
Hadi ...	... Mymensingh	... Haijay Kshattriya.
Koch ...	... Mymensingh	... Koch Kshattriya.
Kurmi ...	... Bihar	... Kurmi Kshattriya.
Malo (Jhalo and Malo)	Bengal	... (1) Bratya Kshattriya. (2) Jhalo Bratya Kshattriya and Malo Bratya Kshattriya.

^{*} Under section 58 of the Indian Registration Act the signature and "addition" of every person admitting execution has to be endorsed on a registered document, and "addition" includes caste. The endorsement is usually made by a rubber stamp in a prescribed form. The party admitting execution signs his name, but the blanks on the form, including the entry of caste, are filled in by the registering officer, who has to ascertain his caste from the man himself. The officer is in a difficult position if the man will not state his real caste, but gives some new fangled name.

Caste.	Locality.	Name claimed.
		(3) Jhalla Kshattriya and Malla Kshattriya.
		(4) Jhalo (Bratya Kshattriya) and Malo (Bratya Kshattriya).
		(5) Jhalla-Barman or Jhalo-Barma and Malla Barman or Malo Barma.
Napit ...	East Bengal ...	(1) Kshattriya.
		(2) Paramanik or Sila Das.
		(3) Kayasth or Parashab.
Pod ...	Bengal ...	(1) Bratya Kshattriya.
		(2) Pundra Kshattriya.
Pundari ...	Bengal ...	Pundra Kshattriya.
Rajbansi ...	Eastern Bengal ...	(1) Kshattriya.
		(2) Rajbansi Kshattriya.
		(3) Kshattriya Rajbansi.
		(4) Bratya Kshattriya.
		(5) Patit Kshattriya.
		(6) Bhanga Kshattriya.
Rajbansi ...	Cooch-Behar ...	(1) Kshattriya Rajbansi.
	Purnea ...	(2) Rajbansi Kshattriya.
		Bhanga Kshattriya.
C.		
Barui ...	Bengal ...	Vaisya Barujibi or Barujibi.
Gandhabanik ...	East Bengal ...	Vaisya Gandhabanik.
Gaura ...	Cuttack ...	Vaisya Gop.
Goala ...	Bengal ...	Vaisya Ballabh Gop.
Haladhar ...	Central Bengal ...	Vaisya.
Karmakar ...	Bengal ...	Karmakar Vaisya or Karmakriti.
Sadgop ...	Bengal ...	Vaisya Sadgop.
	East Bengal ...	(1) Vaisya Gop.
		(2) Purba Bangia Satgop.
Shaha ...	Bengal ...	(1) Vaisya.
		(2) Vaisya Shaha.
		(3) Sadhubanik or Sahabanik.
Subarnabanik ...	Bengal ...	Vaisya.
Sutradhar ...	Bengal ...	Vaisya Sutradhar.
Tambuli ...	Howrah ...	Tambuli Vaisya.
Tili ...	East Bengal ...	Vaisya.
D.		
Baishnab ...	Bengal ...	Brahma Baishnab.
Bhuinmali ...	East Bengal ...	Bhumi Das.
Chasadhoba ...	Bengal ...	Satchasi.
Doai ...	Dacca ...	Sudra or Patikar.
Gangai (Ganesh) ...	Purnea and North Bengal.	Tantubai.
Jogi or Jugi ...	Bengal ...	Yogi.
Jolahas ...	Bengal ...	Sheikh.
Kalu ...	Bengal ...	Taili.
Kumhar (Kumbhakar) ...	Mymensingh ...	Rudra Pal.
Shagirdpesha ...	Midnapore ...	Madhyasreni Kayasth.
Sonar ...	Gaya ...	Kanaujia Chhatti.

829. In Manu's days Hindu society was divided into four *varnas*, or classes, or as it might also be translated "the four estates."

THE MODERN CASTE AND THE *Varna*.

There is a general desire among the low castes of Bengal to merge the modern caste in the ancient class by calling themselves Kshattriyas or Vaisyas, two of those *varnas*. These ambitious castes point to present practices as though they are proof of origin, oblivious of the fact that argument as to origin cannot be drawn from present modern usage and that practices change from day to day. They imagine that by using the old name, they will have the respectability attaching to it, though the Hindu community is very conservative and does not overlook centuries of tradition

and practice. The castes that aspire to be recognized as Kshatriyas or Vaisyas obtain however a certain amount of support from Pandits. Instead of recognizing that a caste which used to be of poor repute has risen in the social scale, the Pandits overcome the difficulty by the pleasing fiction that they never were that humble caste. They overlook questions of origin and descent, as well as the views of their predecessors and of the main body of Hindus, and consider avocation only. They compare, for instance, the present occupation of the caste and that of the old *varna*, and if it is the same, identify the caste with the *varna*. Thus, according to Manu, the Chandals were a degraded race, whose principal occupation was that of burning the dead and hanging criminals; they were vagrants who kept dogs and asses, and were clothed in rags stripped from the dead. No Namasudra (a new name for the Chandal) at the present day does any of these things, and therefore, some Pandits rule that they are not Chandals. Other castes, who have given up their traditional occupations and are engaged in trade, claim to be Vaisyas. The Pandit's argument in such cases is briefly.—“These men are traders. The Vaisyas were traders. Therefore, these men are Vaisyas.” The following extract from a resolution passed in June 1912 by the Executive Committee of the Vanga Dharma Mandal (the Bengal branch of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal) illustrates the standpoint adopted :—“In view of the opinions expressed by Pandits and leading members of the Bengali Hindu Society, and by the special officer deputed by the Vanga Dharma Mandal in this behalf to make local enquiries, the Vanga Dharma Mandal is of opinion that the Rarhi and Varendra Sahas of Eastern Bengal, as represented by the Eastern Bengal and Sylhet Vaisya Samity, whose manners and customs substantially resemble those of the upper classes of Hindu society, and whose callings and professions do not differ from those of the Vaisyas, are a distinct caste from the Sunri Sahas, and that their claim to be classed as Vaisyas may be conceded as being not inconsistent with the principles and practices enjoined by the Sastras.”

830. To the claims of those that desired to be returned as Kshatriyas or Vaisyas, the answer had to be that the census is designed to obtain a record of castes, at present existing, under the names by which they were generally known and not of the *varnas* that existed centuries ago.* The census record has nothing to do with their origin, and it does not matter whether they are descendants or modern representatives of the ancient Vaisyas, Kshatriyas, etc., or not. If their claims were entertained, we should revert to prehistoric times, in which Hindu society was divided between four estates. There would be no record of their numbers, no clue to their progress or decay, no statistics throwing light on their occupations, social practices, etc. Such claims, moreover, are sometimes made only by a handful of educated or half-educated men, who put themselves forward as spokesmen for the whole caste. The main body may be ignorant of their representation, or careless of the result, while their pretensions may be scouted by the general Hindu community. It is significant also that, in some cases, the caste itself is divided in opinion, one section claiming that it is Vaisya and another that it is Kshatriya. The most interesting feature of the agitation is perhaps that the low castes still apparently look to the Census Superintendent as having the power of the old Hindu Kings to raise and lower castes—forgetful that the admission of their claims might result in a state of affairs resembling that called *varnasankara*, or confusion of classes, which was so sternly denounced by the early Hindu sages.

831. The case of those castes who discard the name borne by their ancestors and arrogate a new designation is different. In their case the new name is recognized by the census authorities, if it generally applied to them by the

* The Indian Association submitted a memorial on this subject representing that Government should “allow individuals and communities to return themselves as they desire to be known and called”. The Government of Bengal replied, viz., that their request appeared “to violate the principal object for which the census is conducted, to obtain a record of existing facts, and *inter alia* to obtain statistics of the numbers of persons belonging to the different castes now recognized. This object would have been defeated if the members of the various castes had been permitted to adopt new caste designations at their own discretion and to have such designations returned in the schedules. The only possible principle to adopt is that castes should be entered by the names by which they are generally known; to admit other names would cause endless confusion and would, in many cases, lead to friction between rival communities belonging to the same caste”.

Hindu community at large and is not used by any other caste. In this way, the Chandals have been allowed to be returned as Namasudras, that term being recognized by the Hindus generally and applying exclusively to them. Similarly, the Chasi Kaibarttas are allowed to return themselves as Mahishya, for, though that name has been adopted by the Chasi Kaibarttas in recent times, it has won general recognition and is exclusively applied to the Chasi Kaibarttas. Ten years ago this innovation was resented by conservative Hindus in some places—in Nadia the higher castes went so far as to refuse to take water from the Chasi Kaibarttas—but it is now generally tolerated. On the other hand, it was not possible to concede the request of the Chasadhobas, who are very anxious to change their name and be called Satchasi in order to falsify the tradition that they were Dhobas or washermen who took to cultivation. Their occupation is cultivation, and they have no connection with the Dhobas, but they consider that the name casts a slur upon them. Inquiry, however, showed that they are not usually known as Satchasi, and that this is also a designation of Sadgop. The Chasadhobas themselves also admitted that, much to their disgust, another community assumed the same name. Their representations bore fruit, however, for the various names used by them were carefully traced out and a more accurate return of their numbers was obtained. The name Chasadhoba was returned by some, but others preferred the new designation of Satchasi. Elsewhere, *e.g.*, in Murshidabad, some called themselves Chasati and others Haliarai or Haladhar. The net result was that their number in the returns for West and Central Bengal was doubled.

832. Only three castes claimed to have themselves entered in the schedules as Brahmans, viz., the Babhans, Belwars and Namasudras. The Babhans are a large and influential caste in Bihar, who say that they are and always have been Brahmans, and now differ from those who are universally recognized as such in having taken to cultivation and given up the principal functions connected with priesthood, viz., officiating as priests in religious ceremonies, teaching the Vedas, and receiving alms. They claim that, even at the present day, Maithil Brahmans who take to non-priestly occupations such as cultivation and secede from their own community are admitted among them. They also contend that many of their ceremonies are performed in the same manner and style, and with the same *mantras* as those of Brahmans.*

833. It appears very probable that the Babhans were originally Brahmans, and that their degradation from the status of Brahmans dates back to the downfall of Buddhism. Babhan is merely the Pali form of Brahman and is found in Asoka's pillar inscriptions as a corruption of Brahman—in one place in connection with the Sramanas or Buddhist monks.† It is most probable that they were Brahmans who under the Buddhist regime took to cultivation and landholding, and that the orthodox Hindu Brahmans refused to recognize them when they regained their ascendancy. There is, however, as pointed out in the last census report, no doubt that at the present day they are regarded as a community distinct from Brahmans. It is the irony of fate that in Bihar their Brahmanical status is no longer conceded, whereas in Orissa the Mastan, who were also Buddhistic Brahmans, are still recognized as Brahmans, though they follow non-Brahmanical occupations; in fact, their devotion to cultivation has earned them the name of Balaram-gotri, the plough being a distinctive weapon of the god Balaram. The better classes among the Babhans generally call themselves Bhumihar Brahmans, *i.e.*, landholding Brahmans, and this title is obtaining recognition in Tirhut. Elsewhere they are still commonly known as Babhans or simply as Bhuinhars: Bhumihar is only a Sanskritized form of Bhuinhar. The name Bhumihar Brahman has been recognized by Government, and they are now returned as Babhan (Bhumihar Brahman). It was, however, impossible to grant their request to be recorded simply as Brahmans, both because it would have given them a name and status not recognized by their co-religionists, and also because, in the returns, they would have been merged in the main

* It is reported that in Purnea there have been a few cases of Babhans marrying Maithil Brahman girls, but none of Maithil Brahmans taking wives from among the Babhans.

† *Babhan*, by Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri, Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. LXXI, Part I, pp. 61-62.

body of Brahmans and all record of them as a community would have been lost.

The Belwars, who are found in Saran and Champaran, also claim to be Brahmans. They are a small but wealthy community whose chief occupation is trade in cattle and grain. It is reported that they were originally Sanadh Brahmans, and that their present name is a corruption of Bailwar, meaning a dealer in oxen. They are now no longer recognized as Brahmans, but wear the sacred thread and receive salutations as if they were.

BELWARS.

834. The only other caste that ventured to ask that it might be returned as Brahman was the Namasudra of Bengal. This request can scarcely be characterized as other than extraordinary. A generation ago a man of this community, when asked his caste, invariably replied Chandal or Chang or Charal, and they were generally known as Chandals in Hindu society. As they advanced in wealth and education, they began to adopt the more pleasing designation of Namasudra. On account of the ill-feeling and resentment which the name Chandal aroused, they were entered in the census tables of 1891 as Namasudra or Chandal, and in those of 1901 as Namasudra (Chandal). Hitherto they have been quite content to be called Namasudras, but at this census they went further. Not only did they represent that the suffix Chandal should be dropped—a prayer which was granted—but also that they should be enumerated as Namasudra Brahmans. In support of this claim they went so far as to declare that they are of Brahman descent and that their social customs and rites are similar to those of Vedic Brahmans. "We can," they said, "firmly lay hold on Brahmanical origin and can claim to be recognized by the Government as such." Thus do the pretensions of the low castes grow.

NAMASUDRAS.

835. A most persistent agitation was carried on by the Rajbansis of Northern Bengal with the object of being recognized as Kshattriyas by descent. They desired not only to be recorded separately from the Koch, but also to be distinguished by the name of Kshattriya. The former request was granted without hesitation, as there is no doubt that at the present day, irrespective of any question of origin, the Rajbansi and Koch are separate castes. It was, however, obviously out of the question to allow them to be returned by the generic and archaic name of Kshattriya. One section of the Pods was also extremely anxious to be known as Bratya Kshattriya. This is a progressive section which lives by cultivation unlike the other Pods, whose occupation is fishing. By the adoption of the new name they desire to emphasize their separation from the latter, fishing being generally looked upon as being as disreputable as cultivation is respectable. Another name which they claim is Padmaraj.

CLAIMS TO KSHATTRIYA STATUS.

836. The most interesting of the claims to Vaisya status was that set up by the Shahas of Bengal. In 1901 they were grouped with Sunris under the head Sunri or Shaha, the name Shaha being taken as synonymous with Sunri. At this census one progressive section aspired to a separate record of their community and to recognition as Vaisyas, as they disclaim all connection with the Sunris, and have nothing to do with the manufacture and sale of liquor, the traditional occupation of the Sunris, but are engaged in trade, money-lending and zamindari. Their claim to be Vaisyas has been recognized by certain Hindu authorities, but it was obviously impossible to allow the use of that generic term, and in any case the question of status was beyond the scope of the census. In view, however, of their feeling about the term Sunri, a separate entry has been made for Shahas in the caste table. At the same time, it must be admitted that this heading is by no means a satisfactory one, as the Bengali Sunris from whom they wish to be disassociated, also use the same name.* In Calcutta the members of this community returned their caste as Sadhubanik—a new and distinctive name used exclusively by them, which means simply a trader and is therefore an appropriate designation.

CLAIMS TO VAISYA STATUS.

* Over 300,000 persons have been returned as Shahas, and there is a corresponding reduction in the number of Sunris.

837. The ambition of numerous functional Musalman groups is to be known as Sheikhs. Practically all those of low degree, such as Nikaris or fishermen, Jolahas or weavers, Kulus or oil-pressers, Napits or barbers, etc., have this aspiration, though the better class Musalmans would not recognize them, nor would they recognize each other, as such. The Jolahas were insistent that they should not be returned by that name owing to its unfortunate connotation: the name is of Persian origin and means a weaver, but has come to be used proverbially for a fool. In view of their strong feeling on the subject it was laid down that they might return themselves as Momin or Nurbaf, two common synonyms, or as Sheikh Momin. They were not, however, content with this, but begged to be returned as Sheikhs. This was not allowed except in Eastern Bengal where the late Government gave even more that was asked for and issued orders that "in the case of Jolahas, Kulus, etc., if a person returns himself as such, the name of the caste should be entered. If, however, he does not so return himself, even though the enumerator considers him to be Jolah, Kulu, etc., the entry should be Sheikh, Pathan, etc., as in the case of other Muhammadans." Elsewhere in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa only those persons who are recognized as Sheikhs or Pathans were returned under those designations. The Jolahas of Eastern Bengal took full advantage of the boon granted by the local Government, the result being that the census returns show a decrease in their number from 310,000 to 110,000 in the districts under its administration. It is thus impossible to ascertain the growth of this well recognized community or to see how far its members are deserting the traditional occupation of weaving. The Nasyas of North Bengal also took the opportunity to call themselves Sheikh, their number falling from 199,727 to 1,816. In Jalpaiguri there were 63,884 Nasyas in 1901, but now there are only 36, while in Pabna the figure is reduced from 93,155 to 231.

INITIATION INTO CASTE.

838. There are, writes Mr. W. Crooke in *Northern India*, two special rites to be performed after the birth of a child—
 HINDUS. "one to provide the baby with a name, the second to introduce it formally into the circle of its caste. . . . When the name has been bestowed, the next rite is a species of initiation, by which the baby becomes duly introduced into the caste circle of its parents. Up to this time the child is hardly regarded as possessing a sentient soul, and he is subject to no restrictions in regard to food or drink. When he is once initiated, his real life as a Hindu begins. This rite assumes various forms. It is sometimes represented by the solemn feeding of the child on sacred rice and other substances, each of which is supposed to impart some special quality. This is usually combined with a general feast to the members of the commensal circle, from which important results are believed to follow. The boy being now free to eat and drink within his group, and strictly forbidden to share in the food of those who are strangers to it, becomes united to his clansmen by an indissoluble bond. In popular opinion taboo, or impurity from outside, is usually communicated through food, and no one eating with his clansmen is likely to practise magical arts to their detriment by means of the common meal. . . . This rite of initiation is performed for boys alone. A girl, in the Hindu view, needs no initiation in childhood. This is deferred until by virtue of the marriage rite she is severed from her own relations and is formally introduced into a new circle of kindred, that of her husband*." In another work, Mr. Crooke says—"When a child is dressed in a more or less imperfect way, the inference is that he or she has been initiated into caste, up to which time a Hindu thinks that children have no souls, and that it does

* *Northern India* (London, 1907), page 200.

not matter what they eat, or whether they do or do not observe the rules of ceremonial purity.*"

839. These ideas are not held by the Hindus of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Children have souls both before and after birth. Birth and death are but changes of its garment. The soul enters the foetus in the fifth month of pregnancy, and the cry of the new born infant is the wail of the soul on finding itself caught in the meshes of Maya or illusion. So far from having no soul, a young child has more of the divine nature than an adult. The idea is strikingly like that expressed by Wordsworth in *Intimations of Immortality*—

"Not in entire forgetfulness
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory, do we come.
From God who is our home :
Heaven lies about us in our infancy".

The same spirit permeates popular sayings, such as "The Deity is the infants' play-fellow," "Touch not an infant with your foot, for it is the Deity," etc. "The higher spiritual views among Hindus," writes a Hindu correspondent, "is that little children possess more of the Divinity in their constitution than adults, and that, consequently, they are above those artificial restrictions which govern men as members of society." The belief that an infant can commit no sin is partly due to this idea, and partly also to the common-sense principle that there can be no sin without knowledge of good and evil, or, at least, a consciousness of the categorical imperative. In practice, it finds expression in the fact that, while a child is of tender years, it is free from caste restrictions. Sanction for this is found in a saying attributed to the sage Angira, viz., "A child under five years of age can commit no fault and is liable to no *prayaschitta*. A child above five and below eleven years of age can have *prayaschitta* performed by a Guru or a friend." This idea is carried so far that young children are allowed to mix and even eat with children of other castes, but care is taken that they do not eat with children of low castes from whom water cannot be taken, and in no case are they allowed to eat forbidden food such as beef and pork.

840. Among Brahmans and other twice-born castes, such as Rajputs and Babhans, the initiation of boys into caste is marked by Upanayan, i.e., the ceremony of investiture with the sacred thread, which should be performed at the eighth year of his age for a Brahman and the eleventh for a Kshatriya. This is, in fact, his second birth. According to one of the sacred texts, until it takes place, a child born of Brahman parents is no better than a Sudra, i.e., he is not bound by the restrictions placed on Brahmans. Investiture with the sacred thread confers on him the full rights and privileges of his caste. He can repeat the sacred *gayatri* or Vedic prayer to the Sun-god, study the Vedas, participate in worship and be married. The ceremony of tonsure (*Churakaran*) and ear boring (*Karnaveda*) are now generally performed on the same day as Upanayan and form an integral part of it. According to Mr. Crooke, "Ceremonial tonsure finally rids him of any of the pollution acquired at birth which may still cling to him. His ears are then bored to receive the rings, which through life will guard him against the effects of taboo impersonated in the demons and evil spirits which ever beset his path. These preliminary rites of purification, directed against spiritual rather than physical pollution, prepare him for the final ceremony of initiation. This consists in the girding of the boy with sacred cord, which marks his status as one of the twice-born castes. This constitutes, as it were, a sacred circle which envelops his body, and within which no evil influence from abroad can penetrate. The thread itself is valueless as a protective until it has been sanctified by the blessing of Brahmans and the recital of texts from the sacred books. From this time the boy's spiritual life begins.†

* *Things Indian*, page 98. It must not be imagined that Mr. Crooke means to imply that clothing has anything to do with initiation. When a boy is old enough to be bound by caste rules, he will naturally be clothed in the interests of decency. I venture to proffer these remarks, as Mr. Crooke's words are generally taken by Bengali Hindus as meaning that initiation depends on clothing.

† *Northern India*, p. 201.

841. Upanayan is appropriately called Bratbandhan, *i.e.*, the ceremony which binds a child by caste restrictions. Some Brahmans in Tirhut, the old conservative and orthodox country of Mithila, are so strict, that they will not eat boiled rice touched by a boy before Upanayan or by a girl before her marriage. The children are, they say, still Sudras. The same belief appears to be responsible for a curious practice among the Maithil Brahmans, *viz.*, that on the eve of Upanayan, the child takes rice cooked by servants of, *e.g.*, the Dhanuk or Kahar caste. This signifies that, before his second birth, a Brahman can take food touched by the lower castes and is apparently meant to mark the fact that he does so for the last time. Females, however, do not attain their full rights and privileges till they are *eyo*, *i.e.*, married, and retain them only while they remain in the married state. A widow has not the right to offer cooked food to the gods, or assist in other social and religious ceremonies, which are confined to married women.

842. There is considerable difference of opinion regarding the ceremony which marks the admission of low caste children to the caste circle with all its rights and liabilities.

OTHER CASTES.

A few hold with Mr. Crooke that it is symbolized by the Annaprasan ceremony, at which a child is given a little sanctified rice. This rite, which is common both to high and low castes, is accompanied by a common meal among the caste members present; but the view that it marks the child's right to eat and drink with his caste fellows appears fantastic, for the ceremony is performed between the fifth and eighth month, when a baby cannot eat with others but is dependent on its mother or wet-nurse. Even among Brahmans, motherless children continue to be suckled by wet-nurses of other castes after Annaprasan. The great majority are of opinion that Annaprasan has no such special meaning, and that the real rite of initiation takes place when a child has sufficient intelligence to understand what it may or may not do. Some consider that this essential ceremony is Karnaveda or ear boring, others that it is Churakaran or tonsure, and others again that it is marriage.

843. Marriage, it is said, is the Sudra's only *sanskara*. Among the low castes marriage seems to be regarded as making a distinct advance in social life. After it, water can be taken from the hands of those who are *jalacharanya*; and it is generally recognized that once a boy is married he is no longer free to do what he likes. As marriages take place among them at an early age—usually at about the age of five—that year may be taken as the period when caste restrictions begin to be enforced. Few people now have an idea of what the real meaning of the Karnaveda ceremony is, but there seems to be a belief in some parts that boring of the ears is a protection against the influence of evil spirits. It should be performed when a child is under 5 or 6 years of age, for the sensible reason that the lobe of the ear is then soft enough to be pierced without much pain. The ceremony is, to some extent, falling into disuse in Bengal, where some castes, such as the Kayasths and Sadgops, are beginning to have the ears merely touched with some sharp instrument at the time of marriage. Karnaveda is, in fact, coming to be regarded merely as a preliminary to marriage, so much so that some hold that a boy cannot be married till it has been performed. As regards the Oriya castes one correspondent (Babu Durga Prasad Misra, Deputy Magistrate, Sambalpur) writes: "Among the low classes and other non-Brahmans it is not certain whether Karnaveda or marriage gives a boy or girl his or her caste rights. In many cases a marriage does so, and in many others Karnaveda. After Karnaveda non-Brahmans are entitled to cremation; but water from them is not acceptable for the worship of the *Pitris* though it is available for the worship of the gods. For instance, a Thanapati by caste performs *pujas* in a temple before his marriage, but cannot perform *sraddha* until married. So it may be said that a non-Brahman is half initiated into the caste by the Karnaveda and completely initiated by marriage."

844. There is no such doubt about the meaning of Churakaran, the ceremony at which the head is shaved clean except for one tuft of hair. "The only general test of caste initiation amongst the majority of the Hindus," writes the District Census Officer of the 24-Parganas (Babu Sukumar Haldar), "is the ceremony of Churakaran. It is this ceremony that makes a boy

CHURAKARAN.

a full-fledged Hindu. It has some resemblance to the Christian ceremony of confirmation or admission to full communion. The *choti*, *chura*, *chaitan*, *sikka* or *tikki* (queue) is regarded all over India as the distinctive mark of the Hindu. It has been generally discarded by educated Bengalis, but the only Hindus who are entitled to shave their heads completely are the Sannyasis (religious devotees), who are regarded as being outside the pale of civic society. A man who abandons the world, and becomes a Sannyasi, is socially dead, and his relatives take possession of his earthly goods. He is no longer subject to any caste restrictions. The higher Hindu thought regards caste restrictions as merely mundane, and treats the Sannyasi as more akin to God than the mere member of society." The same idea is prevalent in Bihar where the ceremony is commonly known as Mundan. The inner meaning of the rite is, however, often lost sight of. Some even think that it simply is a hygienic practice, or that its object is to keep the head cool.

845. The great majority of Hindus have no conception of the reason for these or other ceremonies. They are gone through as a matter of course, and not with the idea that they mark the introduction of a boy into the caste circle. They merely consider that when a boy is old enough to understand his duties and obligations, he is bound by them. The ceremonies have no special meaning to them, but are merely matter of immemorial custom. It must further be added that it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between the initiation of a Hindu into caste as a social system and his initiation into spiritual life. Churakaran, in particular, is a purifying ceremony. Nails are cut and the hair regularly shaved at the end of *asauch* (a period of impurity), and also when a pious Brahman is to engage in sacrifice (*yajna*). The belief still lingers that natal hair has dangerous potentialities. Should a mother have to cut off her baby's hair without the proper ceremony, it is carefully preserved in the belief that otherwise evil may befall him.

846. Among the aboriginal races the Santals have a ceremony (described below) by which those born into the tribe are solemnly recognized as its members. This ceremony appears to be unknown among other races, but the Hos have a observance by which a child is made a member of the family. After the child has been named, he is given a thread to wear round the waist, this being an article always worn by a Ho. The parents and relatives then cleanse themselves and offer rice-beer and rice, cooked in new pots, to their ancestors. This offering is intended to propitiate the spirits of the dead and prevent them from molesting the child. Cooked rice and rice-beer are then consumed by the parents, their relatives and any others who may choose to partake of them. After this the parents are regarded as having been entirely purified, while the child has been made a member of the family. This ceremony, however, is regarded as chiefly one of purification, and its omission would not involve the permanent exclusion of the child from the Ho tribe. It enables the parents to eat and drink again with their relatives and neighbours, and protects the child from the machinations of evil spirits. Among the Kandhs also the child and its parents go through a ceremony of purification. The cooking pots are renewed and the members of the family are again allowed to draw water from the village spring. The child is brought out of the house and formally presented to the village people. Among the Oraons there is no regular system of initiation, but when a boy is 6 or 7 years old, *i.e.*, old enough to enter the *dhumkuria* or common dormitory, the elder boys burn five deep marks on the lower part of his arm. This is the mark by which after death he will be recognized as an Oraon by other Oraon spirits.*

847. The Santals have a solemn ceremony, called Chacho Chhatiar, by which the Santal is formally recognized as a member of the community. There is no age fixed for the ceremony, but it must precede marriage. If it has not been performed, a Santal can neither be married nor cremated, but has to be buried. It takes

* The Revd. P. Dehon, *Religion and Customs of the Oraons*, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 9, Vol. I, 1907.

place in the presence of the assembled villagers, and its main features are as follows. The Naeke or village priest, who performs the public sacrifices to the Santal gods, the Manjhi or village headman, and other village officials, their wives, and every other woman present are anointed. Liquor (*handi*) is served to all present, each receiving four leaf cups for each of the children to be introduced into their society. A Guru, *i.e.*, an old Santal versed in the tribal folk-lore and legends, starts the *binti*, *i.e.*, a recitation, which begins with the creation of the earth and relates the history of the Santals and their wanderings. This ended, the Guru asks the assembled people to admit the boy to brotherhood saying—"We implore you to let us stay with you, to brew and drink beer, to fetch water, to pin leaves together on the day of marriage, the day of Chhatiar, the day of cremation." The ceremony is concluded by further drinking and singing of songs. The people are thus asked to recognize the boy as having a right to participate at the three great social functions of the Santals, and they acknowledge his rights by drinking *handi*, the Santal mode of ratification.

CASTE RESTRICTIONS.

848. In the days of Manu the restrictions with regard to occupations were very rigid and the penalties for transgressions severe. Manu declares (Chapter X, Verses 92, 96 & 97)—"A Brahman falls at once through selling meat, lac and salt; he becomes a Sudra in the course of three days through selling milk...If a low-born man should, through greed, live by the occupations of the exalted, the king should banish him at once, after depriving him of his property....Better one's own duties incomplete than those of another well performed; for he who lives by the duties of another falls from caste at once." In other words, banishment, accompanied by confiscation of property, was the punishment for encroachment by a man of low caste upon the monopoly of one of higher caste. Again, Manu lays down (Chapter X, verse 418) that the king should compel the Vaisya and the Sudra to follow each his own occupation, for "by departing from their own occupations, these two would cause the universe to shake." The rules regarding eating with persons of other castes were not nearly so strict. A learned twice-born man was not to eat the cooked food of Sudras who did not perform *sraddhas*, but if he was without means of subsistence, he might take raw food in quantity sufficient to last him for one night. The punishments were also light, *e. g.*, a fast for three days if the offence was unintentional, and a simple penance if it was intentional. "For devouring the food of those whose food one ought not to eat, and food left by a woman or Sudra, and such flesh as ought not to be eaten, one should drink water and barley for seven nights." The marriage restrictions were equally lax, for a twice-born man could, with impunity, marry into a lower caste.

849. In modern times the restrictions regarding occupations have been considerably relaxed, for no caste punishes a man who trespasses upon the preserves of the higher castes. A man can also adopt the occupations of lower castes, unless they are regarded as degraded or revolting, such as selling cowhides. In Bengal, some Brahmans have become physicians, shopkeepers and even liquor vendors. Brahmans, Baidyas and Kayasthas have joined and started boot and leather manufacturing concerns without any notice of their conduct being taken by the Hindu community. A striking proof of the extent to which conditions have changed afforded by the remarks of a speaker at the Samaj Raksha Sabha of Benares, of which the following report recently appeared in one of the newspapers.* "In the present condition of their society, when they saw the names of Brahmans and even Pandits in the list of shareholders of the Great Eastern Hotel Company, when they remembered that even well-known Brahmans took active part in tanneries, wine shops, and other business, and the speaker himself was director of a company of publishers of Sanskrit books (each of which was sinful according to strict Hindus),

* *Statesman*, 1st May 1912.

the Raja said they had no right to hate Shahas for keeping wine shops. When they, Brahmans, intruded on the trades and the occupations of the people of lower caste, they had no moral right to protest against their coming up to them and shaking hands with them."

With these remarks may be compared those of a Hindu correspondent describing the changes he had witnessed in his own lifetime: "Thirty years ago, one rarely heard of a Vaidic Brahman being engaged otherwise than in acting as Guru to his disciples or as a teacher in Sanskrit *tols*: at the present day, there are vakils, pleaders and clerks galore among them. One could hardly point out a Grahachariya that had any other occupation than the preparation of the Hindu almanac or casting horoscopes: many Government servants in high appointments are now found in their ranks. Similarly there are scores of Bhat and Agradani Brahmans who disdain to attend *sraddhas* and similar ceremonies for the sake of gifts, but find employment in trade or in public and private offices. Numbers of Barna Bipras are influential traders and public servants; hundreds of Rarhi and Barendra Brahmans are employed by trading and other firms. But though modern education has loosened, it has failed to break down altogether the strong barrier that centuries of orthodoxy built up. The wealth of the Brahman or Kayasth trader or merchant is still a matter for scorn in centres of rural orthodoxy: and it is doubtful if this feeling does not, even to this day, retard the flow of capital into industrial and commercial channels." At the other end of the scale we find the Namasudras, who are by tradition cultivators and boatmen, engaging in a number of other occupations, *e.g.*, as clerks, traders, shopkeepers, goldsmiths, oil-pressers, braziers, blacksmiths and carpenters: one member of the Namasudra caste even holds the appointment of a Deputy Magistrate.

850. As regards commensality, the upper classes in Bengal, whose ideas have been liberalized by Western education, ignore all but extreme cases. They rarely punish a member, who takes prohibited food, provided he does so privately. Even cases of open violation of traditional rules are treated leniently. Gentlemen returning from England are now taken back into society after a simple penance and sometimes without it. As regards marriage, the upper classes were formerly far stricter than the lower classes, but now an opposite current has set in and marriages between endogamous sub-castes, widow marriages and adult marriages are taking place among the higher castes of Bengal in increasing numbers. An account of various other restrictions is given in paragraphs 579—584 (pages 367-368) of the last Bengal Census Report, from which it will be seen how greatly standards differ. Instances of the practical working of different restrictions will also be found in the section of this Chapter dealing with caste government.

851. The Nepalese castes are the least fettered, especially in regard to occupations. They are tribal and not functional castes, and a man may adopt nearly any occupation. A Brahman will work as a syce—I have had one myself—or garden'cooly, a Chhetri as a khitmatgar, a Jimdar as a cook, etc. None of the high castes, however, will work as a blacksmith, tailor or tanner, these and a few other occupations being regarded as degrading. They have also far greater freedom in eating and drinking together. Respectable castes, such as Jimdar, Newar, Gurung, Mangar and Sunuwar, can eat and drink together until they are married, and marriage takes place later than among the Hindus of the plains, being deferred till 12, 15, or even 25 years of age. Even after marriage they can eat anything together except pulse and flour made of millets.

CASTE GOVERNMENT.

852. "We have," observes a recent writer on India and its problems, "destroyed in Indian social life all those courts of arbitration, and all those offices, which had, as one of their functions, the settlement of personal disputes. We have thus driven the people to the pleader and the barrister and the law courts."* The writer appears to overlook the vitality of caste

* J. Ramsay Macdonald, *The Awakening of India*, London, 1910, p. 115.

polity and the important part played by caste tribunals. It is their function to adjudicate upon questions affecting the purity and solidarity of the caste; they are the medium through which the unwritten law of the community is brought into action. They take cognizance of offences against that law, and their jurisdiction has a wide range extending over matters domestic, moral, social, and, in some cases also, professional, civil and criminal.

853. The early records of India show that the authority of the caste to make and maintain its own laws was recognized, and that it was the duty of the king with his Brahman counsellors to enforce its regulations.

CONTROL OF CASTES BY HINDU
KINGS.

According to Gautama (*circa* 500 B. C.), the laws of castes and families, when not opposed to sacred texts, were authoritative. "The king shall protect the castes and orders, in accordance with justice, and those who leave the path of duty he shall lead back to it." Manu again says—"A king shall enforce his own law only after a careful examination of the laws of castes and families." The king was not, however, to act entirely on his own responsibility, but in co-operation with, and on the advice of, Brahmans. Vasishta affirms that the three lower *varnas* were to live according to the teaching of the Brahman: the latter had to declare their duties, and the king had to govern them accordingly. The king's duty was to pay attention to all the laws of castes (*iatu*) and families, to make the four *varnas* fulfil their duties and to punish those who failed to do so. The parts allotted to the Brahman and to the king in the enforcement of caste rules are explained by Apastamba, who says that, if those who have broken caste rules fail to perform the penance prescribed by their spiritual guide, he shall take them before the king. The king shall "send them to his domestic priest, who should be learned in the law and the science of government. He shall order them to perform the proper penances if they are Brahmans, and reduce them to reason by forcible means, excepting corporal punishment and servitude. In the case of other castes, the king, after having examined their actions, may punish them even by death."*

854. Ballal Sen, King of Bengal in the 12th century A. D., seems to have gone further, and to have laid down an elaborate code of caste rules. He further fixed the position of different castes, elevating some and degrading others. According to the *Vallala Charita*, he made, or at any rate declared, the Kaibarttas a clean caste, from whom Brahmans might take water, and he also raised the status of the Kansaris and Malis. He is further credited in the same work with degrading the Sonar Baniyas, declaring them to be an unclean caste, whom no Brahman could teach, or officiate for, without himself being degraded. Ballal Sen is, however, chiefly remembered as the father of Kulinism. He laid down rules for determining the precedence of the family within the caste, and hypergamy was the direct result of Kulinism. From hypergamy again arose the practice of polygamy among the Kulin Brahmans of Bengal. While a Kulin could marry as many wives as he liked, the Bangsaj or the Srotريا had often the greatest difficulty in securing even one.

855. I have been unable to find any record of the Mughal Government exercising active control over caste matters, but from the following extract from the proceedings of the President and Council, dated the 16th

THE MUGHAL GOVERNMENT AND
CASTE.

August 1679, it appears that it reserved to itself the right to sanction restoration to caste:—"The peculiar punishment of forfeiting caste, to which the Hindus are liable, is often inflicted from private pique and personal resentment amongst themselves, and requires to be restrained to those occasions only where there may be a regular process and clear proofs of the offence before the Brahmans, who are their natural judges. But, when any man has naturally forfeited his caste, you are to observe that he cannot be restored to it *without the sanction of Government, which was a volitional su remacu reserved to themselves by the Muhammadans*† and which as it publicly asserts the subordination of Hindus, who are so considerable a majority of subjects, ought

* A. M. T. Jackson, *Note on the History of the Hindu Caste System*, J.A.S.B., July 1907.

† The italics are mine.

not to be laid down, though every indulgence and privilege of caste should otherwise be allowed them."

Under Muhammadan rule, apparently, jurisdiction in caste matters was largely exercised by local chiefs and zamindars. In Nadia, for instance, Maharaja Krishna Chandra Rai was an acknowledged arbiter in questions of caste during the first half of the 18th century, and had the power of restoring people to caste, imposing on them a heavy fine in addition to the expenses of *prayaschitta*. An appeal, however, lay to the Nawab, as is apparent from the following instance. A Brahman of Santipur having had a criminal intrigue with the daughter of a shoe-maker, the Raja forbade the barbers of the village to shave the family, and the washermen to wash their clothes. They appealed to the Raja, and afterwards to the Nawab, for restoration to caste, but in vain. The fact that they appealed to the Nawab, be it noted, confirms what has been said in the preceding paragraph. "After having been despoiled of their resources by the false promises of pretended friends, the Raja relented and removed the ban, but the family have not obtained to this day their pristine position."*

856. Under the East India Company there was a regular court, called the

Caste Cutcherry (*Jatimala Kachahri*), for hearing
THE CASTE CUTCHERRY. and deciding cases relating to caste matters, the

President of which was appointed by the English Governor. The functions of this court are described as follows by Verelst, Governor of Bengal from 1767 to 1769 :—"All nations have their courts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction distinct from the administration of civil justice, in some with a more limited, in others with a more extensive authority. The followers of Brama in Bengal have their caste cutcherries, or courts to take cognisance of all matters relative to the several castes or tribes of the Hindu religion. Their religious purity depends on the constant observance of such numberless precepts, that the authority of these courts enters into the concerns of common life, and is, consequently, very extensive. A degradation from the caste by their sentence is a species of excommunication attended with the most dreadful effects, rendering the offender an outcaste from society. But as the weight of the punishment depends merely upon the opinion of the people, it is unnecessary to say that it cannot be inflicted by the English Governor (as Mr. Bolts asserts), unless the mandate of a Governor could instantly change the religious sentiments of a nation. Neither can a man once degraded be restored, but by the general suffrage of his own tribe, the sanction of the Brahmans (who are the head tribe) and the superadded concurrence of the Supreme Civil power."†

857. Maharaja Naba Kishen, the Kayasth Diwan of Clive, held charge of this tribunal under the Governorship of Verelst,‡ while Warren Hastings appointed his Banians, Krishto Kanto Das ("Cantoo Babu"), a Teli by caste, and Ganga Govinda Singh. Against these two Burke fulminated in his Impeachment of Warren Hastings. "He has put his own menial domestic servant—he has enthroned him, I say, on the first seat of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which was to decide upon the castes of all those people, including their rank, their family, their honour, and their happiness here, and, in their judgment, their salvation hereafter. Under the awe of this power, no man dared to breathe a murmur against his tyranny. Fortified in this security, he says—Who complains of me? No, none of us dare complain of you, says the trembling Gentoo. No; your menial servant has my caste in his power. I shall not trouble your lordships with mentioning others; it was enough that Cantoo Babu and Gunga Gobind Singh, names to which your lordships are to be familiarized hereafter, it is enough that those persons had the caste and character of all the people of Bengal in their hands."

858. Further light is thrown upon the Caste Cutcherry by the Select Secret Proceedings of 1775, in which year it was presided over by Krishto Kanta Das. In March Warren Hastings, protesting against a proposal made by Clavering to put "Cantoo Babu" in the stocks, complained of a previous

* S. C. Bose, *The Hindus as they are*, Calcutta, 1883, p. 167.

† H. Verelst, *A View of the Rise, Progress and Present State in the English Government of Bengal*, London, 1772, pp. 27, 28.

‡ N. N. Ghose, *Atemoirs of Maharaja Naba Kishen Bahadur*, Calcutta, 1901, pp. 53, 57.

attack "on the subject of the Jautmalla Cutcherry, which was represented as arbitrary and oppressive, although this has existed from the first establishment of the Company."* In May the subject of the Caste Cutcherry again came up in connection with the question of the food to be given to Nundcomar while he was in jail. Clavering, supported by Francis, proposed that Cantoo Babu should be called and examined, on the ground that being President of this tribunal he passed judgements on all points relative to loss of caste. Warren Hastings at once replied:—"I understand the Cutcherry, over which Cantoo Babu, my servant, presides, has cognisance only of disputes among the lower kinds of the people, and that he presides in his Court, in virtue of the immemorial usage of the settlement, in the same manner that every other Chief Mutseedy or Banyan of the Governors of Calcutta have formerly done. I know not that he is qualified to judge of the question proposed. At all events, his opinion can be no authority, as he is neither versed in the laws of his religion nor of that sect which could entitle him to give a judicial opinion on any point respecting it. I myself am President of that Court, but I conceive myself merely a name to authenticate the acts of others, and I very frankly acknowledge my own incompetency to judge of points relating to the Gentoo religion.†" Here Warren Hastings clearly states that he is the real President of the Caste Cutcherry (in virtue apparently of his appointment as Governor) and has delegated his authority, except in confirming sentences, to his Deputy. It will further be noticed that he says his Deputy has little knowledge, and we cannot wonder at Colonel Monson's retort—"It might have been expected that the person he appointed to preside under him at the Caste Cutcherry should have been a sufficient judge of the rights (*sic*) of his religion." We may also perhaps wonder at the choice of a Teli to preside over a court of this character, even though Warren Hastings pleaded that his character was irreproachable, and that, "as the servant of the Governor, he was considered universally as the first native inhabitant of Calcutta."‡

859. The Caste Cutcherry has long since been abolished, and the British Government leaves caste questions entirely to the adjudication of the Caste Councils. In the Orissa States, however, the Feudatory Chiefs still retain the authority of the old Hindu kings. All affairs relating to the castes are dealt with by Caste Councils, over whom there is a recognized President, often called a Behara. He is appointed in almost all States by the Chief on his own authority and motion; in a few cases the views and wishes of the principal caste members are ascertained before making the appointment, and in a few other instances the castes are allowed to make their own selection. The Caste Council with the President decides all caste matters; if disputes arise and the Caste Council is unable to decide the matter at issue, it is laid before the Chief, whose decision is final. There is also a recognized right of appeal from the finding of a Caste Council to the Chief, whose decision on appeal is binding. In dealing with these references on appeal, the Chiefs either decide the matter on their own authority or refer it to selected Brahmans and other respectable persons, who usually hold their deliberations in the principal temple at the headquarters of the State. The opinion given by these bodies of arbitrators is laid before the Chief, who accepts, modifies, or alters it, as he thinks fit. The penalty for disobedience to the finding of the Chief on a caste matter is excommunication.

860. In one State there is a powerful and highly organized caste, which not very long ago was seriously exercised by a charge that a certain young man of the caste had been cohabiting with a woman of very low caste. The charge attracted very considerable interest, and the caste was greatly perturbed and unsettled. A criminal prosecution for defamation failed, and the matter was finally brought to the stage of a Caste Council. Powerful influences were at work within the caste, which is an extremely wealthy one, and the Caste Councillors split into two factions supported by various members of the caste: the one faction were of opinion that the charge was true and that the offender should

* G. W. Forrest, *Selections from State Papers (1772-1785)*, Vol. II, p. 325.

† ditto ditto ditto, Vol. II, pp. 320, 367.

be excommunicated. The case was then laid before the Chief for his decision. A mass meeting was convened, and the case was heard in the principal temple of the State: the finding of the meeting was that the charge was not proved and the alleged culprit was declared innocent. This finding the Chief confirmed. The case, however, did not end here. The caste had split into two hostile camps over the case. The party who were for condemning the culprit were composed of somewhat the more influential members; they decided to refuse to accept the decision of the Chief and to treat the culprit as excommunicated. The Chief thereupon excommunicated the recalcitrant section of the caste, with the result that they were deprived of the services of the barbers, washermen and priests. So effectual and binding was this order, that not only did the barbers, washermen and priests of the State, who had hitherto served them, refuse to work for them, but the services could not be obtained even of barbers, washermen and priests residing outside the State. This order was strictly enforced for some time. The men of this caste are clean shaven and very well groomed and dressed, but when the dispute was eventually settled, the persons affected by the order had long dirt-matted beards, the hair of their heads was in long strands and filthy in the extreme, and their clothes were beyond description for uncleanness.

861. In another State, the Chief appointed a Brahman as Brahma, or head of the Brahmans of the State. This Brahma presides at ceremonies, such as marriages, deaths, sacred thread ceremonies, etc., amongst the Brahman community. The State is a large one, and the one Brahma cannot attend to all the duties of his office. He is accordingly allowed to appoint agents, one for each local area. The present Brahma was apparently inclined to levy too heavy a bonus from his agents, with the result that one of them resigned. The head Brahma wished to appoint another agent, but the local Brahmans objected; a deadlock ensued, with the result that the Brahmans laid the matter before the Durbar, and it was held that the Brahma must accept reduced fees from this agent, which he did. If he had refused, another Brahma would have been appointed. This decision was fully accepted by the Brahman community.

862. The Chief of a State has the power to place even a Brahman out of caste; and it is credibly stated that the late Chief of one State delegated this power to an European Police Officer. In the States under direct management, the Brahman community distinctly recognize the officer in charge as representing the Chief, and acknowledge his right, as such, to be an arbiter on caste questions. The Political Chief is accordingly received, on arrival in such a State, by a deputation of Brahmans, who offer him the regular benediction, put the *tika* mark of powdered sandal-wood and water on his forehead, place the cocoanut on his head, and offer him the thread. In no caste is any adoption valid, even if it be in accordance with caste custom, unless it has received the sanction of the Chief, or of the Political Agent when the State is under direct administration. The sanction of the Chief can, moreover, regularize an irregular adoption, *i.e.*, one not in accordance with law and custom. It is hardly necessary to state, in view of what has already been written, that adjudication on the caste disputes of less important castes would be absolutely accepted.*

863. One typical instance of the organization of a caste under the regime of the Feudatory Chiefs may be quoted. The caste in question is a weaving caste called Bhulia, and the account of it is derived from a note kindly contributed by the Maharaja and Feudatory Chief of Sonpur. The Chief is regarded as having paramount authority, as being the real "head of the caste," but he delegates his authority to a headman called Panua. The Panua presents a *nazar* to the Chief and receives a *sanad*. The post is in no way hereditary. If a Panua abuses his power, he is dismissed by the Chief, and another man appointed in his place. The Panua appoints subordinate officials called Jati Meher in different *parganas* or villages: Meher is a common synonym of Bhulia, and the prefix Jati distinguishes this official. The Jati Meher is assisted by one or two representatives of the caste called

* The above account has been contributed by Mr. L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, I.C.S., Political Agent, Orissa Feudatory States.

*bhadralok** who are selected by the Bhulias themselves. Complaints are lodged with the *bhadralok*, who inform the Jati Meher, or are preferred to the Jati Meher direct. The latter convokes a Panchayat from among the village elders; he cannot adjudicate without such a Panchayat. In case of differences of opinion, the matter may be referred to the Chief.

864. In Bengal there are only two localities in which traces of the ancient system may still be observed, viz., Hill Tippera and the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In Hill Tippera each caste has its own council of elders that generally decides caste disputes. In the event of the council failing to decide any dispute, the point at issue is laid before the Raja, whose decision is final. The district of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is divided into three circles, each of which is under a Chief. Each circle again is divided into a number of villages with a headman over each. In the absence of the Chief and the headman, caste questions are decided by a meeting of village elders, but usually such questions go to the headman, who has the power to enforce his decision by means of penalties. In every case the aggrieved party is at liberty to appeal to the Chief for a final verdict.

865. The only other State in this part of India in which the rulers exercise jurisdiction in caste matters is Nepal. Here the penal code is founded on the Sastras, and the maintenance of the principles of Hindu law is a State institution. There is, as Brian Houghton Hodgson pointed out, a great difference between its jurisprudence and that of Hindu princes of the plains who have been for centuries under Muhammadan or European rule, and have ceased to take public judicial cognisance of offences against caste law. "Neither persuasion, nor example, nor coercion, has had room to operate such a change in these mountains, the dominant classes of the inhabitants of which, originally refugees from Muhammadan bigotry, have in their seclusion nursed their hereditary hatred of Islamism, whilst they bade defiance to its power; and they have latterly come, very naturally, to regard themselves as the sole remaining depositaries of undefiled, national Hinduism. Hence their enthusiasm, which burns all the fiercer for a secret consciousness that their particular and, as it were, personal pretensions, as Hindus are and must be but lowly rated at Benares. It is in Nepal alone, of all Hindu States, that two-thirds of the time of the judges is employed in the discussion of cases better fitted for the confessional, or the tribunal of public opinion, or some domestic court, such as the Panchayat of brethren or fellow-craftsmen, than for a King's Court of Justice." "In the plains," remarked a Judge of the Chief Court of Nepal to Hodgson, "let man and woman commit what sin they will, there is no punishment provided, no expiatory rite enjoined. Hence Hinduism is destroyed; the customs are Muhammadan; the distinctions of caste are obliterated. Here, on the contrary, all those distinctions are religiously preserved by the public courts of justice, which punish according to caste and never destroy the life of a Brahman. *Below, the Sastras are things to talk of: here, they are acted up to.*"*

866. Degradation to a low caste is one of the five severe punishments that can be inflicted, the others being confiscation of property, banishment, mutilation and death. A century ago, members of the best families were degraded and given as slaves to the Damais, a low tailor caste, by which they lost both liberty and caste.† Coming to more recent times, several interesting instances of the exercise of the powers of the Maharaja in caste matters are given by Dr. Oldfield in his "Sketches from Nepal." A Brahman, being immune from capital punishment, cannot be put to death for heinous offences. He has his head shaved, is made to eat pork, consume offal and drink wine, so as to make him an outcaste, after which he is sent into exile. An influential Nepali of high caste "was subjected, as a punishment, to a disgusting degradation from the hands of two drummers of low caste, and in the presence of a large assembly of spectators, by which his honour and dignity were outraged and his own caste destroyed. He was confined to his own house for a year, but no other punishment was inflicted upon him. At the end of the year, by

* B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on Indian Subjects*, London, 1880, Vol. II, pp. 237-241.

† W. Hamilton, *Description of Hindostan*, London, 1820, Vol. II, pp. 672, 680.

the order of the King, who is supreme in such matters, he was forgiven, his caste restored to him, and he was allowed again to appear in public.* This punishment was inflicted because he had spread false rumours against Jang Bahadur, and, among other things, had declared that Jang Bahadur (whom he had accompanied to England) had lost caste by eating and drinking with Europeans. Jang Bahadur, we may well believe, took a grim delight in this method of retaliation. Further, while Dr. Oldfield was in Nepal, certain wealthy Hindu Newars were allowed to carry the *kalas* at their weddings, this being a right hitherto enjoyed only by the Gurkhas. "It has been conferred on them by the State as a privilege; they have in fact, on payment of a fee,† been raised from the rank of Newar to that of Parbatia."‡ There are other instances of such elevation. The Buddhist Sawmis, a caste of traders corresponding to Telis, were rewarded for their assistance in the Nepal expedition into Tibet in 1858, by being raised to the rank of a clean caste, the Maharaja taking a glass of water from them in open Durbar. Another striking exhibition of the power exercised by the Maharaja as *censor morum* was witnessed in 1897. Some young noblemen, being accused of frequenting the house of a woman of ill-fame, were imprisoned. The father of one of them, a man of high position who went with the annual tribute to China, died while they were in prison. The Brahmans interceded on his son's behalf, and he was released in order that he might perform his father's *sraddha*.

867. The following account of the principles observed by the State in treating caste offences as breaches of the law is furnished by the office of the Prime Minister of Nepal§:—"All questions involving social degradation or excommunication are to be decided by the courts, and in all these the Prime Minister is the last court of appeal. A person of a higher class eating, or having sexual intercourse, with a member of the depressed classes shall lose caste and be incorporated with the lower caste. A woman of higher position in the social order having sexual intercourse with a man lower down in the list shall be degraded to the caste of the male. But, so long as a man does not eat cooked rice or *dal*, etc., from the hands of any woman from whose hands water may be taken with impunity, he does not lose caste, even if he has sexual intercourse with her. The caste of the offspring of such intercourse is defined by fixed rules and laws. The taking of prohibited food or drink and social offences, the killing of cows and murder, generally involve social degradation, in addition to punishment according to law."

Briefly, under the system in force in Nepal, each caste is governed by its own laws and customs. Neglect or breach of them entails not only communal punishment, but is also subject to the law courts, which treat such offences as offences against the State.

868. The highest ecclesiastical functionary is the Raj Guru, a Brahman versed in the Sastras, who is appointed by the State. He advises the Durbar on social and religious matters, and it is his duty to prescribe the fitting penance and purificatory rites for violations of the ceremonial law of purity. His order, for instance, is necessary to restore to caste the envoys sent with tribute to China, who on their return have to pay him certain fees and perform prescribed ceremonies.¶ The Raj Guru also presides over the ecclesiastical court, known as the Dharma Adhikari, which takes cognizance of cases relating to caste. He comes to a decision in accordance with the laws laid down in the Sastras, and awards a punishment—either by fine, imprisonment, confiscation of property, or death—in proportion to the nature and heinousness of the offence and without reference to the religion of the offender. Even the Buddhists are subject to this tribunal, and there is a case on record of a Muhammadan native doctor attached to the Residency being deported in consequence of an offence against the Nepalese laws of caste.** Under the Raj Guru are subordinate officers who exercise jurisdiction in caste matters over groups of villages, and are authorized to take

° *Sketches from Nepal*, London, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 399, 400.

† The italics are mine. It will be observed that even in Nepal money can transform caste status.

‡ *Sketches from Nepal*, London, 1880, Vol. I, p. 411.

§ I am indebted to Lieut.-Col. J. Manners-Smith, V.C., C.I.E., Resident of Nepal, for this note.

¶ *Sketches from Nepal*, Vol. I, p. 412.

** *Sketches from Nepal*, Vol. I, p. 395, and Vol. II, pp. 156-151.

fees from people who are temporarily outcasted and afterwards restored to caste, whether by the caste Panchayats or the courts.

869. The caste Panchayats deal with minor offences, but the courts with graver matters, and their sentences are heavy. A Rajbansi, for instance, had an intrigue with a Teli woman. The Rajbansi Mandal, or headman, was bribed and suppressed the fact, but information was given to the civil authorities. The Mandal and both the guilty parties were imprisoned for 7 years, at the end of which the Mandal and the Rajbansi paramour were degraded to the Teli caste.* The fear of such penalties extends to castes on the British side of the frontier and has a salutary effect on them. Among themselves an offence may be condoned by a feast, but this would not satisfy the Nepalese. They frequently visit their caste fellows in Nepal, *e.g.*, at marriage feasts, and have a very real fear that their stricter brethren may hand them over to the Nepalese authorities if they break caste rules.

870. The polity of some of the castes of Sambalpur shows distinct traces of the powers formerly exercised by the Raja. Nor is this to be wondered at, for the district was not brought under direct British rule till 1849, when it was annexed under Dalhousie's doctrine of lapse, *i.e.*, on the death of the last Chief without male issue. Here the headmen of different castes used to be appointed by the Raja, and they are still selected from families containing descendants of those on whom he conferred this honour. Among the Jharua Brahmans the president of the caste committee is selected from the Behara family: Behara was the designation of the headmen who were appointed by the Raja. The Gaura headmen were similarly nominated by and received charters from the Raja, authorising them to settle caste disputes. In the absence of a Raja this power of appointment is now frequently exercised by the zamindars, to whom the headman pays *nazarana*. There is no one, however, to make such appointments in the Khalsa, *i.e.*, the area under direct Government management, where the extinction of the line of Rajas has transformed the system. Among the Gandas, for instance, the Porai or headman used to be appointed by the Raja, but the post has now ceased to exist and a subordinate official acts as headman. In the zamindari area, though the power of appointment is still exercised by zamindars, there is a general tendency to decentralization. The Gauras used to have a chief Bagarti or headman with absolute authority, but, there being no central power over the caste, his influence is waning, and subordinate officers arrogate independent powers of control over the villages in their jurisdiction.

871. There are a few castes or tribes who still recognize the authority of the tribal chief or his descendants, such as the Binjhals and Gonds of Sambalpur, the Kharwars of Shahabad and the Nats of Champaran.

The head of the Binjhal caste in Sambalpur is the zamindar of Bora-sambar, who is a descendant of the tribal chief. The right to decide caste disputes rests with him, but, in accordance with long established custom, he delegates his authority to a member of what is known as the Diwan family, which is at present represented by an uncle of the zamindar. When a caste matter has to be decided, the latter calls a Panchayat of respectable men of the caste living in the neighbourhood. The case is duly heard and tried, the verdict being decided by a majority of votes, and the Diwan passes sentence. In difficult cases the matter is referred to the zamindar, whose decision is final. If a fine is imposed, it is paid to the Diwan, and half goes towards a feast of the Binjhal community. If the man is sentenced to provide a feast in addition to a fine, the Diwan allots enough to provide a feast and divides the balance with the zamindar.

872. The authority of the descendants of the old Gond chiefs of Sambalpur has passed to their descendants. Every Gond, whether residing in the Khalsa area (where there is no zamindar), or in the zamindari area, acknowledges the supremacy of some Gond zamindar. If the zamindar of the estate in which they live is a non-Gond, they are subject to a Gond zamindar elsewhere, so that the Gond

* Reported by the Subdivisional Officer of Kishanganj, Purnea.

zamindars are in control of caste matters both inside and outside their estates. In their own estates the zamindars sit in judgement with a Panchayat of Gonds. In the Khalsa area, and in zamindaris held by landlords of other castes, caste matters are settled by sub-panchayats, the head of which is called a Dharua. Each sub-panchayat, however, is subject to the control of a Panchayat under some Gond zamindar. If a member of the sub-panchayat commits an offence, he is tried by the Panchayat under the zamindar; and if he is outcasted, the latter appoints his successor. If a zamindar does anything which makes him liable to punishment, a council consisting of all the Gond zamindars can dispose of it, but it is said that such a case has not occurred. It is also said that, if this council does not come to a final conclusion, a reference may be made to the Gond Rajas of the surrounding Feudatory States, and finally to the Gond Raja of Mandla, from which the Gonds are said to have migrated. The belief that the Gond Raja of Mandla is a final court of appeal must date back many centuries: the last representative of the Gond kings of Mandla was executed for rebellion during the Mutiny.

Though the Gond zamindars are the acknowledged heads of the caste, the Dharuas in some part of the Khalsa area act almost independently, reference being rarely made to the zamindar concerned. The zamindars have also delegated some of their powers to the Dharuas, or Parganias as they are called in the Kalebira zamindari; but in serious cases of breach of caste rules the Pargania or Dharua is not competent to pass orders and must make a reference to the zamindar. Otherwise, he tries offences with the aid of a Panchayat, over which he presides. If the Panchayat is unanimous in its verdict, he gives judgement accordingly; if it is equally or nearly equally divided, the case is referred to the zamindar, whose order is final.

873. A survival of the power exercised by tribal chiefs is also found among the Kharwars, who live in the recesses of the Kaimur Hills in the district of Shahabad. The Kharwars recognize the authority of the descendant of their Rajas. Though he has lost the ancestral property, he retains his old title of Raja and the prestige attaching to it. Whenever he enters the house of a Kharwar, he receives one rupee as *nazarana*, besides getting presents of goats and grain on the occasion of festivals. In caste matters he is the final court of appeal, the Chaudhuris (*vide infra*) referring to him cases which they are unable to settle themselves or in which their decision is appealed against. His orders are invariably obeyed. Strictly, he is required to adjudicate only on questions connected with caste, but such questions often have a criminal or civil aspect. The fines he inflicts are mostly spent in feasting the Kharwars, but the Raja retains a portion. His authority is not confined to the Kharwars, for the Cheros, who have no ancestral Raja of their own, refer important matters to him.

For the decision of cases among themselves, the Kharwars have a regular gradation of courts of appeal. In the first instance, when there is believed to be a breach of caste rules, the Kharwars, by mutual consent, excommunicate the real or supposed offender. The latter can then move the Chaudhuri to convene a Panchayat to deal with the matter: the Chaudhuri is a local headman, whose office is hereditary, and who exercises jurisdiction over a certain number of villages, not exceeding eight. He calls a Panchayat, on which any Kharwar may serve, and a regular trial takes place. The outcasted man is the appellant, and the villagers who outcasted him are the defendants. The Panchayat is the High Court with the Chaudhuri as Chief Justice. If the offender refuses to accept the verdict of the Panchayat, he may appeal to a convocation of Chaudhuris. There is also a final appeal to the Raja, who is assisted by a council of elders. The Raja's decision is final.

874. Among the Nats of Champaran the authority of the tribal chief in caste matters is no less recognized, though they are Musalmans. The Panchayat consists of the Pradhan or hereditary chief of the tribe and any other members (usually two or three) whom he may choose to appoint. He usually, and naturally, appoints residents of his village, in which he exercises undisputed authority. His authority, however, extends far beyond its confines or the immediate neighbourhood. It is exercised not only in Champaran, but also in Saran

and Muzaffarpur, and even in the eastern districts of the United Provinces. He spends his time in visiting the various portions of his dominion, and is known and feared throughout it.

The Pradhan takes cognizance of every kind of offence, criminal as well as social, which is brought to him for judgement, such as petty thefts, disputes about land, etc. The complainant and the accused each cut a small stick and give it to the Pradhan, who keeps the stick till the case is decided. The accused is then submitted to trial by ordeal, either by fire or by water. In the ordeal by fire, a red-hot piece of iron is placed on the victim's hand, his skin being slightly protected by seven leaves of the *pipal* tree. He has to hold it while another man runs a measured distance (seven yards and back); if the runner drops it, he is held to be guilty. Naturally a good deal depends on the speed and good will of the runner. The ordeal by water may be undergone in preference to that by fire. The accused is immersed in water up to the nose, and holds his nostrils. If he can hold his breath till a man has run the measured distance, he is acquitted and gets the weight of his stick in gold: the actual amount varies from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60. If he fails the test, he has to pay according to the same scale. This is regarded merely as a preliminary. The punishment follows. A fine is inflicted in the first instance, which is usually very heavy considering the means of the ordinary Nat. The fine goes into the pockets of the Pradhan. An alternative punishment is a cold bath: the victim is ordered to sit in the water of a tank or river for any period from 2 to 24 hours. One unfortunate man, who was sentenced to this punishment, sat on a cold morning in a river for two or three hours, after which a compassionate Hindu zamindar made him come out. The penalty he had to pay for disobeying his orders was outcasting for five years. The severity of other punishments will be apparent from the following instances. A man encroached on his neighbour's land and was fined Rs. 200. In another case a Nat was fined Rs. 100 for having illicit intercourse with a girl. In a third case a man, who took some maize from a field which he claimed as his own, was found guilty of theft and sentenced to remain in water for three hours. He could not bear the punishment, and was therefore fined Rs. 200.

Obstinate refusal to pay a fine or undergo the punishment prescribed is always followed by outcasting—usually for two years or more. Five years is a usual sentence in such cases. The Pradhan's power is so absolute, and the respect paid to him so great, that the justice of his verdict is never questioned, and his punishments are carried out rigorously.*

875. An interesting survival of tribal chieftainship may still be traced in the caste polity of the Suklis of Midnapore.

SUKLIS.

Their governing body consists of Bhais (brothers) or elders of the castes, at the head of whom are the Maitis of Birsinapur and the Chaudhuris. The Maitis are the descendants of one Birsinha, a chief who led the Suklis into Bengal and established his capital at a place which he named, after himself, Birsinapur: this is an unimportant village near Mundamari. Their position as the heads of Sukli community is acknowledged not only in Midnapore, but also outside it. Such is the respect paid to them, that if a member of the Maiti family is present at a marriage or other ceremony, all do homage to him. If there is no Maiti present, a garland has to be set aside in his honour before the proceedings commence. A Maiti also presides over the Panchayat's meetings, and in his absence a Chaudhuri, for the Chaudhuris are the descendants of the second son of Birsinha.

876. In British territory, where Government has long since ceased to exercise control over social matters, the castes govern themselves. The higher castes as a rule have no controlling agency, and nobody has authority to hear complaints and pass judgement upon them. Among the lower castes, however, there are generally officials with whom information is laid, and whose duty it is to call a meeting of their caste fellows to deal with the matter. This conclave constitutes the Panchayat, literally a meeting of five men, though the actual numbers rarely correspond with that figure. Conditions vary so greatly in

* Compiled from a report by Mr. H. D. Graves Law, I.C.S., formerly Subdivisional Officer of Gobindganj.

different parts of the country, that a separate account of the organization of castes must be given for each sub-province.

As a preliminary to this account, it may be said that the actual unit of caste government has certain definite limits. The caste, as is well known, is a social group, membership of which is generally limited by birth. It is, in a minor degree, united by occupation or by the tradition of a common hereditary occupation, but even more by the laws of endogamy and commensality. By the former members are forbidden to marry outside the caste; by the latter they are constrained to eat and drink only with fellow castemen. Within the caste there are frequently minor groups called sub-castes, which also have the same laws on these two points. The unit of self-government consists of a group of members of a caste or sub-caste who come within the same circle of endogamy and commensality. The strength of the group is necessarily determined by territorial considerations. The families composing an endogamous and commensal circle may be scattered over such a large area, that effective combination is impossible. Where this is the case, it has to be split up into smaller circles for administrative purposes. The power to outcaste its members is the basis of the authority of each group. Among all but the lowest castes this power is ultimately dependent on the co-operation of the priest, the barber and the washerman. The priest is indispensable in religious and domestic life. Without the services of the barber and washerman no Hindu can be purified when pollution has been caused by deaths, births, etc. In this respect, therefore, the Panchayat is not altogether an isolated and self-sufficient unit, though otherwise independent.

877. The higher castes of Bihar, such as Brahmans, Babbans (or Bhumi-har Brahmans), Rajputs and Kayasths have no organization for the detection and punishment of breaches of caste rules. They have no governing body, and action must be taken by the members on their own initiative. If the offence is patent, they at once cease to have any intercourse with the offender. If there is any doubt about it, an informal meeting of the more influential members of the caste may be held and a common line of action determined upon. It rests entirely with the suspect to clear himself of the stigma. This he does by consulting a Pandit, who, if his sin can be atoned, gives a ruling on his case (*vyavastha*, or *panti*, or *patia*), stating the penances and ceremonies of expiation that have to be performed. Among the prescribed penances which are commonly undergone may be mentioned the following:—(1) Going on pilgrimage for an appointed period, (2) bathing in the Ganges and swallowing some of its sand, (3) living on alms for a prescribed time, (4) remaining dumb for an appointed time, (5) taking only one meal in 24 hours, (6) swallowing a mixture of the five products of the cow, viz., cow-dung, cow's urine, milk, curd and *ghi*, and (7) fasting. The ceremonies of expiation are (1) sacrifice, (2) the worship of the gods, commonly of Satyanarayan, (3) making a gift of a cow, a heifer, cash and cloth to the family priest, (4) feeding Brahmans and making presents to them of cloth and cash, and (5) feeding fellow castemen. Other castes, which have no regular machinery for dealing with breaches of the caste law, have meetings for the discussion of such questions when they arise. A man who is aware of the offence informs his brethren, and they sit in conclave and decide on the steps to be taken. A special meeting may be held; or the matter may wait till some ceremony occurs, at which the members of the caste will naturally be present; or the suspect himself may lay his case before them in order to establish his innocence and regain the privileges of caste fellowship. Among such castes the control over individual members is naturally less complete than among castes which have a constituted body of officials for the decision of matters affecting the community and for the punishment of unworthy members.

878. Most of the lower castes of Bihar have an organized system of caste government, which has certain common features, though the procedure and the names of the office-bearers vary in different parts and among different castes.

The unit consists of a Chatai, which means literally a mat, and connotes those who have the right to sit together on a mat—one is frequently provided—at a caste council meeting. The area to which the Chatai corresponds simply depends on the strength of the caste in any particular locality. There may be only one Chatai for several villages, each containing a few members of the caste, or there may be several Chatais in one village where the caste musters in strength. Generally, it may be said that the members of the Chatai represent 5 to 100 houses and, as a rule, are resident in one village and its adjoining hamlets.

THE CHATAI.

879. Each Chatai has a standing committee consisting either of one or two or three functionaries. There is invariably a headman, who presides at meetings of the council. He is generally called Sardar in South Bihar. Next in rank comes an officer called Manjan in South Bihar, who is practically the Vice-President of the council, for he presides in the absence of the President. The third member of the triumvirate is an executive officer, who is almost invariably known as a Chharidar in South Bihar. He acts as the headman's messenger; it is his duty to convene the caste council; and he is responsible for the execution of its decrees. In some castes these officers hold office by hereditary right; in case of there being no male member of the family to succeed, others are eligible. If one of them dies leaving a minor heir, his nearest relative, if otherwise competent, is entitled to represent him at the council meetings till he attains his majority. In other castes the post is held only for life, and a vacancy is filled up by the election of a competent man without regard to the hereditary principle. The posts are coveted, as they carry a certain dignity. The newly appointed man is given a *pagri* to wear, has a *tika* placed on his forehead, and celebrates the newly conferred honour by giving a feast to his castemen.

THE OFFICE-BEARERS.

880. Complaints are usually preferred to one of the members of the standing committee, generally to the Sardar direct, or through the Chharidar. In Patna it is reported that the complainant has to deposit a fee of Rs. 1-4, called *rasam*, which goes to meet the expenses of the Panchayat. In Saran a fee of Re. 1 is paid: this is called *pat kharcha*, i.e., the expenses of the mat on which the Panchayat sits. The Sardar fixes a place and time for the meeting, and the members of the Chatai are summoned by the Chharidar. The meeting of the castemen of the Chatai forms the Panchayat. Its strength varies with the gravity of the issues to be debated. For a minor matter only a few of the village elders are summoned; for larger questions the head of each house may be called. When matters of special importance are to be discussed, distant members of the caste may be invited: at a recent Panchayat of the Telis in Patna about 1,000 were present. The meeting may be specially convoked, or it may wait till a big *sraddha* or marriage ceremony, when a large number will naturally assemble.

THE PANCHAYAT.

881. The Panchayat takes cognizance of a case either when a complaint is lodged or when a man who is suspected of an offence, and has already been outcasted by his family or neighbours, demands a hearing. It is nearly always a tribunal for the trial of offences, though it sometimes is a deliberative assembly which decides on the attitude of the caste on general questions. The proceedings generally begin with a common feast. The feast over, both parties are heard and witnesses are produced. All are on an equality and any one present has a right to put a relevant question and to receive an answer. Oaths are frequently taken by the parties, e.g., on the head of a son, Ganges water, copper, the *tulsi* plant or a cow's tail. The evidence having been taken, a general discussion takes place, and the headman after consulting his fellow officers gives judgement. The verdict is of course in accordance with the general opinion. Otherwise, it could scarcely be enforced. The proceedings are nearly always oral, and no record is made. In Purnea, when grave charges are preferred, the Panchayat often adopts the precaution of making the complainant put down his allegation in writing, and his thumb impression is taken on it, so that he may not resile.

PROCEDURE.

882. The Chatais are sometimes, but not always, grouped together in larger unions called Baisi and Chaurasi, which are supposed to consist of 22 and 84 Chatais, respectively. They are not necessarily co-existent : in some places there may be only Baisis, and in others only Chaurasis. In Muzaffarpur there are unions of 12 villages, called Bargaon, while the Telis of Patna have Bawans, *i.e.*, groups of 52 Chatais. These larger unions extend over a large area : a Baisi may cover 10 to 15 miles, a Chaurasi 40 to 50 miles. They also have an organization similar to that of the smaller units, *i.e.*, permanent officials, who bear names similar to those of the officers of the Chatais, such as Sardar, Manjan, etc. The larger councils are convened only on exceptional occasions for the decision of questions of special importance, or when appellate jurisdiction is necessary to settle conflicting claims, *e.g.*, when one Chatai has outcasted a man and another Chatai still receives him as in caste.

883. The jurisdiction of the Panchayat is necessarily local, but the combination of different Chatais helps to make its sentence effective over a considerable area. So long, therefore, as a man remains anywhere in the neighbourhood of his own village, he has little chance of defying the authority of the Panchayat. The penalty of contumacy, viz., excommunication for a fixed period or for life, is so terrible that he dares not face it. As a rule, one Chatai knows of and confirms the sentence of another. Occasionally, however, it may refuse to recognize the sentence, or there may be rivalry between two headmen. An outcaste may take advantage of this and seek refuge in another Chatai, where he can obtain re-entry into caste by giving a feast. In some places too the jurisdiction of the Panchayat extends only a few miles, and there is no central body with control over a large area. Where this is the case, an outcaste may leave his home and join another community in a distant part of the district. There is of course greater laxity of conduct among those who leave their homes and live in industrial centres for a time. Even they however are liable to punishment on their return, if their fall becomes known. A Dhanuk of Monghyr, who married a woman of another caste in Calcutta, was outcasted on his return home. A Turaha of Saran, who was seen carting hides in that city by a fellow villager, suffered the same punishment.

884. The above account applies primarily to South Bihar, but the same system obtains among the low castes of North Bihar with minor variations. The following note by Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., late Subdivisional Officer of Kishanganj in Purnea, describes its main features :—

“The Panchayat is a permanent institution consisting of all the village elders, for the time being, of one or more villages of a local area, who meet under the Presidentship of a Mandal when occasion requires. Thus, the actual number of members in the Panchayat is an indefinite and variable one, and depends on the number of village elders existing at any time in the village or group of villages constituting the Panchayat. A number of Mandals are headed by a Sardar, who exercises jurisdiction over several Panchayat units. Again, several Sardars—sometimes as many as 14 to 22 Sardars—are headed by a Baisi Sardar. Besides these functionaries, there is, among certain castes, another functionary whose function corresponds to that of a peon, and whose duty it is to summon the village elders of the Panchayat when required by the Sardar or Mandal to do so. This functionary is called Barik among some castes (such as Tantis and Kaibarttas), and Diwan among other caste (such as Telis). The Barik does not get any fee, but whenever there is a marriage or *sraddha* within the jurisdiction of the Panchayat, the Sardar gets 1 *than* of cloth and the Barik gets 5 cubits. Whenever a feast is held among the Panchayat, it is the privilege of the Barik to decide upon its form or upon the delicacies to be supplied by the host. Whenever a Mandal dies, the Sardar appoints another in his place. Generally the son is selected after his father's death, if he is fit ; otherwise, any influential well-to-do member of the community may be chosen. When the Sardar dies, another is chosen by the Mandals and the whole community under that particular Sardar. Sons and near relatives of Mandals and Sardars have a preferential claim to appointment.

"The jurisdiction of a Mandal extends over a single Panchayat, which may comprise one village only or several neighbouring villages. The jurisdiction of a Sardar extends over 8 or 10 such units, and the jurisdiction of a Baisi Sardar extends over 14 to 22 such units, and may consist of a whole *pargana* or a couple of *parganas*. When a matter cannot be decided satisfactorily by a Mandal, it is referred to the Sardar. When the Sardar is unable to decide satisfactorily, the matter is referred to the Baisi, who constitutes the final court of justice in the Panchayat system. In all ordinary matters each Panchayat unit acts independently, the Mandal deciding with the help of the village elders, whom he summons through the agency of the Barik or Diwan. Only in very grave matters affecting the welfare of the caste, or in the case of very grave offences against caste rules or etiquette in respect of marriage and commensality, etc., do several Panchayats and their Mandals meet together under the presidentship of the Sardar. The authority of the Baisi Sardar is hardly ever invoked, and the post is tending to become obsolete. In the matter of caste administration, there is a distinct tendency towards decentralisation. Each unit headed by the Mandal has been exercising a steadily increasing share of autonomy at the expense of the authority of the Sardar and the Baisi Sardar, especially of the latter—so much so that some Rajbansis in the Chapra thana stated that they had heard from their grandfathers of the existence of a Baisi Sardar, but that they did not even know if he was living or not."

885. There are numerous local variations. In one part a caste may have a standing committee, in another it may have none. It may or may not be grouped in larger unions, so that there may be Chaurasis only or Baisis only. The names of the officers also vary greatly: the Panchayat headman and the Baisi or Chaurasi headman may have the same designation, or they may be different. In one place a caste may have all three functionaries, in another only the headman and Chharidar, and elsewhere again only the headman. The following statement shows the titles of the office-bearers of different castes reported by the District Census officers and ethnological correspondents: in all cases the names are given in order of rank.

Caste.		District.		Titles of officers.
Amat	...	Darbhanga	...	Mahto, Diwan, Chharidar or Chauridar.
Barai	...	Monghyr	...	Sardar.
Barhi	...	Patna and Gaya	...	Do., Chharidar.
		Monghyr	...	Do.
Bhar	...	Shahabad	...	Mahan Meth.
Chamar	...	Champaran	...	Metha, Pradhan or Mukhia.
		Patna and Gaya	...	Sardar, Chharidar.
		Shahabad	...	Mukhia, do.
		Monghyr	...	Marar.
		Bhagalpur	...	Manjan, Diwan.
		Muzaffarpur	...	Ditto, Chharidar.
Dhanuk	...	Monghyr	...	Manjan, Marar and Diwan.
		Bhagalpur	...	Do., Diwan.
		Purnea	...	Mandal, Diwan, Chharidar.
		Darbhanga	...	Mahto, ditto.
Dhobi	...	Muzaffarpur	...	Manjan, ditto.
Dom	...	Darbhanga	...	Sardar, Chharidar.
Dosadh	...	Patna and Gaya	...	Ditto.
		Purnea and Darbhanga.	...	Sardar, Diwan, Chharidar.
Gareri	...	Shahabad	...	Bhagat.
Goala	...	Patna	...	Manjan, Chharidar.
		Bhagalpur	...	Do., Diwan.
		Purnea	...	Mandal, do.
		Shahabad	...	Mahto.
Gonrhi	...	Bhagalpur	...	Manjan, Diwan, Chharidar.
		Champaran	...	Do., Do.
Hajjam	...	Shahabad	...	Raja, Diwan, Chharidar.
		Patna and Gaya	...	Sardar, Chharidar or Chobdar.

Caste.	District.	Titles of officers.	
Hajjam	... Monghyr	... Manjan or Sardar, Marar or Gorait.	Diwan.
	Muzaffarpur	... Manjan, Diwan, Chharidar.	
Hari	... Purnea ...	... Sardar, Ditto.	
Kahar	... Patna, Gaya and Shahabad.	... Do., Chharidar.	
Kalwar	... Champaran	... Manjan, Diwan.	
Khatwe	... Darbhanga	... Sardar, Diwan, Chharidar.	
Kandu	... Champaran	... Manjan Do.	
	Monghyr	... Sardar, Gorait	
	Muzaffarpur	... Manjan, Diwan, Chharidar.	
Kewat	... Purnea	... Raja, Mandal, Pandit.	
Koiri	... Monghyr	... Sardar or Manjan or Marar.	
	Darbhangha	... Mahto, Diwan, Chharidar or Chaudhary.	
Kumbar	... Monghyr	... Sardar or Manjan or Marar.	
Kurmi	... Champaran	... Manjan, Diwan.	
	Muzaffarpur	... Ditto, Chharidar.	
	Patna ...	... Sardar, Chharidar.	
Lohar	... Muzaffarpur	... Manjan, Diwan, Chharidar.	
	Shahabad	... Sardar, Chharidar.	
Musahar	... Gaya ...	... Ditto.	
	Monghyr	... Sardar, Gorait, Marar.	
	Bhagalpur	... Manjan, Mandal and Gorait.	
	Purnea ...	... Sardar, Diwan, Chharidar.	
Mallah	... Muzaffarpur	... Manjan, Diwan, Chharidar.	
	Champaran	... Ditto.	
Nat	... Monghyr	... Manjan or Marar.	
	Champaran	... Pradhan.	
Nunia	... Champaran	... Manjan, Diwan.	
Pasi	... Patna ...	... Sardar.	
Sonar	... Muzaffarpur	... Manjan, Diwan, Chharidar.	
Sunri	... Ditto	... Ditto ditto.	
Tanti	... Champaran	... Manjan, Diwan.	
	Monghyr	... Do., Marar and Gorait.	
Teli	... Ditto	... Sardar, Diwan, Chharidar.	
	Darbhangha	... Panjiar, Diwan.	
	Champaran	... Manjan, Do.	
	Muzaffarpur	... Ditto, Chharidar.	
	Purnea ...	... Paramanik, Diwan.	
Tharu	... Champaran	... Chaudhuri, Mahtam.	

886. In some parts the caste officials have recognized fees or perquisites. In Purnea the triumvirate of the Dosadhs get presents of cloths : the Diwan and Chharidar each get one piece to every two that the Sardar receives. The Goala Raja, who presides over Panchayats of 14 villages in the same district, is given cloth and one rupee when the Panchayat is held in the house of a well-to-do man, and five betel-nuts if the man is poor. Among other castes, presents are given to the office-bearers when a marriage takes place. Sometimes the Chharidar gets a commission (one or two annas per rupee) on the amounts he collects. Among the Chamars of the Banka subdivision in Bhagalpur the Sardar receives one-fourth of the Panchayat's income, the remainder being spent in feasts. The following is a brief sketch of certain special features in the local organization of selected castes.

887. The system among the Bhars of Shahabad appears to be more centralized than usual. There is in every Bhar village a village headman, called Meth, who is informed of any violation of the caste rules. If he considers the matter fit to be referred to a Panchayat, he reports it to the Mahan, an officer with jurisdiction over ten or more villages, who convokes a Panchayat. The Panchayat is presided over by the Mahan, and all Meths in his jurisdiction sit on it. Both the village Meth and the Mahan hold their offices by hereditary right. If one or other dies leaving no one in his family to succeed him, a new man is elected, in the case of a Meth by members of the caste in the village

concerned, in the case of a Mahan by the Meths of all the villages within the jurisdiction of the Mahan. The Dhanuks of Monghyr have a permanent committee consisting of a hereditary headman or Manjan for each village, and of a Marar and a Diwan. The Marar distributes tobacco among the assembled people; the Diwan sends round betel-nuts as a symbol showing that their presence is required at a Panchayat.

In Patna the Goalas have a headman in every village, called a Manjan, who convokes a Panchayat as occasion requires. His office is not hereditary, and a vacancy is filled up by election. Criminal charges, *g.e.* of thefts, are commonly heard by the Panchayat; if proved the accused is handed over to the police and the necessary evidence produced. In Shahabad every Goala village has a headman called Mahto. For groups of villages, and in the case of towns for the whole of the town, there is a superior caste official who is called Barka-Mahto, *i.e.*, a Mahto of 12 villages. When a breach of caste rules takes place, the village Mahto is first informed about it. In petty cases he gives judgement in consultation with the castemen of the village. In serious cases the Barka-Mahto is referred to, and a general Panchayat of all the castemen in the villages under him is convoked. All the sub-castes have also Panchayats. In the Gorias sub-caste there is an official called a "Judge," who has control over the whole of the civil district (Shahabad), but among other sub-castes the Panchayat's jurisdiction is restricted to a group of villages, the head of which is called a Mahto. In Purnea the Goala headman is known as a Mandal and is assisted by a Diwan. At the head of every 14 villages there is a superior officer called the Raja.

Among the Hajjams of Patna there are generally two permanent officials, *viz.*, the Sardar and the Chharidar, who is also known as the Chobdar. In Monghyr the committee consists of the headman, or Sardar, assisted by a Marar (or Gorait) and a Diwan: here there are also large unions under Sardars which adjudicate on grave offences. The office-bearers of the Hajjams in Shahabad are the Raja, the Diwan and Chharidar. The Raja is appointed by four or five Rajas of neighbouring Panchayats, the other two are elected by their caste fellows. All the sub-castes are governed by the one Panchayat. The Kurmis of the latter district have a regular gradation of unions. Each village has a caste headman, and every group of three or four villages is under a Naib. Over the Naibs again are Chaudhuris, whose jurisdiction extends over large areas and even over several *narganas*. The Naibs and Chaudhuris hold their offices by hereditary right, but if a competent successor cannot be found in their families, one is elected from other families. The better educated and well-to-do Kurmis claim Kshattriya descent and have started an association called the All-India Kurmi Kshattriya Association, with headquarters at Bankipore, which holds annual meetings. They stand aloof from the caste organization of their less advanced neighbours, and the Kurmi system of self-government is consequently losing strength.

888. It is an almost universal rule that each caste acts in entire independence of others, and that the Panchayat should be confined to members of the caste. The only

INTER-CASTE PANCHAYATS.

instance of inter-caste Panchayats is reported from the Kishenganj subdivision of Purnea, where the influence of the straiter Nepalese is felt. A Sikh constable on the Nepal border had adopted a Goala boy. The boy, having lived with a Sikh, was out of caste, but his adoptive father was anxious to have him taken into one or other of the Hindu castes. At his request, a large and representative Panchayat of no less than three-castes, *viz.*, the Goalas, Gangais and Rajbansis (who drink water from each other), met to discuss the question. The debate lasted a day and night. It was at last decided that as the boy had eaten with a Sikh, he could not be taken into any of their castes and that none of them could take water from him. The Sikh realized that other methods of suasion were necessary and offered to pay Rs. 500, and to give a feast to all three castes. His offer might have been accepted, have they not been convinced that their fellow castemen in Nepal would not only refuse to eat or inter-marry with them, but might hand them over to the Nepal Government for punishment when they crossed the border.

889. Among the lower castes the powers of the caste tribunals extend over a wide range. They take cognizance of breaches of the unwritten law of their caste, including breaches of social and religious rules, professional etiquette, and even the amenities of domestic life. It must not be supposed, however, that all offences are formally brought before the Panchayat. Frequently the offenders are simply reprimanded by the village elders, or the matter is quietly compromised. The caste headman commonly sends his Chharidar or messenger to settle matters privately. The number of offences against caste rules is legion, and space will not permit the mention of any but a few typical cases, such as smoking with or eating and drinking with a man of another caste, marrying outside one's own caste, taking up a degrading occupation, etc. In such cases relatives often suffer as well as the actual culprit. A Turaha of Champaran and his wife quarrelled. The wife, in a feminine fit of rage, determined to get her revenge, and drunk some water which a Musalman had touched. Both she and her poor husband were excommunicated. They were eventually restored to caste after the husband had fed Brahmans and feasted their caste fellows. Perhaps the commonest offences are those connected with the moral law, such as adultery, seduction, elopement, etc. Under this head too may be mentioned the question of *sagai*, or widow remarriage. Most of the castes in which the caste system has greatest vitality practice *sagai*, and the propriety or advisability of widow remarriage, in particular cases, is one of the subjects frequently laid before the Panchayat. In some cases, there appears to be no objection to a man having a mistress belonging to another caste, provided he does not eat food cooked by her.

In dealing with social matters the caste tribunals frequently trench upon the jurisdiction of the criminal and civil courts. Cases of assault on a fellow casteman are tried and compensation ordered. Abuse of a fellow casteman is dealt with leniently, but abuse of a headman severely, often entailing temporary excommunication. Endeavours are made to preserve peace and concord in the community. The spreading of false rumours, insults, disrespect to elders, all render the disturber of the peace liable to punishment. A husband and wife who frequently quarrel are brought to book. Reconciliations are effected in families that have quarrelled and partitions are prevented. Failure to attend caste festivals, and any attempt to deprive the caste fellows of their rights, is promptly taken account of. One mean Teli, who refused to give the usual feast on his son's marriage, was punished by having to provide a mat for the Panchayat meetings. Religious offences, such as selling cows for meat, allowing a cow to die while tied up, the neglect of or improper performance of religious ceremonies, are commonly dealt with and severe sentences inflicted. A Barhi in Patna was accused of selling a cow to a butcher. His plea that he sold it to a Goala was not believed, and he was fined Rs. 25 and sentenced, in default, to remain an outcaste for 12 years. Being unable to pay the fine he is still an outcaste. The apparent disproportion between the amount of the fine and the terrible penalty of 12 years' excommunication strikes a European as extraordinary.

890. The punishment awarded by caste councils are briefly (1) outcasting, which may be either temporary or permanent, (2) fines, (3) feasts given to the castemen, (4) corporal punishment and (5), among the better castes, religious punishments such as *mayaschitta* (an expiatory ceremony), pilgrimages and penances. A man is permanently outcasted for grave offences, *e. g.*, if he knowingly and persistently partakes of food with, or drinks water from the hands of, or smokes with, a man of lower caste or marries a woman of lower caste and refuses to put her away. This extreme penalty has even been awarded when a man has married a woman of his own caste without or against the consent of her relations. Adultery and engaging in an occupation which is looked upon as degrading are sometimes similarly punished. Temporary outcasting is resorted to for the punishment of offences which are regarded as less serious, or when there is hope that the cutting off of social intercourse for a time will effect reformation. This sentence is also passed in order to enforce obedience to the Panchayat's orders. A suspect is frequently outcasted till he clears himself of a charge.

A curious instance of this precaution is reported from Purnea. A man of the Rajbansi caste was charged by another of having had illicit intercourse with his widowed mother-in-law. The Panchayat met in due course, and as the charge was of a grave nature, the statement of the informer was taken down in writing and his thumb impression was taken on it, as well as a written undertaking that he would forfeit Rs. 10 if the charge was found to be untrue. The Panchayat could not arrive at a decision. The charge was, on the evidence, "unproven," but there was the risk of its being found true within three months, when it would be quite clear whether the woman was pregnant or not. In the meantime they all ran a danger if they ate with the man: so, to make themselves secure, they outcasted him for those three months.

When a minor offence has been committed, the culprit is ordered to pay a fine or provide a feast for his fellow-castemen. The fine is graduated according to the means of the offender. When he is a well-to-do or influential man, he is frequently required to give a feast to the castemen instead of being fined. Apologies are required for petty delinquencies, such as abusing fellow castemen and disrespect to elders. Pilgrimages are prescribed when a man by mistake, *i.e.*, unintentionally or unwittingly, eats food with, or drinks water from the hands of, or smokes with, a man of lower caste. *Prayaschitta* has to be performed for a similar offence, and also when a man has had social intercourse, knowingly, with persons of a higher caste. Penance is prescribed as a punishment for the arrogant and sometimes takes a curious form. For instance, when a man who has been declared guilty by a Panchayat shows contumacy, he is called upon to humiliate himself by placing upon his head the shoes of some of the members of the Panchayat.

Among the lower castes feasts to the castemen in the village are the commonest form of punishment. In the Kishanganj subdivision of Purnea, it is reported, nothing of importance, *e.g.*, a marriage or *sraddha* ceremony, can be performed without a feast being given to the Panchayat. Until and unless the feast is given, the ceremony is regarded as void. "This rule," writes Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., "has been pushed to its extreme limit among the Rajbansis, among whom the marriage ceremony is nothing but a feast given to the Panchayat. A man and woman may live together for years as husband and wife, and may beget children, but the marriage ceremony is not regarded as performed until the caste feast is given. As soon as the feast is given, the marriage becomes valid with retrospective effect."

891. The feeding of Brahmans, pilgrimages to some sacred shrine, bathing in the Ganges, and the offering of *pujas* to the gods are often prescribed as punishments, especially in Tirhut. A man may have to perform one or other or a combination of these penances. A correspondent in Saran reports that for serious offences "a man has to bathe in the river Ganges and swallow its sand in order to expiate his sins. After going through these penances, he has to make a free gift of a cow or she-calf, as the Panchayat may decide, to his family priest. He has also to feed the priest and give him a present of clothing and cash. Besides the priest, Brahmans, as persons of secondary importance, have to be fed, the number being fixed by the Panchayat. These Brahmans, if the means of the offender permit, have also to be given cash and cloth, but proportionately less than what the family priest gets, because the most important task of eating the first morsel touched by the offender devolves on him. If he declines to eat, neither the other Brahmans nor the castemen of the offender would venture to drink water touched by him, inter-dining of the castemen being out of question. The offender is further enjoined to perform some *pūja*: that which is at present in vogue is the ceremony of Satyanarayan *pūja* (worship of the true god). Then comes the feeding of the castemen. Before or after feeding his castemen, the offender, if he can afford it, has to give *dhotis* to his castemen in general, and to the Pradhan or headman in particular. On such occasions the offender is ordered to give two dinners to the castemen, one called *kachhi* (food not touchable by other castes, *e.g.*, boiled rice, etc.), and the other called *pakhi* (food touchable by other castes, such as bread cooked in *ghi*). After all these preliminaries the offender is regarded as taken in caste, for he is allowed to eat with his caste men on the

RELIGIOUS PUNISHMENTS.

occasion. If, however, the offender fails in any of the preliminaries, he must remain an outcaste."

892. Corporal punishment used to be commonly, but now is rarely, inflicted. The convicted person is thrashed with shoes, sticks, bamboos or the stem of a palm leaf, or

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

made to ride on a donkey with one half of his face coated with lime and the other smeared with tar. Among some castes, an offender has to stand a certain time with a full pitcher of water on his head and with a mortar for pounding rice hung round his neck. The Doms and Halalkhors of Darbhanga also inflict a Sisyphean form of punishment, offering the man something to eat and then snatching it away and giving it to a dog. The Mallahs of this district take the guilty man round the village bearing a mortar, while the Barhis parade him with a worn-out plough on his shoulder. Other castes make a man wear shoes round his neck.

893. Some of the sentences are very light, *e. g.*, an apology or a fine of a few annas. Others are very heavy, but a frank submission and apology sometimes procures a cancellation of the sentence. A Barhi, for instance,

SEVERITY AND LENIENCY OF SENTENCES.

while drunk, abused the members of his Panchayat and was outcasted for six months. The ban on him was withdrawn as soon as he apologized. In another case a Hajjam was excommunicated for 25 years for shaving the clients of another Hajjam, but was readmitted into caste at the price of a feast to all the Hajjams in the neighbourhood. The severity of the punishment is frequently mitigated in the case of rich men, but they do not escape altogether. To quote a case in point, a Kahar in Saran was outcasted for adultery with his sister-in-law. He went off to Calcutta, made money, and on his return spent a good deal of it in trying to induce his caste fellows to remove the ban laid on him. Eventually they promised to readmit him into caste on condition that, when he was reinstated, every man beat him with shoes. To this he agreed, and duly submitted to his beating.

894. Except for grave delinquencies, the outcasting is generally temporary. A man is readmitted into caste as soon as the period has expired, and it is also a common

READMISSION INTO CASTE.

thing for a sentence to be commuted, *e. g.*, to a fine and a feast. The man who is readmitted into caste has generally to provide a feast for his fellow castemen. His joining in the feast symbolizes the fact that he is again in communion with them.

895. A man whose charge is found to be false by the Panchayat is as liable to punishment as the accused would be if it was proved. He may be outcasted temporarily

PUNISHMENT OF FALSE CHARGES.

or fined, or he may be subjected to personal punishment. He may be bound hand and foot and exposed to the sun, or whipped—it is reported from Saran that though corporal punishments are rarely inflicted nowadays, a bundle of bamboo twigs is kept ready for use at the Panchayat meetings—or he may be given five kicks by every member of the meeting, or tied up in a mat and left for some hours in that uncomfortable position.

896. When fines are inflicted, they are either paid on the spot, or realized later by the Chharidar. Compulsion is not necessary, for default in payment is met by outcasting :

REALIZATION AND DISPOSAL OF FINES

the defaulter is simply boycotted and cut off from all social intercourse till he pays up. The proceeds are spent in a number of different ways. Most commonly they are spent on providing a common feast, or utilized for the purchase of mats for the members to sit on in council, and for other incidental expenses of the Panchayats, such as the purchase of cooking pots. They may be, and often are, devoted to charitable purposes, *e. g.*, to helping a poor man in meeting the expenses of his daughter's marriage, and in paying for the funerals of the indigent ; or they are put to religious and pious uses, such as feeding Brahmans and alms to the poor. They may be allowed to accumulate till there is enough to build a temple. In one case a fine of Rs. 700 realized from a rich Sunri of Tirhut, who had performed *sraddha* in a manner contrary to established usage, was given to the fund raised for a Sunri school. Occasionally also they are expended on works of public utility, such as tanks and wells.

897. In the Chota Nagpur Plateau conditions vary so greatly among the aboriginal tribes and semi-Hinduized castes that there cannot be said to be a uniform type of caste government. It will therefore be necessary to give an account of the system in vogue among some of the principal tribes, from which it will be seen that it is largely based on the communal system, which is one of their cherished institutions.

CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU.

898. The Ho villages were formerly grouped in *Parhas*, each under a chief called a Manki. The affairs of the *Parha* were regulated by the Manki assisted by a council of Mundas, or village headmen. When any question arose affecting the whole tribe, a general meeting of the Mankis was held. The powers of the councils were absolute, extending to death sentences for incest, and their decisions were unquestioned. In course of time the term *Parha* became corrupted into *Pir*; and, as the Hos multiplied, there were several Mankis in each *Pir*, but they still retained the system of councils, which became known as Panchayats. When British rule was established, the authority of the Panchayats in civil matters, especially in questions affecting tribal customs, was recognized. The rules for the administration of civil justice in the Kolhan provided specifically for the reference of suits to Panchayats, and declared that decrees passed in conformity with their awards should not be appealable, unless corruption could be proved, or unless the award was contrary to the common law of the country or to rules enacted by the Governor-General. These rules (laid down in 1837) are still in force, and disputes brought into Court are commonly referred back to the Panchayats. The control of the Panchayats over criminal matters was gradually transferred to the Courts, but petty disputes of a criminal nature continued, and still continue, to be settled by the headmen.

899. Complaints are made direct to the Manki, or through the Munda or village headman. For the settlement of trivial matters, in which only the parties themselves are interested, *e.g.*, petty assaults and questions of bride-price, the Manki may call on each party to nominate one or two persons to serve as arbitrators, and appoint a man to preside over their deliberations. If this court of arbitration cannot settle the question, the Manki takes it up himself. In petty disputes affecting only the parties concerned or the inhabitants of a single village, the Munda may summon a Panchayat of four or five influential raiyats with himself as President. This local Panchayat will settle the matter at issue, if possible; if they are not successful, it must be referred to the Manki for adjudication in a more representative Panchayat. When a momentous matter of caste custom or tribal usage is involved, all the Mundas under the Mankis are summoned. When the parties are under the jurisdiction of different Mankis, complaint may be made to either Manki: in such cases a joint Panchayat of the Mundas of both circles is commonly held.

900. Offences against caste rules are mostly concerned with questions of eating and inter-marriage. The Ho tribe is divided into a large number of exogamous septs known as *kilis*. Each of these *kilis* is divided into two classes, one of which is regarded as socially superior to the other. The members of the superior class will not eat or inter-marry with those of an inferior class. The *kilis* being exogamous, and the whole tribe being strictly endogamous, the same penalty of outcasting follows on inter-marriage within the *kili* as on eating or inter-marriage with other tribes or castes. Smoking the same cigarette is as strictly restricted as eating, but the rules as to drinking are more lax. A Ho will drink with another Ho with whom he cannot eat or inter-marry. He will also drink with Mundas, Santals and Bhumij, and with certain Hindu castes, such as Goalas and Kumhars. He will not, however, drink with lower Hindu castes, such as Ghasis, Tantis, Kamars and Doms, and never with Muhammadans. The sentence of outcasting is permanent if the offender cannot establish his innocence before the Panchayat. Temporary outcasting continues while the matter is *sub judice*, but this is only to protect the other members of the offender's family. On this account the relatives are the first to take action against an offender, the social ban continuing until he proves his innocence.

Now-a-days the treatment to be accorded to emigrants on their return from Assam is a common subject of inquiry. Their relatives immediately refuse to eat with them, and they are temporarily outcasted. The outcasted individual then has a Panchayat convoked, and has to prove to its satisfaction that he has not eaten with any foreigner since he left his home. If he can do this, he is received back in the usual way; if not, he is permanently outcasted. Women are, naturally enough, outcasted permanently if they have been away alone. Very few men, however, are permanently outcasted, because it is supposed that the aboriginal coolies on a tea garden live among their fellows and separately from the other coolies, and there is therefore *a priori* no reason for presuming that a man who has been to Assam has broken the rule about eating. Restoration to the tribe is celebrated by a feast, as a preliminary to which the man has to bathe, shave and receive a lustration. One of the Mundas, or a substantial raiyat of another *kili*, who has been a member of the Panchayat, is deputed by the Manki to sprinkle him with water, which is taken up in a leaf of the *tulsi* plant, or of a *nim* leaf if the *tulsi* is not available. A fowl is then sacrificed—formerly, the offender had to drink the blood of a pig or a black fowl—after which the Hos have a feast, in which their re-admitted brother takes part. As a further proof of his having begun a new life, the man has to throw away all the domestic utensils in his house and use new pots.

901. Fines are imposed in three kinds of cases—(i) Caste cases, in which an individual has lost his caste through poverty and applies for re-admission. The Manki takes a portion of the fine and the rest is divided among the Panchayat members. (ii) Offences against the general interests of the community, *e.g.*, the cutting of a tree in a sacred grove or immoderate felling in a village forest. Part of the fine is taken by the Manki and Panchayat members, and part by the chaukidar appointed by the villagers to look after the jungle. (iii) Personal disputes between parties. The major portion of the fine is given to the aggrieved party as compensation, the remainder being retained by the Manki and Panchayat members. The amount of the fine is regulated by the offender's capability to pay, and there is seldom any difficulty about realization.

If a man refuses to submit to the Panchayat's decision, the aggrieved party is referred to the Courts. The number of cases in which the Panchayat's verdict is questioned is, however, comparatively small. The Hos do not go to the Mankis as much as they used to do, but when they ask them to settle their differences in a Panchayat, the orders passed are generally accepted.*

902. The system of tribal government among the Mundas of Ranchi differs according to the area in which they live. Their country may be divided into two subdivisions, viz., the Khuntkatti and the Bhuinhari areas, lying roughly east and west respectively of thana Khunti. The Bhuinhari area is made up of groups of eight or more villages known as *Parhas*; the Bhuinhars of each *Parha* are all members of one and the same *kili* or sept. In this area the old post of Manki or tribal chief has disappeared, whereas it has survived in the Khuntkatti area. The latter was originally divided into *Pattis*, consisting of ten or twelve villages, which were ruled over by Mankis. The *Pattis* are now for the most part broken up, except in a locality known as the Manki *Patti*. In the Khuntkatti area the Munda and Pahan, who hold office by hereditary right, convoke Panchayats when occasion requires, *e.g.*, on receipt of a complaint. The Panchayat consists of members of the same *kili*. The Manki may be asked to preside; otherwise, the Pahan presides. Its jurisdiction extends only over the village, and it deals mainly with breaches of the marriage laws and disputes about the division of property.

In the Bhuinhari area each *Parha* has a standing committee, which deals as a matter of course with breaches of the caste rules. The chief officials are the Raja and Diwan, with whom complaints are lodged by the Munda or Pahan of the village where the offence has taken place; orders are then given to the Pande to convoke the Panchayat. All members

* The above account has been compiled from a report by Mr. L. B. Burrows, Deputy Magistrate, Singhbhum.

of the *kili* are entitled to attend. The proceedings are preluded by a feast, and there are certain officers having duties connected with it. One man gathers the leaves which serve as plates, another makes the plates, a third the leaf-cups, and a fourth distributes tobacco and *pan*. The chief function of the Panchayat is to punish offences against the marriage laws. If the culprit is repentant and promises to separate from the woman, he has to drink the blood of a white he-goat or a white fowl; the Pahan also sprinkles him with its blood. Otherwise he is usually ordered to pay a fine. The fines are realized by the Diwan and his *chaprasis*, by force if necessary. The Mundas are not very strict about eating and drinking, except with persons belonging to lower castes. They will eat with any Munda of any *kili*, and even with Christian Mundas, for embracing Christianity does not involve out-casting. The Panchayat also meets to discuss social matters—recently a meeting was held in one *Parha* to discuss the abolition of dances and *jatras*, in view of the immorality they lead to. Another favourite subject of discussion is the *Sardari Larai*, a political movement aiming at the expulsion of all Dikku (*i.e.*, Hindu and Musalman) zamindars, of which mention has been made in the section of Chapter IV dealing with the Birsaits. For this purpose collections are made and paid into a common fund.*

903. Among the Kandhs (Khonds) of the Khondmals the primitive system of village communities still exists almost intact.

KANDHS (KHONDS). The villages are grouped together in divisions called Muthas, each village being presided over by a headman, called Malika, over whom again is the headman of the Mutha, or the Mutha Malika. The village headman is the arbiter in all disputes, whether social, domestic or agrarian. If the dispute is between people of different villages, the headmen of the two villages decide it in consultation with the Mutha headman, in the presence of a few people of their own or adjoining villages. Intercourse with a blood relation is a heinous offence. The guilty parties are excommunicated till a purifying ceremony has been performed. A buffalo and pig are sacrificed to the earth goddess, and a pot of water is dashed on the front of the man's house to signify that the year's rainfall will not fail as a result of his sin. The Hinduized Kandhs of Angul have a system like that of their Hindu neighbours, there being a hereditary caste headman, called Behara, who convokes Panchayats and gives judgement in consultation with them. If the Panchayat is hopelessly divided in its opinion, members of other castes are called in, to form a general assembly, and the matter is threshed out with their advice. In Kalahandi the Kandhs select a headman called Omra—the name curiously recalls Mughal times—to act as their caste headman. He has jurisdiction over a group of villages, and is assisted by a Panchayat, composed of elderly and influential villagers and including as a rule the Gaontia, or fiscal headman. Complaints are made to the Omra, who then convokes the council and passes orders, in consultation with them, after hearing the parties.

904. The Panchayat system is an old and cherished institution among the Oraons, the Panch or council of elders being held in such honour that the Oraons say, before discussing any important business, "God above, the Panch below," *i.e.*, the Panch is the highest authority on earth. There are two types of Panchayat, viz., the village Panchayat and the Panchora Panchayat. Originally, when the community consisted only of Oraons, the village Panchayat, *i.e.*, a meeting of *panches* representing the village, was confined to them, but now that the village is more heterogeneous, it has a different constitution. If a question affecting the whole village is to be debated, all the villagers, whatever their caste or tribe, meet in the Panchayat, while its president may be any respected village elder—even a Christian catechist—though it is generally the Mahto or Pahan. This Panchayat meets when occasion demands, and its president is elected only for the meeting. It decides land disputes, questions of inheritance and partition, cases of adultery and any infringement of Oraon customs. It also brings about the reconciliation of enemies, who have to drink a bowl of rice-beer together. Should one or other refuse, he is made to pay a fine or is given a good beating. If they consent to the reconciliation, a light fine is inflicted in order to provide a feast for the villagers. It also

* I am indebted to Mr. J. McPherson, Subdivisional Officer of Khunti, for the above information.

assembles to decide what action shall be taken when the village is visited by sickness, either of man or beast. The first thing done is, of course, to find out the wizard or the witch who is devouring their children or their cattle, and the next is to decide how to treat him or her.

905. The Panchora Panchayat is a more formal assembly consisting of the adult male members of a group of five or six villages. It is presided over either by the Kartaha or by the Mukhia. There is a Kartaha for each Panchora, who holds his office by hereditary right. The Mukhia is the chief man of a village or group of villages, and holds his office only as long as he is capable of performing its duties and is approved of by his fellows. The Panchora Panchayat is concerned chiefly with grave offences against caste rules, and also acts as a court of appeal against the decision of the Village Panchayat. If a man is ready to go to the expense of calling this large body together, he can do so, but the expense of giving food and drink to such a large body is naturally deterrent.

906. One important function of the Panchora Panchayat is to reinstate a man in caste. It sits in judgement on his case, decides whether he can be re-admitted, and fixes the amount he must pay, etc. In the actual ceremony of reinstatement the Kartaha plays a leading part. In the first place, the outcaste goes round the villages of the Panchora, carrying a *lota* and announcing the date on which the Panchayat will assemble at his house. He has to fast for a certain period, and the Kartaha with two attendants (*bhitriyas*), come to his house. Two other Oraons (called *sivahis*), who are especially selected for the purpose, mount guard over him to see that he does not break his fast or take any food or drink except turmeric water. When the period of fasting is ended, the Panchayat assembles, and the offender, after bathing, comes before it. The Kartaha kills a white cock or white goat, and the culprit is made to drink the blood, thus symbolically purging his sin. He then serves each Oraon with some food, after which the Kartaha calls for his fee (*vatri tari*), which varies from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15. Having received it, he begins to eat the food prepared by the outcaste. The moment that the Kartaha raises the food to his lips, all the persons present hurl their rice at his head. The offender, after this, brings a fresh supply of food and eats with his fellow tribesmen. The function of the Kartaha, it will be noticed, is that of a scapegoat or sinner-eater. On his return home he uses the fees which he has been paid to give a feast to the caste-men. By so doing he atones for having eaten the food of an outcaste.

907. In some parts of Barwe in Ranchi there are Parha Panchayats, which differ in constitution and functions from the Panchora Panchayats. Like the latter, the Parha Panchayat exercises jurisdiction over a group of villages, but it does not consist of all the adult males of each village, but only of the leading men in each village, *e.g.*, the Mahto, Pahan, Bhandari, etc. It further deals with matters affecting whole villages, and not merely individuals. The Panchayat, which meets only once a year, deals with matters of religion, the dates of festivals, etc., and also with disputes about the village flags. Each Oraon village has a flag with a distinctive emblem, and disputes arise if one village makes any wanton innovation in its flag, *e.g.*, adopts the emblem which is distinctive of another. One of its chief functions is to deal with villages that do not observe the customary rules of sport, especially in the annual hunt. Two villages, for instance, unite for a hunt. During the beat a deer is wounded by villagers of village A, but escapes and is killed by the villagers of village B, who surreptitiously carry off their spoils of the chase and enjoy a solitary feast. A curious penalty is inflicted by the Parha Panchayat. The villagers of village A invade village B and beat to death the first pig which crosses their path, so as to supply themselves with a feast in the place of that of which they have been unfairly deprived.

908. The offences with which the Panchayat deals, whether it be the Panchayat of the village or of the Panchora, are for the most part offences against caste rules and public morality. The Panchayat takes no notice of sexual intercourse between

Oraons if the parties are not closely related. If a child is born, the parties are made to live together. Should the child die, they may separate, provided that all intercourse between them ceases and that the young man pays for the maintenance of the girl till she is married. Sexual intercourse between parties who are closely related is regarded as a very serious offence, and may involve loss of tribal rights for life or for a long term of years. The offending parties will only be able to recover their status, if at all, by the payment of large fine. Extenuating circumstances are however taken into consideration, and the Panchayat may consider it sufficient to give the parties a beating.

Sexual intercourse between Oraons and non-Oraons is a serious offence, but its heinousness depends on the social status of the caste concerned. Cases of illicit intercourse between an Oraon and a non-Oraon of low caste, *e.g.*, Dom, Ghasi, Turi, Lohar, etc., or of adultery with a non-Oraon of any caste, whether high or low, are submitted to a mixed Panchayat, *i.e.*, a Panchayat composed of the entire male population of the Panchora or Panchoras concerned, both castes being represented. If the act was unpremeditated or committed in drunkenness, the Panchayat will deal leniently with the offenders. If it was premeditated, the offenders may have to pay a fine of a buffalo or 5 or 6 pigs (of a total value of about Rs. 40) before they can be taken back into caste. The fines are divided between the two castes who have formed the Panchayat. Subsequently, the caste which ranks higher in social estimation holds a second Panchayat and imposes another fine on the member of their caste who has brought discredit upon them.

The rules about eating and drinking are not strict, and breach of them can be condoned by providing a goat or a pig and some rice-beer for a feast, or by the sacrifice of a white goat or a white cock and by drinking the blood of the animal so sacrificed. The ceremony of expiation may be carried out by the Pahan of the village, and the expiation does not necessarily involve the assembly of a Panchayat. As among other tribes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, a man who has a festering sore—a “wound with maggots” as it is usually described—is considered to have offended against caste and to be unclean. To regain his position, he must call the Panchayat and feast them on a white goat and rice-beer.*

909. The Kharias of Ranchi have a Panchayat system similar to that of the Oraons. They are divided into two classes, *viz.*, those who eat the flesh of cows (Chotgohandi) and those who abstain from it (Bargohandi). Amongst the latter it is an offence wilfully to kill, or to cause to be killed, a cow or bullock : such an offence can only be expiated by a visit to a sacred bathing place. On his return, the culprit has to drink the blood of a white goat and give a feast to the members of the Panchayat. The Kharias also have a Kartaha who restores men to caste : he is not a permanent officer, but is chosen for the occasion. If a man is outcasted and cannot, owing to poverty, pay the fine at once, the Panchayat may grant him the right of drinking with his castemen. For this he must pay them two measures of parched rice and one pot of rice-beer. For the full recovery of caste rights the Kartaha's help is needed. The offender drinks the blood of a white he-goat, besides supplying food and drink to the Panchayat. No rice is thrown at the Kartaha, and he is merely the first person to eat the food of the outcaste. As among the Oraons, it is an offence for a woman to do a man's work. A Kharia woman who touches the plough, is herself yoked to a plough and made to plough a few feet of ground : she must also eat some grass and go round the village begging for rice to provide drink for the Panchayat. The sister or the daughter of the master of the house, when grown up, also commits an offence if she enters a cow-shed.

910. The system of tribal government among the Santals is closely bound up with the communal system. Its unit is the village, at the head of which is the Santal

* The above account has been compiled from a note by Mr. M. G. Hallett, I.C.S., late Subdivisional Officer of Gumla in the Ranchi district. A brief account of the Oraon Panchayats in Palamau will be found in *The Religion and Customs of the Oraons*, by the Revd. P. Dehon, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1906-07.

headman or Manjhi. He is essential to Santal life, every public sacrifice, ceremony and festival requiring his presence. Should a Santal village have a headman of another race, they will appoint a Santal to perform all the social and ceremonial deaths of the Manjhi. He is called a Handi Manjhi, *i.e.*, a liquor headman, the consumption of liquor being a feature of their ceremonies. In his administrative capacity as fiscal head of the village the Manjhi is assisted by a sub-head man called a Paranik. In his social functions he is assisted by the Jog-Manjhi, who acts as *custos morum* to the young people of the village. If a girl becomes pregnant, the Jog-Manjhi has to find the man who is responsible and bring him before the Panchayat, which will deal with the culprit. If he does not, the village people take him to the Manjhi's cow-shed and tie him with a buffalo's rope to a pole, besides imposing a fine on him. During the Sohrai festival, when much license prevails, the village boys and girls live for five days and nights with the Jog-Manjhi, who has to see that no scandal occurs, *e.g.*, that relatives between whom marriage is prohibited do not have illicit intercourse. The Jog-Manjhi has an assistant called Jog-Paranik, who officiates when he is absent. The fifth and last of the secular village officials is the Gorait, who acts as the Manjhi's orderly, and calls the villagers together at his command. These posts are practically hereditary, but it is recognized that their holders are merely representatives of the village community and that they derive their power from the people themselves. Once a year they all resign their posts to the village people, though this is now done only *pro formâ*, for they are regularly re-appointed.

The Manjhi summons the villagers when any question arises affecting their common interests, or when a villager has complained to him and a communal judgment is required. The meeting is called a Panchayat or in Santali *More-hor* (literally five men), a term which probably originally signified the headman and the four other village officials. The latter are *ex-officio* members, and the Panchayat also includes any adult male belonging to the village. If there is a dispute between Santals belonging to different villages, the people of both villages meet together to decide the case. If they cannot arrive at a conclusion, or if one or both of the parties are dissatisfied with their finding, a reference is made to a full bench consisting of a Parganait (who is the head of a group of villages), the village headmen of the group and other influential men in the neighbourhood. As the Manjhi has an assistant in the village, so the Parganait has an assistant in his circle called the Desh-Manjhi.

Every village has its council place (the Manjhi *than*) where Panchayats are held and petty disputes are settled. The Panchayat also disposes of more serious questions, such as disputes about marriage and inheritance. Questions of serious importance are referred to a Panchayat consisting of the neighbouring Manjhis under the control of the Parganait.

911. Total excommunication, which means expulsion from the tribe, can only be effected by a general assembly of the Santals. This extreme penalty is inflicted for

OUTCASTING.

breaches of either the endogamous or the exogamous law, *i.e.*, for sexual intercourse with a non-Santal or between Santal relatives who come within their table of kindred and affinity. If any one commits such an offence, the headman of his village calls his neighbouring colleagues together and informs them. If the charge is believed to be true, the parties are temporarily out-casted. Nothing more can be done till the annual tribal hunt takes place, when the matter is discussed in a full conclave of the Santals. If the case is not proved, those who started the rumour are very severely punished. If it is proved, the assembly gives an order for outcasting, and proceeds to execute the sentence under the supervision of the local Parganait and some other influential men. The main part of the proceedings consists of defiling the outcaste's house. The fire-places, pots, etc., are all broken, while the young men strip and commit nuisance in and round about the house; one case is known in which it took more than two weeks for the place to dry up properly.

912. The tribal hunt is the one occasion in the year when the Santals act as a united tribe, all local units and officials being then subordinated to the tribal session.

THE TRIBAL HUNT.

It is a common hunt to which the people are summoned by an official called Dihri, who acts as priest and hunt-master. The summons is sent by a *sal* branch being circulated. In the evening, when the hunt is over, the people meet in council. Here the Manjhis and Parganait are, if necessary, brought to justice; and if any one has to be excommunicated, his case is dealt with. Any matter, great or small, may be brought forward by anyone; if the case cannot be finally decided then, it is kept in abeyance till next year's hunt.

913. The re-admission of outcastes is as public as their excommunication.

RE-ADMISSION OF OUTCASTES.

It is effected by a ceremony called *jam jati* (i.e., eating one's way back to the tribe). When it is to be performed, the village headman informs the local Parganait, and the latter 12 other Parganait, so that the news spreads over the whole countryside. The person who is to be re-admitted goes to the end of the village street carrying water in a *lota* with a twisted cloth round his neck to show that he is willing to be led. After he has acknowledged his transgression and begged for pity, the most venerable Parganait present takes the *lota* from his hands and bows to the sun. He then rinses his mouth with a little of the water and passes it round to all leading men, who do the same. After this they enter the village and go to the courtyard of the outcaste, where he washes their feet. All then sit down to a feast at which the outcaste serves them: he also pays the necessary fees, viz., Rs. 5 to every Parganait and to the village Manjhi, and one rupee to every other Manjhi. After the feast the old Parganait announces his restoration to brotherhood. They then dig a small hole, bury a lump of cow-dung in it and put a stone on top, thereby symbolizing that the man's sin is buried for ever.

914. In the Patna State the Binjhals and Saharas have a curious belief

DEATHS FROM TIGERS AND OUTCASTING.

that if a man is killed by a tiger his relatives become *ipso facto* impure. For both castes there is an elaborate ceremony of purification which is performed by the officers of the caste Panchayat, viz., the Muri and Biswal in the case of Binjhals and the Biswal and Manjhi in the case of Saharas. The following account of the ceremony among Binjhals applies *mutatis mutandis* to the Saharas, the name of the officiating functionaries only being different. The family of the dead man first search for the body and bury it, or any portion they can find, near the village site. They then observe a fast till the Muri comes and sprinkles the juice of the *bija* tree over their house and also over the village roads and paths. After this, the household get out new pots and break their fast, but they remain excommunicated till duly purified. On the morning of the day fixed for this ceremony, all their clothes are washed, and the walls and floor of the house smeared with fresh earth and cowdung. The Biswal and Muri, accompanied by other members of the caste, then take the outcasted family to a stream or tank: the family is represented by one of its members, who is treated as the outcaste. He is shaved there completely, his male relatives are also shaved, and the females have their nails pared. They also bathe and put on new clothes. The Muri and Biswal make seven holes on the bank of the tank or stream, in each of which water, paddy, milk and flowers are placed. Seven lamps and seven heaps of rice are placed by them and the sun god is invoked: the outcaste and his family stand facing the sun. The Muri sacrifices seven fowls, and pours water seven times on the outcaste's head. Water is also sprinkled over the bodies of the outcaste and his family, and some is poured into their hands and drunk by them, after which they fall at the feet of the caste fellows and remain prostrate till told by the elders to arise. After this, the Muri goes to the house again and sprinkles the holy water on the floor and roofs. The proceedings end with a feast in the purified house, symbolizing re-entry into caste.

It is believed that the spirit of the dead man enters the tiger and that it will kill the head of the house unless the family is purified. The ceremony, it is said, propitiates the spirit, which is then released from bondage. The basis of the superstition is probably however, that the family has offended the deity and that, for the sake of the community, they must be purified by means of an expiatory ceremony. If any Khonds are resident in a village where a man has been killed by a tiger, they also take action independently.

In the centre of the street in which they live is a square wooden post, with the head roughly carved, which represents the earth god and is called Dharni or Judan. To it they make offerings, and neglect of its worship is a sin which renders them liable to attacks from tigers. Formerly, when a man was killed by a tiger, they left the village and built new houses elsewhere. Now that the State has a system of forest conservancy, they are content to tear up the post, erecting another after an interval of a week or so.

915. In Orissa the system of caste government follows a more or less uniform type. The lowest castes, and also the *Hatua* castes, *i.e.*, clean (mostly functional) castes, such as Gauras and Gurias, that occupy an intermediate position in the social scale, have headmen called variously Behara (the commonest name), Padhan, Thanapati, etc., who exercise authority in caste matters over single villages or groups of two to six villages. Over them, again, are superior officials called Mahantas, Sardar Beharas, etc., with jurisdiction over large areas, *e.g.*, fifty to sixty villages. The posts are hereditary: on succession, the new officer gives a feast to the castemen under him, the headmen of other groups and the superior officials. When they meet at this convivial gathering, they declare his succession is confirmed. Caste offences are dealt with in several ways according to their gravity, and the tribunal is not always confined to members of the caste. On receipt of a complaint, the headman calls a meeting of influential villagers belonging both to his caste and also to other castes, and decides the question in consultation with them: this meeting is called a Sabha. If the accused is opposed to having the case decided by this tribunal, the headman brings it up at a gathering of the caste on the occasion of some festival: this conclave is called Jati Sabha, *i.e.*, a meeting of the caste. The accused is excommunicated till the Jati Sabha has given its verdict. If the issues are important, or if the offender disputes the decision of a Jati Sabha, a Barhai Patak Sabha or general meeting of several castes (Brahmans, other high castes and clean low castes) is called. Its decision is final, and the people of all castes respect it.

If an offender refuses to submit to the orders passed by the headman at a Sabha or to the orders of the Jati Sabha, he is outcasted. If he disregards the decision of the general meeting (Barhai Patak Sabha), he is declared *patit*, *i.e.*, out of Hindu society, and the village barber and washerman cease to serve him. Fines are generally imposed for petty offences and expended in offerings to Jagannath or the village deity. Men guilty of serious offences have to provide the castemen with a feast or more than one feast. This entails heavy expense, as the number of men to be fed varies from 100 to 400. If an offender is poor, he may be permitted to feed only a few men and to pay a certain amount in cash. If he is so poor that he cannot make any payment, he falls prostrate before the assembly of caste people (Jati Sabha) and serves each man with *dantkathi nani*, *i.e.*, he gives each of them a stick for brushing his teeth and some water. This is regarded as an humiliating penance. Each caste has got a Brahman or Baishnab who makes the offerings to the deities. When a Jati Sabha is to be held, the money received up to date is made over to him. He then makes the offerings, brings the *bhog* (food offered to the deities), and distributes it to all the caste people, who eat it then and there.

916. In Balasore the system appears to be more like that of Bihar. It is reported that low castes, such as Gaura, Tanti, Teli, Gokha, Kandra, etc., have each a Panchayat, which deals with all questions connected with caste government. The Panchayat consists of as many members as there are houses or families within its jurisdiction. A male member from each family is sent as a delegate to it; a minor is represented by an adult relative. It is invariably presided over by the Behara or caste headman, who holds his title by hereditary right and "is appointed, when necessary, by the religious preceptor or village landlord." He is, in fact, the real authority, for all questions are referred to him in the first instance, and the Panchayat takes action only on his initiative. He calls it together when a special meeting is necessary. Generally, however, the meetings are held when religious festivals or social ceremonies are celebrated, at which the members of the caste will naturally be present.

917. The higher castes, such as Brahman, Karan and Khandait, and among the low clean castes, the Chasas, have no caste officials. When any member of these castes commits a serious offence or repeatedly violates caste customs, his neighbours move in the matter and call a meeting of the caste and leading members of other castes to deal with the matter. The control over individual members is not very strong, and the decisions of the caste councils are frequently disregarded. An offender may have sympathisers and friends, who back him up and, with him, disregard the opinion of the majority. In this respect the Oriya high caste is like the Bengali high caste, as it is frequently split up into discordant factions.

918. In Sambalpur there are some castes of which the organization is connected with the local temples. Council meetings are held in temples, oaths taken in a temple form an important part of the procedure, and temples are maintained from the caste funds. The castes in which this system obtains present other peculiar features of which a brief account may be given.

919. The Panchayat presidents of the Agarias, who are called Parganias, are the headmen of the villages in which the principal temples of this community are situated : these villages are known as Gurigaon, *i.e.*, temple villages. They hold office by hereditary right, but residence in the temple villages is essential. The Panchayats are held in the temples and are convoked by the Pargania, who summons—it is said by letter—the leading men of the caste from each village within the local area served by the temple. In case of intestate deaths, the whole property of the deceased goes to the caste. A feast is given, the Pargania gets a bullock, and the balance is utilized for religious or charitable purposes, *e.g.*, repairing the temples, and helping poor castemen on the occasion of marriages.

920. The Kultas worship Ramchandi, a deity who has three principal temples. The villages in which they are situated are called Piths, and the fiscal headmen of the three villages are the caste headmen. All the Kultas therefore are grouped in three circles, each with its Pith Panchayat, or general committee, consisting of 4 to 6 persons, of which the Pith headman is president. Membership of the Panchayat is hereditary : even the minor heir of a deceased Panch can sit on it. The president's post is also hereditary, but females can succeed—a unique feature in the system of caste government. One of the presidents at the present time is a woman. Under the general committees there are sub-committees, and under the sub-committees there are one or two Kurs or headmen in each Kulta village. The post of Kur is also hereditary.

If the matter to be decided is of small importance, the Kur sends for the castemen of the village and decides the case with their help. Otherwise he refers it to the president of the local sub-committee. The president then calls all the Kurs of his circle and sits in council with them. Serious offences, and cases in which there is a division of opinion, have to be tried by the general committee. If an accused does not admit his guilt, neither the Kur nor the sub-committee can pass final orders, and a reference must be made to the Pith Panchayat. If he still persists in his plea of innocence, he is directed to have it put to the proof by taking an oath in a temple. In case of an intestate death, the temple gets all that remains of the property of the deceased after the expenses of a caste feast have been met. If a widow marriage takes place, the temple gets 5 per cent. of the money which the bridegroom pays to the castemen for the marriage feast.

921. The Brahmans of Sambalpur, unlike Brahmans elsewhere, have an organized system of self-government for each of their three sub-castes. They are (1) the Jharua Brahmans, the earliest Brahmans in Sambalpur, whose name means jungly and is supposed to refer to the fact that the country was a mass of jungle when they settled in it ; (2) the Utkal Brahmans, who are later immigrants from Orissa ; and (3) the Raghunathia Brahmans, who worship Raghunath or Ram.

The Jharuas are grouped together in a society or Sabha, which is designated Brahmapura Aranyak Brahman Sabha: the Brahmapura temple in Sambalpur, from which it derives its name, is of particular sanctity, and not only caste matters but also civil suits are settled by oaths in it. The Sabha has written records dating back 50 years and is administered by a Panchayat or standing committee, at present consisting of 15 members including the president. The latter is a member of the family from which the Raja of Sambalpur used to select the Brahman headman. The members of the committee are chosen by the Sabha from leading families in Sambalpur town. This Panchayat has got original jurisdiction over members of the community living in Sambalpur town and its neighbouring villages. Outside these limits there are sub-committees with Parganias as headmen. The Sabha gives each Pargania a charter or letter of authorization, which also contains the names of the members of the sub-committee: the latter are selected from among the local Jharuas by the Sabha in consultation with the Pargania. The Brahmapura Sabha formerly had appellate jurisdiction over all the sub-committees, but recently independent Sabhae have been set up. When there is an appeal against the decision of a sub-committee, its members sit with the members of the Brahmapura Sabha. Other castes also refer to it questions of a specially grave or complicated character. A record is kept of the proceedings, and regular accounts are maintained. In doubtful cases the alleged offender has to swear to his innocence in the Brahmapura temple.

922. The Utkals recognize the supremacy of a temple in Sambalpur called Timni Guri. Till a recent date, the head of the Guru family of Sambalpur, as the chief priest of this temple, was the recognized headman of the caste, and sat in Panchayat with the heads of the principal families. This simple body was swept away in 1895, when the modernized Utkals, filled with admiration of the representative system, decided to adopt it in their social life. A large meeting was held, in which the proposed reforms were sanctioned and the Panchayat was reorganized, 20 members being elected. The head of the Guru family retained his post, and the vice-president also was selected from that family. No elections were held to fill up vacancies till 1911, when there was another mass meeting of the community and fresh members were elected. The president, a man of the good old type, had by this time realized what the "reforms" meant. He resigned and the vice-president took his place.

The general committee exercises original jurisdiction over Sambalpur and its neighbourhood, and has 20 sub-committees under it, to which it has delegated power to deal with minor breaches of caste rules. Every serious matter in which there is need of *prayaschitta*, or of consultation of the *Smritis*, must be referred to the general committee. The elective system has not been extended to the sub-committees, membership of which is confined to certain families. The headman is selected from the principal family in the group of villages over which it has control. When a Panchayat meets, and the accused pleads not guilty, evidence is taken, the witnesses produced by both sides being examined on oath. If the evidence is inconclusive, the offender is asked whether he will swear in a temple that he was not guilty. The Brahmapura temple is most commonly resorted to. The oath is written on a palm leaf, and, after being read out, is deposited in the temple. The man invokes terrible penalties on his head, *e.g.*, that if he has committed the offence complained of, he will become blind, that "his heart will burst," or that he will lose all his children within three days, or three weeks or three months or three years, as may be agreed upon. If nothing of the sort happens within the period fixed, he comes up again before the Panchayat with the palm leaf and is taken back to caste.

923. The Raghunathias have an entirely different system, for they are under Gaontias or village headmen, each of whom is assisted by a permanent Panchayat of four men. The posts of the headmen and the *panches* are hereditary. For offences not calling for permanent outcasting the culprit has to purify himself by having himself shaved clean and all his clothes washed, and then visit a temple and make offerings to Raghunath. After this, he

must give a feast to his brethren. Fines are utilized for caste feasts, and of the balance five-eighths are devoted to the worship of Raghunath.

924. In Orissa many things are treated as breaches of caste rules that are taken no notice of elsewhere. A man who has been imprisoned in jail is frequently treated as a

CASTE OFFENCES.

outcaste. On his release he has to make a pilgrimage besides other penalties, such as providing a feast for his local brethren, before he can be in communion with them. The Malis of Sambalpur outcaste a man for ever who is imprisoned seven times. If he is imprisoned more than once, they call on him to execute a bond, undertaking not to commit crime on pain of excommunication. To be beaten by a very low-caste man, such as a Ganda, is regarded as an offence by most castes. If a Gaura suffers this indignity, he must throw away his earthen cooking pots, cleanse his house and furniture, shave, have his clothes washed, and feed two old castemen residing in the village. A Bhulia is fined if a Ganda even accidentally touches him. *Machhiapatak*, i.e., having maggots in a wound, makes a man unclean. The unclean wretch is temporarily outcasted, either for a fixed period (often 21 days) or until the wound heals. The Sahars sometimes punish a woman if she plasters the house or cleans the cowshed of a member of another caste, or carries baggage for him.

The punishments are sometimes extraordinarily light. A Kewat was fined only Rs. 22 for suppressing no less than three damaging facts, viz., that (1) his nephew removed the corpse of a man of another caste, (2) a widow in his house conceived, and (3) a relative of his went to Assam to work on a tea garden. One curious form of punishment is to make the culprit stand on one leg with a pot full of water on his head.

925. Among the low castes of Sambalpur the ceremony for readmitting outcastes is very like the purifying ceremony which, as already described, has to be undergone

READMISSION OF OUTCASTES.

when a man has been killed by a tiger. The following is a description of the ceremony among the Ghasis by Mr. A. N. Moberly, I.C.S., formerly Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur. A Ghasi outcaste can only be readmitted by a member of a section of the caste called Sonani. Each Sonani family is in charge of a circle for this purpose, and the head of the family for the time being officiates. On the appointed day the caste-men assemble in the morning on the bank of a nullah or tank. The outcaste and the males of his family, who have been expelled with him, are shaved. All bathe, and the Sonani, who wears a new waistcloth (*langot*) supplied by the outcaste and a thread like those worn by Brahmans, sacrifices a white cock to the sun. He then takes some water, which should have been obtained from the priest of some temple. If such water cannot be obtained, he makes seven small holes in the bed of the nullah and mixes some water from each of them. He places a little gold, some *tulsi* leaves and a pice in the vessel, holding the thread which he is wearing in his thumb, as Brahmans do on an auspicious occasion. He then gives a little to the outcaste, who is standing on his left leg with his hands placed together in the attitude of a suppliant. After drinking, the outcaste makes an obeisance to the Panchayat, who declare him pure. The other persons, who have been outcasted with him and who are standing behind him, but not on one leg, are also given some of the water. The Sonani then takes the remainder and sprinkles it over the outcaste's house, where the proceedings close with a feast.

The ceremony among the Mahars has several points of similarity. The heads of certain families of the Bisi and Naik sections conduct the ceremony; these officers also preside over every Panchayat at which any question of divorce, outcasting or readmission is decided. Both should, if possible, be present at the readmission ceremony, in which case the Bisi takes the leading part, the Naik acting as his assistant; but in the absence of one, the other can perform the whole ceremony. On the morning of the day of readmission all the dirty clothes belonging to the outcaste's family are given to the village washerman, and the walls and floors of his house are smeared with cowdung. In the case of heinous offences, the caste-men assemble under a *makhua* tree near a river or tank. The chief outcaste is completely shaved, if a male; if a female, her hair is

cut. The other males of the family have their front hair shaved and the women's nails are pared. All then bathe, the outcastes exchanging the clothes they are wearing for others freshly washed by the Dhobi. The Bisi and Naik smear a place near the water with cowdung, and, after setting a lamp on it, make seven holes. In one of them they put gold, silver, *ghi* which has been sanctified with *mantras* by a Brahman, *gur*, *tulsi*, *nirmal* and cowdung, and mix water from it with that in the other six. *Arwa* rice, milk, *gur*, *ghi*, honey and flowers are then heaped together on the smeared place, and powdered sandalwood is sprinkled over them. The Bisi takes a cook and, facing the sun, cuts its throat on the edge of an axe, which he holds between his feet, so that the blood falls on the offerings. He prostrates himself and is followed by all present. The sacrifice is in honour of Samlai. Patmeswari is sometimes worshipped after Samlai; in this case there are two lamps, two heaps of offerings and two cocks. The Bisi and Naik next collect water from each of the seven holes in a pot, and all repair to the *mahua* tree, where the outcaste stands, facing the sun, with his family behind him and the caste-men opposite. The Bisi pours some of the water into his hands, and he drinks it standing on his left leg. Some water is similarly taken by each member of his family, but they are allowed to drink with both feet on the ground. At the direction of the Bisi he falls at the feet of the caste-men, and the elders tell him that he may get up as he is absolved. The Bisi then goes alone to the outcaste's house and sprinkles the remainder of the water on the floor and roof. On his return to the *mahua* tree, all feast. The fowl is buried by the Bisi, the lamps and offerings are thrown into the water and the holes are obliterated. In less serious cases the feast takes place at the house of the outcaste, and no part of the ceremony takes under a *mahua* tree.

926. In Bengal the unit of caste government is the Samaj, a name for a society or association, which has, in this connection, a restricted special sense. It means the circle within which the members of a caste or sub-caste usually dine together on festive and religious occasions, and may be translated as "the local community." Every Hindu is under an obligation to feed castemen on certain occasions, and those who can attend on such occasions constitute the Samaj or administrative unit. Its limits therefore vary: there may be one or more in a village, or one Samaj may comprise a group of villages. There is always a tacit understanding amongst the members of the Samaj to abide by its decisions. It is, in fact, a corporate body, which acts as guardian of the unwritten social laws with regard to endogamy, exogamy and commensality.

927. The lower castes have headmen for each Samaj, known by various names, such as Pradhan, Matabar, Mandal, Paramanik, Samajpati, etc., who hold office by hereditary right. The headship generally descends from father to son, but when the lineal male line of a family becomes extinct, the head of another family connected with the extinct line succeeds. Under the altered conditions of the present day, however, the hereditary Mandals are being ousted by parvenus, who have acquired wealth and influence. Sometimes also the zamindar appoints a Matabar or Pradhan for the caste in place of a deceased one. These headmen occupy the same position, and deal with offences in consultation with caste councils in the same way, as headmen in Bihar. At the council meetings, which are commonly called *ma'lis*, sentences of outcasting (permanent or temporary), fines and corporal punishments are inflicted. Fines are frequently made over to the Barwari (an institution for the performance of village *pujas*), or to the Hari Sabha, or are spent in a caste feast, or in feeding Brahmans. Sometimes the offender, if he is a man of substance, has to undertake some work of public utility, such as the construction of a tank or repairs to a temple. Not infrequently, however, he is influential enough to be able to defy the Panchayat's order, especially if he is supported by other influential men. In such a case a split occurs, and two rival factions arise. The split often becomes permanent, and each faction sets up a Samaj for itself.

928. Other castes have no hereditary headman, but have a standing committee of influential men of the caste, to whom complaints are preferred

and who call meetings to decide upon them. Where a caste has neither a headman nor a committee, the question of any member having broken caste rules is brought up upon ceremonial occasions, *e.g.*, marriages, *sraddha*, and the like. Those who disapprove of the conduct of the delinquent, refuse to join him in the feasts given on such occasions, and dissuade others from doing so. The recognized leaders of the caste are also approached, and if they are of the same opinion, the delinquent is boycotted until he has made the atonement required by influential members of the community.

An interesting example of the collapse of caste organization is reported from Dinajpur. In that district there used to be a regular gradation of officials among the Kumhars. The Chaurasis were the recognized leaders of the caste. No marriage or *sraddha* was regarded as complete without their presence, and they were the final authorities in caste matters. Under them were headmen called Paramaniks, while the executive officers were Panpatras. The latter summoned the members to caste meetings, sending round *pan* or betel leaves as a missive, and at the meetings served the whole assembly, bringing in plantain leaves for use as plates at the common meal and removing them when it was over. The control of the Chaurasis has been thrown off. Though they have a high social status, they have no special authority in caste government. The Panpatras have also ceased to perform their former duties, and now the Paramaniks are the only officials.

929. The higher castes of Bengal have no regular machinery to maintain social and moral discipline, but hold meetings to discuss questions as they arise. Among the HIGH CASTES. Brahmans living in towns there is frequently some man of good family and position who is generally recognized as their head. When an aggrieved party appeals to him, he calls a meeting of the more influential citizens, to which the more erudite local Pandits are invited. The question at issue is discussed, and the opinion of the Pandits is taken as to whether the Sastras sanction or prohibit the course proposed. Votes are taken, though not formally recorded, and a decision is come to. In petty cases the services of the Pandits may be dispensed with, but in matters of moment to the community they are indispensable. When broad questions of usage, caste or religion are discussed, Pandits of repute are called in from such centres as Nabadwip, Bhatpara, Purbasthali, and even Benares. There is a popular idea that the influence of the Pandits is on the wane. This belief is true only to this extent, that the Pandits have lost the means of enforcing their verdict. They pronounce their judgement, but its execution is left to others not under their power. The result is that a delinquent generally manages to escape the penalties prescribed by the Pandits if local men of influence connive at his offence or neglect to punish him. That, however, does not affect the real authority of the Pandits, which lies not in execution of sentence, but in the proceedings leading up to judgement. In this respect their influence is as strong to-day as it was a century ago, and their counsel is still as freely sought.

930. The meetings of both Brahmans and Kayasths are almost entirely confined to the consideration of the following offences :—(1) Sea voyages and the eating of forbidden food, (2) intermarriage between different sub-castes, (3) widow marriage, and (4) immorality on the part of a female. Immorality on the part of males seldom forms the subject of discussion, but a suspicion of unchastity on the part of a female is sufficient for a meeting to be called : if the charge is proved, she is rigorously dealt with. There is no doubt that the control of the caste over its individual members is, with one exception, less complete than it is in the case of castes which have caste Panchayats. The exception is the Kulin clans, on which the Ghataks keep a sharp eye. Their delinquencies are noised abroad at marriage feasts and other social ceremonies. Social degradation or excommunication automatically ensues without the necessity of a caste meeting. Other sections have not the same solidarity. One party may sympathize with the offender, *e.g.*, with one who eats forbidden food ; if they are the stronger party, he has little to fear. It is becoming increasingly difficult to punish a rich or influential man, as he is generally able to win over other members of the caste, which consequently is split up into separate parties.

931. The following is a brief sketch of the system in force among the Koches in Dinajpur and the Meches in Jalpaiguri, who may be taken as types of semi-Hinduized tribes. Over each group of Koches there is a headman called Mahat; there may be more than one group or Samaj in a village. The office of headman descends according to the ordinary law of inheritance, but on failure of male issue a new headman is elected by the people. Over a group of Mahats is a Baisi, called also a Paramanik or Digari Mahat, whose office is also hereditary. Paramount authority over all these functionaries is exercised by an officer called Saheb Gosain. Petty cases are decided by Mahats with the assistance of heads of families under them, but more important cases are heard by the Baisi assisted by the Mahats under him and by leading villagers. There is a right of appeal in all cases to the Saheb Gosain. A Gosain of Gayaspur in the Malda district is generally the Saheb Gosain, but the zamindar of Maldwar exercises the powers of the Saheb Gosain within his estates, and the priest of the Maharaja of Dinajpur exercises similar powers in the Dinajpur estate.

932. When the Duars were held by the Bhutanese, each Mech village had a headman called Thakuri. His place has been taken by the Mandal, who originally acquired the position by election, but has now become an hereditary official. The Mandal takes cognizance of all kinds of disputes, social, religious, civil and criminal. He is assisted by a messenger called Halmajhi, who, when information is given of an offence, calls the offender and a male representative from each house: the Deosi or priest also attends, and when the matter is before a head Mandal, at least three other Mandals are present. One Mech, who had embraced Christianity, was readmitted into the tribe, on payment of a fine of Rs. 50 in cash, two pigs, a fowl and a large quantity of liquor. The cash was divided among the Deosi and Panchayat. One case of an unusual nature is reported as having occurred about two years ago. A Mech having died, his hookah was left with his other things at the place of burial. Another Mech picked it up and sold it to a third man, who smoked it. The latter was excommunicated for a time, and the two had to pay between them a fine, in cash and kind, amounting to Rs. 22.

933. The caste Samiti or Sabha is a form of caste organization which has recently come into existence in Bengal. Most have sprung up since the last census, and more especially since the first Partition of Bengal. They are the outcome of the modern spirit. Their main object is to improve the social position of the caste, and their organization is modelled upon European associations and companies. Some have effected a loose form of combination, but others have associations with central committees, while others have even formed themselves into limited liability companies. The Baruis, for instance, have formed a company, with headquarters at Jessore, the shares being Rs. 10 each. According to the articles of association, any adult member of the caste purchasing a share can be admitted as a member of the Sabha, but the shares may not be transferred to any one not belonging to their caste. The capital of the Sabha is to be spent for promoting education amongst the caste and for improving their religious, social, moral and physical condition. It is laid down that there is to be an annual general meeting, which members of the caste other than shareholders, and also the general public, may attend, though only shareholders have a right to vote. The articles provide for a President, Vice-President, a Secretary and an Assistant Secretary selected by the shareholders from among their number. These four officers, with 15 other shareholders, form an Executive Committee called the Committee of Directors. The objects of a Shaha Samiti, known as the Purba Banga Baisya Samiti, are more definitely stated. In addition to general objects, such as promoting union among Shahas and furthering the interests of the community, it aims at the encouragement of female education, as well as of male education, and the reformation of social customs. Students belonging to the caste are to be assisted to go to Japan and America and prosecute their studies there. Ancient works relating to the caste are to be collected and published, and every endeavour is to be made to raise the community in social rank.

The Samitis are mainly concerned with the object last mentioned, and have but little or no concern with the internal government of the caste. To a certain extent, however, they are influencing the caste constitution. To quote two instances, the affiliation of Chasi Kaibarttas to the Mahishya Samiti is tending to create a separate caste or sub-caste, while the Karmakar association, called the Karmakar Vaisya Tattwik Samaj, is endeavouring to break down the barriers between sub-castes by promoting intermarriages.

934. Among the Nepalese castes of Darjeeling matters of caste discipline are tried by Panchayats called for the occasion.

NEPALESE CASTES.

This is, as a rule, not a caste Panchayat, but a village conclave consisting of respectable crofters of any caste resident in the village and its neighbourhood. They select one of their number to act as President of the meeting. In one respect the proceedings are formal, viz., that a record is made of the proceedings and of the sentence, which is signed by the members and handed to the parties or kept by the village headman. If the accused proves his innocence, the proceedings end with a meal in which he joins, or he gives water to all those present.

935. In Nepal both Hindu and Buddhist Newars are subject to a code of

CASTE LAW OF THE NEWARS.

caste law known as the *Gatti*. By it the relative position and social duties of each class are laid down and their privileges protected, while the maintenance of their customs and festivals is also ensured. Every family in each class is assigned certain hereditary duties connected with the celebration of festivals and public ceremonies of a religious character. On these occasions every household has its peculiar duty, which it is bound to perform under penalty of fine or loss of caste. The system is said to work very well and to serve the interests of the community. According to the rules of the *Gatti*, the head of each family is also expected, at certain times, to give a feast to all the members of his own class or caste. The different families fulfil this duty by turns. Its fulfilment is often a heavy tax upon a poor man; but were he to neglect it, he would be ostracized by the rest of his own class. Another law of the *Gatti* requires that on the death of any Newar, one male from every other family in his class or caste must attend at the performance of the funeral rites, as well as at the subsequent ceremonies of purification. Newar funerals are consequently almost always followed by large processions of nominal mourners. In the majority of cases violation of any of the laws of the *Gatti* subjects the offender to punishment by fine, the amount of which is determined by a caste Panchayat, and varies according to the nature of his offence. If a Newar—Buddhist or Hindu—wilfully omits to fulfil duties of an important character, so that the community suffers from his neglect, he is sentenced by a general convocation to loss of caste.*

936. The only Sikh community of any consequence in Bengal consists

SIKH CASTE COUNCILS.

of the Agraharis of Sasaram in the district of Shahabad, who have a caste Panchayat like their Hindu neighbours. Its jurisdiction extends over the whole of the Sasaram subdivision, and all adult Agraharis can serve on it. It takes cognizance of questions connected with Sikh ceremonies and customs (e.g., of marriage and initiation into the Sikh brotherhood), and punishes those who neglect or contravene them. For serious offences, e.g., adultery, marrying with a woman of another caste, neglect of Sikh observances (such as the five Ks described in Chapter IV), the culprit is outcasted, and is not readmitted into caste unless he performs certain ceremonies. For minor offences a fine is inflicted, and, in case of default, the person is outcasted till the fine is paid. On realization, the fine is made over to the Sikh temple.

937. A basic principle of the system of caste government is embodied

CASTE COUNCILS AND THE LAW COURTS.

in the saying *Zat ka Raja Zat*, i.e., the caste is its own ruler. It is carried so far that the caste councils sometimes discharge functions, which appertain to the civil and criminal courts, generally but not always with the consent of the parties. In Patna, for instance, a married woman of the Goala caste had an intrigue with a cousin. The man was outcasted, and the

* Cldfield, Sketches from Nepal, Vol. I, pp. 150-155.

woman and her husband burnt to death. No evidence of this crime ever came to light. Again, a Goala in Gaya was suspected of joining in a dacoity. The caste awarded their own punishment without a word to the police. The offender had his hair cut and his face smeared with lime, and was paraded through the village seated on a donkey. The Panchayats also occasionally punish persons who have recourse to the courts instead of to their tribunals about matters which they are competent to deal with. As a case in point may be mentioned the experience of a Jolaha in Darbhanga, who was outcasted because, his daughter having been enticed away, he lodged information at the thana. More frequently, however, they simply bring pressure to bear on the complainant and make him or her withdraw the case. A Chamar in Monghyr, when drunk, attempted to ravish a woman, who informed the police. The Panchayat promptly outcasted the man for six months and threatened to excommunicate her if she did not withdraw the charge. Their threat was effectual.

938. Vengeance is also taken on members of the caste who venture to give evidence against a brother casteman, and they are not infrequently boycotted. A Namasudra, in Dinajpur, who gave evidence for a Musalman against another Namasudra, was outcasted for 20 years. The clannishness of caste in this respect is well illustrated by the account of the Goalas of Nadia given by the District Census Officer, Mr. A. K. Ray: "It is difficult to obtain evidence against a criminal offender from amongst his fellows, unless he is also a social sinner, in which case it is given with alacrity. This was strongly brought out during the trial of some Goalas of Krishnagar for bad livelihood. They had terrorized over the neighbourhood for years: they had not only done so with impunity, but had punished those that dared to complain against them. So long as they did not touch the person or the purse of a Goala, no evidence could be got. One of the party, however, fouled his nest, and retribution quickly followed. Although previously cases had failed for lack of local evidence, there was overwhelming evidence against the offender and his gang on the present occasion, and about a dozen of them were successfully prosecuted."

A striking case of a caste combining to defeat the ends of justice, which is reported from the same district, is of particular interest as shewing how severely unchastity in a woman, or even a suspicion of it, is punished and to what lengths a caste will go in enforcing its penalties. A young Kaibartta widow went away with her husband's nephew and was suspected of unchastity. She and her only son were outcasted, and her property sold by her husband's brothers. On her return home, the caste Panchayat declined to admit her to her home, and she had to build a hut on the outskirts of the village. But she was not allowed to live in peace even there. Her relatives felt that her living as an outcaste in the same village was a standing reproach to them, and requested the zamindar to evict her. When he refused to do so, they put up the young rakes of the village to molest her in all possible ways. Eventually, they broke into her house at midnight and carried her from her bed to a field, where they outraged her. When she complained to the police of house-breaking and rape, the caste people put the greatest obstacles in their way. The case was eventually sent up to trial but broke down, as the village being composed mostly of Kaibarttas, the villagers would not give evidence on her behalf. She was then prosecuted for bringing a false charge, but fortunately succeeded in obtaining an acquittal.

939. On the other hand, there is a growing tendency for the courts to be referred to in the following cases:—(1) The caste council itself refer the parties to the Magistrate. (2) The Panchayat cannot enforce its decision and therefore sends up a case to the Magistrate, in order that the State may inflict a punishment. (3) The Magistrate is regarded as a court of appeal from the verdict of the Panchayat. (4) A man refuses to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Panchayat and proceeds against its members. In many cases when a Panchayat has a difficult or serious question to settle, they shrink from the responsibility and refer the parties to the Magistrate at once. Not infrequently they do this because they honestly realize that it is a case with which the courts should properly deal or with which it will more

adequately deal. At other times they are afraid of the consequences to themselves, if the police discover they have arrogated the powers of the penal law. They are the more apt to abdicate their functions, as the love of litigation spreads, for there is always the danger that an aggrieved party may prosecute them, *e.g.*, by bringing a case of defamation against them. For the same reason drastic corporal punishment is now not so frequently inflicted, as the man has only to go to the thana and exhibit his injuries. When a case is referred to the courts by the Panchayat, the Magistrate's verdict is not always acquiesced in. In Midnapore, for instance, a Goala was found in the house of a Gareri girl at midnight. Both the Goalas and Gareris resolved to have the man prosecuted and to pronounce its verdict in accordance with the finding of the court. The Goala was eventually acquitted, and the Goalas took no action against him. The Gareris, however, went back on their word and outcasted the girl. A distinction must of course be drawn between cases of this kind and those (of which a sketch will be given later) in which a caste combines with the police to clear out the black sheep of the community and establish a good name for itself. In such cases the Panchayat gives every assistance to the police, and also outcastes the offenders, so that he has both communal and legal punishment.

890. The second class of case occurs either when a Panchayat passes sentence but cannot enforce it because of the contumacy of the offender, or when it realizes that a man cannot be made to resume a decent life unless dealt with by the law. In Patna, for example, a Teli was outcasted for having an intrigue with a widow. In spite of this, he continued the liaison, and was eventually caught with the woman at midnight. Her mother and the other Telis handed him over to the police, and he was, as is usual in such cases, convicted of entering the house to commit theft. The third class consists of cases where the Panchayat itself recognizes the law court as having appellate jurisdiction, and an appeal is made to the Magistrate with its concurrence: the device adopted is for the aggrieved party to bring a charge of defamation against a member of the caste. A curious illustration of such appeals is reported by a Magistrate who served for some time in Singhbhum. He writes:—"Charges of witchcraft are rather common in Kolhan. Generally the man or woman condemned and outcasted by the caste Panchayat seeks his remedy in the criminal courts, and I have seen the whole village turning up at Chaibasa to watch the result of the case. If the accused charged with defamation is convicted, then the villagers take it that the issue (as to whether the complainant is a witch or not) has been tried out in court, and, I believe, she is taken back to caste. If, on the other hand, the accused in the defamation case gets off through want of evidence, it is taken that the decision of the caste Panchayat is confirmed, and the complainant has no further remedy." The cases in which an appeal to the law courts is made without the consent of the Panchayat are far more common, however, and, unfortunately for the system of caste government, are of growing frequency. In such cases the man who has been sentenced by the caste either honestly appeals to the court in order to clear himself or seeks by hook or by crook to revenge himself on his fellow castemen. On the whole, the accessibility of the law courts is tending to weaken the system of caste self-government, and the pleader gains at the expense of the Panchayat.

891. An interesting example of the way in which the organization of a caste can be utilized in the interests of good administration is afforded by the history of a recent movement in Patna. In 1902 the Dosadhs, who have long been responsible for most of the dacoities in the district, held a mass meeting, at which two of their leaders impressed on them the shame of their bad name and the advantages of honesty. Their representations had effect, for it was resolved (i) that Dosadhs should not sell cows to butchers, (ii) that marriage in the *sagai* form should no longer be tolerated, (iii) that Dosadhs who were in the habit of thieving, and those convicted by the Magistrates, should not be allowed to have any social dealings with other Dosadhs and (iv) that Dosadhs who violated these resolutions should not be allowed to intermarry with those Dosadhs who observed them, dine or drink with them, or smoke from the same hookah. Meetings were held in every part of the district, and the movement spread even into Monghyr. The good resolutions

of the Dosadhs were adhered to for some time, largely owing to the sympathetic interest taken in the movement by the late Mr. A. V. Knyvett, C.I.E., Deputy-Inspector General of Police. Not only did the Dosadhs bring social pressure to bear on the black sheep of the community, but they did not scruple to hand over to the police men who refused to live honest lives.

Recently this movement has been revived. In 1909 the Dosadhs held a mass meeting, as a result of which 13 notorious bad characters were handed over to the police with the request that proceedings might be taken against them under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code. Within 18 months crime had been reduced by half in the police-station in which this meeting took place. More recently, in December 1910, some 20 of the Dosadh Sardars had an interview with the Superintendent of Police, in which they invoked his assistance in their efforts to reform. They pointed out that formerly the Dosadhs had a reputation for honesty and were employed in positions of trust, for which they received *jagirs*. Nowadays, they were looked down upon for their dishonesty, their social status had been lowered, and they had lost their hereditary employment. It was agreed that the caste Sardars should appoint a headman for each police-station, who should hold meetings of the Dosadhs annually, that the caste itself should deal with dishonest Dosadhs without a criminal prosecution, and that when any Dosadh took to a life of crime, his fellow castemen should report to the headman, who would appoint a Panchayat to deal with the case. General meetings were also to be held annually to review progress and deliberate on future action. Similar meetings were held by the Goalas with equally satisfactory results.

These movements are not due to outside influence, but to the initiative of the castes themselves. They are however spasmodic, the people's interest gradually subsiding, especially if they receive no official encouragement. While they last, however, they do no little good in ranging potential criminals on the side of law and order.

942. The principle that the caste is its own ruler is also acted on by the lower castes of Bihar so far as the Brahmans are concerned. Brahmans are rarely called in to assist in the deliberations of the caste councils, and, as a rule, are only consulted about purely religious matters, *e.g.*, the religious penances or expiatory offerings to be performed for religious offences. In any case, of course, they are referred to only by castes which are served by Brahmans. The caste considers itself quite competent to settle other questions, and passes its judgement according to its own traditions and customs. There cannot be clearer proof of the independence of the low castes than the fact that if the caste Panchayat has readmitted a man into caste, the Brahman has no power to brand him as an outcaste, however flagrant his offence according to Brahmanic scriptures. In this and other respects the caste councils are true to the dictum of Narada—"Custom decides everything and overrides scriptural law."

In Orissa the caste councils do not seek ordinarily the advice of Brahmans, but they are invariably called in when a case of *gobadha* or cow-killing occurs. There is a special expert on the question, called Purana Pandit. He is a Brahman, versed in the rules of the *Sastras* about the treatment of cows, who is appointed by the zamindar to decide *gobadha* questions in certain localities. *Gobadha* it may be explained, is not confined to the deliberate killing of cows. If a cow dies for want of proper treatment and care, or with a rope round its neck, it is tantamount to cow-killing. In such cases the owner calls a meeting of the Brahmans, to which the Purana Pandit and leading members of other castes are summoned. They decide whether the death amounts to cow-killing and, if so, how *prayaschitta* should be performed.

In Bengal the Brahmans appear to be more frequently consulted than in Bihar, their advice being sought on difficult and knotty questions. There appears also to be a tendency for Panchayats in some parts to hold that offences require penance according to the *Sastras*, in which case a *vyavashtha*, *i.e.*, a ruling on the nature of the offence and the expiation required, has to be obtained from a Pandit. Scriptural law is thus followed instead of caste custom. This process appears to have gone very far among the Namasudras of

Dinajpur. It is reported that if the decision of the Pradhan, or headman of the village, is not accepted by other Pradhans in the Samaj, a reference is made to the priests of the community and their decision is final. In serious matters the Namasudra priests are consulted before a decision is arrived at by the Panchayat; and where the Pradhans and the priests cannot decide what to do, they refer to Brahman Pandits. The Pandits, it is said, can set aside the judgement of the Pradhans by quoting the authority of the *Sastras*. Among the higher castes, such as the Brahmans and Kayasths, the opinion of the priests who minister to them is seldom sought in caste disputes. Though they are bound to be consulted about religious ceremonies, their social position is a low one, the calling of a priest being looked down upon because it involves the acceptance of petty gifts.

943. In Bengal there is a tendency for the Panchayat system to be supplanted by the practice of referring disputes to the local zamindar. A powerful landlord is, in any case, in a very strong position, for he usually has the barbers and washermen, if not also the priests, under his thumb. A sentence of excommunication cannot be given full effect to without their co-operation; and, on the other hand, the zamindar can coerce his tenants by ordering them to withhold their services. He can thus either act independently or confirm the Panchayat's sentence. He can enforce it by means of his *barkandazes* as well as by forbidding the priests, barbers and washermen to serve a recalcitrant cultivator. Further, the landlord or his agent frequently acts as an arbiter both in social disputes and also in purely caste matters: their adjudication is a source of income which is not easily foregone. One correspondent writes that where the zamindar is a man of ancient lineage, he is often the referee in the social, caste and religious disputes even of the Brahmans, though not a Brahman himself. "Where his position and wealth far outweigh those of his neighbours, his voice prevails, although not in defiance of, or in antagonism to, the opinion of the Pandits; to their credit, it should be said, *Sastric* quotations are available to meet all ordinary emergencies. His authority does not however extend beyond the village or group of villages owned or administered by him. An offender who refuses to bow to the judgement of his fellow Brahmans seeks refuge in a distant place far away from the local zamindar's influence and so escapes altogether. More often, however, he keeps quiet for a while, and absents himself from the village whilst his friends and relatives propitiate the zamindar. They eventually get him to connive at his offence, and he thus escapes punishment."

In Orissa the zamindars occasionally appoint agents of their own to deal with offences against caste rules on their estates. A Behara, for instance, is sometimes appointed by the zamindar for his Kewat tenants; this officer receives a fee of four annas for every marriage. Where Dhobas are numerous, the zamindar appoints, though rarely, a similar functionary or more than one. In this latter caste the Behara gets a number of perquisites, receiving the fines imposed, fees for marriages, for *prayaschitta* ceremonies, for readmission of outcastes, etc. All these are divided between the Jati (caste) Behara and the zamindari Behara.

944. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were once the home of guilds, which flourished when the Buddhist religion was at its zenith. They tried their own law suits, an appeal lying only to the king, punished breaches of contract, and banished offenders against rules. Among other things, they acted as banks, receiving money as trust funds: they kept the principal and allowed 5 per cent. interest to the beneficiary named in the grant. "The reason why the guilds came into prominence just when they did is doubtless because it was at that period that the Buddhists arose, who reached the acme of their power in the third century B. C., and were important for a thousand years afterwards. In accordance with this fact stands, too, the special prominence of guild-life, in the eastern part of India, the home of Buddhism. As the Buddhists placed the warrior caste before the priest caste and gave unrestricted freedom to the third estate, it is not wonderful that guild-life is characteristic of a Buddhistic environment. The same, however, is true in regard to the Jains, a rival heretical sect, which also arose in the sixth

century B.C. Hence it is that, on the one hand, early Buddhistic literature, from 350 B.C. onwards, teems with references to the guilds and speaks of the heads of guilds as of the highest social position, while, on the other hand, the seat of guild-power to-day is still found among the Jains (the Buddhists having left India), and specially among the descendants of those who claim to have come originally from the eastern seat of Buddhistic and Jain culture."*

945. The guilds still maintain their existence in Bombay, Gujarat and parts of Northern India. In Central India too the Musalman Bhists, or water-carriers, are said to form a strict guild, initiation into which is marked by the assumption of an apron of red cloth, tied round the waist, which is known as the *lungi* of Khwaja Khizr. The Bhists have a common belief in Khwaja Khizr, the god of the waters, and are said to have certain tests, by which they can recognize a member of the brotherhood: the tests are believed to be connected with the number of straps by which the *massakh* or water-bag is suspended, the length of the strap which ties its mouth, etc. Should a Bhisti die in poverty, his fellow Bhists are bound to help his orphan son and start him in life by providing him a water-bag: it is said that children may often be seen with a tiny water-bag, which the members of the guild have given him in order to comply with the letter, but not the spirit, of the unwritten law.† No such guild can be traced in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, though some Bhists are found, who say that their forefathers observed such customs when they first came to this part of India, and that they have long ago given them up. The red apron and the veneration of Khwaja Khazir are all that they appear to have in common with the Bhists Northern India.

946. In Bengal and Bihar, the ancient home of both Buddhism and Jainism, guilds in the proper sense of the word are now unknown. The only mention of anything like an organized trade guild that I can find occurs in the discursive account given by Mr. Motte of a journey through Orissa, which he undertook under the orders of Lord Clive, in 1766:—"The bearers in Calcutta form a commonwealth, the most politic in the world. They have a president, and hold frequent councils, in which everything is settled for the good of the community; and when any resolution is formed, neither stripes nor bonds must cause any member to recede; if he does, he is banished *ab aris et focis*. The air of Bengal has a surprising effect on them; for at home they are reported by their neighbours to be the greatest thieves on earth, whereas in a foreign country they are trusted with everything. It is true they have by-laws, which make it almost impossible to detect them in case of robbery; for, first, a bearer is to perjure himself rather than accuse another, save to the president and council; and, secondly, they will suffer none but brethren to enter their houses, pretending that the profane will defile them. They have gained their present ascendance by taking advantage of the heat of the climate and the indolence of the English; for if a person incurs the displeasure of this worshipful society, he may walk till he dies of a fever. I have known them carry their authority so far, as to fine a poor gentleman for accidentally spitting in his servant's face, though it had no other consequence than obliging him to wash before he ate. But, the society regarding it as an insult, he must submit, neglect his business or broil in the sun.‡"

947. At the present time the guild has been merged in the caste. Artisan castes, it is true, fix trade holidays, and also lay down rules regarding the traditional occupation, and enforce their observance. I myself have had a case before me in which the Kaseras or braziers of a town had united to keep the last day of the month as a holiday, and outcasted one industrious soul who ventured to break the rule. Among the functional castes encroachment on the privileges of others—"misappropriation of *birt*" as it is styled—is severely dealt with. A Barhi or carpenter must not make ploughs for a villager for whom another Barhi works. A Hajjam or barber must stick to his own clients: in one case a Hajjam was outcasted for working for a man who had already dismissed another Hajjam. A Chamar must not take the

* E. W. Hopkins, PH.D., *India, Old and New*, 1901.

† Gwalior Commercial Journal, December 1910.

‡ Asiatic Annual Register, 1799.

carcases of cattle that another Chamar has a recognized right to, and the Chamarin, who works as a midwife, must attend only the women of the families that her family customarily attends. Doms, Chamars and Halalkhors in some parts even sell, mortgage or give in dowry their hereditary rights. Among them the Panchayat or caste council has such power, that it may order a general strike and outcaste any one who ventures to work in defiance of its orders. The adoption of another occupation also involves punishment, but only when it is considered a degrading employment, such as making or selling shoes. Apart from such instances there is little or none of the corporate life of a trade guild, and no attempt to fix wages or regulate hours of work—much less any combination of different castes that have the same trade or handicraft. The functional castes now deal mainly with breaches of caste customs regarding morality, marriage and commensality, but to a certain extent also with disputes and quarrels among their members. The absence of co-operation in trade and industrial matters is largely due to the sub-castes having separate Panchayats. Each sub-caste is mainly interested in keeping itself separate from others, as regards commensality and marriage, instead of co-operating in matters affecting their common occupation. Decentralization has further resulted in the weakening of the authority of the higher functionaries, who formerly exercised jurisdiction over large areas. The individual Panchayats have thus assumed a purely local character, and there is consequently little cohesion among the various units in each caste or sub-caste.

948. In concluding this account of caste government a reference may be made to the part played by co-operative credit societies in the moral and social life of the people.

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES.

This movement is in its infancy, but the societies which have been started have considerable vitality, and are already beginning to discharge functions which formerly were vested in the caste Panchayats. The reason for this is not far to seek. The village societies being associations formed on the basis of unlimited liability, the instinct of self-preservation makes it necessary for the members to exercise caution not only in the admission of new members and in grant of loans, but also in the elimination of bad characters, the discouragement of wasteful habits and the enforcement of thrift. Their influence is especially felt in two directions, viz., the reduction of expenses on social ceremonies, and the arbitration of disputes. "A society," writes Mr. J. M. Mitra, Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bengal, "is allowed to lend for any purposes which the Panchayats think necessary, and a member would naturally go to his society for a loan for marriage or *sraddha* expenses. The members of the society know the applicant's worth and how much he ought to spend on a social ceremony. They will naturally not be over-anxious to have feasts at his expense, because if he becomes insolvent, they will have to "stump up" for him. It is for this reason that societies cut down applications for loans for social ceremonies." One society went further and actually intervened to arrange marriages for some of its members. These were old men who could not afford to pay the heavy bride price demanded by their caste fellows. The society thinking that it was high time they were married, negotiated with the brides' fathers to reduce their prices, and gave the would-be bridegrooms loans to enable them to pay them. The knowledge that litigation leads to indebtedness is also instrumental in causing cases to be referred to the village societies for settlement instead of to the law courts: in some instances also Magistrates refer disputes to the societies' Panchayats for settlement. In several of the societies in Cuttack the Panchayats, by common consent, take up petty local cases, levy small fines and place them in a fund which is devoted to village improvements. In Midnapore the societies decided 112 village disputes in a year. In some societies no member is allowed to go to court without first consulting the members.

Numerous other examples might be given of the influence exercised by the co-operative credit societies in social matters, but a few instances will suffice. In one society a member was fined Re. 1 for assaulting his aged mother. Another expelled a member for eloping with his neighbour's wife. In Kalimpong it was decided at a general meeting to smoke only tobacco and not cigarettes; the cigarette-smoker was to be fined. A Santal society

decided that the members should not spend money in brewing or drinking *pachwai*. In another society two members were fined Rs. 5 each for mortgaging their lands surreptitiously and their loans were called in. The members meekly paid the fines and returned the loans, and were then expelled. In the words of Mr. W. H. Buchan, I.C.S., late Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bengal. "It is not a credulous optimism that reads in facts like these the promise of economic regeneration and of a village life invigorated and made healthier in all its relations.*"

CASTE GOVERNMENT AMONG THE MUHAMMADANS.

949. None of the Musalman groups approach so closely to the Hindu caste system with its numerous restrictions as the Jolahas. The extent to which they are permeated by the idea of caste cannot be better illustrated than by a sketch of the constitution of their community in Shahabad.† Here every group of Jolahas is ruled by a Panchayat, which has jurisdiction over 10 to 50 houses. Its sphere is usually conterminous with a village, but should there be only a few Jolaha families in the neighbourhood, it may extend over several villages. At its head is the Sardar or headman, who presides at its meetings and is assisted by the Chharidar, who acts as an executive officer. These two officers are appointed by election, the electors being the Jolahas over whom each Panchayat has jurisdiction. The posts are coveted as they carry with them a certain dignity and position, and the candidates canvass from door to door. The successful candidate celebrates his election by giving a feast to the caste-men, or to paupers and beggars, at which the blessings of the saints are invoked. In a majority of cases the ceremony of *Milad Sharif* is performed. This is a semi-religious function, at which two men recite in turn the virtues and attributes of the Prophet Muhammad. At the conclusion of the ceremony, sweets are distributed to all present. Sometimes, also, the new member makes a contribution towards the expenses of lighting the local mosque.

950. When an offence is committed against the unwritten law of the Jolahas, a complaint is made to the Chharidar, who in his turn, reports the matter to the Sardar. The Sardar then orders the Chharidar to convoke a meeting of the Panchayat: this is generally held at the house of the Sardar. The Sardar, the Chharidar and other members of the Jolaha community, the complainant and the accused, all attend. The proceedings begin with a common meal, a humble feast at which *dal bhat* is eaten, toddy is drunk and hookahs are smoked. The feast being over, evidence is taken, and the Panchayat discusses its value and decides on a verdict, which is delivered by the Sardar. When the Panchayat has divergent opinions as to the guilt or innocence of the accused, the matter is referred to four or five Sardars of neighbouring Panchayats. This court of appeal is final.

The nature of the offences dealt with by this tribunal shows clearly how far the Jolahas have assimilated the Hindu ideas about caste. In the first place it deals, and deals severely, with any man who ventures to marry into another caste. "The Jolahas," writes my correspondent, "will rather give their daughters in wedlock to a lazy, worthless, penniless and consumptive boy, belonging to their own caste, who will die the day after marriage, and leave the girl an unfortunate widow all her life, than marry her to a well-to-do, good-looking and stout youth of another caste." A childless Jolaha cannot even adopt as his son and heir a child of another caste. Widow marriage is also a serious offence, the punishment for which is permanent excommunication in rural areas: in towns it is treated more leniently. In rural areas no respectable Jolaha will give his widowed daughter in marriage, even if she is still within her teens, for fear of being ostracised. Eating pork is a grave offence, and all breaches of the marriage law are severely dealt with.

* This account of Co-operative Credit Societies has been compiled from a note kindly contributed by Mr. J. M. Mitra, Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bengal, and from the Report on Co-operative Credit Societies in Bengal for 1910-11.

† This account is prepared from a note contributed by Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Aziz, Probationary Deputy Collector, Arrah.

Other offences of which the Panchayat takes cognizance are refusal to maintain a wife and children, ill-treatment of parents, eating or drinking with an outcaste, failure to attend the social or religious functions performed by caste-fellows without any reasonable cause defaming a caste-fellow, refusal to contribute to a fund raised by the Panchayat (*e.g.*, for sinking a well or erecting a mosque), and petty quarrels and disputes. It also punishes any Jolaha who takes to the degrading occupation of a sweeper or cobbler. Otherwise there are no restrictions on occupations. A Jolaha may be a cultivator, a trader, a hawker, a washerman, a driver of a ticca gharri, a menial servant, a tailor, a cook, a money-lender, a vegetable vendor or a gardener.

951. The punishments awarded by the Panchayat vary from petty fines to total ostracism. Grave offences, such as kidnapping, abduction, elopement, adultery, eating, drinking or smoking with an outcaste, marrying into the family of an outcaste, and unchastity in a woman, are punished by permanent outcasting. The outcaste is debarred from all social rights and privileges. No Jolaha will eat, drink or smoke with him. He is not allowed to join in their ceremonies; no one will buy the cloth of his looms. The penalty may extend to an innocent relative, and cases are known of the latter committing suicide, preferring death to social isolation. In less serious cases temporary ostracism, *i.e.*, the suspension of all social rights and privileges for a certain period, is the punishment generally resorted to. When an offender is taken back into his caste by the permission of the Panchayat, he has to perform prescribed ceremonies to celebrate his reinstatement. Sometimes a feast is given to all the caste-men, while sometimes the ceremony of *Milad Sharif* is performed in the presence of all the caste-men. Corporal punishment is inflicted as a penalty for minor offences on those persons who are too poor to pay any fine, and on juvenile offenders, but never on females. Petty thefts, treating respectable members of the caste with disrespect, or abusing them, are the chief offences for which a Jolaha youth is liable to corporal punishment. The punishment is carried out by the Chharidar, who uses a stick made out of the stem of the leaves of a palm-tree. The youth is whipped with this on the buttocks in the presence of the caste-men. One curious form of punishment is as follows: The guilty man has to carry an old shoe in his teeth three or four times round the assembly. This is regarded as a particularly degrading and humiliating sentence. Fines are imposed for minor offences on those who can pay them, the amount varying from 8 annas to Rs. 10. The Chharidar either realizes the fine at once, or the man, if he cannot pay it on the spot, is given time ranging from a week to three months. It is the duty of the Chharidar to realize all fines and to see that there are no long-standing arrears. No coercion is employed, or required, for the penalty of non-payment is outcasting. Refusal to obey other orders of the Panchayat is also met by outcasting, which is generally sufficient to reduce a man to abject submission. The barber, the washerman, the cobbler, the sweeper and even the village Dhunia are strictly forbidden to work for him. He is generally boycotted: the villagers cease to buy from him if he is a trader, to borrow money from him, or pawn their ornaments to him, if he is a money-lender, to purchase his cloth if he is a weaver, etc.

952. The Chharidar has to account to the Panchayat for all the fines realized, for their expenditure and for the balance. In most Panchayats no accounts are kept in writing, but where the members can read and write, account books are kept up. The proceeds form a fund, which is put to good use. It is utilized for the necessary expenses of the mosque, *e.g.*, for keeping a lamp burning every night, for earthen water-pots, ropes for drawing water from the well, repairs, the purchase of books of sermons, the pay of the Muazzin, and a subsistence allowance for the Imam who conducts the prayers. Beggars are fed, and aid is also given to any poor Jolaha, *e.g.*, his funeral expenses are met or a contribution is made to his marriage expenses, or he is given money to help him to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Sometimes, too, an allowance is given to a Hafiz *i.e.*, a man who has committed the whole Koran to memory and recites texts from it in the mosque every night during the month of Ramzan. The fund is also drawn upon for giving a

feast to all caste-men on religious occasions, such as *Id*, *Bakr-Id* and *Shabi-barat*, and for the purchase of mats for the Panchayat members to sit on at meetings.

A similar organization is reported in other districts. In Darbhanga there is a central Panchayat at the headquarters station which exercises jurisdiction over all the others.

953. The Panchayat system also prevails among other functional groups.

Thus, the Dhunias and Kunjras of North Bihar have permanent headmen, called Manjans, who call Panchayats to deal with and punish moral delinquencies. In Central Bengal the council consists of a President, called Mandal, and several members, called Pradhans whose number varies from 4 to 15. Vacancies both among Mandals and Pradhans are filled by the remaining Pradhans electing a successor. Factions are common, and one village may have more than one Panchayat. Complaints are made to the Mandal, who passes sentence after consulting the Pradhans. Excommunication, fines, feasts and corporal punishments are the usual punishments. The fines are paid into a fund for the maintenance of the village mosque and the celebration of religious ceremonies.

954. The Sheikhs of Bihar have, as a rule, no regular organization or governing body. Should anything occur calling for communal action, complaint is made to the elders, who hold a meeting (*majlis*), at which the principal members of the community attend. As among Hindu castes, sentences of ostracism are passed, or the culprit is ordered to provide a feast or be beaten. In Purnea their affairs are regulated by a Sardar, whose post is generally hereditary. With the spread of education of recent years, there has been a tendency to abolish the system of hereditary Sardars in favour of referring disputes to the local zamindars or other men of position and influence.

In Eastern Bengal the system resembles that which is falling into desuetude in Purnea, for there is a regular body of office bearers. In Dinajpur there is a headman, called Mahat, over the Sheikh congregation of the Jama Masjid. He decides their petty quarrels, sees that they attend the mosque regularly and presides at burials and feasts. When the congregation is large, the Mahat has one or more assistants. The post of Mahat is generally hereditary, but if there is no male heir to a deceased Mahat, a new Mahat is elected by the people from among themselves. Serious cases, such as adultery or keeping a concubine, are adjudicated upon by the local Mahat and those of the neighbouring Jamas, sometimes assisted by a Maulvi or Mullah. In Rajshahi there is a governing body for each Sheikh community, consisting of two or three men, who are called Pradhan or Mandal and hold office by hereditary right. Elsewhere, *e.g.*, in Pabna, the Panchayat consists of Pradhans or Paramaniks or Sardars, who are simply village elders or men of prominence. The offences of which cognizance is taken are mostly the eating of forbidden food, the adoption of a degrading occupation and offences against morality or decency. Fines are inflicted, and a defaulter is boycotted. None eat or smoke with him, and he is not allowed to join the congregation in the Jama Masjid. The fines are utilized in providing a common feast, in meeting the expenses of the mosque, in giving presents to Maulvis and Mullahs, etc. In Bogra, there is no organized committee, but when a man commits any offence, the principal villagers meet in the mosque, where he is called on to explain the allegations against him. If adjudged guilty, he is called upon to perform the *toba* ceremony, which consists of thrice uttering that word in the presence of the assembly, by way of penance, and undertaking never to repeat the offence. He is also required to pay a fine, called *kafira*, ranging from a few rupees to a large sum, which is deposited with the Imam to be spent on some charitable or religious purpose.

955. In the city of Dacca the authority of a general Panchayat is recognized by all Musalmans except members of the Ashraf class. The following account of this system has been contributed by Mr. H. M. Cowan,

THE GENERAL PANCHAYAT OF
DACCA.

I.C.S., Additional District Magistrate of Dacca, who prepared it with the

assistance of Khan Saheb Muhammad Azam, Superintendent of the Mahala Sardars.

The Muhammadan Panchayat organization of Dacca is a system for the decision of disputes between members of the Muhammadan community, except the Ashraf class. For this purpose, the whole city is divided into groups, each group being identical with a municipal ward. Within each group are several local sub-groups known as *mahalas* or *tolas*, the boundaries of which correspond to those of a lane or street. There is not much difference between a *mahala* and a *tola*, but generally it may be said that the Muhammadan residents of *mahalas* are called Khasbas and consist of *khan-samas*, tailors, etc., while those of a *tola* are called Kati and consist more of the labouring classes, such as masons, etc. Each *mahala* or *tola* has a Panchayat consisting of practically all members of the Muhammadan community living in the *mahala* or *tola*. Over each Panchayat there is a Sardar, who is elected for life by the Panchayat. When death creates a vacancy, a descendant of the deceased Sardar has preference, other things being equal, over another man. The duty of the Sardar is to look after the mosque of the *mahala* in which he resides, hear the grievances of those living under him, arrange for burials and marriages, see to the character of those living in his *mahala*, convene the Panchayat when necessity arises and preside over its deliberations. Over all the Sardars is a Superintendent elected by them. The Panchayat of a *mahala* or *tola* may be called on to deliberate on any point affecting the community. A member desiring a decision from the Panchayat applies to the Sardar. If any one complains to the Superintendent direct or to the Nawab of Dacca, the Superintendent and the Nawab send the petitions to the local Sardar, and the latter, by means of a messenger known as the Gorid, calls the members of the Panchayat together on a fixed date. On that date as many as choose assemble, five constituting a quorum, and decide the case by vote after hearing both sides. No written decision is required, but generally a note is made by some literate member and kept for reference in case of an appeal. If the dispute is between men of different *mahalas* or *tolas*, and they cannot agree as to which Panchayat shall try the case, a reference is made to the Superintendent and he decides where the case shall be heard.

956. If the parties are not satisfied with the decision of the Panchayat, they can appeal to the Superintendent, and he arranges for a Bench consisting of (1) four Sardars of any four consecutive *mahalas* on his list of Sardars (2) four Sardars of any four consecutive *tolas* on his list of *tolas*, and (3) a member of the Provincial Muhammadan Association, who has a casting vote. The only restriction is that these nine men must belong to the same group or ward as the parties. The constitution of this Bench or appellate court is interesting. Formerly appeals were decided by Sardars. The Bench, which has been in existence only about ten years, owes its origin to a desire to link together the *mahalas* and *tolas*. The presence of a member of the Provincial Muhammadan Association is a recent innovation, which shows an attempt to link up the local organization, consisting chiefly of common people, with the members of a central organization consisting of educated gentlemen. The presence of a member of the Provincial Muhammadan Association on the Bench brings a more highly trained mind to assist in the decision of a dispute which, owing to its complexity or any other cause, has not been satisfactorily decided by the local Panchayat. The Bench makes a record of its decision, which is kept by the Superintendent in his office at Ahsan Munzil, the residence of the Nawab of Dacca. If the decision of the Bench is not satisfactory, there is a further appeal to the Moti-ul-Islam Panchayat or Full Bench, which consists of the Superintendent and all the Sardars: ten constitute a quorum, and the Superintendent has a casting vote. A Full Bench decision is final. It may also be convened for general purposes, such as the levy of a subscription for some public object, etc., but such meetings are rare.

957. Litigation in these courts of arbitration, as they may be termed is not expensive. In the original court the plaintiff is expected to provide money sufficient to supply the members present with tobacco and *van*. Otherwise, there are practically no expenses. Execution of judgement is effected by moral suasion or the pressure of public opinion. In rare cases,

where this is not sufficient, it is reinforced by excommunication of the recalcitrant culprit. During excommunication the sinner is precluded from all social intercourse, and any one having dealings with him is himself liable to the same penalty. *Esprit de corps* is sufficient to ensure a penalty being carried out, and it is usually so disagreeable as to induce a contumacious Musalman to obedience, on which the ban is withdrawn. The majority of cases between Musalmans are settled in these Panchayats, but a large number are also settled amicably by the Nawab of Dacca or by the Superintendent. As for the appellate courts, 24 cases were decided by the Bench and 4 cases by the Full Bench during six months in 1911.

958. There is properly no caste system among the followers of the Prophet. All are on a religious equality; they meet and worship in the same mosque, and they have got the same Maulvis and Mullahs. In practice, however, they are divided into distinct groups, which are socially separate. Occupation, transmitted from generation to generation, has given rise to divisions as characteristic as those of the Hindu functional castes. The Nikaris are fishermen, the Naluas are bamboo-mat makers, the Kulus are oil-pressers, the Jolahas are weavers, the Dhawas are wood-splitters and *palki*-bearers, the Dhobas are washermen, the Dhunias are cotton-carders, and the Hajjams are barbers. No intermarriage is permitted between the different groups. A man who takes a wife from a lower group is degraded to it, while his children must marry in it. There are also restrictions on eating together, though, according to their religion, a Musalman cannot be degraded by taking food from another of a lower status. In spite of these principles, a Sheikh will not eat with a Jolaha or Kulu in a ceremonial feast, and other groups will only dine with fellow members. On the other hand, there is a tendency for the functional groups to call themselves Sheikhs, a generic name which is coming into use as a designation for all but Saiyads, Mughals and Pathans. In some parts this has gone so far, that Sheikh is said to be a name for the main caste, while the functional groups are referred to as Sheikh sub-castes. This in itself serves to show how far the Musalmans of Bengal have assimilated Hindu ideas.

FUNCTION, CASTE AND SUB-CASTE.

959. In the Bengal Census Report of 1901 Mr. Gait referred to Monsieur Senart's theory that endogamy is the true test of caste, in other words, that the sub-caste should be regarded as the true caste. The hypothesis on which Senart's theory is founded is that the caste name is merely a general term including a number of true castes following the same occupation. Mr. Gait pointed out that the instance of Baniya quoted by Senart was scarcely a case in point, because it is a functional designation and not the name of a caste. The various groups such as Agarwala, Oswal, etc., included under it are, in fact, not sub-castes, but true independent castes. He showed that in Bengal castes are split up into a number of sub-castes and that it would be a misuse of the term 'caste' to apply it to the minor groups. "The caste system is no doubt closely bound up with endogamy, but the two things are not identical. The general conclusion indicated by an examination by the system of subcastes seems to be that although, at any given time, a caste is seen to be split up into numerous separate groups that have no special connection with each other, the fact that they are all included in the same 'caste,' and the theory of a common origin which this term connotes, holds them together in some indefinable way. In certain circumstances different groups will coalesce, while in other circumstances fresh sub-castes will spring into existence, and in any case the restrictions on marriage in the case of the smaller unit are far less rigid than they are in the case of the larger one."

960. In the following paragraphs it is proposed to examine the constitution of a few of the most heterogeneous castes that can be found in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, to which, if to any, the principle enunciated by Senart would apply. At the same time, the opportunity will be taken to mention

cases in which new sub-castes are in the process of formation and to give a brief sketch of certain new castes that have been discovered and of their origin.

It will be seen that the groups making up a caste have very different origins. In many cases the distinction is territorial, and the modern name often commemorates some old and forgotten country, *e.g.*, Magahiya refers to the ancient Buddhist kingdom of Magadha, and Saptagrami to the ancient metropolis of Saptagram or Satgaon. Another territorial designation is Jaiswar, which means an inhabitant of Jais, once a Bhar stronghold and now a small town in the Rai Bareilly district of the United Provinces. In Bihar it is a common name for the sub-castes of different castes and in particular of a Kurmi sub-caste. In Bengal it is a self-assumed title of the Chamars, who adopt it as a patent of respectability, thinking that it will associate or identify them with the clean and respectable Kurmis. Some sub-castes are accretions from other groups, while others owe their origin to the adoption of new occupations, or to diversity of practice in the same occupation, or to changes in social customs. These and other causes lead to gradations of rank for which there is often no intelligible reason, and sometimes end in the creation of an entirely new caste. Even the outcastes form themselves into castes and have higher and lower grades. Thus, the Kallars of Bhagalpur are divided into two sections called Chhasera and Dasera. The former, it is said, lost caste in the famine of 1866, when rice sold at 6 seers per rupee and claim to be superior to the Dasera, who were so feeble as to lose caste 10 years later when rice was no dearer than 10 seers per rupee.

It should be added that Hindus themselves use some names as generic designations, notably for fishing castes. In Bengal, the nomenclature is sometimes exceedingly loose. Members of fishing castes, having the same occupations, will call themselves indifferently Jaliya, Tiya, Kewat or Kaibartta or a combination of these names, such as Jaliya Tiya, Tiya Kaibartta or Tiya Kewat. In Bihar, again, Machhua is a generic name used for fishermen belonging to five separate castes, *viz.*, Bind, Gonrhi, Tiya, Sorahiya and Banpar, but some think that it is a caste name and that these five castes are merely sub-castes.

961. In Bengal at the present time differentiation of occupation is the most fruitful source of fission, new groups being formed by it either into sub-castes or separate castes; it is often difficult to distinguish the two. A recent writer well describes this process, which he calls "upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation." "There is always visible an upward economic movement in a prospering community. Thus it comes to divide itself according to the following groups, ascending in order in the social scale—(a) handicraftsmen, (b) middlemen of the trade, (c) middlemen of other trades. In the upper strata the original fluidity is lost, and the caste and status tend to become more or less stereotyped. The higher sub-group ceases to consort with the lower in eating and marrying and gradually, by an inevitable course of development, is differentiated into a new caste till even the common origin is sometimes forgotten. . . . Among the fishing castes, when a man has saved some money, his first idea is to give up fishing and become a fishmonger. The middlemen, called Nikaris or Gunris, now constitute a distinct caste higher in status than the ordinary fishing castes. In Dacca, the Sankhari or the shell-cutting caste is divided into two sub-castes, *viz.*, (a) Bara-Bhagiya or Bikrampur Sankhari, and (b) Chhota Bhagiya or Sonargaon Sankhari. The latter are a comparatively small group, constituted of more expert master artisans, who work at polishing shells, which they purchase rough cut—a departure from traditional usage which accounts for their separation from the main body of this caste. In other districts, owing possibly to the smallness of the caste, no similar groups have been formed. Recently, a certain portion of the Dacca Sankharis have become traders, writers, timber and cloth merchants and claim on that account to be superior in social rank to those who manufacture shell bracelets. This is an interesting example of a caste in the course of formation".*

* Babu Radha Kamal Mukharji, *Caste in Indian Economics*, Modern Review, August 1912.

962. The Dhekarus are a small caste found only in the Sonthal Parganas and in adjoining villages in Birbhum. They are ostensibly blacksmiths, but their chief occupation is thieving. The name means "belcher," and is an onomatopœic word referring to the noise made by the bellows they use. These bellows are peculiar in shape, being worked by the tread, and are like those used by the Karmales. The name has now a sinister signification, connoting a thief in the Sonthal Parganas and a thief and drunkard in Birbhum. In the latter district a Dhekaru is said to drink day and night. A popular rhyme begins : "Oh Dhekaru, come and drink with us." *Pachwai* is said to be indispensable to them : in fact, it is reported that a Dhekaru regularly takes his measured pots of *vachwai* at least three times a day, and dies if his supply is short ! This seems scarcely credible. The Dhekarus are probably of aboriginal descent. Their own tradition of origin is that they were of the same race as the aboriginal blacksmiths called Ranas and separated from them, because the Ranas sacrificed a sheep. Sheep is a totem to them, and they will eat neither sheep's flesh nor the two vegetables called *chichinga* and *benay kumra*, as the former resembles the horns of a sheep in shape and the latter its belly. The Mals are the only caste with which they will eat ; they and the Mals also celebrate ceremonial feasts together. According to some, they are a sub-caste of Mals, and it seems possible that they owe their origin to aboriginal blacksmiths having formed connections with Mal women. They speak a corrupt form of Bengali, and worship Hindu deities, but eat beef and pigs. Many of those in Birbhum, however, have become Vaishnavas and abjure this forbidden food.

963. The constitution of the Dhobas of Chittagong is interesting on account of its territorial basis. They are divided into six sub-castes, called Ram, Bhalua, Jagdia, Sandipi, Rohangaya and Chattigaya, of which the Collector (Mr. A. H. Clayton, I.C.S.) gives the following account :—"The Ram Dhobas appear to be the descendents of those washermen who came to the district with the first British regiment and settled here. They are of Hindustani origin, though perfectly domiciled now. They do not wash the clothes of low-caste Hindus such as Doms and Haris. Commensality and intermarriage are strictly confined within the group. They have their own Panchayat presided over by their leading men, or Sardars, who decide all professional or social matters with the help of their priests. Whenever any complaint is made to the Sardar, he invites all the influential members of the caste in a Majlis or assembly to decide the matter. The Bhaluas, Jagdia and Sandipi Dhobas are apparently immigrants from Bhalua (Noakhali), Jagdia (an old fort near the sea) and the island of Sandip. There is no intermarriage between these three sub-castes, which are governed separately by their respective Panchayats. Commensality is not so rigidly restricted within the group. The Rohangaya and Chattigaya Dhobas probably come from the same stock. The Rohangayas, who are generally found in the Cox's Bazar subdivision are so called, probably because their forefathers, who were Dhobas of Chittagong, settled at Cox's Bazar, Mangdoo, Akyab and other places in Arakan, which is known as Rohang. They are despised by the Chittagong Dhobas because they eat pigs. Their complete isolation from the northern part of the district perhaps accounts for their separation from the original stock in social matters. These two sub-castes do not intermarry or interdine and have their separate Sardars and priests as their governing bodies."

964. The Gandas have hitherto not appeared in the caste returns of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Their total strength is 213,039, of whom all but 1,264 are inhabitants of Sambalpur and the Orissa Feudatory States. They are a low caste of weavers, who appear to be allied to the Pans, but have lost all connection with them. In addition to weaving coarse cloth, they serve as village watchmen and act as professional pipers and drummers. There are four subdivisions known as Oriya, Laria, Kandhria and Kabria. Three of these appear to be territorial subdivisions, for the Oriya Gandas are those who live in the Oriya country, the Laria those who reside in the Laria country, *i.e.*, Chhattisgarh, while the Kandhrias are so called because they live in the Kandh country. The Kabrias owe their origin to a difference in religion, for they

are Kabirpanthis or followers of Kabir. The Oriyas and Larias intermarry, and will drink, eat and smoke together, but not with the Kandhrias or Kabrias. The Gandas admit into their caste outsiders belonging to higher castes, but no one belonging to the castes which they regard as lower than themselves, viz., Chamar, Ghasi, Hari, Mangan and Mehtar. The Ganda is polluted by the touch of any of these latter and has to take a bath to regain his purity. If he is beaten by, or eats from the hands of, one of them, he is outcasted.

965. Among the Kaibarttas there are two main sub-castes, the Chasi (who are called Halia or Halia Das or Das in Eastern Bengal) and the Jaliya. The principal occupation of the former is cultivation and that of the latter catching and selling fish, or simply selling fish and plying boats for hire. The two sub-castes are entirely distinct, for they do not eat, drink or smoke together, and intermarriage is out of the question. In some parts there is a further differentiation, there being a third sub-caste designated simply as Kaibartta. These unspecified Kaibarttas are also engaged in cultivation, but raise garden crops for the market and sell them, whereas the Chasi Kaibarttas will not sell such produce personally. The recent history of the caste is an interesting record of development. The Chasi Kaibarttas are struggling for recognition as a separate caste under the name Mahishya, and are likely to split up into two separate sub-castes at no distant date, viz., Chasi Kaibarttas and Mahishyas. The latter consists of the more advanced and better educated Chasi Kaibarttas, who claim a superior status. Although the bulk of them admit that they belong to the same caste as the Chasi Kaibarttas, one section of them declines to dine or intermarry with those who personally sell their farm produce in the market. They say that the Mahishya is differentiated from the Chasi Kaibartta by the fact that he does not sell his produce except through servants of other castes. Any one of them found selling his own farm produce in the market is outcasted and called Chasi Kaibartta. Should a Mahishya marry into a simple Kaibartta family, or one which is locally called Chasi Kaibartta (and not Mahishya), his re-admission into caste is conditional on his making presents to the Mahishya Mandals of the neighbouring villages at a special caste feast. Severance of the marriage tie is not ordered, but further public intercourse between the two families must be stopped, although secret communication and visits will be condoned or connived at. Intermarriage with a Jalia Kaibartta, however, will not be tolerated for an instant, and the punishment will be expulsion from the caste. In Nadia the Panchayat does not permit a Mahishya to become a pound-keeper, to sell shoes or hides, or even to serve as a menial servant to any one but than a Brahman or Kayasth. If one of them does so, he is excommunicated. On the other hand, the abandonment of cultivation for any of the functional temporarily occupations of the higher castes is encouraged and admired. In some parts also the Mahishyas have taken to observing 15 days as the period of mourning (*asauch*) instead of one month like the rest of the Chasi Kaibarttas. The older and more conservative among the latter decline to be called Mahishya, and frankly say that they are not rich enough to join any organization in order to secure a higher status than their forefathers enjoyed. They prefer the old traditions and are quite content to go on cultivating and selling both grain and garden crops. In one village in Hooghly the Chasi Kaibarttas who had adopted the name Kaibartta marked its assumption by refusing to smoke from the same hookah as the Goalas, as they had hitherto done. The latter retaliated by refusing to supply curds, unless the Mahishyas came to their houses for it.

966. The Jaliya Kaibarttas are also in a state of transition, for they are trying to be recognized as Chasi Kaibarttas. As soon as one of them can afford to do so, he gives up selling fish, takes to other occupations and tries to keep himself aloof from other Jaliyas. He drops the name Jaliya and either calls himself simply a Kaibartta or claims to be a Chasi Kaibartta. They resent the Chasi Kaibarttas repudiating all connection with them, and maintain that, as they have a common origin, they have just as much right to be called Mahishya. There is a danger therefore that the very name which the Chasi Kaibarttas have adopted in order to distinguish

them from Jaliyas, will also be assumed by the latter. At this census certain Patnis also claimed to be recorded as Mahishyas on the ground that they were cultivators in addition to being boatmen. Four days before the census they changed their ground as they had discovered a passage in an ancient work referring to Kaibarttas as boatmen and wanted to be designated Manjhi Kaibarttas.

967. Other subdivisions of the caste are reported from different districts. In Howrah there are four sub-castes, viz., Uttarrarhi, Dakshinrarhi, Jaliya and Mala. The first two are engaged in cultivation and trade, and call themselves Mahishyas. The origin of these two sub-castes seems to be that one section lived in the north of Rarh and the other in the south. The origin of the other two is functional, the Jaliyas being fishermen and the Malas boatmen. It is reported that there is no intermarriage between any of these sub-castes : any persons who break this rule are outcasted and are never re-admitted. All four sub-castes have also separate priests : members of the first two may smoke from the same hookah, but none may eat cooked rice at each other's house. In Purnea the Chasi Kaibarttas are subdivided into three sections, which are, in a descending scale of respectability, the Sankh-becha, who sell conch bangles, the Pan-becha who sell betel leaf, and the Tikadars, who are inoculators. There is no intermarriage between these three sections.

968. The name Kamar is commonly applied to all workers in metal, but there are really three distinct castes, viz., the Kamars and Karmakars. Kamar of Bihar, the Kamar of Chota Nagpur and the adjoining districts and the Karmakar of Bengal. The constitution of the Kamars and Karmakars will be briefly examined in two Bengal districts forming a kind of ethnic border, where they are composed of the most divergent elements, after which an account will be given of the Karmakar sub-castes in Central Bengal.

Both Kamars and Karmakars are found in Bankura. The former, who are known locally as Kamaria, appear to be of aboriginal descent. Originally, the Kamarias used to burn charcoal, smelt iron and make iron implements, but diversity of occupation has led to the creation of two sub-castes called Dhokra and Loharia. The name of the former is probably derived from *dhukan*, meaning to breathe heavily, and refers to the noise made by their bellows. The Dhokras now manufacture brass vessels, whereas the Loharias have adhered to their original occupation. Endogamy and commensality are strictly enforced in each sub-caste, and they have separate Panchayats. The following sub-castes are found amongst the Karmakars of the same district, viz., Astaloi, Belaloi, Mahmudpuria, Rana and Raykamar. The Ranas are probably an accretion from an aboriginal tribe, Rana being a common name for blacksmiths among such tribes. Tradition assigns a common origin to the Astalois and Belalois, and says that the former name is due to the fact that the Astaloi used to work with eight anvils (*asta*, eight and *loi*, an anvil) while the Belaloi used to work without an anvil (*bela* or *bina*, without). It is also said that the Mahmudpurias came of the same stock as the Astaloi, but separated and settled in Mahmudpur.* Legend relates that a Chandali once prepared a weapon which was highly prized by the Nawab. When asked what he wanted as a reward, the Chandali begged to be given the same status as the Karmakar. The Nawab ordered the Karmakars to dine with the Chandali, whereupon some of them fled to Mahmudpur. Thus they managed to save their caste and came to be known as Mahmudpuria. The Ray Kamars are said to be descendants of the Karmakars who ate with the skilful Chandali craftsman. In the course of time they have attained prosperity and now intermarry with the Astaloi and Belaloi sub-castes. Otherwise intermarriage is strictly interdicted ; if a Mahmudpuria marries an Astaloi, he is outcasted and becomes an Astaloi. There is no commensality between the members of the different sub-castes : they will, however, all smoke from the same hookah. Each outcaste has its own Panchayat.

* Mahmudpur or Muhammadpur is a village in Jessore named after Mahmud Shah, King of Bengal from 1442 to 1459 A.D. It was later the capital of Sitaram Rai and the capital of Bhushna. See Jessore District Gazetteer, pp. 23-25, 159 *et seq.*

969. In Midnapore the principal Karmakar sub-castes are Astalaik, Kansari or Belaloi, Rana, Dhokra and Ghosh. All of these are functional groups. The Astalaik (apparently the same as the Astaloi) works in gold, silver and bell-metal, the Kansari in bell-metal only, as the name signifies, *kansa* meaning bell-metal. The Dhokra smelts iron, and the Ghosh makes images of gods and goddesses from sacred earth dug up from cremation *ghats*. The Ranas and Dhokras, as in Bankura, were probably aboriginal blacksmiths. There are other minor groups called Bangal, Dakhno, Kaiti and Palali: Palali means a runaway, and tradition says that they fled from their original home because the ruler of the place tried to force them to intermarry with Namasudras. This legend is obviously only a variant of that already related. No intermarriage is allowed among the sub-castes, but commensality is allowed among the first three sub-castes. There are separate Panchayats for each sub-caste.

970. The Karmakars of Jessore have no less than seven territorial sub-castes, viz., Rarhi, Barendra, Naldi, Saptagrami, Bhushnai, Dhakai and Muhammadshahi. These groups are territorial. Rarh and Barendra are well known; Naldi, Bhushna and Muhammadshahi are old *parganas*; Dhakai is probably derived from Dacca, and Saptagram is the old form of Satgaon. Intermarriage and commensality are absolutely forbidden on pain of excommunication. In Murshidabad there are three common sub-castes, viz., Barendra, Uttarrarhi and Dakshinarhi, which are also territorial. There is no intermarriage, nor do they eat with one another; all of them, however, may smoke in the same hookah. If a man takes a girl from or gives a girl to a man of a different sub-caste, he is expelled from the sub-caste: he can, however, get re-admission if he performs the worship of Satyanarayan and feeds other members of the community. Each of the sub-castes has a separate Panchayat. The sub-castes found in the 24-Parganas are Anarpuri or Ukro, Panchnar, Saptagrami and Chaklai. These classes appear to have been formed by residence in different localities. They all work as blacksmiths and goldsmiths, observe the same social and religious practices and are ministered to by the same Brahmans. There is no intermarriage, the rules of endogamy applying as much to the taking as to the giving of girls in marriage. There is also no commensality, except in some parts of the Basirhat subdivision. The Subdivisional Officer of Barrackpore reports that the Panchnar claim a higher social status, and while they freely take girls from the Anarpuri, never give their girls in marriage to any other class.

971. The Karmakars of Nadia furnish an interesting example of fission, which is tending to proceed further, as will be seen from the following note furnished by Mr. A. K. Ray, the District Census Officer:—"There are two principal sections of the Kamar caste, Rarhis and Barendras, and also four principal Samajes, viz., the Nadia Samaj, Agradwip Samaj, Daspara Samaj and Panch Samaj. Marriages are restricted, as a rule, within the Samaj, provided they do not violate laws of consanguinity. The members of the Agradwip Samaj are stated, however, to be inferior in social status to those of the Nadia Samaj, and are desirous of establishing social connection with the latter by giving their daughters in marriage to them. It is said that the Nadia Samaj follows the *smarta* system and the Agradwipa Samaj follows the *kaulik agara*. As the *smarta* doctrine is considered to be superior to *kaulik*, this appears to account for the respective status of the members of the two Samajes. As regards the remaining two Samajes, the members of the Daspara Samaj are goldsmiths by occupation, and those of the Panch Samaj are generally iron-workers. The Rarhis and Barendras among the Karmakars not only do not intermarry, but I understand that in the Sadar Subdivision they do not even interdine with each other. The Subdivisional Officer of Kushtia reports, however, that there is no restriction as regards intermarriage and interdining among the Rarhi and Barendra Kamars of his subdivision. Besides the above Samajes and sub-castes, the Kamars are also divided into two hypergamous groups, viz., Kulins and Mauliks. The Kulins can take girls in marriage from the Mauliks but cannot marry their own girls to them. A violation of this rule involves permanent loss of Kulinism.

"The Rarhi and Barendra sub-castes originated no doubt from territorial distribution, but as regards the four Samajes, the Nadia, or Nabadwipa, and Agradwipa Samajes, the Nadia, or Nabadwipa, and Agradwipa Samajes have been differentiated probably by their difference of occupation. These Samajes or social divisions, which are mostly endogamous, are really what may be termed nascent sub-castes. Of late, some educated Karmakars have formed a society at Calcutta, called Karmakar Vaisya Tattwik Samaj, with a view to obliterate all minor differences among the different sub-castes and Samajes and to establish that Karmakars are Vaisyas and not Sudras. In one of their pamphlets these propagandists declare that, unlike the Kayasths and other, there are no sub-castes among the Karmakars, like Rarhi, Barendra, etc. But one ounce of fact is better than a ton of theory, and, in spite of the praiseworthy endeavour of the reformers, the distinction between the Rarhi and Barendra Karmakars as two different sub-castes is still glaring, and is daily met with in many parts of the Sadar and Kushtia subdivisions." On the other hand, it is reported from Khulna that there are no sub-castes among the Kamars. The District Census Officer reports—"Societies are formed of the members inhabiting different localities, and these are known as Samajes, e.g., Bhusna Samaj, Guptipara Samaj, etc.; but these groups are not regarded as sub-castes. Formerly there was no intermarriage between the different Samajes, but now such intermarriages take place and commensality prevails among all the Kamars. There is a Bengali saying—*Jadi bolo Kamar, bhat khao eshe amar*, i.e., if you call yourself a Kamar, come and take my rice. The Karmakars (Kamars) are goldsmiths or blacksmiths by profession; some of them are well educated and hold appointments in Government service or are legal practitioners and the like. But all of them can dine together without any objection."

972. The Karmales or Kolhes are a tribe of iron-workers and iron-smelters found in the Sonthal Parganas, where they are known as Kols. Ethnologically they belong to the Mundari peoples; linguistically are closely related to the Santals and Mahlis. It is probable that they come of the same stock as Santals, and that their special occupation has caused them to set up as a separate tribe: they now have no connection with the Santals. It is a curious fact that the working in iron appears to be frequently a cause of fission, sections of aboriginal tribes who have taken to that occupation separating from the main body and becoming a separate caste or tribe. They claim to be Hindus, but this merely means that, like most aboriginal tribes, they worship some Hindu godlings in addition to their own animistic deities.

973. The Lohars of Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa are, according to Sir Herbert Risley, "a large and heterogeneous aggregate comprising members of several different tribes and castes, who in different parts of the country took up the profession of working in iron."* It is doubtful if these remarks hold good with regard to the Lohars of Bihar, where the sub-castes appear to owe their origin to residence in different localities, as indeed the names imply, e.g., Kanaujia, Maghaiya and Gaurdeshia. The last is found in Purnea and recalls the former glory of Gaur, the capital of Bengal. In that district the sub-castes are strictly endogamous, both as regards giving as well as taking girls in marriage. The rules as regards commensality are less rigid, for if any one eats with one of another sub-caste, he is let off with a fine. Intermarriage, however, is punished with expulsion from the sub-caste. In Muzaffarpur this caste has no less than seven sub-castes, which are Belautia, Kanaujia, Digwara, Melia, Mahuli, Heri and Kanka. Kanaujia is of course a territorial group, and so is Digwara, for it is the name of an ancient village in Saran which dates back to Buddhist times.† The origin of the other groups is unknown. They all follow the same occupations, viz., working in iron, carpentry and agriculture; they also eat together, smoke from the same hookah, and have a common Panchayat. The only restriction to which they are subject is that a man must marry or give in marriage in his

* Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 22.

† Saran District Gazetteer, pp. 17, 151.

own sub-caste. If this rule is contravened, the offender is permanently outcasted. Sir Herbert Risley also includes immigrant Kamias (*sic*) from Nepal among the Bihari Lohars, but these are Kamis, an entirely different caste.

974. In Ranchi the Lohars of Bihar are called Kanaujia Lohars, and the indigenous blacksmiths are known as Nagpuria Lohars or Lohras. The latter are a recent accretion from the ranks of the aboriginals, and are very often called Kol Lohars. They are divided into two sub-castes, viz., Sad Kamar and Lohras proper. The former have given up work as blacksmiths and are engaged in agriculture. They still speak Mundari and in some localities observe the Mundari custom of burial in the ancestral *sasandiri*. They do not, however, take any meat other than that of fowls or goats, and do not drink *pachwai*. They also do not take cooked food from Mundas, and will take drinking water only from those who observe the same restrictions about food and drink as they do. On the other hand, the Sad Kamars admit into the caste children born by Mundari women, a privilege which they would not accord to children born by women of any other caste, even the highest. The mother, however, remains outside the pale. She is regarded as a concubine and as a Munda, and no Sad Kamar would accept any cooked food from her through her bastard children become Sad Kamars. Children of a Sad Kamar woman by a father of the Munda or any other caste cannot be admitted into the caste. The Lohras are iron-smelters and blacksmiths. They observe very few restrictions about food or drink, for they take cooked food from Oraons and Mundas and eat even the carcasses of dead animals. Inter-marriages between Sad Kamars and Lohras are unknown: any Sad Kamar marrying into a Lohra family would be permanently outcasted.

975. The Lohars of Bankura appear to be of non-Aryan descent and are divided into four sub-castes, viz., Gobaria, Angaria, Manjhi and Kasai-kulia. The Gobaria Lohars are so-called, because they clean the spot where they eat with cowdung (*gobar*) after the meal is over. The Angaria Lohars are so named because they burn and sell charcoal. The origin of the Manjhi sub-caste, who are weavers, is said to be unknown, while the Kasaikulia Lohars are reported to be so called because they manufacture articles of bell-metal (*kansa*, bell metal). Both the latter are probably accretions from the ranks of the Bagdis, who have also sub-castes called Manjhi and Kasaikulia: the latter name is due to their having been originally settled on the banks of the Kasai river. There is no commensality or intermarriage amongst the members of the different sub-castes, nor will they smoke from the same hookah. Each sub-caste has its own Panchayat. If a man keeps a woman of another sub-caste, the woman's father is sentenced by the Panchayat to pay a fine, which is divided equally amongst the Paramanik, their Barnabipra Brahman and the Raja of Chhatna. The man himself has to do *prayaschitta* and pay a fine before he can be taken back into the fold. If persons of different sub-castes eat together, or smoke from the same hookah, they are outcasted until they perform *prayaschitta*, and each must pay a fine. The amount of the fine is said to be usually Rs. 3-12—a convenient figure, for it represents 60 annas.

976. The term Lohar in the border district of Singhbhum is applied to four groups which are rather castes than sub-castes, viz., Kanaujia or Sad Lohar, Dhokra Kamar, Kol Lohar and Lohar Majhi. The first group consists of immigrants, from whom Brahmans will take water. They do not work the bellows with their feet like the other sub-castes, but with their hands. Their bellows used always to be made of deer or *sambar* skin, but some have lately taken to using tanned leather of various kinds, including cow and buffalo hides. They do not eat fowls, and widow marriage is not practised. The Dhokra Kamars, who are a semi-Hinduized caste, generally use untanned leather for their bellows. They eat beef and fowls, drink liquor, practise widow marriage and are considered to be a low caste. The Kol Lohars are an accretion from the Hos and have much the same customs as the latter. There is, however, no intermarriage between them and the Hos. Those living in the towns and their neighbourhood have given up eating beef and are reluctant to have social intercourse with their brethren in the interior. Hindu barbers and washermen have begun to serve them, and they

bid fair to become a separate sub-caste. The Iohar Manjhis, who are found in Dhalbhum, are quite separate. They do not smelt or work in iron and may be an offshoot of the Bagdis.

977. The blacksmiths of the Sonthal Parganas are a curious medley, the name Lohar being applied to several entirely distinct castes, not sub-castes. The name is applied in the Dumka and Jamtara subdivisions to up-country Lohars and to Kamars or Karmakars of Bengal, as well as to Ranas, a low caste of beef-eaters who are of aboriginal descent. In Rajmahal, which is on the border line between Bengal and Bihar, it is reported that there are three sub-castes, viz., Kanaujia, Magahiya and Bangala. The first two were originally sub-castes of the Lohar caste of Bihar, and the last was the Bengal Karmakar. They appear to have become domiciled and to have merged into sub-castes of one and the same caste. Kanaujia and Magahiya are considered superior to the Bangala, and may not take food from him, whereas he will take food from them. Intermarriage is not allowed between any of the sub-castes, but since the Bangala Lohar is inferior to the Magahiya or Kanaujia, if he takes a wife from them, he does not lose his caste. On the other hand, if a Magahiya or Kanaujia marries a Bangala girl, he is outcasted and can be re-admitted only by going on pilgrimage and feeding his fellow castemen. The groups in the Pakaur subdivision are of a curious character. They are called Bhikaria and Karanjia, the former meaning beggars and the latter workmen. The Bhikaria is the descendant of the early blacksmith of the village community who was paid in kind for his work. At harvest time he would go round begging for a reward for his labours, and each cultivator would give something in proportion to the yield of his field. This system of collecting wages is called *b'ik* or begging, because it was entirely left to the villagers to pay as they liked : in the case of failure of the crops, nothing was paid at all. The name Karanjia is derived from *kar* work and *ja* to live, and was applied to those who took cash payment for thier work. The two groups eat and smoke together and are exogamous, *i.e.*, a Bhikaria must marry into a Karanjia family and *vice versa*. Each group has a Panchayat of its own, but the Panchayats co-operate when any one is guilty of gross misconduct, *e.g.*, marrying or eating with some one of another caste.

978. The Namasudras have four main sub-castes, viz., Halia, Chasi, Karati and Jaliya. Halias and Chasis are engaged in cultivation, while Karatis work as carpenters. The functional distinction between these three sub-castes is disappearing, and the three occupations are often followed by different members of one of the same family. There is intermarriage between the Halias, Chasis and Karatis ; they also eat, drink and smoke together. In fact all these three sub-castes may be regarded as Halia or cultivating Namasudras as distinct from the Jaliya (or fishing) Namasudras. The Halias are too proud to admit the Jaliyas as Namasudras at all. If any member of the Halia class contracts a matrimonial alliance with a Jaliya, he is degraded to the latter class. In fact, the cleavage between the two is as sharp as that between the Chasi Kaibarttas or Mahishyas and the Jaliya Kaibarttas. The Jaliyas comprise two subdivisions called Karal, who are fishmongers and Jiani, who are fishermen. The cultivating Namasudras include the Dhanis, who were originally cultivators of rice, and the Siyalis, who used to cultivate and tap date palm trees, but now both cultivate other crops as well as rice and date palms.

979. The Paridhas are a small caste found in Angul and the Orissa States. They are an offshoot of the Chasas and are said to owe their origin to the fact that the Garhjat Rajas, or Chiefs of the States, being scrupulous Hindus, refused to ride on ponies that were groomed by untouchable Haris, and requisitioned the services of some Chasas. The latter were outcasted by the Chasas, because they worked as syces, and formed a separate caste. They still, however, use the same *santak* or signature mark as the Chasas, viz., the *mai* or ladder. In addition to doing syces' work, they are employed as elephant mahauts. Though they groom ponies, they will on no account cut grass for them, this being regarded as the avocation of a Ghasi. They also look down on the work of farm servants and day labourers as degrading. Intermarriage with other castes is strictly forbidden. They practise adult marriage and eat

fowls and pork, but not cow's flesh. Any Paridha eating beef would be permanently excommunicated.

980. An interesting example of the manner in which a new sect comes into being is afforded by the Sauntis of the Orissa Feudatory States. The nucleus of the caste consisted of persons outcasted from respectable Oriya castes, who were allowed by the Chief of Keonjhar to settle in Mananta, one of the villages in his State. Their numbers grew rapidly as they received other outcastes with open arms. The only qualification for admission was that the new comers must have belonged to some caste from whom Brahmans would take water. They called themselves Saunta, meaning "gathered in," which in course of time was changed to Saunti. The leadership was assumed by a Khandait family from Khurda in the Puri district, the head of which received the title of Bedhajal from the Chief; this name is similar to Saunta, as it means "surrounding with a net." The Bedhajal is the acknowledged leader of the caste and enjoys certain privileges, being permitted to ride in a *palki*, to have drums beaten in his procession, and a *chaura* carried before him, on State occasions. The Sauntis now number 22,659, and are to be found in the Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Pal Lahara and Nilgiri States, and, to a small extent, in Puri and Balasore. The Sauntis in all these places recognize the Bedhajal as their head and abide by his decision in caste matters. Most of them wear the sacred thread, and Brahmans drink water from their hands, though they eat fowls and drink liquor. Their marriage and funeral ceremonies are performed in very much the same manner as for other good Hindu castes. They have free access to the temples and are considered a clean caste. Their headquarters is at a place called Musakori in Keonjhar, which is the seat of the Bedhajal.

981. The Savars are one of the oldest races of Orissa, and have been identified with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabaroi of Ptolemy. They themselves say that they were originally a wandering tribe roaming through the hills of Orissa and living on the products of the forest. Legend points to their having been at one time a dominant race. The Dhenkanal State is said to derive its name from an aborigine of the Savar caste, named Dhenka Savara, who was in possession of a strip of land, upon which the present residence of the Chief stands. There still exists to the west of the Chief's residence a stone, commonly known as the Dhenka Savara Munda—Munda means a headman—to which worship is rendered once or twice in a year. The first Rajput Raja of Pal Lahara is said to have been selected by the Savars and other tribes as their Chief; and legend relates that he obtained the name Pal because he was saved during a battle by the Savars hiding him under a heap of straw.† The Savars are also intimately connected with the worship of Jagannath. The original image of this deity, according to mythology, was discovered in the land of the Savars, where its priest was a Savar fowler named Basu or Viswa Basu.

982. The Savars are now divided into two castes, the Savar and the Sahar; the latter are more commonly called Sahara, another variant being Saura. In some parts it is impossible to distinguish the two, those who have come into contact with Hindus and have adopted Hindu customs being called Sahars and those who have not yet reached that stage Savars. This is the case in Talcher, where they have the same marriage, death and religious ceremonies. Elsewhere, two separate castes are recognized. They admit a common origin and say that their forefathers were clothed only in leaves, knew not the use of salt or oil, and lived on jungle products and the spoils of the chase. Otherwise, they have no connection, and intermarriage is impossible. The Savars are still a race of nomad hunters. They worship the bow, and have one peculiarity in its use. They draw the string with the forefinger and middle finger, and never use the thumb. Another peculiarity is that in some parts, such as Baramba, where they have become Hinduized, the Savars wear the sacred thread, and that their touch does not cause pollution like that of the Sahars. One section is called Patra Savar, a

* Orissa States Gazetteer, page 165.

† Orissa States Gazetteer, page 276.

name which is reminiscent of their wearing no clothing but leaves. The Patra Savars are a gipsy race of minstrels and musicians ; this is an occupation not confined to them, but also followed by other Savars as well as by Sahars.

The Sahars are the section of the tribe who became the serfs of their Aryan conquerors and were Hinduized at an early period. They are now mostly day labourers or petty cultivators, and are despised by the woodland Savars, because they do earthwork and are farm labourers. They are a low servile class ranking very low in the social scale. They drink wine and eat all kinds of animals except beef and pork. Widow marriage and divorce are allowed, and no Brahmans will serve them. Like other degraded races, such as Pans and Haris, they live outside the village site.

983. Both Savars and Sahars worship animistic deities, called generically Gram Devata, the chief of whom seems to be Komorudia, who is represented by an egg-shaped earthen drum. In Angul the Savars are so far Hinduized that, even when they worship the bow before going out on a hunt, they call it the worship of Banaraj Bana Durga, *i.e.*, the forest Durga, lord of the forest. In Talcher the Sahars and Savars worship Hingula, a goddess of fire, who is of an unique character. Her symbol is a piece of stone, and her annual worship takes place on the full moon day of Chait. Some days before that date she is said to appear in the shape of fire burning in a coal-field. The Dehuri or officiating priest, who is a Sudha by caste, brings coal to create, or keep up, the fire. On the final day the assembled people throw in molasses, *ghi*, fragments of cloth and other inflammable material. The fire is kept up for some days, after which it is quenched. In the Khondmals the chief object of worship is Badral Thakurani, which is the Oriya name for the earth goddess, a Khond deity who is worshipped by non-Khonds as well as by Khonds. Formerly, the priest who offered sacrifices to the goddess was always a Khond, but now the Sahars employ a man of their own tribe, and the Oriyas a man of the Sudha caste. A Khond priest is still required to officiate for the Sahars at the worship of Gram Devata, but other sacrifices are performed by persons of their own tribe, while offerings to ancestors are made by heads of families.

984. There are some minor sections which appear to be separate from the two main bodies. In Angul there is a community called Kol Savar, who stand midway between the pure Savars and the Sahars. They claim to be Hindus and worship Durga, one of their own caste officiating as priests. They still practise adult marriage and admit that formerly they were a wandering race of hunters. Now they are labourers, who will cut paddy and hew wood, but will not do earthwork, as that is a degrading occupation. In Midnapore the Savars are hunters, hawkers of jungle products, and snake charmers. There is a separate community called Sahar Bagal, probably an accretion from the Savars, who are a clean caste having much the same position as Goalas. Another group in Puri is similarly called Sar-Bauri, because they have the same occupations as Bauris. There is, however, no intermarriage between them and the Bauris : a Bauri would be polluted by their touch. Perhaps the most interesting section of the old Savar race consists of the Suars of Puri, who claim to be descendants of Viswa Basu, the Savar priest of Jagannath. They are no longer Jagannath's priests, but his cooks, for they cook the rice offered to the god, which thereby becomes *mahavrasad* and may be partaken of by high and low castes together. Hindu ingenuity derives their name from the Sanskrit *supakara*, but it is undoubtedly only another form of Savar. Another name used by them is Daita, or Daitapati, which is accounted for by a tradition that they are descended from Daitapati or the left hand of Jagannath, whereas others are descendants of Basu, who represented his right hand.

985. There are numerous sub-castes or septs among the Sahars. Some are obviously named after a common ancestor, such as the Basu Sahars and the Guha Sahars. Basu was the Savar priest of Jagannath just mentioned. Guha is mentioned in the *Ramayana* as a Savar chief from whom Ram himself accepted hospitality. Two groups (described in Angul as sub-septs and elsewhere as sub-castes) owe their origin to differences in the method of cremating the dead. They are called Joria and Khuntia, and the distinction

between them is that the former burn their dead near a *jor*, or small stream, while the latter do so near a *khunt*, literally a stump, which in practice means an old tree on high ground. These subdivisions intermarry and eat together, but differ in their marriage customs. The Jorias consider it a sin to marry a girl after she has attained puberty, while the Khuntias see nothing wrong in exceeding the age of puberty. The Jorias have therefore adopted the custom of marrying a girl to an arrow, if she cannot be disposed of before she attains maturity. Other groups appear to be functional. The Paiks are the descendants of Sahars, or Savars, who served as *paiks*, *i.e.*, as soldiers in the old State armies. The Naiks and Bisals served as headmen, and the Bhois and Beheras as messengers and carriers, while the Bureks took to catching fish as a profession. Various accounts are given of the origin of some sub-septs. The Gajpuria Bisals took service at Hindu temples and the Kapattalia Bisals are said to have got their name from being liars and deceivers (*kapat*). The Chandania Bhois use *chandana* or sandalwood paste for making forehead marks. The Dhobalbansia Bhois formed a separate sub-sept because they took to washing clothes for other people like a Dhoba or washerman. Washing clothes for another person is looked upon as a menial service.

From Sambalpur and the adjoining States one peculiar subdivision is reported, called Kalapithia, *i.e.*, the black-backed. It is said that they are chiefly found in Puri and pull Jagannath's car at the festival. They are considered superior to all the other sub-castes as they refrain from drinking liquor and eating fowls : other septs take wine and fowls, but not beef and pork. No information regarding the Kalapithias is forthcoming from Puri, and it is certain that now-a-days the task of pulling the car is not confined to any particular caste or sub-caste. I am inclined to think that it is a name given to the Suars, or cooks of Jagannath, who are in all probability the descendants of his early Savar priests.

986. In some places Tanti is used as a generic term for different functional castes or is applied to endogamous groups loosely affiliated to the Tanti caste. This is notably the case in the Kishanganj subdivision of Purnea, where it is applied to four separate classes of weavers, *viz.*, the Modi Tanti, Chapual Tanti, Jogi Tanti and Palia Tanti. The Palia Tantis are merely persons belonging to the Palia sub-castes of Rajbansis, who weave cloth ; it is possible that they may in time separate from the Rajbansis, but at present they are not distinct from the Palias. In the case of the Jogi Tanti, the process of fission has been completed, for the Jogi Tantis are distinct from the Jogis proper, who are lime manufacturers. The Chapual or Chaupal Tantis are really a separate caste of weavers who are said to have migrated from Nadia during a famine. There is no information available regarding the origin of the Modi Tantis, but they are so far superior to the other Tantis that Brahmans and other higher castes will drink water from their hands. The name shows that they belonged to some trading caste that abandoned their traditional occupation for weaving.

Elsewhere in North Bihar the term Tanti is used for a distinct caste with several of the usual territorial sub-castes. In Bhagalpur there are two main divisions called Uttarkul and Purabkul, the latter being also commonly known as Pairowa Tantis because they worship the deity presiding over their craft on Pairowa day, *i.e.*, the first day after the full moon. They have their own Panchayats for settling caste disputes, and do not allow intermarriage with other Tantis. The Uttarkul Tantis, who are known commonly as Jolahs or Jolahas, are subdivided into Magahiyas, Tirhutias and Kanaujias. Each of these sub-castes has its own Panchayat to punish social offenders : intermarriage between the different sub-castes is not allowed. Two more territorial sub-castes are reported from Champaran, *viz.*, Sonpuria and Banaudhia, and there is also a functional sub-caste called Khatwe. The latter appears to have developed from its members having a special occupation, *viz.*, weaving of *newar* beds. In this district intermarriage and commensality are not allowed between the various sub-castes. When a member of one sub-caste gives his daughter in marriage to, or takes a wife from, another sub-caste, the penalty is a fine, and, in default, excommunication.

When members of different sub-castes eat together, or smoke from the same hookah, the offender is either fined or ordered to bathe in the Ganges or to go to some place of pilgrimage.

Rangwas are another sub-caste in Saran, who keep to the traditional occupation of weaving and hence rank higher than the other Tantis, such as Kahar, Tantis and Chamar Tantis, who follow the occupations of the castes from which they sprang. The Chamar Tantis are the lowest in the scale. They still work as drummers like the Chamars, and in some parts also keep pigs. They are entirely separate from the other Tantis, who will neither eat with them, take water from their hands, smoke with them, or marry any of them. In Bhagalpur there are some Bengali Tantis who have migrated from Bengal, but have become domiciled and adopted the Bihari language. They still marry their sons and daughters in Bengal, more especially in the Murshidabad and Burdwan districts, whence the forefathers of most of them appear to have come. Thus, it often happens, that a Bengali-speaking boy of Murshidabad has for his wife a Hindi-speaking girl of his caste from Bhagalpur or *vice versa*.

987. In West Bengal there are several territorial sub-castes, such as Barendra, Uttarkul and Madhyakul, between which there is no intermarriage. Two other sub-castes are named after months in the Hindu year, viz., Aswini and Baisakhi. The former is considered a superior sub-caste in Midnapore, because its members do not use rice paste to starch their fabrics and are, therefore, considered cleaner. The Sukli Tanti is a sub-caste which only sells cloths and does not weave them. The abandonment of the traditional occupation appears to have led to their becoming a separate sub-caste. The Jogi Tanti is probably an accretion from the Jogi caste. From Midnapore six other sub-castes are reported, viz., Sarak, Sivakul, Charkandia, Matibansi, Dhoba, Pan and Kuturia. The Saraks are, as already mentioned in this report, Buddhists elsewhere, and in some places form a separate caste. The Sivakul sub-caste derives its name from one Siva Das, said to be their common ancestor. There is reported to be very little difference between them and the Aswinis, intermarriage and commensality being allowed. The Charkandias are so called because they arrange four clusters of thread together in the warp, whereas others arrange one or two and are therefore called Ekkandia or Dokandia. The Matibansis bury their dead; their name is said to refer to the practice of covering dead bodies with earth. The Dhoba Tantis, Pan Tantis and Kuturia Tantis are evidently formed by accretions from other groups. Similar accretions are found in Orissa where there are Gaura Tantis (from the Gauras) and Chamar Tantis (from the Chamars) as well as Pan Tantis. The social status of the castes from which they were drawn is still more or less retained, for the two latter are untouchable, whereas water may be taken from the Gaura Tantis, just as much from the Gauras themselves. There are also Hansi Tantis, who are believed to be descendants of indigenous Oriya weavers, and Sankhua Tantis, who blow conch-shells at marriage processions.

988. In Singhbhum, a border district where the same name is often given to different castes, there are two groups of Tantis, each of which is considered a separate caste. The first group is divided into four sub-castes viz., Aswini Tantis, Uttar Muliya, Purab Muliya and Mandarani: the last named is obviously of territorial origin, Mandaran being an historical tract of country which became one of the Mughal Sarkars.* The members of this group are immigrants, from whom the higher Hindu castes will take water. Intermarriage between the different sub-castes is not allowed, nor do the different sub-castes eat together at marriages or on other social occasions; but members of one sub-caste may take food in the house of a man of a different sub-caste and may smoke from the same hookah. Each sub-caste has its own Panchayat. The third group consists of the Ranginis and Patras, who are of Oriya origin. The distinction between them is that the Patras weave silk or tusser cloths, while the Ranginis weave cotton fabrics. The two sub-castes do not intermarry. There is a third weaving caste, which is sometimes called Pan Tanti, but in Singhbhum they are quite

* Hooghly District Gazetteer, pp. 288-292.

distinct from Tantis. They arrogate the name of Tanti, because they weave cloths, but they are nothing more than Pans, and have not succeeded in getting affiliated to the Tantis as they have elsewhere.

989. An interesting example of social differentiation is found among the Tantis of Calcutta, who are divided into three distinct groups called Basak, Dakshinkul and Madhyamkul. The cleavage between them is attributed to the Tantis engaging in trade in the early days of British rule. Some became middlemen for the sale of the fabrics of the Tantis' looms, others engaged in general trade. Both gradually rose in the social scale and dissociated themselves more or less from their humble brethren of the craft. The middlemen formed the Dakshinkul sub-caste; the general traders, who rank above them, became a separate community called Basak. Now only the Madhyamkuls practise their hereditary craft.*

STATISTICS OF CASTES.

990. Subsidiary Table II at the end of this chapter shows the strength at each census of the castes that now contribute two or more per mille to the population of either Province, and also the variations which have occurred between each census. It is not proposed to discuss the variations which occurred prior to 1901, many of which are extraordinary. The greater completeness and accuracy of successive censuses are responsible for the increases shown in some cases. In others, the variations are due to differences in classification, of which there is no record until the census of 1901. The changes which have taken place since then are due in some instances to special circumstances which require a brief explanation. It will be seen that the number of Banias has been steadily falling since 1881, and that in the last ten years they have registered a loss of over one-fourth. This, however, does not mean that the Bania communities are dying out. The decrease is merely due to the fact that Bania is a generic term for several distinct castes and that, with a progressive improvement in the methods of enumeration, an increasing number are returned under their distinctive caste names and not under the general designation of Bania. The extraordinary decrease in the number of unspecified Kaibarttas is the result of the Kaibarttas dividing into two sharply defined sections instead of remaining an united caste. Very many more consequently return themselves either as Chasi (Mahishya) or Jaliya Kaibartta than used to be the case. In the case of the Oriya castes considerable variations have been caused by the reconstitution of the Orissa Feudatory States and a consequent addition of population. This is the explanation of what seems *primâ facie* an abnormal rise (144 per cent.) among the Kandhs (Khonds). The Koches also register an increase of over four-fifths, which is to be attributed to their being separately tabulated at this census instead of being grouped with Rajbansis as in 1901. It is noticeable that in the districts where the increase in their numbers is greatest, there is only a reasonable increase in the number of Rajbansis and Koches taken together.

There are also extraordinary variations in the figures for Musalmans, which is very largely due to the late Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam allowing Jolahas to return themselves as Sheikhs, Pathans, etc. It is on this account that the Jolahas have decreased by 10 per cent., while the Sheikhs have added 14 per cent. and the Pathans 18 per cent. to their numbers. The Ajlaf or Atrap again have a loss of over two-thirds, which is due to the term having lost popularity. It is a designation for those miscellaneous groups which do not belong either to the functional or racial classes of Musalmans. It is now rejected by the low Musalman classes, whose aspiration is to be called Sheikhs. At the last census nearly 285,000 persons were returned as Ajlaf in Khulna; the number is now reduced to 445, there being a corresponding rise in the number of Sheikhs.

* Radha Kamal Mukherjee, *Caste in Indian Economics*, Modern Review, August, 1912.

991. It is sometimes thought that the higher Hindu classes are declining, but the census statistics do not bear out this supposition, though they are not growing so rapidly as some of the low castes and semi-Hinduized aboriginal races. In the last decade every one of the higher castes, viz., Brahman, Babhan, Rajput, Khandait, Karan, Kayasth and Baidya,* has grown except the Babhans and Rajputs, who have declined slightly: the marginal figures are for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole.

Caste.	Percentage of increase or decrease.
Babhan	1.1
Baidya	9.4
Brahman	4.6
Karan	5.9
Kayasth	8.4
Khandait	12.1
Rajput	1.9

For the decline among the Babhans plague must be held responsible, for the reasons given in the section below dealing with Babhans. The decrease in the number of Rajputs or Chhatris is more apparent than real. The diminution is accounted for by the Sonthal Parganas, where the census officers succeeded in obtaining a correct return of that elusive but interesting race, the Khetauris, most of whom have hitherto passed as Chhatris. In Bengal none of the three castes which contribute most largely to the Bhadrak class are on the down grade. The Brahmans in this province have increased by $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the Baidyas by 9 per cent. and the Kayasths by 13 per cent.

992. The aboriginal races, as shown in the margin, are making steady progress, the percentage of increase varying from 8 per cent. in the case of the Oraons to 25 per cent. in the case of the Mundas. Large increases are also registered by many of the depressed classes, such as Doms (16 per cent.) and Bindis (15 per cent.), and by other low castes, such as the Kewat (19 per cent.) and Pod (15 per cent.).

Caste or race.	Variations per cent.
Bhuiya	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bhumij	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Gond	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ho	9
Kharia	16
Munda	25
Oraon	8
Santal	13

The following is a brief account of the distribution and variation in the numbers of the castes and races of the greatest numerical strength and of a few others that present special points of interest.

993. The Babhans, who number 1,131,330, are practically confined to Bihar, there being only a few of their community in adjoining districts such as Purnea and Hazaribagh. Since 1901 they have decreased by 1 per cent., and this loss must probably be ascribed to plague. The greater part of it has taken place in the plague-stricken districts of Patna and Saran, and it is significant that the falling off is confined to the women, who, as pointed out in a previous chapter, suffer more from the ravages of plague than the other sex.

994. The Bagdis with a strength of a little over 1 million are mainly found in West and Central Bengal, over two-thirds of the number being inhabitants of West Bengal. A small minority only is found in the adjoining districts and in Eastern Bengal; those enumerated in the latter area were temporary emigrants engaged in cutting crops or other forms of labour at the time of the census. This caste has been practically stationary since 1901, which is somewhat surprising considering that it is a hardy race of semi-aboriginals. The Bauris in West Bengal to whom the same remark would apply have also registered a very small increase.

995. The increase of the Baishnabs by 8 per cent. is only natural, for this is a caste which grows by accession from outside, as well as from natural causes. It is very largely a Cave of Adullam, the refuge of many in revolt against society and Brahmanical domination. With this accession to their numbers, their aggregate is now a little over half a million.

996. The Bauris are far more widely distributed than the Bagdis, whom they resemble in many ways, for half of the total number (606,157) are found in West Bengal, and practically all the remainder in Cuttack, Puri and Manbhum. In the district last named they number over 100,000 and form the bulk of the labourers in the coal mines. The Bauri is, in fact, fast becoming a collier, so much so that coal mining is beginning to be regarded as the traditional occupation of the caste. Since 1901 they have increased only by 2 per cent., which is less than that might naturally be expected from such a hardy race.

* Khatris are excluded because they are not an indigenous caste: in any case, their number is small.

1997. The Bhotias number altogether 29,350 and are practically confined to Sikkim and the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. They are divided into three distinct races, each with a local distribution. The Bhotanese who hail from Bhotan, are found mainly in Jalpaiguri. The Sharpas, who are immigrants from Eastern Nepal—the name Sharpa means eastern—are nearly all inhabitants of Darjeeling, where they aggregate over 5,000. There is a minor subdivision among them called Kagate, the origin of which is said to be that its members were engaged in paper making when they first came from Tibet and settled in the east of Nepal: they are also called Kagate Sharpas. They intermarry, eat with, and are, in fact, indistinguishable from other Sharpas. The Sikkimese are found to the number of 10,250 in Sikkim. There is also a fourth class consisting of Tibetan Bhotias or Bhotias who described themselves as such without further specification: the members of this class are nearly all found in Darjeeling. There has been an increasing influx of Bhotias from Tibet into Darjeeling, where the total number has risen by two-fifths in the last ten years. Sikkim has also attracted immigrants though not to the same extent, and registers an increase of over one-fourth.

1998. The Bhuiyas are one of the principal castes of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where nine-tenths of them are found. Their total strength is 732,801, to which probably should be added the majority of the 75,489 persons returned as Ghatwal. The latter is in some places a name of a true caste, an offshoot of the Bhuiyas, but it is also a designation frequently assumed by Bhuiyas. The Bhuiyas have increased by $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. during the last ten years.

1999. The Bhumij number 362,976, of whom 272,694 are inhabitants of Bihar and Orissa, where almost all are residents of Manbhum, Singhbhum and the Orissa States. In Bengal the majority of the Bhumij are found in Midnapore, where nearly 46,000 were enumerated, and in Bankura (20,000). They are a growing community, now almost entirely Hinduized, and since 1901 have increased by $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

1000. Next to the Goalas, the Brahmans are the most numerous caste in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Brahmans and Goalas are, in fact, the two castes necessary to the religious and material life of the Hindu, who depends on the one for religious ministrations, and on the other for the cow which yields him milk, *ghi* and the cow-dung cakes that keep the household fire alight. They number a little over 3 millions and are found in every district, their strength being proportionate to the strength of the Hindu population, *i.e.*, they are least numerous where Animists and Musalmans prevail and most numerous in distinctively Hindu districts. Since 1901 they have added 5 per cent. to their numbers, but whereas the ratio of increase is $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in Bengal, it is only 3 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa.

1001. The Chamars, a low degraded caste of tanners and shoe-makers, are mainly inhabitants of Bihar, but are spreading in a south-easterly direction through Bengal. They number $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions, of whom only 137,000 were enumerated in Bengal. The latter were mainly emigrants, who had left their wives at home: there were nine males among them to every five females.

1002. The Chasas are almost entirely confined to Orissa, where they are a cultivating caste occupying much the same position as the Kurmis in Bihar. Like the Kurmis, they are an ambitious caste, the members of which are constantly endeavouring to rise in the social scale. The Kurmi desires to be classified as Kshattriya, while the Chasa gets himself enrolled in the ranks of Khandaits. In the Orissa Division they have decreased by 33,000, whereas the Khandaits have grown by 54,000, variations which must be ascribed to the extent to which the Chasas have returned themselves as members of the higher caste. On the other hand, there has been an addition of 37,000 in the Orissa States, but this is due to the transfer of five States from the Central Provinces. They now number 847,347 and are the most numerous caste in Orissa.

1003. The Gaura is the Oriya milkman and cattle-keeper, and corresponds to the Goala elsewhere. The caste now numbers 715,104, representing an increase of 66

per cent. since 1901. This increment is due merely to the addition of Sambalpur and a large block of States from the Central Provinces, the increase being found in the added area.

1004. The Goalas, who are also known as Ahirs in Bihar, are the most numerous caste in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, their number being 3,896,853, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population. During the last ten years they have grown by a little under 2 per cent.

1005. The Gonds with an aggregate of 235,690 are nearly as numerous as the Gandas and are found in the same area, practically all being inhabitants of Sambalpur and the Orissa States. Outside this area there are only a few thousands in Ranchi and Singhbhum. They belong to the Gond tribe of the Central Provinces, which is so well known as to require no special description. In Orissa they are nearly all Hinduized, all but 26,000 returning themselves as Hindus. Comparison with the figures of last census is impossible owing to the change of area effected by the first partition of Bengal.

1006. The Hos are another localized tribe, numbering 421,771, of whom nine-tenths are found in Singhbhum and the Orissa States; in the latter they are most strongly represented in Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj, which adjoin Singhbhum. They have grown by 9 per cent. since 1901, but probably their rate of progress is greater than this figure would indicate. Special inquiries were made at this census regarding the language and caste of those who returned themselves as Kol, and it was found that many thousands of Kols, who were classified as Hos at the last census, really speak Mundari and belong to the Munda tribe. Such persons have now been classified as Mundas.*

1007. The Kaibarttas are one of the great racial castes of Bengal and number over $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions. They have been classified in the returns under three heads, viz., the Chasi Kaibarttas (Mahishya), the Jaliya Kaibarttas and unspecified Kaibarttas, i.e., Kaibarttas who returned themselves simply as Kaibartta without stating whether they were Chasis or Jaliyas. The net addition to their numbers is 4 per cent., but there are great variations among the three classes owing to a largely enhanced number claiming to be either Chasis or Jaliyas. The latter two classes have gained 271,000, whereas the unspecified Kaibarttas are less numerous by 175,000. The Chasi Kaibarttas now represent over four-fifths of the caste, while the Jaliyas account for only a little more than one-eighth. The caste is most numerous in Midnapore, which may be regarded as the nidus of the race, and then in the adjoining districts of Howrah and the 24-Parganas, into which they have overflowed. These three districts contain more than half of the total number of Kaibarttas.

1008. The Kandhs or Khonds are another tribe found only in Orissa, whose increase from 124,000 to 304,000 is due to the reconstitution of the Orissa States, where nearly four-fifths are found. Kalahandi alone, which has been added to the Orissa States since 1901, contains over 110,000 Kandhs.

There has recently been a temperance movement among the Kandhs of the Khondmals, which is of some interest as showing how this primitive people are ready to give up old habits in order to preserve their lands. Their leaders took a vow in 1908 to give up intoxicating liquor and the people followed suit, but their good resolutions were not proof against temptation. In 1910 there was a revival of the movement in a more promising form. The Kandhs now entreated Government to close all liquor shops so as to prevent them having a chance of drinking. Reduction in the number of shops would, they urged, be no good. The mere smell of liquor gave them a craving for drink. If shops existed, they would get it, however remote the shops might be. Drink had already done enough harm, leading to poverty, wife beating and—worst of all—the loss of land. The whole question in their minds is inseparable from that of land, for they realize that owing to drinking and improvidence they are worse off than their neighbours—the Sunri cultivator already owns, on the average, two more ploughs than the Kandh. A few said that there must be some liquor left for *pujas*, but they were howled

* In the Orissa Feudatory States as constituted in 1901 there were no entries of Ho in the caste column of the schedules, but 40,060 of Kol and 58,471 of Kolho. All were classified as Ho, thus making a total of 98,531 Hos.

down by the others. Their request was granted as an experimental measure and orders issued to have all country spirit shops in the Khondmals closed down.

1009. The Kayasths have grown by $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. since 1901, but the rate of increase in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa is very different. In Bengal they have an addition of 129,000 (13 per cent.), to which the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions contribute three-fourths. In the former Division there is an increase of 55,000, over half of which may be accounted for by Sudras entering themselves as Kayasths; the number of Sudras has fallen by 29,000. In the Chittagong Division, where there has been an increase of 48,000 Kayasths, we find a decrease of 9,000 Sudras. The Karan is an Oriya caste of writers, corresponding to the Kayasths of Bengal and Bihar. They have an increase of 6 per cent., which is the result of natural growth.

1010. The Khambus, including the Jimdars, are the most numerous Nepalese tribe enumerated, their total number being 61,871, of whom 40,409 were found in Darjeeling and 15,872 in Sikkim. All but 2,644 returned their caste as Jimdar. It seems probable that the term Khambu was originally geographical and was applied to a race of aborigines who, according to Newar tradition, came into Nepal from the east, *i.e.*, from Tibet. Another name applied to them was Kiranti, also a geographical term applied to all the races (Limbus and Yakhas as well as Khambus) living in Kirant, a tract in the east of Nepal, of which the limits are uncertain. It was bounded on the west by the Dud Kosi, but, its eastern boundary is said to be either the Singalila range or the Arun or the Tambar river. The Khambu country proper is said to lay to the east of this tract, either between that Arun or Tambar or to the east of the Tambar. Legend relates that formerly the Kirantis killed and ate every kind of animal including cows. War was declared upon them by the Gurkhas, and after the Gurkha conquest the eating of beef was prohibited. At present the main distinction between the Khambus and Jimdars is that the former can and do eat cow's flesh, whereas the Jimdars do not. The Khambus also have different household deities and are reported by the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling to offer cow's flesh to them: they certainly offer pigs and fowls, through their own priests, who are called Home. When a Khambu dies, a pig is brained (with a pestle for grinding corn), and its tail and ears cut off and placed under the dead man's armpits before he is buried. Only the wealthier Khambus are cremated. The two appear to be of the same stock, the Jimdars being a more completely Hinduized section. They still however eat and drink together and also intermarry, and many of their sub-castes are the same, *e.g.*, Kulung, Chaurasia and Lohorong. They both call themselves Rais, and a Jimdar when asked if he is a Khambu will generally admit that he is.

1011. The Khandaits are another Oriya caste corresponding to the Rajputs on other parts of the country. They have an increase of 12 per cent., which is the result partly of Chasas recording their caste as Khandaits and partly of the transfer of a large Oriya population from the Central Provinces. They now number 805,761, or 41,586 less than the Chasas, but it is probable that accretion from the ranks of the latter will soon cause them to supplant the Chasas as the most numerous caste in Orissa.

1012. The Koiri and Kurmi are two great cultivating castes of Bihar, but the latter is also the name of an aboriginal tribe in Chota Nagpur and the Orissa States, who spell their name with a harder, whereas the Bihari castes use a soft r. It was impossible to distinguish between the spellings, and they have therefore been grouped together. The Koiris number 1,306,469 and have grown by 3 per cent. since 1901. The Kurmis, with a strength of nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, have advanced more rapidly, their percentage of increase being nearly 7 per cent. This is accounted for by the expansion in Chota Nagpur, where the semi-aboriginal Kurmis have added 100,000 to their numbers. The Bihari Kurmis have sustained a loss of 17,000 and may, therefore, be described as stationary.

1013. The Lepchas are a small but interesting race, almost entirely confined to Sikkim and Darjeeling, who number 20,316 (including 1,240 Christians in Darjeeling,

and 202 in Sikkim).^{*} Fears have been expressed that the Lepchas are dying out, but there appears to be no warrant for this belief, though the consideration of the question of their real growth is somewhat complicated by the greater accuracy of each successive census bringing to light a larger number of Lepchas in Sikkim. In Sikkim they have registered an increase of 16 per cent. during the last 10 years, and in Darjeeling they have increased by 6 per cent. In the latter district they are concentrating more and more in the Kalimpong thana, where their number has risen during the last 20 years from 4,708 to 6,750, which is more than half the total found in the whole district. As Mr. Bell remarks—"No doubt many of the race have left the unsuitable environment of Darjeeling town and other parts of the district in order to settle in Kalimpong, where the forest, though reserved and under Government restriction, is still plentiful and close. Many more have emigrated to Bhutan, where still more abundant forests, untrammelled by restrictions, enable them to follow their wasteful, though ancient, system of *jhuming* . . . The Lepcha is apt to let his rights slide with the saying 'We Lepchas do not know how to bring complaints.' As a cultivator, the Lepcha is steadily improving by contact with his Nepalese neighbours. He has lost most of his jungle-craft with the reservation of the forests, but has learnt in its place how to make terraces for rice fields, to cultivate the chief crops, and generally to carry on his affairs in such a manner as is necessary to enable him to exist under the altered conditions of British rule and the scramble for land that has followed in its wake."[†]

1014. The Mundas number 558,200 (including the Christian Mundas), of whom about three-fifths are residents of Ranchi. There they are distributed among three religions, 67,000 being Christians, 57,000 Hindus and 220,000 Animists. The increase in their numbers during the last ten years represents no less than 25 per cent., which is due partly to a number of persons who returned themselves as Kols in the Orissa States being classified as Mundas instead of being grouped with Hos as in 1901. There has also been a large increase in Ranchi, which is partly the result of the settlement securing agrarian rights to the Munda race. Cases have consequently been frequent of men who used to call themselves Rajputs, disclaiming that caste when it was a question of their being recorded as Mundari Khuntkattidars and of obtaining the rights attaching to that tenure. In such cases the pseudo-Rajputs have not only admitted that they are Mundas, but taken considerable trouble to prove it.

1015. The Namasudras have grown by 3 per cent. during the last ten years, and with an aggregate of 1,913,343 are the seventh largest Hindu caste in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. They are a progressive Bengali caste chiefly found in Eastern Bengal.

1016. An increase of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. has brought the number of Oraons up to 640,010, including the Christian Oraons, of whom there are 113,000. Their distribution is very similar to that of the Mundas, for they are found in greatest strength in Ranchi, where nearly 400,000 were enumerated. They have, however, migrated far more freely than the Mundas, and 90,000 are found in the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri.

1017. The Pods number 536,590, of whom 470,000, or nine-tenths, are residents of the 24-Parganas and Khulna. In the former district they represent one-seventh, and in the latter one-tenth of the total population. They are multiplying rapidly, an increase of 11 per cent. in 1901 having been followed by a further increase of $15\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the subsequent ten years.

1018. The Rajbansis, on the other hand, have lost ground, the decrease amounting to 150,000 or 7 per cent. The decrease is, however, more apparent than real. It is due to the Koches having been recorded separately instead of grouped with Rajbansis as in 1901. Half the decrease has occurred in the Rajshahi Division, where 76,523 more Koches were enumerated than in 1901, while the Rajbansis have decreased by 107,696 : in this area only

^{*} There were also 1,598 persons in Darjeeling who returned themselves as Native Christians without specification of tribe or races, but returned their language as Lepcha. These Lepchas, who have become converts to Christianity, are excluded from the figures above.

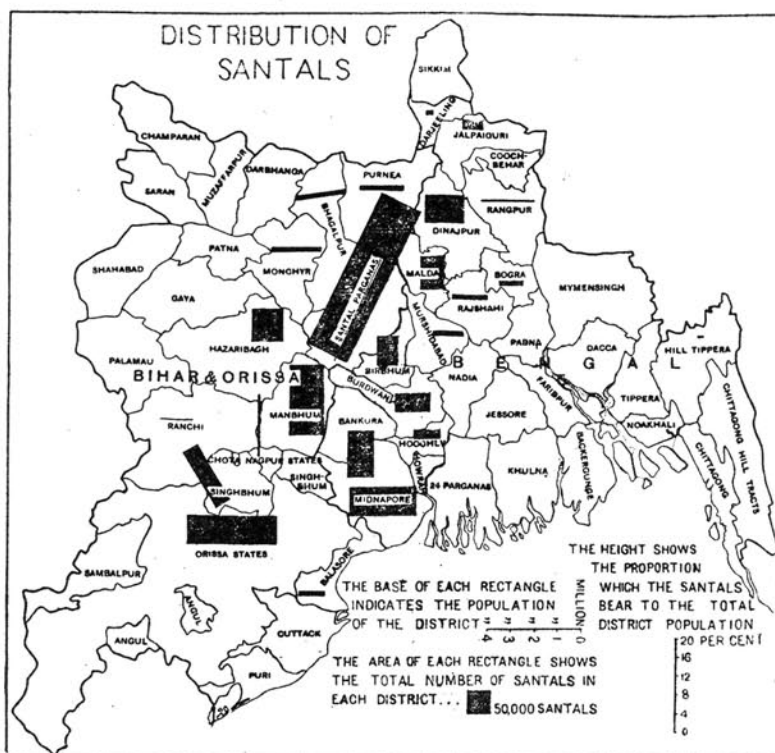
[†] Kalimpong Settlement Report.

305 Koches were returned at the last census. With a total of 1,916,376 the Rajbansis are the sixth largest Hindu caste in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Two-thirds of them are found in the Rajshahi Division, but they are relatively strongest in the Cooch Behar State, where they account for nearly three-fifths of the population. The Koches number 128,000, or 58,000 more than the number returned in 1901. Nearly all were enumerated in North and East Bengal, and they are most numerous in Dinajpur and Mymensingh, which contain over half the total number.

1019. The number of Rajputs has fallen by 2 per cent., the actual decrease being 26,973. This is accounted for by an addition of 25,593 among the Khetauris of the Sonthal Parganas, most of whom were grouped with the Chhatris, *i.e.*, Rajputs, in 1901. Two number of Rajputs in that district has fallen by over 27,000, while the aggregate of Khetauris is 27,024, which corresponds fairly closely with the estimate of 30,000 made by Mr. W. B. Oldham.* Two other districts, viz., Shahabad and Saran, also record heavy losses. In both districts some decline might naturally be expected on account of the decrease in the general population. In Shahabad, however, the loss represents 7 per cent., while the general population has only fallen by 5 per cent. The Rajputs there are now reduced to a number less than that returned in 1872. Seven-eighths of the loss has taken place among the females and is probably, to a large extent, the result of plague mortality. In Saran there is a decrease of nearly 7 per cent., which is 2 per cent. above the general decrease; here too the loss among females exceeds the loss among the males.

The number of Khatri has, at the same time, fallen by 21,000, reducing their aggregate to 46,029. There is always the greatest difficulty in distinguishing between the entries Khatri and Chhatri in slip copying and subsequent compilation; and the decrease must be attributed to greater success in deciphering them, a large proportion of those previously treated as Khatri being consequently entered as Chhatris. The Khatri are an immigrant caste, and their real number is probably smaller even than that now returned. There are also 16,419 persons classified as Kshattriyas in Eastern Bengal. Nearly all are Manipuris in Hill Tippera, who on conversion of Hinduism arrogate that name. These pseudo-Rajputs should more properly be grouped with the Chhatris or Rajputs instead of being given such an archaic and generic designation.

1020. An addition of 13 per cent. has brought the number of Santals to over 2 millions (2,068,000), and they are the fifth largest race in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In addition to those enumerated in these two Provinces, there are 59,000 in Assam.

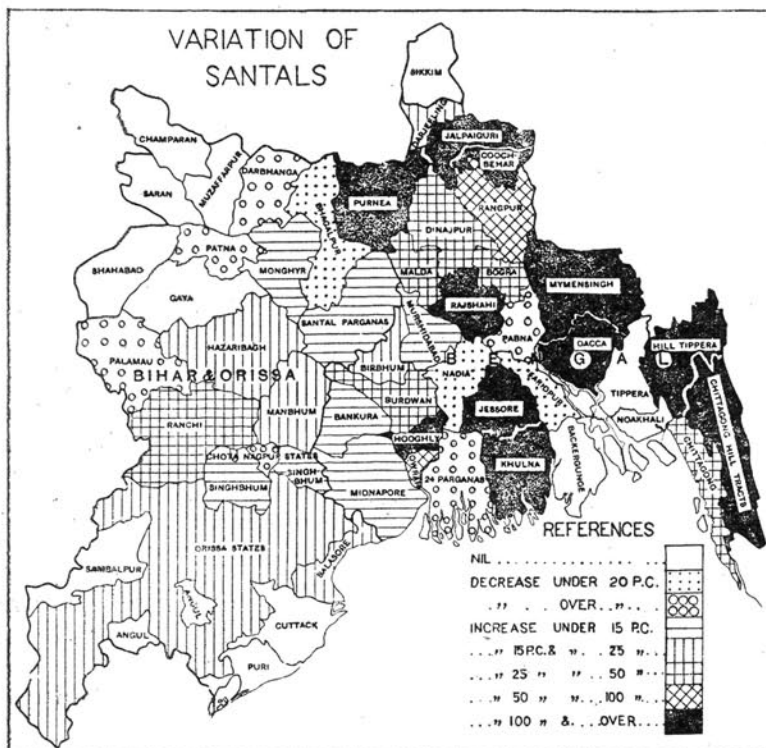


Altogether 668,149 are found in the district (the Sonthal Parganas) which bears their name, one-third being inhabitants of the Damin-i-Koh. In this district they have decreased by 1,386 since 1901, which at first sight appears surprising considering what a hardy, prolific race they are. The explanation lies in emigration and partly in the fact that 10,000 Kols or Karmals were classified as Santals in 1901; Kol is the local name for Karmals

* Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District, Index, p. xi.

The position of the Santals in the Sonthal Parganas has been well explained by Mr. H. McPherson, I.C.S., formerly Settlement Officer in the Sonthal Parganas :—"In the areas that are left to him, beyond which there is no further advance to be made, he has been protected against encroachment and against the consequences of his own folly by a paternal Government, and he has settled down with intent to stay and to continue the work of improvement and reclamation begun by him. In the older areas, from which he moved on at an earlier date, he seems to have done the first clearing of jungle and the first rough shaping of slopes and levels. The more civilized Bengali, Bihari and up-country immigrant came at his heels and pushed him off the land by force, cajolery and trickery." These remarks are to some extent confirmed by the results of the present census. for in the Damini, where they are protected, the Santals have increased by 2 per cent. in spite of extensive emigration, while they have decreased by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. outside it. They have been spreading far afield in search of land or labour, especially to the north-east. Purnea and North Bengal record an addition of 88,510 Santals or 54 per cent., part only of which is due to natural growth among the earlier settlers. Of this increase, Dinajpur, where the Santals are flocking into the Barind, claims 36,000, Malda, which also has a Barind tract, 14,000, and Purnea the same number.

1021. Another large body of Santals is found in the districts of Hazari-



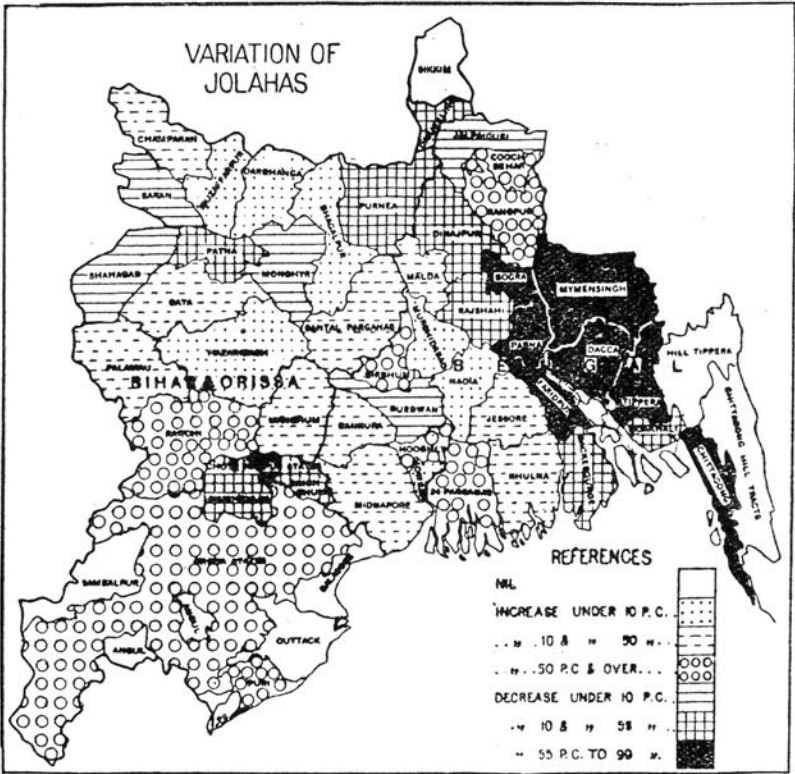
bagh, Manbhum, Singhbhum, Midnapore and the Orissa Feudatory States, which between them contain 803,122. In Manbhum there has been an increase of 19 per cent., the result largely of immigration to the coalfields: the rate of increase is the same as among the general population. With the addition of the new-comers, the Santals of Manbhum now represent one-seventh of the district population. The at-

tractions of the coal-fields are also largely responsible for an increment of 19,500 or over 40 per cent. in Burdwan. Hooghly again has an addition of 13,000 or 130 per cent.; here the Santal is beginning to take to labour and cultivation in alluvial flats away from the rolling uplands where he has hitherto made his home. So far he has not proceeded further south-east than Hooghly or moved to the delta proper. Excluding Murshidabad, where conditions are different, there are only 4,356 Santals in the whole of Central and East Bengal. The mills do not appear to attract him, and he abhors city life. Calcutta contains only 56 Santals and the metropolitan districts of Howrah and the 24-Parganas, with their numerous mill towns, only 1,217.

1022. A certain number of Santals, who have given up eating cows, pigs and fowls have assumed the name of Kharwar, as mentioned in Chapter IV in the account of the Kharwar movement. A number of them returned Kharwar and not Santal as their caste, and it is probable that most of the 1,306 Kharwars returned for the Sonthal Parganas are really Santals. It is noticeable that the number of Santals returned as Hindus in that district has fallen from 73,881 to 265.

1023. The Sauria Paharias, or Maler, and the Mal Paharias are two races found almost exclusively in the Sonthal Parganas. The number of the former in that district is 62,327, or one-third more than in 1901, and of the latter 38,553 or 50 per cent. more than in that year. These very large increases are due to the greater completeness of the census in the Sonthal Parganas and to the care taken by the local officers to secure an accurate record. This was mainly effected by using the name Sauria Paharia instead of Maler, which is easily confused with Mal, Malo or Mal Paharia, and by tabooing terms used by various sections of the Mal Paharias, such as Kumarbhag, Maulik, Naiya, and Pujahar. The local distribution of the Sauria and Mal Paharias is somewhat different. Practically all the former are found in the Damin in the Rajmahal, Godda and Pakaur subdivisions, whereas over four-fifths of the Mal Paharias live outside the Damin and less than 3,000 are resident in the Godda and Rajmahal subdivisions.

1024. At this census the Sheikhs registered an addition of a little under three millions (14 per cent.), and their aggregate is now a little under 24½ millions. Nearly 23 millions are found in Bengal, where they account for 95 per cent. of the total Musalman population. In North and East Bengal they have increased by 2¼ millions owing mainly to the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam that the lower functional groups such as Jolahas and Kulus might return themselves as Pathans, Sheikhs, etc. The Pathans are more numerous by 78,000 or 18 per cent. than they were 10 years ago, while the Jolahas have lost 134,000, the Nasyas 199,000, and the Kulus 46,000. The



marginal map shows the variations which have taken place among the Jolahas.

1025. The Sunris and Shahas were formerly treated as one and the same caste, but at this census they were recorded separately in Bengal. The great majority of the persons who entered themselves as Shahas are really Sunris, and the two must be taken together for comparative purposes. If the Sunris are considered separately, we find that in the area administered by the late Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, where Sunris were freely allowed to return themselves as Shahas, the number of Sunris has fallen from 285,000 to 5,000, and in their place a body of 298,000 Shahas has sprung up. Taking both Sunris and Shahas together, there is an increase of 14 per cent. since 1901, their distribution being as noted in the margin.

	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
Sunri	119,325	257,114
Shaha	324,927	...

1026. The Tantis, who number 936,260, have sustained a loss of 10,000 or 1 per cent. during the last decade, which does not, however, represent a real decline. It is

due to the fact that in Singhbhum most of the Pans succeeded in passing themselves off as Tantis in 1901, whereas, at this census, they were returned by their real caste name. The result was a decrease in the number of Tantis in that district by 22,000 and an increase of nearly 23,000 among the Pans.

QUESTIONS OF RACE.

1027. The question of race as determined by anthropometry was discussed in the last report on the Census of India, where the population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was allocated to the following four main types :—(I) The Aryo-Dravidian type found in Bihar and represented in its upper strata by the Hindustani Brahman and in its lower by the Chamar. It is said to be probably the result of the inter-mixture, in varying proportions, of the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian types, the former element predominating in the lower groups and the latter in the higher. (II) The Mongolo-Dravidian type of Lower Bengal and Orissa, comprising the Bengal Brahmans and Kayasths, the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, and other groups peculiar to this part of India. It is said to be probably a blend of Dravidian and Mongoloid elements with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups. (III) The Mongoloid type of the Himalayas, Nepal, etc., represented by the Lepchas of Darjeeling and the Limbus, Murmis, and Gurungs of Nepal. (IV) The Dravidian type pervading the whole of Chota Nagpur; its most characteristic representatives are the Santals. This is said to be probably the original type of the population of India, now modified to a varying extent by the admixture of Aryan, Scythian, and Mongoloid elements.

1028. Of late years anthropometry as a test of race has begun to fall out of favour. Professor Ridgeway considers that physical type depends far more on environment than on race. "From the evidence already to hand there is high probability that intermarriage can do little to form a new race, unless the parents on both sides are of races evolved in similar environments."* Elsewhere he points out that "as the physical anthropologists cannot agree upon any principles of skull measurement, the historical inquirer must not at present base any argument on this class of evidence."† Another writer remarks :—"Neither cephalic nor nasal index is of much use in determining race. The truth is, the method of indices has been thoroughly discredited among anthropologists, and were it not employed in the 'People of India,' a book published in 1908, we should have supposed it had no longer any followers. Sergi, the eminent professor of anthropology at Rome, says : 'A method which is only in appearance a method inevitably leads to errors and can produce no results.' For this 'old and irrational method,' Sergi would substitute the natural method, which consists in judging by the form of the skull."‡ Professor Ridgeway, however, is of a different opinion. "Osteological differences," he says, "may be but foundations of sand, because it is certain that such variations take place within very short periods, not only in the case of the lower animals, as in the horse family, but in man himself.§" His views appear to be confirmed by the recent discoveries of Walcher, who has drawn attention to the changes which can be made in the shape of the skull of newly born infants by inducing them to lie constantly on the side or on the back, according as it is desired to make the head long or short. Infants willingly lie on their back, if they are given a soft feather pillow. If, on the other hand, a hard pillow is used they prefer to lie on the side. Of twins, one who was kept on the side had a long head (index 78·4) and also a long face, while the other who was kept on the back had a short head (index 86·2) and a short face.||

* Address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association, 1908.

† Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, p. 79.

‡ Professor Homersham Cox, *Anthropometry and Race*, Modern Review, May, 1911.

§ Address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association, 1908.

|| Article in the *Muenchener Medizinische Wochenschrift*, dated the 17th January 1911.

1029. Another test of race which has recently been propounded is that blue patches are an infallible proof of Mongolian descent. Herr Baelz, the author of this theory, states :—"Every Chinese, every Korean, Japanese and Malay, is born with a dark blue patch of irregular shape in the lower sacral region. Sometimes it is equally divided on both sides and sometimes not. Sometimes it is only the size of a shilling, and at other times nearly as large as the hand. In addition, there are also more or less numerous similar patches on the trunk and limbs, but never on the face. Sometimes they are so numerous as to cover nearly half the surface of the body. Their appearance is as if the child has been bruised by a fall. These patches generally disappear in the first year of life, but sometimes they last for several years. If it be the case, as I believe, that such patches are found exclusively amongst persons of Mongolian race, they furnish a most important criterion for distinguishing between this and other races." * Inquiries regarding the occurrence of such marks have been made in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which afford a particularly suitable field for investigation in view of Sir Herbert Risley's theory that the Bengalis are a Mongolo-Dravidian race. If Baelz's theory is true that they are found exclusively among Mongolian children or children of Mongolian descent, they would naturally be absent in areas such as Bihar, and among races such as Hindustani Brahmans, to whom no Mongolian strain has been attributed.

1030. Such patches are quite common in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and they are not confined to any particular caste or race. Both Hindus and Musalmans, high castes and low castes, aboriginals and others, have them. Out of 8,298 children, 498 were found to have blue patches, but there were the most extraordinary variations in the percentages in different districts, due in all probability to babies being examined in some cases and children in others. The fact that the patches generally disappear within a year after birth was not always realized : one Civil Surgeon solemnly reported the results of the examination of 112 adults, which was of course nil. In Cuttack only 11 out of 3,365 children had blue patches, whereas in the adjoining district of Puri, they were found on 21 out of 29 children. In Singhbhum 2,000 children were examined, but only 4 children (all Hos) had pigmented skins. One doctor found them in 1 out of every 10 ; another in 1 out of every 7 of the children that came under observation ; and a few in 50 to 90 per cent. of the cases examined. Excluding returns that seem to be of doubtful validity, the general proportion seems to be about 1 in every 10.

1031. The most reliable results were obtained in the Eden Hospital in Calcutta, where observations were made by the Resident Surgeons among the infants born in the hospital. Here 61 out of 192 babies, or nearly one-third, had blue patches at birth. They were usually noticed on the lower part of the back and over the hips. Their dimensions varied from the size of a rupee to the size of an adult's hand. The colour was always light blue. Out of the 61 children, 11 were Eurasians, 10 were Kayasths and one was a Jewish child. The remainder were Brahmans, Goalas, Telis, Kaibarttas, Gandhabaniks, Napits, Kumhars, Tantis, Bagdis, Indian Christians and Musalmans. These blue patches often run in families. A Bengali gentleman, a Barendra Brahman by caste, writes—"In our family almost all the infants are born with blue patches. They sometimes appear on the upper part of the back, some on both the lower and upper parts, but generally on the lower part of the back. They are roundish or irregular in shape, prominent in children with fair skins and naturally less prominent in dark skins. They usually disappear within a few months after birth, but in the case of a niece of mine they could be traced until she was six years of age." All the children of another Brahman in Orissa (seven in number) were born with similar skin pigmentation.

1032. The so-called Mongolian patches, though found in all parts and among all castes, appear to be most common among the Mongoloid races of the Chittagong Hill

* *On the races of East Asia, with special reference to Japan*, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1901, Part II

Tracts and among the Rajbansis of North

Area.	Caste or race.	Number of children examined.	Number with blue patches.
Chittagong Hill Tracts	Chakma ...	106	94
	Kumi ...	25	24
	Magh ...	104	84
	Murung ...	30	23
	Tipara ...	120	85
Jalpaiguri ...	Rajbansi ...	52	28
Chota Nagpur Plateau	Kharia ...	27	...
	Munda ...	68	2
	Oraon ...	79	4
	Santal ...	253	9

Bengal. This form of pigmentation is far less prevalent among the races of the Chota Nagpur Plateau, as may be realized from the marginal figures. Patches of this kind have also been found in pure European children—in one out of every 200—where their presence is ascribed not to mixed blood, but to atavism or throwing back to ancestors with dark or black skins. It is also said that similar patches occur in some

species of monkeys.*

So far as Bengal is concerned, my opinion is that the presence of the so-called Mongolian patches cannot be said to support Sir Herbert Risley's hypothesis that the Bengalis are a Mongolo-Dravidian race. The results also seem to discount the hypothesis that they are found exclusively among Mongolian races, though they are undoubtedly most frequent among children of Mongolian stock or with a Mongolian strain. In view of the Darwinian theory, it would be interesting to know the relative prevalence of congenital blue patches among monkeys and human beings.

1033. Inquiry was also made regarding the prevalence of melanoglossia, to which attention was first drawn by Colonel F. Maynard, I.M.S., so far as this part of India is concerned. Colonel Maynard carried out his observations at Ranchi, where he examined 347 tongues and found pigmentation in 32 per cent. of the cases. The distribution of the

MELANOGLLOSSIA.	
Race.	Per cent.
Munda ...	48·2
Oraon ...	47·5
Kharia ...	36
Bhuiya ...	47·5
Other castes ...	19·9

the margin. "The other castes," Colonel Maynard remarked, "include a considerable number of castes of Aryan origin, and the relative infrequency of pigmented tongues among them (19·9 per cent.) compared with their frequency among the Dravidian tribes (average 44·8 per cent.) confirms the general impression I had formed that the pigmentation of the tongue varies with the pigmentation of the skin. For the Kolarian tribes (Mundas, Oraons, Kharias, etc.) have, as a rule, the blackest skins possible, and the depth of skin pigment was generally observed to correspond directly with the depth of the tongue pigment. The distribution and extent of the discoloration varied greatly. In some cases the fungiform papillæ were each surrounded by a blue or brown rim, giving the tongue a curious speckled look; in others there were irregular blue or black blotches, simple or multiple, and varying in size from a two-anna bit to a rupee on the dorsum or along the edges of the tongue. In one only was the whole tongue black. In no case were the gums or roof of the mouth pigmented. The marks were found at all ages, though more commonly, more widely spread and of deeper hue in adults than in children.

"The children of 46 parents who had pigmented tongues were examined with the following results. Of 16 sons of melanoglossal *fathers*, 7 had their tongues pigmented; 4 daughters of the same group of fathers showed no marks. Of 14 sons of melanoglossal *mothers*, 3 had pigmented tongues; and, of 12 daughters of the same, 3 were pigmented. As far as could be ascertained, the pigment was not in any way due to malaria. Enlarged spleens were not found more frequently in those who had than in those who had not pigmented tongues. Thus, melanoglossia, as far as these 347 cases go, would appear to be largely a question of race, and to be more common the lower the race is in the scale of civilization. It is almost equally common in the two sexes. It would appear to be hereditary, though not necessarily appearing in early childhood. No connection with any diseased condition was to be made out."†

* *The Hospital* (p. 249), dated 26th November 1912.

† Lieutenant-Colonel F. P. Maynard, I.M.S., *A Note on Melanoglossia*, Indian Medical Gazette, October 1897.

1034. Investigations carried out in all the districts of Bengal (as constituted at the time of the census) show that pigmented tongues are quite common. Altogether 18,444 observations were made, and melanoglossia was

NATURAL DIVISION OR DISTRICT.	Number examined.	Number with melanoglossia.	Percentage.
West Bengal ...	940	75	8
Central Bengal ...	7,115	709	10
Darjeeling ...	81	17	21
North Bihar ...	1,059	146	14
South Bihar ...	2,219	210	9½
Orissa ...	3,861	58	1½
Chota Nagpur Plateau	3,250	835	25
Total ...	18,444	2,033	11

found in 11 per cent. of the cases. The area in which it is least common appears to be Orissa, while it is most prevalent in the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where aboriginal races predominate. The marginal statement shows the result of the examinations made. These can be taken as reliable, for observations were made in hospitals and dispensaries, while Civil Surgeons examined the tongues of prisoners in jail. Melanoglossia is

not confined to races of aboriginal descent, though it is undoubtedly more common among them. In addition to the tribes and castes mentioned by

CASTE, ETC.	Number examined.	Number of pigmented tongues.
Babhan ...	56	12
Chamar ...	64	12
Dom ...	79	18
Goala ...	130	15
Kahar ...	83	8
Kayasth ...	75	3
Koiri ...	32	13
Kurmi ...	53	10
Musalman ...	259	24
Rajput ...	101	17

Colonel Maynard, it has been ascertained that the incidence among Santals is 40 per cent., 246 out of 584 Santals having pigmented tongues. The figures for Darjeeling also deserve attention: all but four of the persons with pigmented tongues belong to the hill races, viz., Jimdars, Mangars, Gurungs, Khas, Bhotias and Lepchas.

Cases of melanoglossia are reported for over 100 different castes or races; the marginal statement shows its incidence among some Hindu castes and Musalman groups in South Bihar and Hazaribagh, which may be taken as

representative of different social strata. It seems by no means certain that melanoglossia is racial and not pathological. The opinion is common among those medical officers who kindly assisted in the inquiry that it is a concomitant of malaria. Observations carried out in Ranchi, among aboriginal or semi-aboriginal races, also indicate that it is commoner among females than among males, and that it is six times as common among adults as among children under 16 years of age. The result of 1,800 observations in that district is to show that the percentage of pigmented tongues among males and females under 16 years of age is 5 and 6, respectively, whereas the ratio is 30 per cent. among males and 40 per cent. among females over that age. This form of pigmentation is certainly therefore not congenital, and it is a fair inference that it is not racial.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—CASTES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS.

GROUP AND CASTE.	STRENGTH 000'S OMITTED.			GROUP AND CASTE.	STRENGTH 000'S OMITTED.		
	Total.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.		Total.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.	84,741	46,306	38,435	XI.—Bards and astrologers	18	18	...
I.—Land-holders ...	3,321	182	3,139	XII.—Writers ...	1,662	1,167	495
Babhan (Bhumihar Brahman) ...	1,130	...	1,130	Karan ...	147	...	147
Khandait ...	769	...	769	Kayasth ...	1,462	1,114	348
Rajput (Ohharri) ...	1,370	130	1,240	Others ...	53	53	...
Others ...	52	52	...	XIII.—Musicians singers, dancers, mimics and jugglers.	118	48	70
II.—Cultivators (including growers of special products).	13,575	7,993	5,582	XIV.—Traders and pedlars	1,020	617	403
Barui and Barai ...	308	178	130	Baniya ...	141	...	141
Bind ...	135	...	135	Gandhabanik ...	119	119	...
Chain ...	93	93	...	Rauniar ...	83	...	83
Chasa ...	846	...	846	Shaha ...	325	325	...
Dhanuk ...	572	...	572	Subarnabanik ...	110	110	...
Gond ...	236	...	236	Others ...	242	63	179
Gangauta ...	83	...	83	XV.—Carriers by pack animals.	...	...	...
Kaibartta (Chasi) ...	2,138	2,138	...	XVI.—Barbers ...	1,031	458	573
Koch ...	125	125	...	Bhandari ...	117	...	117
Koiri ...	1,281	...	1,281	Hajjam ...	389	...	389
Kolta ...	124	...	124	Napit ...	447	447	...
Kunjra ...	189	...	189	Others ...	78	11	67
Kurmi ...	1,490	177	1,313	XVII.—Washermen ...	659	232	427
Mal ...	108	108	...	Dhoba ...	605	228	377
Namasudra ...	1,909	1,909	...	Others ...	54	4	50
Pod ...	536	...	...	XVIII.—Weavers, carders and dyers.	3,431	1,150	2,281
Rajbansi ...	1,917	1,809	108	Ganda ...	212	...	212
Sadgon ...	550	550	...	Jogi and Jugi ...	361	361	...
Sudh (Sudha) ...	79	...	79	Jolaha ...	1,108	282	826
Others ...	856	370	486	Kapali ...	154	154	...
III.—Labourers ...	2,644	1,572	1,072	Pan (Panika) ...	464	...	464
Bagdi ...	1,016	1,016	...	Tanti and Tatwa ...	936	323	613
Bauri ...	607	314	293	Others ...	196	30	166
Kaora ...	112	112	...	XIX.—Tailors ...	43	6	37
Mushtar ...	627	...	627	XX.—Carpenters ...	513	182	331
Rajwar ...	132	...	132	Barhi ...	324	...	324
Others ...	150	130	20	Sutradhar ...	177	177	...
IV.—Forest and hill tribes	6,603	1,677	4,926	Others ...	12	5	7
Bhogta ...	79	...	79	XXI.—Masons ...	...	...	...
Bhuiya ...	664	...	664	XXII.—Potters ...	808	295	513
Bhumij ...	273	...	273	Kumhar ...	808	295	513
Ho ...	419	...	419	XXIII.—Glass and lac workers.	2	2	...
Kandh ...	303	...	303	XXIV.—Blacksmiths ...	827	325	502
Kharja ...	105	...	105	Kamar and Lohar ...	791	311	480
Kharwar ...	86	...	86	Others ...	36	14	22
Munda ...	410	...	410	XXV.—Gold and silver-smiths.	268	56	212
Oraon ...	640	165	475	Sonar ...	212	...	212
Santal ...	2,068	669	1,399	Others ...	56	56	...
Savar (Sahar) ...	218	...	218	XXVI.—Brass and copper-smiths.	86	17	69
Tipara ...	130	130	...				
Others ...	1,208	713	495				
V.—Graziers and dairy men	4,725	663	4,062				
Gaceri ...	92	...	92				
Gaura ...	713	...	713				
Goala ...	3,896	646	3,250				
Others ...	24	17	7				
VI.—Fishermen, boatmen and palki-bearers.	2,981	1,177	1,804				
Gonrhi ...	130	...	130				
Kaibartta (Jaliya) ...	327	327	...				
Kahar ...	524	...	524				
Kewat ...	421	...	421				
Khatwe ...	117	...	117				
Mallah ...	363	...	363				
Malo ...	247	247	...				
Tiyar ...	215	215	...				
Others ...	637	388	249				
VII.—Hunters and fowlers ...	72	36	36				
VIII.—Priests and devotees	3,680	1,679	2,001				
Baishnab and Bairagi ...	503	424	79				
Brahman ...	2,966	1,211	1,755				
Others ...	211	44	167				
IX.—Temple servants ...	6	...	6				
X.—Genealogists ...	34	7	27				

Only those castes are shown which contribute more than 2 per mille to the population of either Province; the less numerous castes are grouped together as Others.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—CASTES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS—*concluded*.

GROUP AND CASTE.	STRENGTH 000's OMITTED.			GROUP AND CASTE.	STRENGTH 000's OMITTED.		
	Total.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.		Total.	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
XXVII.—Confectioners and grain-parchers.	1,043	164	879	XXXIII.—Earth, salt, etc., workers and quarriers.	573	116	457
Guria	147	...	147	Be'dar	89	...	89
Halwai	142	...	142	Nuniya	319	...	319
Kandu	503	...	503	Others	165	116	49
Mayra	127	127	...				
Others	124	37	87				
XXVIII.—Oil-pressers ...	1,725	605	1,120	XXXIV.—Domestic servants	259	157	102
Kalu	112	112	...	Sudra	149	149	...
Teli and Tili	1,491	419	1,072	Others	110	8	102
Others	122	74	48				
XXIX.—Toddy drawers and distillers.	772	147	625	XXXV.—Village watchmen and menials.	1,430	83	1,347
Kalwar	181	...	181	Dosadh	1,189	...	1,189
Pasi	150	...	150	Kandra (Kadma)	156	...	156
Sunri	376	119	257	Others	85	83	2
Others	65	28	37				
XXX.—Butchers	14	...	14	XXXVI.—Sweepers	412	274	138
				Hari	293	174	119
XXXI.—Leather-workers ...	1,741	595	1,146	Others	119	100	19
Chamar	1,252	137	1,115	XXXVII.—Others	28,149	24,399	3,750
Muchi	455	455	...	Ajaf	143	143	...
Others	34	3	31	Christian	398	130	268
XXXII.—Basket-makers and mat-makers.	496	207	289	Dhunia (Dhunkar)	202	...	202
Dom	416	174	242	Magh	128	128	...
Others	80	33	47	Mali (Maakar)	140	...	140
				Pathan	502	281	221
				Saiyad	229	138	91
				Sheikh	24,662	22,953	1,709
				Others	1,745	626	1,119

Only those castes are shown which contribute more than 2 per mille to the population of either Province; the less numerous castes are grouped together as Others.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—VARIATION IN CASTE, TRIBE, ETC., SINCE 1872.

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE.	PERSONS 000'S OMITTED.							PERCENTAGE OF VARIATION INCREASE (+) and DECREASE (-).				Percentage of net variation.		
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.					Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.						
	1911.	1911.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1872	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	1872-1881.	1872-1911		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
HINDU AND ANIMIST.														
Babhan (Bhumihar Brahman)...	2	1,130	1,132	1,144	1,223	1,032	1,014	-	1'1	-	6'42	+ 18'53	+ 1'77	+ 11'6
Bagdi	1,016	18	1,034	1,032	805	757	695	+	1	+	28'21	+ 6'35	+ 8'86	+ 48'6
Baishuab (Bairagi)	424	79	503	467	464	568	523	+	7'7	+	0'57	- 18'30	+ 8'66	- 3'8
Baniya	15	141	156	210	333	905	200	-	25'9	-	7'15	- 63'14	+ 352'96	- 22'2
Barai and Barui	179	130	309	293	250	219	287	+	5'3	+	17'18	+ 14'18	- 23'71	+ 7'4
Barhi	3	324	327	306	291	484	248	+	6'7	+	5'30	- 39'92	+ 95'02	+ 31'6
Bauri	314	293	607	595	551	481	406	+	1'9	+	7'98	+ 14'41	+ 18'61	+ 49'3
Beldar	5	89	94	98	...	...	...	-	4'3	...	...	...	...	...
Bhandari ... ..	...	117	117	102	94	...	75	+	14'9	+	8'00	...	...	+ 55'3
Bhogta	3	78	81	78	...	...	...	+	4'2	...	...	...	...	...
Bhuiya	69	664	733	663	501	464	447	+	10'5	+	32'53	+ 7'94	+	3'67
Bhumij	90	273	363	328	306	226	200	+	10'5	+	7'16	+ 35'50	+ 13'01	+ 81'4
Bind... ..	25	135	160	139	136	137	121	+	15'4	+	1'80	- 0'34	+ 12'82	+ 32'1
Brahman	1,254	1,755	3,009	2,876	2,801	2,754	2,439	+	4'6	+	2'67	+ 1'70	+ 12'91	+ 23'4
Chain	93	32	125	129	116	95	109	-	2'7	+	11'14	+ 21'77	- 12'54	+ 15'1
Chamar	137	1,114	1,251	1,187	...	...	...	+	5'4	...	...	...	...	...
Chasa'	1	846	847	846	671	534	483	+	2	+	26'09	+ 25'59	+ 10'45	+ 75'3
Dhanuk	14	572	586	594	576	542	492	-	1'1	+	3'01	+ 6'31	+ 10'19	+ 19'3
Dhoba	228	377	605	566	573	553	478	+	6'8	+	1'23	+ 3'63	+ 15'72	+ 26'4
Dom	174	242	416	359	348	343	321	+	15'9	+	3'15	+ 1'32	+ 6'95	+ 29'6
Dosadh	46	1,189	1,235	1,176	1,194	1,134	952	+	5'0	-	1'50	+ 5'24	+ 19'19	+ 29'8
Ganda	1	212	213	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gandhabanik	119	24	143	140	123	...	140	+	2'5	+	13'64	...	...	+ 1'9
Gangauta ... ..	...	83	83	83	...	...	...	+	1	...	...	...	...	...
Gareri	4	92	96	100	106	112	91	-	3'3	-	5'88	- 5'31	+ 22'97	+ 6'0
Gaura	2	713	715	431	431	414	334	+	65'7	+	0'11	+ 4'21	+ 23'66	+ 113'8
Goala	646	3,250	3,896	3,829	3,835	3,579	3,172	+	1'8	-	0'16	+ 7'14	+ 12'85	+ 22'9
Gond ... ..	...	236	236	202	149	161	87	+	16'5	+	35'31	- 6'98	+ 83'96	+ 169'8
Gonhri	11	130	141	142	201	66	101	-	6	-	29'39	+ 204'25	- 34'47	+ 40'0
Guria ... ..	...	147	147	140	132	...	...	+	5'1	+	6'20	...	...	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—VARIATION IN CASTE, TRIBE, ETC., SINCE 1872—*concl'd.*

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE.	PERSONS 000'S OMITTED.							PERCENTAGE OR VARIATION INCREASE (+) AND DECREASE (-).				Percentage of net variation.
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.					Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.				
	1911.	1911.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1872.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	1872-1881.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
HINDU AND ANIMIST —concluded.												
Hajjam	2	388	390	380	...	...	...	+ 2'6	...	...	...	...
Haiwai	14	142	156	153	161	...	144	+ 2'0	- 5'11	...	...	+ 7'8
Hari	174	119	293	302	285	286	259	- 2'8	+ 5'90	- 0'45	+ 10'47	+ 13'2
Ho	1	419	420	385	150	...	...	+ 9'2	+ 156'29	...	...	...
Jogi and Jugi	361	35	396	375	406	340	384	+ 5'7	- 7'76	+ 19'33	- 11'18	+ 3'2
Kahar	90	524	614	585	621	605	466	+ 4'9	- 5'76	+ 2'70	+ 29'78	+ 31'8
Kaibartta (Total)	2,488	93	2,581	2,485	2,232	2,482	2,358	+ 3'9	+ 11'34	- 10'09	+ 5'26	+ 9'5
Ditto (Chasi) or Mahishya	2,138	28	2,166	1,960	...	...	...	+ 10'5	...	...	...	...
Ditto (Jaliya)	327	4	331	287	...	...	...	+ 24'2	...	...	...	...
Ditto (unspecified)	23	61	84	259	...	...	...	- 67'5	...	...	...	...
Kalu	112	44	156	155	160	171	151	+ 7	- 3'18	- 6'28	+ 13'01	+ 3'3
Kalwar	13	181	194	239	402	190	...	- 18'9	- 40'63	+ 111'39	...	...
Kamar and Lohar	312	480	792	757	740	673	599	+ 4'6	+ 2'35	+ 9'92	+ 12'35	+ 32'2
Kandh	1	303	304	124	104	37	...	+ 144'1	+ 19'67	+ 181'40	...	...
Kandra (Kadma)	37	156	193	151	141	121	102	+ 27'3	+ 7'41	+ 16'57	+ 18'01	+ 88'1
Kandu	12	503	515	507	520	609	479	+ 1'7	- 2'56	- 14'53	+ 27'23	+ 7'7
Kaora	112	1	113	112	106	...	100	+ 1'5	+ 6'05	...	...	+ 14'0
Kapali	154	...	154	144	134	127	131	+ 7'4	+ 7'26	+ 5'46	- 2'83	+ 18'1
Karan	53	148	201	189	130	106	113	+ 5'9	+ 45'51	+ 22'46	- 6'26	+ 76'9
Kayasth	1,114	348	1,462	1,348	1,467	1,451	1,403	+ 8'4	- 8'10	+ 1'09	+ 3'41	+ 4'1
Kewat	22	421	443	373	358	255	292	+ 18'8	+ 3'68	+ 40'63	- 12'79	+ 51'4
Khandait	36	769	805	719	681	617	458	+ 12'1	+ 5'51	+ 10'41	+ 34'78	+ 76'0
Kharla	16	105	121	105	56	22	53	+ 16'1	+ 88'63	+ 148'39	- 132'41	+ 129'6
Kharwar	12	86	98	102	94	195	72	- 3'7	+ 8'35	+ 51'97	+ 170'77	+ 35'7
Khatwe ... ..	...	117	117	103	81	47	51	+ 13'5	+ 26'83	+ 72'43	- 8'67	+ 127'0
Koch... ..	125	3	128	70	...	...	...	+ 82'5	...	...	...	...
Koiri	26	1,281	1,307	1,267	1,195	1,205	1,092	+ 3'1	+ 6'09	- 0'80	+ 10'34	+ 19'6
Kolta ... ..	...	124	124	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kumbar	291	513	804	745	746	698	607	+ 7'9	- 0'10	+ 6'99	+ 14'95	+ 32'4
Kurmi	177	1,313	1,490	1,396	1,322	1,213	958	+ 6'7	+ 5'65	+ 8'91	+ 26'66	+ 55'5
Magh	128	...	128	110	97	...	57	+ 16'4	+ 13'86	- ...	...	+ 126'0
Mal	103	24	132	146	98	125	126	- 9'0	+ 48'89	- 21'92	- 0'84	+ 5'0
Mal (Malakar)	39	140	179	132	152	216	153	+ 35'1	- 13'06	- 29'68	+ 40'90	+ 16'4
Mallah	27	363	390	389	383	471	413	+ 1	+ 1'74	- 18'70	+ 13'96	- 5'6
Mal... ..	247	457	247	228	88	19	9	+ 8'6	+ 157'70	+ 354'63	+ 106'60	+ 2,530'2
Mayra	126	23	149	148	127	309	92	+ 1'3	+ 16'04	- 58'75	+ 235'10	+ 62'4
Muchi	455	31	486	440	...	...	...	+ 10'5	...	...	...	...
Munda	67	410	477	382	363	96	190	+ 25'2	+ 5'22	+ 279'43	- 49'71	+ 151'3
Musahar	12	627	639	606	564	546	431	+ 5'4	+ 7'49	+ 3'27	+ 26'33	+ 48'1
Namasudra	1,909	5	1,914	1,861	1,768	1,576	1,504	+ 2'8	+ 5'19	+ 12'18	+ 4'82	+ 27'3
Napit	447	35	482	462	...	...	...	+ 4'3	...	...	...	...
Nuniya	42	319	361	343	318	280	226	+ 5'2	+ 7'83	+ 13'78	+ 23'70	+ 59'7
Oraon	165	475	640	591	482	46	241	+ 8'4	+ 22'49	+ 966'47	- 81'04	+ 163'8
Pan (Panika)... ..	2	464	466	447	342	241	250	+ 4'4	+ 30'66	+ 41'52	- 3'51	+ 86'2
Pasi	15	150	165	152	148	165	134	+ 9'0	+ 2'67	- 10'29	+ 22'82	+ 23'3
Pod	537	...	537	465	419	326	293	+ 15'4	+ 11'06	+ 28'49	+ 11'18	+ 83'1
Rajbansi	1,809	103	1,917	2,066	1,987	1,648	1,248	+ 7'2	+ 3'99	+ 20'51	+ 32'07	+ 53'5
Rajput (Chhatri)	130	1,240	1,370	1,397	1,509	1,409	1,232	- 1'9	- 7'44	+ 7'09	+ 14'42	+ 11'2
Rajwar	22	132	154	160	132	130	79	- 3'4	+ 21'12	+ 1'06	+ 64'36	+ 94'4
Rauniar	2	83	85	77	...	...	...	+ 9'9	...	...	...	...
Sadgop	550	24	574	578	571	558	659	- 8	+ 1'24	+ 2'39	- 15'30	- 12'9
Santal	669	1,399	2,068	1,830	1,471	203	923	+ 13'0	+ 24'43	+ 131'63	+ 77'97	+ 124'2
Savar (Sahar)	5	218	223	111	...	...	...	+ 100'9	...	...	...	...
Sonar	55	212	267	246	273	241	253	+ 9'1	- 10'16	+ 13'24	- 4'73	+ 5'7
Subarnabanik	109	20	129	156	98	...	126	- 17'2	+ 59'06	...	...	+ 2'0
Sudra	149	...	149	186	235	186	50	- 19'9	+ 20'70	+ 25'78	+ 73'15	+ 197'2
Sudh (Sudha) ... ..	...	79	79	67	...	...	...	+ 17'1	...	...	...	...
Sunri and Shaha	444	257	701	616	423	589	761	+ 13'8	+ 45'70	- 28'11	- 29'12	- 7'8
Sutradhar	177	5	182	172	176	...	164	+ 5'9	- 1'91	...	...	+ 10'9
Tanti and Tatwa	323	613	936	946	802	919	876	- 1'1	+ 18'07	- 12'79	+ 4'88	+ 6'8
Teli and Tili	419	1,072	1,491	1,395	1,363	1,299	1,211	+ 6'9	+ 2'36	+ 4'94	+ 7'23	+ 23'1
Tipara	130	...	130	102	91	16	15	+ 28'1	+ 11'87	+ 462'18	+ 5'24	+ 747'8
Tiyar	215	61	276	267	194	349	385	+ 3'3	+ 38'09	- 44'56	- 9'35	- 28'3
MUSALMAN.												
Ajlaf	143	...	143	455	...	...	...	- 68'6	...	...	...	...
Dhunia (Dhunkar)	8	202	210	200	...	...	...	+ 5'5	...	...	...	...
Jolaha	282	826	1,108	1,242	...	...	...	- 10'7	...	...	...	...
Kunjra	4	189	193	177	...	...	...	+ 8'9	...	...	...	...
Pathan	281	221	502	424	...	...	...	+ 18'4	...	...	...	...
Safiyad	138	91	229	236	...	...	...	- 3'0	...	...	...	...
Sheikh	22,953	1,709	24,662	21,713	...	...	...	+ 13'6	...	...	...	...

NOTE.—Only those castes are shown which contribute 2 per mille or more to the population of either Province. The figures for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1901 and previous censuses relate to the Province of Bengal as then constituted. Since 1901 there has been a large addition to the area of the Orissa States, which accounts for the abnormal increase of some Oriya castes, such as Gauras and Kandhs. The decrease in the number of unspecified Kaibarttas is due to a greater number of Kaibarttas returning themselves as either Chasi (Mahishya) or Jaliya, and not simply as Kaibarttas. The increase in the number of Koches is to be ascribed to this caste being separately tabulated at this census, instead of being grouped with Rajbansis. Shahas are entered separately in Table XIII, but are grouped with Sunris for comparative purposes, as Shahas and Sunris were treated as one and the same caste at each previous census. The decrease in the number of Jolahas is due to the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam allowing Jolahas to return themselves as Sheikhs, Pathans, etc. Ajlaf is a term for Mussalmans who do not properly belong to the functional or racial groups. The majority of those who were entered as Ajlaf in 1901 returned themselves as Sheikh at this census.

CHAPTER XII.

OCCUPATIONS.

1035. The statistics on which the discussion in this chapter is based will be found in Tables XV and XVI. Table XV is divided into five parts, viz.:—

INTRODUCTORY.

Part A. The first section is a general provincial summary, showing the number of persons in British territory, Feudatory States and cities following the different occupations entered in the prescribed scheme of classification. The second section gives similar statistics, for each district and State, of occupations which are followed by more than 1,000 persons in any district or State.

Part B shows the subsidiary occupations followed by persons whose main occupation is agriculture.

Part C is an optional table, giving statistics of combined occupations, which has not been compiled for either province. An attempt was made to compile it in Eastern Bengal, but it was found that the statistics were of such little value that it would be waste of time and labour to prepare it.

Part D shows the distribution of occupations by religion.

Part E embodies the results of the industrial census, i.e., a census of industrial concerns employing 20 persons or more, which was held concurrently with the general census. The first section shows for each province as a whole the number of persons employed in each kind of industry distinguishing between industrial concerns in which mechanical power is used and those in which it is not, and classifying them according to the number of persons employed. The second section gives for each district the number of persons employed in each industry without these details. The third and fourth sections show the castes and races of the owners and managers of industries that are of special importance. An appendix is also given at the end of the table in which the industrial concerns are grouped together by districts.

In Table XVI statistics are given of the occupations of selected castes and races in areas where they are especially numerous or otherwise important. The occupations are arranged under 13 main heads corresponding to the sub-classes of the scheme of classification; these heads have been subdivided, where necessary, in order to distinguish between different occupations. An appendix at the end of the table shows the castes of persons returned as workers in selected occupations, such as operatives in jute mills.

As usual, the tables are supplemented by subsidiary tables dealing with the more salient features of the returns, which will be found at the end of the chapter, viz.:—

Subsidiary Table I.—General distribution by occupation.

Subsidiary Table II.—Distribution by occupation in natural divisions.

Subsidiary Table III.—Distribution of the agricultural, industrial, commercial and professional population in each natural division and district.

Subsidiary Table IV.—Occupations combined with agriculture where agriculture is the subsidiary occupation.

Subsidiary Table V.—Occupations combined with agriculture where agriculture is the principal occupation.

Subsidiary Table VI.—Occupations of females by sub-classes and selected orders and groups.

Subsidiary Table VII.—Comparative statistics of the returns for selected occupations at this and the last census.

Subsidiary Table VIII.—Occupations of selected castes.

Subsidiary Table IX.—Distribution by religion of 10,000 persons following each occupation, and distribution by occupation of 10,000 persons of each religion.

In this chapter it is proposed to discuss the industrial census first and then to proceed to the general census of occupations. The chapter will, therefore,

be divided into two parts, viz., (1) the industrial census and (2) the general census.

INDUSTRIAL CENSUS.

1036. The general tables of occupations, while they indicate the main functional distribution of the people and give statistics of occupations combined with agriculture, and of occupation by caste, furnish meagre information regarding individual manufactures and industries, and throw little light on recent industrial developments. An attempt, it is true, was made in 1901 to distinguish between workers in factories and those engaged in home industries, and also to distinguish, in the case of factories, between "owners, managers and superior staff" and "operatives", but the entries in the schedules were far too vague to permit of accurate information on these points being obtained. In order to remedy this defect, the Census Commissioner recommended that, in addition to the general and household schedules, a special schedule should be prescribed for persons working in mines, mills, factories, etc., and this proposal was accepted by the Government of India. It was decided that the schedules, or, as they should more properly be called, the returns, should be filled in for all industrial or manufacturing works in which at least 20 persons were employed at the time of the census.

The returns, which were filled in by the owners, agents or managers, and not by the census staff, specified the character of the mill, factory, mine, etc., *e.g.*, whether it was a jute mill, or jute press, or coal mine, the nature of the mechanical power employed, and the state of the trade or industry when the census was taken. They further stated the castes or nationalities of owners and managers, and recorded the number of persons in superior employ, skilled workmen and unskilled workmen, those last mentioned being divided into two classes, viz., persons over and under 14 years of age. The statistics compiled from these returns, therefore, furnish information not only regarding the number of persons employed in different manufactures and industries, but also regarding the extent to which indigenous enterprise takes its share in various industrial undertakings, and the sections of the community to which the owners and managers belong in each class of industry. Briefly, they throw light on the industrial development of the country, and, are of greater value than the statistics of the general table of occupations, so far as organized industries and manufactures are concerned.

This is partly because factory labour is, to a large extent, occasional and not permanent. Nothing is commoner than for men to work in the mills during the slack agricultural season and to return to their holdings after a few months. Their principal occupation is therefore agriculture, and not that of mill operatives, and it is entered accordingly in the general schedules. Further, the entries in the schedules are often vague, a worker in a coal mine, for instance, returning himself simply as a labourer without any reference to a coal mine. Lastly, the special industrial table (XV-E) and the general occupation table (XV-A) are prepared on different principles. In the former the industry is looked to and not the actual occupation of individual employés: a carpenter in a brewery, for instance, is merged in the general head of brewery employés. In the latter table, on the other hand, only persons directly concerned with the industry or manufacture are classed under it, and not those with distinctive occupations of their own.

At the same time, it must be remembered that the industrial returns refer to the state of affairs on a particular day of the year, when some concerns were closed, others were not in full work, and others again had a larger number of operatives than usual. Some concerns work only for a period of the year; if they were not at work on the date of the census, they were necessarily excluded from the returns. In other cases the busy manufacturing season comes after or before the census date, so that the number of employés returned does not represent the full labour force. Conversely, of course, the busy season may be synchronous with the date of the census, in which case the number of persons employed is greater than at other times

of the year. Apart, moreover, from the question of manufacturing seasons, the strength of the labour force depends on the state of trade and the demand for manufactured goods in particular industries, which may be normal, or brisk, or dull in varying degrees.

BENGAL.

1037. The total number of industrial and manufacturing concerns in Bengal, including mills, factories, mines, etc., is 1,466,

GENERAL RESULTS.

and the total labour force is 606,305. Of these, 427,972, or over two-thirds, are unskilled labourers, 77,684 being under 14 years of age. The aggregate of skilled workmen is 160,848, of whom all but 1,079 are Indians, while those engaged in direction, supervision and clerical work number 17,485 : of the latter, 2,915 are Europeans or Anglo-Indians, and 14,570 are Indians. No less than one-third of the total labour force is employed in the jute mills, and nearly another third in the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. Seven other kinds of industrial or manufacturing concerns, as shown in the margin, employ over 10,000 each, the aggregate being 121,940, of whom nearly a fourth are engaged in coal mining in the Raniganj coal-field in Burdwan.

The predominance of the jute, tea and coal industries is very marked : if they are left out of account, there are only 163,000 persons who find employment in different forms of labour.

1038. The concentration of organized industries and manufactures in Calcutta and the metropolitan districts of Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly and the 24-Parganas, is another

LOCAL DISTRIBUTION.

noticeable feature. They contain two-thirds of the industrial undertakings in the province, while the operatives at work in their mills and factories constitute over half of the total number. Outside this area there are only two industrial centres, viz., the district of Burdwan, with its coal mines, and the tea garden districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. In the remainder of the province, with an area of 70,000 square miles and a population of 38½ millions, there are only 201 works with 35,000 employes. Four districts, viz., Dinajpur with a population of over 1½ millions, Khulna with

1½ millions, Noakhali with nearly the same number, and the sparsely populated Chittagong Hill Tracts, do not contain a single factory or other industrial concern employing 20 hands ; in six more, viz., Bankura, Birbhum, Jessore, Mymensingh, Faridpur and Backergunge the number of employes is under 500. It is not too much to say, therefore, that, with the exception of the capital and the six districts first mentioned, industrial enterprise in the Presidency is at a low level. The most backward parts of the province are the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, where there are only 84 works employing 13,000 persons. About one quarter of these work in jute presses, and another quarter in the tea gardens of Chittagong, the total number employed in other fields of labour being under 5,000.

1039. The figures already given show that Indians represent 99 per cent. of the skilled workmen, and 83 per cent. of those engaged in direction, supervision and clerical work.

OWNERS AND MANAGERS.

It remains to glance at the figures showing how far ownership and management are divided between them and the Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

* In the suburbs of Calcutta, i.e., the municipalities of Cossipur-Chitpur, Manicktollah and Garden Reach, there are 77 works, with 25,419 hands, which are included in the figures for the 24-Parganas.

Taking concerns of all kinds, whether owned by companies or by private persons, and excluding the 45 works owned by Government, we find that 745 are under Indian ownership, while 654 are owned by Europeans or Anglo-Indians and 33 by both races. Some branches of industry are entirely or almost entirely monopolized by the Indian community, *e.g.*, they own all, or nearly all, the type foundries, brass foundries, oil mills, rice mills, boot and shoe factories, umbrella factories, timber yards, brick, tile and *surki* works. On the other hand, European owners predominate in the more important industries, such as in the tea gardens, machinery and engineering works and jute mills. No jute mill is under Indian ownership, and even in the case of jute presses the Indian owners are slightly in a minority. About two-thirds of the cotton mills are owned by them, and the collieries are fairly evenly divided, for nearly half are owned by Europeans or Anglo-Indians, over one-third by Indians and the balance by companies managed by representatives of both communities. In one branch of industry the Indians are more than holding their own, *viz.*, printing, for two-thirds of the presses belong to them. It is also noteworthy that they own 39 out of 51 iron foundries and iron and steel works.

1040. Altogether, 572 or two-fifths of the various undertakings are controlled by companies, the great majority of which are under European directorship. The total number owned by companies of which all the directors are Indians, is only 65, or one-ninth of the company-owned concerns. Indians share the directorship of 21 coal mines with Europeans, and six mines are directed by them solely, so that they control either entirely or in part one-third of the colliery companies. Indian companies also own 18 tea gardens and 16 jute presses, but joint stock enterprise in other directions has not apparently found much favour. The people of the country, being still strongly individualistic, have a much greater interest in private concerns, of which two-fifths are owned by them. Prominent among these private concerns are brick and tile factories (136), oil mills (110), printing presses (63), collieries (42) and jute presses (36). One-fifth of the private owners come from the ranks of the Brahmans, who are closely followed by the Kayasths with one-seventh. Then come that progressive caste, the Sadgops, who claim 8 per cent. of the total number, and the trading classes known as Teli and Tili (7 per cent). The shrewd and ubiquitous Marwaris, it is noteworthy, account for 37 owners ($5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.) in spite of their small numbers, whereas there are only 41 among the Sheikhs, though their aggregate strength is 23 millions.

1041. The representation of the two communities among managers is very much the same as for ownership, 54 per cent. being Indians. They share the management of coal mines equally with Europeans and Anglo-Indians, but the latter monopolize the jute and cotton mills and are in a majority even in the case of jute presses. On the tea gardens only one-fifth of the managers, in the silk filatures and mills one-third, and in machinery works one-sixth, are Indians. In other concerns Indians predominate more or less according to their ownership, *e.g.*, out of 536 printing presses, iron and brass foundries, iron and steel works, brick, tile and *surki* factories, and oil, flour and rice mills, the managers are Indians in all but 61 cases. As among owners, so among managers, Brahmans and Kayasths are most strongly represented, a little over one-fifth of the managers being Brahmans, while a little under one-fifth are Kayasths. The Sadgops come third on the list, and then the Chasi Kaibarttas and Sheikhs. The position of the Chasi Kaibarttas is noticeable as showing how a cultivating caste is progressing in education and industrial acumen and enterprise.

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

1042. The industrial development of Bihar and Orissa is even less advanced than that of Bengal, for the total number of industrial and manufacturing works employing 20 persons or more is only 583, and of employes 179,714. The extraction of minerals, rather than the conversion of raw material into finished products, is moreover by far the most important branch of industry. The mines

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number 256 or over two-fifths of the concerns, and they give employment to 105,000 persons or two-thirds of the labour force. The only other important

CLASS.	Number.	Employés.
1. Collieries ...	199	86,878
2. Indigo plantations	119	30,680
3. Mica mines ...	52	10,840
4. Railway workshops	7	10,269

industrial concerns are indigo plantations, which, number 119 and employ 30,680 persons. The latter figure includes those employed directly by the factories in cultivation as well as in the manufacture of indigo. It would have been greater had the industrial census been taken in the manufacturing season ; as it was, many of the factories were not at work, and were consequently excluded from the returns, while in others the labour force was only a fraction of what it would be later in the year. Excluding mines and indigo plantations, the total number of industrial and manufacturing works in the province is 208 with 44,000 operatives, half of whom are at work in railway workshops and timber yards.

1043. The most backward part of the province is the Orissa Division, which has a population of 5 millions, but contains only 16 industrial concerns with 1,474 employés.

LOCAL DISTRIBUTION.

The Patna Division is but little better, though it has 20 towns and 5½ million inhabitants, for there are no more than 26 works employing under 3,000 hands. The returns for the Tirhut Division are very different owing to the indigo industry, which accounts for two-thirds of the concerns and all but 8,000 of the employés. This industry has little vitality in Saran, but still maintains itself in the other three districts of the division. The only other works of importance in Tirhut are the railway works at Samastipur in the Darbhanga district. In the Bhagalpur Division the only district which can be said to be in any way industrial is Monghyr, where the railway workshops of the East Indian Railway at Jamalpur employ over 8,000 men, while the tobacco factory of the Peninsular Tobacco Company at Monghyr, though not long started, has over 1,000 hands. In this division there are still 20 indigo factories at work with nearly 3,000 employés ; the only other important works are the stone quarries of the Sonthal Parganas. The Chota Nagpur Division, though in other respects the most backward tract in the province, is the most advanced industrially owing to its mineral resources. The development of the Jheria coal-fields puts Manbhum far ahead of the other districts, for at the time of the census 194 collieries were at work and 80,000 persons were employed in them. The figures for lac factories in this district do not give a clear idea of the expansion of the lac industry, for most were not at work at the time of the census. In Hazaribagh there are no less than 42 mica mines with 9,000 labourers, which exceeds by 3,000 the number employed in the Giridih collieries. In Singhbhum the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Sakchi, though they were still under construction when the census took place and had not started manufacturing, already employed 4,600 persons, the copper mine of the Copper Company at Matigara over 1,000, and the iron mines of the Bengal Iron and Steel Works nearly 1,500. In the Orissa Feudatory States only Mayurbhanj and Gangpur contain industrial works. In the former the working of the iron mines at Gurumaishani afforded employment to over 4,000 persons. In the latter the development of the timber trade has led to the concentration of over 8,000 men in timber yards.

1044. Joint stock enterprise has not developed to the same extent as in Bengal, only a little over one-fourth of the concerns (excluding those belonging to Government) being

OWNERS AND MANAGERS.

owned by companies. The majority of these are mining companies, and there are only 40 companies for the exploitation of other forms of industry or manufacture. The Indian inhabitants are either more averse to forming companies than the Bengalis, or their management of them is less successful, for the companies, of which the directors are solely or partly drawn from the Indian community, number no more than 23 or one-seventh of the total number. The indigo concerns, unlike the tea gardens, are still mainly in private hands, and all but 14 are owned by Europeans. European companies, however, own two-fifths of the coal mines, one-fifth of the mica mines, and all but one of the iron, manganese and copper mines. Of the concerns

having private owners, two-thirds belong to Indians, who practically monopolize all but the indigo plantations. One-fifth of the private owners of Indian origin are Brahmans, who have possession of no less than 27 mines and indigo plantations. Next to them the Agarwalas own the largest number of industrial undertakings, the proportion being one-eighth, while the Kayasths come third with one-ninth : members of the caste last named own 13 collieries and 10 mica mines.

1045. The managers are equally divided between the Indian and the European and Anglo-Indian communities. The latter manage all but two of the indigo plantations and over two-fifths of the collieries, but only 89 other concerns. The Indian managers are in control of 112 coal mines, four-fifths of the mica mines and sugar factories, and practically all the lac factories. One-fourth of them are Brahmans, who manage nearly a fifth of the collieries and a fourth of the mica mines. One-sixth are Kayasths, the majority of whom are also employed in coal and mica mines, and then come the Agarwalas and Kalwars, each contributing one-eighth of the total number of Indian managers : the Kalwars owe their position to their interest in the lac trade, 16 lac factories being owned and 18 managed by them.

CHARACTER OF MILL AND FACTORY LABOUR.

1046. Before concluding this account of the industrial census, reference may be made to the character of mill and factory labour. As a rule, the labourers do not work throughout the year, and employment in the mills and factories is not their only means of subsistence. No better account of the conditions regulating the supply can be given than that contained in the report of the Indian Factory Labour Commission of 1907-08.

“The habits of the Indian factory operative are determined by the fact that he is primarily an agriculturist or a labourer on the land. In almost all cases his hereditary occupation is agriculture ; his home is in the village from which he comes, not in the city in which he labours ; his wife and family ordinarily continue to live in that village ; he regularly remits a portion of his wages there ; and he returns there periodically to look after his affairs, and to obtain rest after the strain of factory life. There is as yet practically no factory population, such as exists in European countries, consisting of a large number of operatives trained from their youth to one particular class of work, and dependent upon employment at that work for their livelihood. It follows that the Indian operative is, in general, independent of factory work, to the extent that he does not rely exclusively upon factory employment in order to obtain a livelihood ; at most seasons he can command a wage sufficient to keep him, probably on a somewhat lower scale of comfort, by accepting work on the land ; and there are also numerous other avenues of employment, more remunerative than agricultural labour, which are open to every worker in any large industrial centre. If the operative is not merely a landless labourer, he will in general be bound by strong ties to the land and to the village from which he originally came ; he can at any time abandon factory life in order to revert to agriculture ; and the claims of the village where he has a definite and accepted position are in practice, as experience has shown, sufficiently powerful to recall him from city life for a period which extends, on the average, to at least a month in each year. The Bombay operative resident in the Konkan, probably returns to his village for one month each year ; and the jute weaver of Bengal, working longer hours and earning higher wages, is not content with less than two or three months. Whenever factory life becomes irksome, the operative can return to his village ; there is probably always work of some kind for him there if he wishes it ; and in most cases he is secured against want by the joint family system. The position of the operative has been greatly strengthened by the fact that the supply of factory labour undoubtedly is, and has been, inadequate ; and there is, and has been, the keenest competition among employers to secure a full labour-supply. These two main causes—the independence of the Indian labourer, owing to the fact that he possesses other and congenial means of

earning a livelihood, and the deficient labour supply--govern the whole situation."

1047. Another noticeable feature of modern industrial conditions in Bengal is the extent to which its large manufactures and industries depend on other Provinces for their labour supply. The industrial expansion of Calcutta and its neighbourhood has created a demand for labour which the Bengalis have not been able to meet. The inadequacy of the number of local artificers, mechanics and labourers, and, to some extent, their inefficiency have made it necessary to employ an increasing number of workers from other parts of India. In the jute mills only a minority of the operatives are Bengalis. "Twenty years ago all the hands were Bengalis, but they have gradually been replaced by Hindustanis from the United Provinces and Bihar. These men have been found more regular, stronger, steadier and more satisfactory generally, so that at present in most of the mills two-thirds of the hands are composed of up-country men."* In the tea gardens of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling the Bengalis form an insignificant minority. In the coal mines semi-Hinduized aboriginals or pure aboriginals, such as Bauris and Santals, predominate. In the cotton mills Oriyas contribute largely to the ranks of the operatives, and one is astonished to see how many Oriyas there are in the jute presses and what heavy loads they carry. The same tendency is seen in other branches of industry, where the personnel is gradually changing, as the Bengali gives place to immigrants. The manner in which the latter are filling the labour market may be illustrated by an extract from a speech delivered a few years ago in the Bengal Legislative Council by a member, who was himself a large employer of labour with long experience of the country :—

"It is certainly a fact, which my experience has proved, that the Bengali carpenter is being slowly, but surely, supplanted by his Chinese competitor. Again speaking from my own experience, this gradual dying out of the Bengali carpenter is very materially due not only to his lack of training, but also to the disinclination of parents to let their children follow the calling of mechanics. I have known several instances of Bengali carpenters in my own employ bringing their sons to me to be taken on as clerks in my office, with an Entrance or First Arts qualification. Twenty-five years ago, our workmen were nearly all Bengali Hindus, and there was not a single Chinaman in our employ and only one or two Muhammadans. Now we have a large number of Chinamen, and among the Indians the Bengalis are in a very small minority. The Chinaman, it is true, gets larger wages, but he earns his money to the hilt, works steadily, takes only one or at most two holidays in the year, is sober, punctual and intelligent, and does not need to be continually urged to his work. The Bengali, I am constrained to say, is very much the contrary. He gets small wages certainly, but he earns for his employer even less than he gets. As a rule, he takes little or no real interest in his work, and if not carefully watched, will scamp his job."

GENERAL CENSUS.

1048. Of the 16 columns of the census schedule, no less than three are intended for the entry of occupations or means of livelihood. There are two columns for actual workers, one to show the principal and the other the subsidiary occupation. The third column is headed "means of subsistence of dependants on actual workers," a somewhat infelicitous expression, the meaning of which is not at first sight obvious. It means the occupation or means of livelihood of the person by whom a dependant (*i.e.*, any person who does not earn his own living) is supported. The instructions regarding the manner in which these columns were to be filled up were more elaborate and detailed than in 1901. One important modification consisted in the more precise definition of workers, dependants and subsidiary occupations. It was laid down that only those persons should be shown as workers who help to augment the family income.

INSTRUCTIONS TO ENUMERATORS.

* B. Foley, *Supply of Labour in Bengal*, 1906.

As an illustration of the rule, it was stated that a woman who looks after her house and cooks the food is not a worker but a dependant, whereas a woman who collects and sells fire-wood or cow-dung is thereby adding to the family income, and should be shown as a worker. Similarly, a woman who regularly assists her husband in his work (*e.g.*, the wife of a potter who fetches the clay from which he makes his pots) is an actual worker, but not one who merely renders a little occasional help. The result of this rule has been the addition of a large number of female workers. As regards subsidiary occupations, it was laid down that where a man has two occupations, the principal one is that on which he relies mainly for his support and from which he gets the major part of his income. A subsidiary occupation was to be entered *if followed at any time of the year*. The words shewn in italics are of particular importance, as the entry of occasional occupations, taken up, it may be, for a few days in the year, has enormously increased the entries of subsidiary occupations. The returns of such occasional occupations are of little practical value; and considering the heavy task already imposed on an improvised agency, there is much to be said in favour of not attempting to obtain a return of subsidiary occupations, which is merely one of the bye-products of the census.

1049. At the last census occupations were classified according to an elaborate scheme, being divided into 8 main classes, which were subdivided into 24 orders, 79 sub-orders and 520 groups. As remarked by the Census Commissioner: "It is generally admitted that a classification which distinguishes no fewer than 520 groups is far too elaborate for census work in India. It involves an altogether excessive amount of labour in compilation, while the results are of no greater value than those of a far simpler table would be: in some cases indeed they are actually misleading."* At this census the Census Commissioner prescribed a revised scheme of classification, based on that prepared by M. Bertillon with modifications necessary to adapt it to conditions in India. This scheme has already formed the basis of the tabulation of occupations in Italy, and also (though with some modifications) in Germany, while the new classification scheme of the United States approaches it closely. It has further been adopted by Brazil in the census of 1910, Egypt in 1907, Bulgaria in 1900, Spain in 1900, and also in Chili, Venezuela and Mexico, and in Belgium (with some changes). The adoption of this scheme in India therefore facilitates the comparison of international statistics. At the same time the reduction of the number of detailed heads has resulted in a great saving in the time and labour involved by compilation. Comparison with the results of the last census has to some extent been rendered difficult, and the difficulties have been increased by one partition following another. The demands of time and the exigencies of expenditure have rendered it impossible to compile comparative statistics for the two provinces as now constituted, but a comparative statement has been prepared for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a whole, which will be found in Subsidiary Table VII. In this statement the difficulty caused by the change of classification has been got over, as far as possible, by re-arranging the statistics of the last census according to the new scheme.

1050. Though far simpler and easier than that followed at the last census, the scheme seems still unduly elaborate, considering conditions in India. Its main object is to render the statistics of India comparable with those for other countries, but for this purpose all that is needed is tabulation in accordance with the 61 sub-orders of M. Bertillon's scheme, and the groups might be largely reduced without loss of any reliable information that is of value. Still, much has been gained by reducing the number of detailed heads from 520 to 169, and the difficulties of classification under these heads were minimized by an admirable alphabetical index prepared by the Census Commissioner, in which the group numbers of a vast number of occupations of different kinds were shown. Apart from its elaborate character, the defects in the scheme itself were few. The most noticeable defect was

*As examples of the curious results obtained, it may be mentioned that the occupation table of 1901 showed only 56 cartmen in Noakhali, though carts are in general use there, only two persons as growers of fruits and vegetables, and no pig-breeders or swine-herds. In Monghyr there were only seven sweetmeat-makers and in Purnea none.

the differentiation of those engaged in pastoral pursuits. A distinction was made between persons who breed and keep cattle and herdsmen, which it was impossible to carry out, owing to the fact that there is no clear line of demarcation between the two occupations, and that the vernacular expressions for cattle-keepers and herdsmen are interchangeable. The results were consequently vitiated, the expression being taken to mean cattle-keeper in some cases and herdsmen in others. There are thus extraordinary variations in the district statistics for these two classes, herdsmen predominating in some cases and cattle-keepers in others. A minor defect is that "ordinary cultivation" is used as the designation of both an order and a group, and has therefore two distinct meanings. As applied to the order, it includes not only tillers of the soil but also landlords, estate managers and their subordinate staff, farm servants and field-labourers. As applied to the group, it connotes cultivators who are not engaged in market gardening or growing special products such as tea and indigo. Another small defect consists of the omission of meat-sellers and painters from the scheme. While it recognizes a butcher, there is no entry for meat-sellers, though fishermen and fish-dealers are differentiated. A painter is also not recognized, unless he spends his time in painting some definite class of articles, *e.g.*, is a house painter, carriage painter, boat painter or picture painter: a man who is a general painter is eliminated altogether. As is well known, the butcher is not always a meat-seller, and a general painter is a recognized artisan, who will turn his hand to any job requiring the use of brush and paint. It is also a matter of regret that the general labourer, who has a well defined position in the economy of the country, is not recognized, but is merged with others under the head "Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified."

1051. The prescribed scheme contains 4 classes, 12 sub-classes, 55 orders and 169 groups. The main principles which have been followed in classifying the detailed occupations under the various groups are as follows:—(1) Where a person both makes and sells any article, he is classed as a 'maker,' *i.e.*, he is entered under "Industry" and not under "Trade." (2) Industrial and trading occupations are divided into two main categories, *viz.*, those where the occupation is classified according to the material worked in, and those where the occupation is classified according to the use which it serves, *e.g.*, carpenters comes under "Industries connected with wood" and cabinet-makers under "Furniture industries", while traders in piece-goods come under "Trade in textiles" and traders in ready-made clothing under "Trade in clothing." The scheme adopted in Table XV is intended to throw light on the economic aspects of the statistics of occupation, *i.e.*, on the number of persons employed in the various branches of production, manufacture, trade, transport, etc. A different principle has been followed in Table XVI, the object of which is to show the manner in which the members of a given caste earn their living, *e.g.*, how many live by professions, clerical work, domestic service and the like. For the purpose of this table therefore the occupations have been classified from the stand-point of the individual rather than from that of the community; the status and character of the occupation as such have been looked to rather than the end which it serves from an economic point of view.

1052. It will easily be realized that, with a population of which the great majority subsist by agriculture, the entry of agricultural occupations is of especial importance. Considerable difficulty was caused by the orders of the Government of India that in the schedules a distinction should be made between those who receive rent and those who pay rent. This is an economic distinction which is foreign to the people themselves, and which also fails to account for that large body of people who hold or cultivate revenue-free or rent-free land. Subsequently, it was ascertained that it was intended not to make the payment or receipt of rent a criterion for the classification of agriculturists, but to distinguish between persons who live on the rent of agricultural land and those who live by actual cultivation. In other words, a rent-receiver is an agriculturist who does not cultivate, and the rent-payer is an agriculturist who does cultivate, either himself or by means of servants. Consequently, zamindars and raiyats who do not cultivate but sublet their

RENT-RECEIVERS AND RENT-PAYERS.

land come under the category of rent-receivers, while zamindars and raiyats who cultivate their land and do not sublet it are rent-payers. It would have been preferable, had it been permissible, to have laid down merely that a man was to be entered simply by the designation ordinarily recognized, such as zamindari and cultivation. Entries of this kind are quite sufficient for compilation, and would have saved a good deal of correspondence and searching of mind among the census staff.*

It was not attempted to make any further differentiation of rent-payers and rent-receivers for the reasons explained in 1901. "Any attempt to do so would have been misleading, owing to the impossibility of securing entries in the schedules sufficiently clear to permit of the necessary differentiation. The terms used in describing the different kinds of interest in land are so numerous, that any attempt to particularize would have been fore-doomed to failure."

1053. One of the greatest difficulties in carrying out a detailed scheme of classification is the vagueness of the original entries. An untrained mind loves general terms, and consequently there are a large number of such entries as labourer, servant, shop-keeper, etc., though the greatest care was taken at the time of enumeration to reduce vague entries to a minimum and to specify exactly the kind of labour, service, etc., that was actually followed. Some enumerators indeed were so impressed by the necessity for clear and distinct entries, that they gave details which were almost as troublesome as generic entries. For instance, instead of entering *manohari dokan* or *khichari farosh*, i.e., a shop dealing with miscellaneous goods, they would give a catalogue of all articles sold in the shop. In the same way, instead of entering a *Mudi's* shop as such, there were such entries as "a shop for the sale of rice, salt, spices, tobacco, *ahi*, flour, etc."

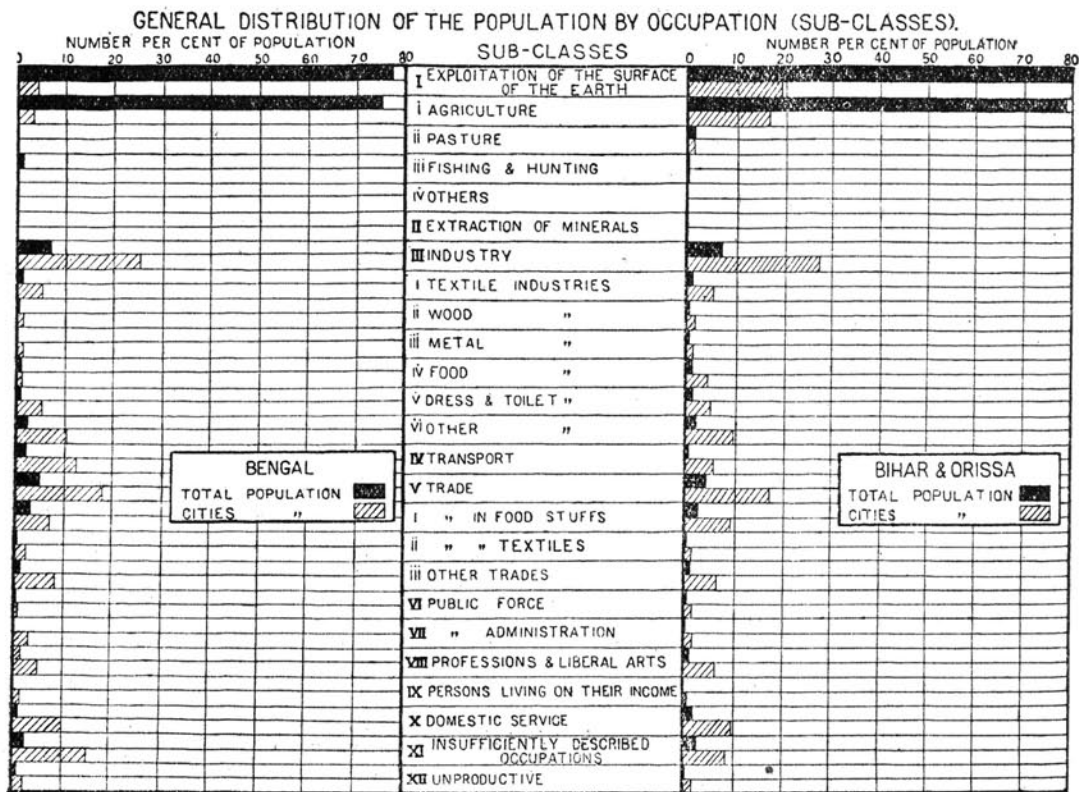
There were also a few curious entries which required a little intelligence and knowledge to discover their meaning. One man's occupation was entered as *net bajana*, i.e., a belly-drummer, which meant that he was a beggar who slapped his stomach to show how hollow and, inferentially, empty it was. A poison-dealer was easily identified as a chemist, and a children-gatherer as a nurse or *aya*, these being apparently English translations of vernacular expressions. A less easily recognizable return was *Mahabiri kuri*. This refers to the handful of grain taken from each bag that is weighed and offered to Mahavira, the actual recipients being the priests of the temple. The right to collect and keep this tithe had been leased out by the priests, and the entry actually referred to a lessee. Other curious entries were *dur denewala* or giver of blessings, i.e., a religious mendicant, *murda ka kafan lenewala* (taking shrouds from corpses), i.e., burial ground service, and *akas birit*. The last is difficult to translate. Literally, it means income from heaven, and connotes dependence on the mercy of heaven, in other words begging.

General Distribution of Occupations.

CLASS.	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Total.	Per-centage.	Total.	Per-centage.
1. Production of raw materials ...	36,078,000	78	31,115,000	81
2. Preparation and supply of material substances.	6,724,000	14½	4,808,000	12½
3. Public administration and liberal arts.	1,182,000	2½	652,000	2
4. Miscellaneous ...	2,322,000	5	1,860,000	5

1054. The marginal statement gives actual and proportional figures for the four main classes of occupations in the two provinces. In both the great majority of the people are dependent on agriculture and cognate pursuits.

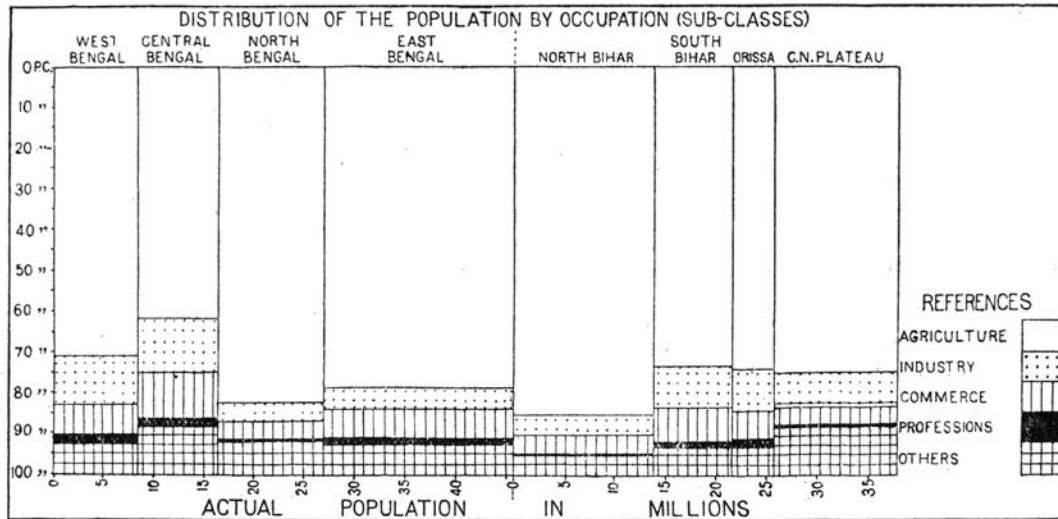
* A statement of the different tenures and of the groups under which they were classified was prepared for use in the compilation offices, and will be available for reference at the next census. It would be quite sufficient for the classification of the terms entered.



1055. In Bengal $35\frac{1}{3}$ million persons, or three-quarters of the population, are supported by pasture and agriculture. Nearly 30 millions, or two-thirds of the people, are ordinary cultivators, while 1,200,000, or 3 per cent., are maintained by income from agricultural land, and nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., come under the head of farm servants and field labourers. It is a clear sign of the low industrial level of the province that agricultural labourers are only slightly outnumbered by those who follow industrial pursuits or depend on industries for their support. The number returned under the head "Industry" is 3,441,000, of whom about one-fourth depend on textile industries. Trade accounts for $2\frac{1}{3}$ millions, or 5 per cent., while those who come under the head "Transport" aggregate nearly one million, or 2 per cent. The latter are outnumbered slightly by "Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified", who correspond to general labourers. Nearly a third of a million subsist by service in the public force (mainly the public or village police) or in various branches of the administration. Professions and the liberal arts (including religion) account for four-fifths of a million or under 2 per cent. Domestic service provides for over half a million, while those subsisting by unproductive professions, such as prostitutes and beggars, number 446,000 or nearly one per cent.

1056. The predominance of pasture and agriculture is even more pronounced in Bihar and Orissa, where they form the means of subsistence of 31 millions or five-sixths of the total population. No less than 30 millions are dependent on cultivation, 22 millions or 57 per cent. being cultivators, two-thirds of a million rent-receivers, and $7\frac{1}{4}$ millions, or 19 per cent., farm servants and field labourers. The number who obtain a livelihood from industries is nearly 3 millions, representing 7 per cent. of the population, while $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions, or 4 per cent., subsist by trade. Employment in the public force and public administration provides for nearly a quarter of a million, or 115,000 less than "Transport." Those who subsist by professions and the liberal arts are more numerous, aggregating nearly 400,000 or 1 per cent., but domestic service is still more important, providing for 2 per cent. General labourers, whose description of their occupation was insufficient to allocate them to any other head, aggregate 889,000, while the total for unproductive occupations is under 200,000, or less than half that returned for Bengal.

1057. North Bengal contains a larger proportion of persons dependent on agriculture than any other part of Bengal; in Bihar and Orissa this position is held by North Bihar. In both tracts the predominance of agriculture is not relieved by the



presence of any large industries except the indigo and tea industries, both of which are, of course, only partially manufactory. Both in North and East Bengal the comparative paucity of agricultural labourers is noticeable. In Bengal the industrial population is largest in Central Bengal and West Bengal, owing to the industrial towns clustered along the Hooghly; in the new Province it is largest in Orissa and South Bihar, where the urban population is most numerous. Trade has naturally the strongest representation in Central Bengal, and the commercial population is relatively least numerous in the undeveloped districts of Chota Nagpur, which are, however, but little inferior to North Bengal. In Bengal the professions are most favoured in West and then in Central Bengal: the proportion of persons who subsist by this means in North Bengal is less than a quarter what it is in the former two divisions. In Bihar and Orissa the professional classes are least numerous in North Bihar and are found in greatest strength in Orissa, which indeed contains a larger proportion than any other division of the two provinces except West Bengal. Orissa owes its position to the fact that the religious classes are grouped with the strictly professional classes, and that it is a land under priestly domination: in Puri, which contains the temple of Jagannath, one of the centres of Hindu priesthood, no less than 3 per cent. of the population come under this head. The detailed figures in the table of occupations may now be reviewed.

1058. The first class "Production of raw materials" is divided into two sub-classes, viz., "Exploitation of the surface of the earth" and "Extraction of minerals." The former sub-class includes two orders, the first being "Pasture and agriculture" and the second "Fishing and hunting." It will be convenient to discuss the statistics of agriculture separately from those for pasture. Reference has already been made to the number and proportional strength of the principal groups, viz., those who subsist by income derived from the rent of agricultural land, ordinary cultivators, and farm servants and field-labourers.

In the two provinces taken together ordinary cultivators have increased by only 5 per cent., but rent-receivers by 19 per cent., since 1901. In the latter case part of the increase must be attributed to the natural desire of cultivators to claim the more respectable status of zamindars, if they hold a little zamindari in addition to their tenant's holdings, and partly to the extent to which other classes, such as pleaders and traders, acquire landed property. The increase in the number of agricultural labourers is *primâ facie* remarkable, for since 1901 it has been more than doubled, the addition being over 5 millions. This increase, however, does not imply that the ranks of landless labourers have been swollen by the accretion of 5 millions from other classes, e.g., from

cultivators who have lost their land, from weavers who can no longer support themselves by their looms, etc. Some of the addition may be ascribed to this cause, and some must be due to natural growth ; but the greater part is due to the greater precision of the census, which resulted in a very much larger number having their occupation entered as agricultural labour instead of simply as labour. In consequence of this, we find that the number of persons who have had to be allocated to the head "Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified" has fallen by nearly 4 millions, and now numbers only 2 millions.

Another point which calls for notice is the difference between the returns for Bengal and Bihar and Orissa. Those dependent on agricultural labour in the latter province are more than twice as numerous as in Bengal, the actual excess being nearly 4 millions. Some part of the difference may be attributable to the higher standard of census work in Bihar and Orissa : a quarter of a million less persons were entered simply as labourers than in Bengal. This however is only a fraction of the difference, and the real explanation is that the number of landless field labourers is far greater in Bihar and Orissa than in the richer province of Bengal. The well-to-do Bengali cultivators depend largely on the annual influx of labourers from Bihar and Orissa for reaping their crops, and complaints are frequent of the inadequacy of the supply of local labour. At other seasons of the year they have a system of mutual exchange of labour, and co-operate to work in one another's fields in turn.

In no part of Bihar and Orissa is the percentage of field labourers to the general population less than one-tenth, the minimum being reached in Orissa, which in this, as in other respects, resembles Bengal. The maximum is reached in Bihar, where over one-fifth of the total population subsists by field labour. In Bengal, on the other hand, the proportion falls to 5 per cent. in North Bengal and to 3 per cent. in East Bengal, where the population consists mainly of Musalmans who till their own fields. It rises above 10 per cent. only in West and Central Bengal, where the relatively high figure is probably due to some extent to a higher standard of accuracy : it is noticeable that in these two divisions the proportion of insufficiently described occupations is lower than elsewhere in the province.

1059. In Bengal 416,726 persons, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the actual workers, returned agriculture as a subsidiary occupation : in other words they obtain their livelihood principally from other pursuits, but are partially dependent on agriculture. The corresponding number in Bihar and Orissa is 413,539 or 2·2 per cent. One-eighth of the actual workers in either

OCCUPATIONS COMBINED WITH AGRICULTURE.

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS.	SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS.					
	BENGAL.			BIHAR AND ORISSA.		
	Total.	Agricul- tural.	Non-agri- cultural.	Total.	Agricul- tural.	Non-agri- cultural.
Landlords	89,791	33,843	55,948	61,496	47,217	14,279
Cultivators	1,222,078	292,474	929,604	1,644,616	504,916	1,139,700
Agricultural labourers...	105,285	32,868	72,417	224,438	63,030	161,408
GRAND TOTAL ...	1,417,154	359,185	1,057,969	1,930,550	615,163	1,315,387

Province whose main occupation is pasture and agriculture have subsidiary occupations. From the marginal figures it will be seen that agriculture forms one of the dual occupations in a large number of cases, for landlords

also cultivate land themselves, cultivators, in addition to tilling their own fields, lease them out to sub-tenants, and agricultural labourers have small holdings, the cultivation of which supplements the wages they get by working in the fields of more prosperous peasants. The proportion of non-agricultural pursuits followed by agriculturists is exactly the same in both provinces, viz., 9 per cent.

1060. Excluding those who returned pasture and agriculture as their principal means of support, the ratio of workers who are partially agriculturists is 7 per cent. in Bengal and 9 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, the actual numbers being 387,252 and 375,274 respectively. About one-fourth of those who serve in the public force, *e.g.*, as policemen or village chaukidars,

supplement their income by zamindari or cultivation. The proportion is lower among those engaged in the general administration, of whom one-seventh in Bengal and one-sixth in Bihar and Orissa have agriculture as a minor means of subsistence. Of those who actually serve as priests, about one-fifth in the former and one-fourth in the latter province also hold or cultivate land. The lawyer classes obviously regard landed property as a good investment or as a means of improving their social status, for one out of every three is returned as partially supported by agriculture. The industrial classes have far less connection with the land in Bengal, where only 7 per cent. are partially agriculturists, but in Bihar and Orissa 11½ per cent. are cultivators as well as artisans. It is noticeable as showing how far the cotton weavers find it necessary to eke out their livelihood by other means, even when they still obtain their main livelihood from weaving, that one-ninth of their number in Bengal and one-seventh in Bihar and Orissa have to cultivate as well as weave.

1061. One-tenth of the landlords in Bengal, and nearly one-fifth of those

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS.	PERCENTAGE HAVING SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS	
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
Landlords	27	25
Cultivators	14	18
Agricultural labourers ...	7	5

in Bihar and Orissa, also hold some land which they cultivate themselves. Six per cent. of the landlords in the former, but only 1½ per cent. in the latter province, add to their resources by money-lending, dealing in grain and other kinds of trade. Of the cultivators who returned a subsidiary occu-

pation, only about 1 per cent. have landed property for which they receive rents, and a far larger proportion have to eke out their livelihood by working as field labourers or general labourers—a sure sign that their holdings are too small to support themselves and their families. In Bengal only one cultivator in every 26, but in Bihar and Orissa one out of every 18, is forced to be an occasional labourer in order to maintain himself. The number of farm servants and field labourers who have subsidiary occupations is far smaller than among either landlords or cultivators, and the majority are either petty cultivators or general labourers.

1062. A quarter of a million persons are supported by the tea gardens of

TEA PLANTATIONS IN BENGAL.

Bengal, nearly all being residents of Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling and Chittagong. The greatest development of the industry has taken place in Jalpaiguri, where the outturn of tea rose

DISTRICT.	Number supported.		Number of employes.
	1901	1911	
Jalpaiguri	113,685	159,606	134,041
Darjeeling	86,725	80,016*	52,966
Chittagong	5,063	6,271	4,279

from 31 million pounds to 49 million pounds between 1901 and 1911, while the area under the plant was extended from 76,403 to 90,859 acres. With these figures may be compared those for 1881, viz., one million pounds and 6,230 acres. In this district most of the available land, which is suitable for tea, has

been taken up and the increase in the outturn is due mainly to young tea coming into bearing, and to the gradual extension of cultivation on existing grants. The marginal statement shows the number of persons maintained by the tea industry according to the entries in the general schedules both in 1901 and 1911 and the number entered in the industrial returns as actually employed in tea gardens. The figures show how different conditions in Jalpaiguri are from those obtaining in the other two districts. Both in Darjeeling and Chittagong two-thirds of the persons supported by work in the tea gardens are actual employes, but in Jalpaiguri the employes represent 84 per cent. of the total number. The paucity of dependants in this latter district shows that the majority of the workers are immigrants unaccompanied by their families, while those in Darjeeling and

* This figure includes the persons maintained by work in two small cinchona plantations employing 761 hands.

Chittagong are largely drawn from local sources and live a family life on or near the tea gardens. This inference is supported by statistics which have been specially compiled showing the birth places of the tea garden population. In Jalpaiguri more than half come from Chota Nagpur, 75,000, or two-fifths, being born in Ranchi. Nepal sends 19,000, or a little over one-ninth, and the Sonthal Parganas 10,000, while more distant tracts, such as Tirhut (1,700) and Orissa (3,000), are also drawn on. The number born in Jalpaiguri itself is only 37,000, or less than one-quarter of the residents on tea gardens. In Darjeeling, however, nearly half were born in the district, and practically all the remainder in Nepal (25,000). Less than 3,000 come from Chota Nagpur, and the aggregate for all other places

CASTE.	Jalpaiguri.	Darjeeling.	Total.
Oraon	55,543	1,337	59,900
Munda	17,280	401	17,684
Jimdar or Khambu	2,582	9,771	12,353
Santal	11,319	362	11,681
Murmi	2,130	8,582	10,712
Mangar	5,703	4,503	10,206
Kharia	6,048	...	6,048

is only 4,000. The labour for the small tea gardens of Chittagong is also largely recruited locally, one-half being born in the district itself. The marginal statement further shows how largely the races of Chota Nagpur bulk in the tea garden population of Jalpaiguri and those of Nepal in Darjeeling. In the

former Oraons, Mundas and Santals number 84,000, or half the total number. In the latter three typical Nepalese races, viz., the Jimdars (or Khambus) Murmis and Mangars, account for over 20,000 or nearly two-fifths of the workers. Further details of caste will be found in Part III of the Appendix to Table XVI.

Language.	Number.	Language.	Number.
Hindi and Urdu	60,000	Bengali	5,000
Oraon	38,000	Oriya	6,000
Naipali	18,000	Kharia	4,000
Santali	12,000	Nepalese tribal lan- guages.	4,000
Mundari	12,000	Ho	2,000

Sufficient has already been said to give an idea of the heterogeneous nature of the tea garden population of Jalpaiguri, but, before bringing this paragraph to a close, reference may be made to its polyglot character. Special returns for the languages spoken on the tea gardens show

that no less than 48 languages are current, those most widely spoken being shown in the margin.

1063. There are, according to the industrial census, six small tea plantations (in Ranchi) employing 535 hands, and 119 indigo plantations employing 30,680 persons, either directly in the cultivation of the plant or in the manufacture of the dye. All but one of the indigo concerns are situated in the Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions, the former containing 98 with 28,000 persons in their employment. Manufacture was not in progress at the time when the census was taken, and the great majority of the persons entered in the returns were cultivators. These, for the most part, returned ordinary cultivation as their means of livelihood in the general schedules, the result being that in the Bhagalpur and Tirhut Divisions those entered under the head of indigo cultivation number only 1,027. Small as this latter figure is, it is a reduction on that returned in 1901, when 2,891 persons were shown as labourers belonging to the indigo factories. This decrease is not to be wondered at, for, as is well known, the indigo industry is declining owing to the competition of the synthetic dye and the falling of the price of the natural dye, as a consequence of which other crops are found to be more profitable.

1064. In Bengal 306,000 or less than 1 per cent. of the population, and in Bihar and Orissa 669,000 or 1·7 per cent., subsist by means of pasture. In the former province the number returned as herdsmen, shepherds, goatherds, etc., is six times as great as that returned for cattle and buffalo breeders or keepers. The strength of these two classes is very different in Bihar and Orissa, where the proportion is only two to one. Not much reliance, however, can be placed on the figures, as the vernacular terms for both are generally the same, so that it is more or less a matter of chance whether a man is classified as a cattle-keeper or herdsman. As an instance of the variations which are inevitable under

INDIGO AND TEA PLANTATIONS IN
BIHAR AND ORISSA.

PASTURE.

the present system of differentiating between herdsmen and cattle-keepers,

PROVINCE.	1911.	1901.	1891.
Burdwan ...	14,112	2,707	17,668
Presidency ...	1,635	1,851	29,927
Orissa ...	9,665	3,650	28,486
TOTAL ...	25,412	8,208	76,081

I may point to the marginal figures for male cattle-keepers at each of the last three censuses in three divisions. It must also be remembered that a large number of those supported by pasture return their occupation as that of milk, butter or *ghee* sellers, and are consequently allocated to the head "Trade." Far fewer, however, appeared to have done this than in 1901, the result being a decrease of nearly 200,000 in those returned as sellers of milk, butter, *ghee*, etc., and an increase of 186,000 in the number of cattle breeders and keepers in the two provinces.

1065. Altogether 644,000 persons in Bengal subsist by fishing, or double the number subsisting by pasture. Nor is this to be wondered at considering the nature of the country

FISHING.

and the resources, even though imperfectly developed, of its rivers, its estuaries and the sea board. In addition, moreover, to those actively engaged in fishing, there are 324,000 maintained by the sale of fish, so that the total number supported by catching and selling fish is very little under 1 million, or 2 per cent. of the total population. As explained in 1901, the two occupations should be amalgamated, as they cannot be kept distinct. A few sections of the fishing community catch fish, but do not retail them, and a few others expose them for sale, but do not catch them; and the majority both catch and sell. Special statistics of the castes engaged in fishing in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions show that half are Bagdis, and one-eighth are Malos, who only slightly outnumber the Jaliya Kaibarttas. Of other castes, the most strongly represented are the Tiyars, Rajbansis and Namasudras.

Comparatively few persons are engaged in fishing in Bihar and Orissa, where so many of the rivers remain dry for a great part of the year. The total returned under this head is 134,000, of whom 40,000 are inhabitants of the sea-board districts of Orissa. Of the actual fishermen, about one-third are Mallahs and one-fifth are Kewats, both well-known Bihar castes.

It remains to note that since 1901 the aggregate of persons supported by fishing in the two provinces has increased by no less than 226,000 or 40 per cent. This apparently extraordinary increase is, however, simply due to the reduction of the number returned as fish-sellers by 268,000 or 39 per cent. The figures do not mean that fish-sellers have given up their shops or stopped hawking fish and taken to catching fish, but merely that there was a clearer differentiation of those engaged in the fishing industry and in the fish trade. The two, moreover, are, as already noticed, not clearly demarcated in actual practice, and the same man returns himself either as a fisherman or a fish dealer or as both. Taking the two together, we find a decrease of 3 per cent., a result which confirms what is a matter of common knowledge, viz., that fishing is not a progressive industry. Apart from that, it must be remembered that fishing is not considered an honourable reputation, and that the ambition of fishing castes is to attain greater respectability by becoming cultivators. As it is, one in every twelve of those whose principal occupation is fishing also cultivates some land in Bengal, and one in six in Bihar and Orissa.

1066. The total number of persons returned under the head shown in the margin is 116,000 in Bengal and 164,000 in Bihar and Orissa; all but an insignificant minority subsist by coal mining.

EXTRACTION OF MINERALS.

Coal mining is the means of livelihood of 242,000 persons (in both provinces), of whom 155,000 are actual workers.

COAL MINING.

Since 1901 there has been an increase of no less than 158,000, or 188 per cent., in the number supported by this industry, which in itself shows the strides it has made during the last decade. Further proof of the rapidity of its development is furnished by the returns of the Mines Department. In 1901 the total output was under 6 million tons, and the average number of workers in the mines amounted to 80,000. In 1911 the output had risen to nearly 11 million tons (nine-tenths of the total yield for India), and the average labour force to 100,000. In the latter year there were no less than 422 mines at work, of which 268 yielding $7\frac{1}{2}$ million tons are situated in Bihar and Orissa.

That province contains the progressive Jheria field, which was only tapped by the railway in 1894, but now accounts for half the total production of India. This field and a part of the Raniganj field are comprised within the district of Manbhum, which is pre-eminently the chief mining district of India; the census returns show that 111,000 or 7 per cent. of its inhabitants are supported by work in the collieries. Another important coal-field in this province is the Giridih field in Hazaribagh, which has been worked systematically since 1871, and now contains 6 mines with an output of 700,000 tons, or 5 per cent. of the production of India. The Daltonganj field in the Palamau district was opened in 1901 and yields 70,000 tons, but the output is as yet small in the other fields, viz.—(1) the Bokaro-Ramgarh field in Hazaribagh, where mining was begun in 1908; (2) the Rajmahal field in the Sonthal Parganas, where work had long been discontinued, but was resumed in 1897; and (3) the Hingir-Rampur field in Sambalpur, which was opened in 1909. The only mines in Bengal are found in the Raniganj field, there being 151 in Burdwan, 2 in Bankura and 1 in Birbhum; the total output was nearly 4 million tons in 1911. This is the oldest field in either province, work being started in 1777, and it was till recently by far the largest producer, but since 1906 it has been outstripped by the Jheria field.

1067. The labour force in the collieries is composed not only of men but also of women and children. The men cut the

THE LABOUR FORCE.

coal; the women and children carry it to the tubs, and as a rule also push the tubs to the shaft or incline, horses and ponies being rarely employed for this purpose. Whole families work together and choose their own hours of labour. The industrial census shows that among the unskilled labourers women outnumber men, and that there is one boy or girl under 14 years of age to every six workers aged 14 and over. The daily output per miner is very small compared with that of England, both because the miners are not so hard working and skilful, and also because they work for fewer days: one result is that a mine in Bengal requires $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many underground workers as an English mine. The Indian miner will not give his whole time to mining. He seldom works more than four or five days in the week, and observes all holidays: the man who gets most wages works the least number of days. "He is not an economist, either political or domestic; his logic is of the simplest, viz., that his labour should be regulated only by the eating and drinking capacity of himself and family. As by filling one tub per day he can obtain quite sufficient to meet all his needs, it does not dawn upon him that by filling three he might be steadily placing himself beyond the risk of want."* At present, many only work casually during the off-season of agriculture; others are nomadic by nature and drift from mine to mine; others work fitfully and irregularly, for they will not leave their native villages and live near the mines. "Some of the persons employed at a Bengal colliery live 30 miles from the pit. They walk the distance through rough jungle, stay at the colliery for 6 or 7 days, and then return home for a week's rest. Others live from 10 to 15 miles away and come irregularly to the mine. They stay there for 24 hours, of which they will spend 18 underground, working a double shift."† It is evident, however, that the comparatively high wages paid in the coal-fields, and the steady expansion of the industry, will before long have the effect of establishing a permanent mining population in the colliery districts. There are already signs that the evolution of a distinct class of miners has begun. They are mainly aboriginals or semi-aboriginals, drawn from the neighbouring districts and trained on the collieries, such as Bauris, who have now been engaged in coal-cutting so long that they are beginning to consider it a caste occupation.

An examination of the returns of castes of workers in coal mines shows that one-fourth are Bauris and nearly the same number are Santals. Of the remainder the majority are semi-aboriginals or low Hindu castes, such as Bhuiya, Chamar and Muchi, Kora, Rajwar, Dosadh and Musahar. In Manbhum nearly two-thirds are labourers born in the district, and one-fifth come from the districts of the Burdwan division and Murshidabad. Two-

* Report of Chief Inspector of Mines in India for 1908.

† Report of Chief Inspector of Mines for India for 1904.

thirds of the coal miners in Burdwan are local labourers, while one-sixth come from the Sonthal Parganas and nearly as many from Chota Nagpur.

1068. There were 52 mica mines at work at the time of the census, of which 42 are situated in Hazaribagh, six in Gaya and four in Monghyr. The number of persons actually at work in the mines was 11,000, of whom nearly a fifth were children under 14 years of age: they are employed above ground, and their work is very light, consisting chiefly of shaping and sorting the mineral. The total for all other mines, including iron, manganese and copper mines, was 7,500. The refining of saltpetre is still an industry of some importance in Bihar, being the means of livelihood of 29,000 persons, or 14 per cent. more than in 1901.

1069. Textile industries are still the most important of the industries of either province, the number dependent on them being 870,000, or a quarter of the industrial population, in Bengal, and 480,000, or 17 per cent., in Bihar and Orissa.

1070. Cotton spinning and weaving alone provide for 853,000 persons, viz., 460,000 in Bengal and 393,000 in Bihar and Orissa. Of these only 11,000 are employed in cotton mills, and the remainder work at home. In spite of the stimulus given to this industry by the *swadeshi* movement and by the efforts of Government to introduce improved and more profitable methods of work, there has been a serious decline since 1901 in the number who subsist by the produce of their looms: the actual decrease in both provinces is a quarter of a million or 23 per cent.

1071. Jute spinning, pressing and weaving, however, attract a growing number of workers. The aggregate of those dependent on the manipulation of jute has, in fact, risen during the last 10 years by 201,000 or 140 per cent. It is pre-eminently an industry of Bengal, where it provides for 328,000 persons, as shown in the margin. Over two-thirds of the total number were enumerated in Calcutta (14,840) and the metropolitan districts of Hooghly (50,740), Howrah (74,818) and the 24 Parganas (168,773). As already stated, 200,000 persons were employed at the date of the census in the jute mills lining the banks of the Hooghly in these districts. In addition to these operatives, there were 14,000 persons working in jute presses, of whom half were found in the districts of North and East Bengal.

The statistics contained in Part IV of the Appendix to Table XVI in the Bengal volume of tables furnish some interesting information regarding the castes of jute mill employés. Altogether 71 castes, each with over 100 representatives, appear in the list, and of these the most numerous are the Musalman groups of Sheikh and Jolaha, which between them account for over one-third of the total number. The most numerous Hindu castes are mainly low castes, but there are nearly 9,000 Brahmans. The Chamars, numbering nearly 22,000, account for one-tenth of the workers, and one other caste, viz., the Chasi Kaibarttas, contributes over 10,000. Then come in order Brahmans, Tantis, Telis, Bagdis, Muchis and Dosadhs.

1072. The total number of silk spinners and silk weavers has increased but slightly since 1901, rising from 56,000 to 57,000, of whom 49,000 were enumerated in Bengal and 8,000 in Bihar and Orissa. The marginal statement shows the chief centres of the industry (which includes the spinning and weaving of tusser silk as well as pure silk) and the variations which have taken place since 1901. Briefly, it is progressive in Birbhum, Bankura and Malda, slightly decadent in Murshidabad, and in danger of extinction in Rajshahi. In Bhagalpur there has been what appears to be a phenomenal increase, but that district is a well-known centre of tusser silk and

OTHER MINES AND SALTPETRE
REFINERIES.

INDUSTRIES.
TEXTILE INDUSTRIES.

Division.	Number.
Burdwan ...	126,663
Presidency ...	186,478
Rajshahi ...	7,845
Dacca ...	5,488
Chittagong ...	656
Cooch Behar ...	443

DISTRICT.	NUMBER SUPPORTED.	
	1911.	1901.
Birbhum ...	3,098	2,101
Bankura ...	4,800	3,022
Murshidabad ...	27,338	28,961
Malda ...	7,950	6,915
Rajshahi ...	3,127	7,400
Bhagalpur ...	5,518	224

batta (mixed cotton and silk) weaving, and it is difficult to understand the figures of 1901. Apart from that, the Bihar Trading Company of Bhagalpur has done much to push the products of the local looms, and has customers in Bombay and Burma, Bengal and the Deccan. The decline of the industry in Rajshahi is due to the closing of several filatures of the Bengal Silk Company in 1909. The outturn of silk in this district has since fallen still further decreasing from 43,251 lbs. in 1910 to 22,402 lbs. in 1911. Disease among silk worms has hampered the rearers, and many have given up rearing cocoons as less profitable than the cultivation of jute.

As shown in the margin, the industry of rearing silk-worms and

DISTRICT.	NUMBER SUPPORTED.	
	1911.	1901.
Murshidabad ...	6,803	10,041
Malda ...	34,598	34,383
Rajshahi ...	766	33,155

gathering cocoons has almost become extinct in Rajshahi, and is on the down grade in Murshidabad, but is still holding its own in Malda. It remains to note that the industrial census shows that 7,000 persons are employed by silk filatures in Bengal, of whom five-sevenths are resident in Murshidabad and one-sixth in Rajshahi.

1073. While there are only 8,000 persons in Bihar and Orissa returned as dependent on work in "hides, skins and hard material from the animal kingdom," the number is

WORK IN HIDES AND SKINS.

nearly seven times as great in Bengal. The great majority are tanners, curriers, leather-dressers and leather-dyers; those who actually make leather articles, such as trunks and water-bags, are numerically insignificant. The reason is that, except for shoes, leather articles are not in demand either among Hindus and Musalmans; it is significant that the shoe-makers in the two provinces are thrice as numerous as the tanners, curriers, etc. The returns of the castes of actual workers show that leather-working and shoe-making are almost entirely confined to Chamars and Muchis, whose traditional occupation it is. The industry has not as yet been organized and developed by modern methods. In spite of its large possibilities, there are as yet only 13 tanneries and four leather factories in the two provinces, and these are only small concerns employing only 1,740 hands.

1074. The eighth sub-class of industry, which is designated "Wood," includes two very different classes of workers.

WORK IN WOOD.

The first consists of artisans, such as sawyers, carpenters, turners and joiners. They and their families number 229,000 in Bengal and 125,000 in Bihar and Orissa. The difference between the figures for the two provinces is accounted for by the fact that the latter province contains a large population of aborigines who are mostly their own carpenters. Unlike the old Hindu people, with their sharp differentiation of functions, they shift for themselves, hew the rafters for their huts, and do any rough carpentry required in their domestic life. Among the Hindus carpentry is more or less the preserve of the Barhis, whose hereditary occupation it is. In spite of the large area still under forests and the supplies they yield, work in wood is still for the most part a cottage industry. So far the number employed in saw mills, carpentry works, timber yards and furniture factories in both provinces is only 11,000. Nor is this altogether to be wondered at, for in most places, outside the forest areas the country is so much denuded that the people are forced to use cakes of cow-dung and litter for their fires. But little woodwork is in any case required for the ordinary houses, as the floors are of earth, and the walls of plastered mud or bamboos. Moreover, even if he had the means to do so, the peasant has no desire to beautify his house, for he regards it merely as place in which to sleep, eat his food, keep his chattels, etc. The second class included under this head consists of persons making baskets, mats and bamboo articles, who chiefly belong to the lower classes and to aboriginal races. They number 140,000 in Bengal and 172,000 in Bihar and Orissa. In the latter province they outnumber the artisan class of carpenters and joiners; in the former 16,000, or nearly one-eighth of the total number, are found in Midnapore, from which come large supplies of the matting commonly known as Calcutta grass matting.

1075. Work in metals maintains 185,000 persons in Bengal and 208,000 in Bihar and Orissa. In both provinces the great majority are blacksmiths, but in the former 48,000

WORK IN METALS.

and in the latter 37,000 persons are engaged in making brass, copper and bell-metal articles. This latter industry holds its own, the number maintained by it having increased by 18 per cent. since 1901. The workers in these materials, with their families, aggregate 15,000 in Midnapore, where there are several centres for the manufacture of brass and bell-metal utensils. "This industry is better organized than any other in the province; and it is most highly organized at Ghatal and Kharar in Midnapore district. The masters there are enterprising and wealthy; they obtain the material in economically large quantities—tin from Straits Settlements and copper from Japan, and so on; they distribute the labour, they pay by piece-work, and they have a steady demand from Bara Bazar in Calcutta."* Other metal industries are also fairly well organized, there being 131 manufactories or workshops in Bengal employing 32,000 persons. Of these, 7,500 work in iron foundries, 2,000 in iron and steel works, nearly 6,000 in Government arms factories, and 12,000 in machinery and engineering works; The most considerable iron foundries are those of the Bengal Iron and Steel Works at Barakar (in Burdwan), which employ over 3,000 hands. The manufacture of tin goods is a comparatively recent development, which shows promise of expansion, there being nearly 3,000 persons employed in tin works. In Bihar and Orissa there are 4 iron and steel works and 7 machinery and engineering workshops, which employed altogether 5,639 hands at the time of the census. The Tata Iron and Steel Works in Singhbhum are, however, the only works of great economic importance in this province. As already stated, they had not started manufacture at the time of the census, and the number of employes was only a fraction of what will eventually be the labour force.

1076. The manufacture of pottery, earthen bowls, bricks, glass, tiles etc., is the means of subsistence of 227,000 persons in Bengal and of quarter of a million in

CERAMICS.

Bihar and Orissa. In the former province brick and tile manufacture is a thriving industry along the Hooghly, where brickfields are even more numerous than mills. Howrah, Hooghly and the 24-Parganas alone contain 132 brick and tile factories, in which 17,000 persons were employed at the time of the census. Glass manufacture is an industry of very small importance owing to the difficulty of getting sand suitable for its production, but two small factories have been started in Bengal. The only works in which pottery is made on a large scale are those of Messrs. Burn & Co. at Raniganj, where glazed drain pipes, bricks, tiles and every kind of pottery are produced.

1077. The manufacture and refining of oil is by far the most important of the occupations relating to chemical products, the number supported by it being 123,000 in

CHEMICAL PRODUCTS.

Bengal and 136,000 in Bihar and Orissa. In the two provinces, taken together, only 30,000 persons are returned for other occupations, such as the manufacture of matches, explosives, fireworks, aerated and mineral waters, dyes, paint, ink, paper, soap, candles, lac, cutch, perfumes and drugs. Of these, the most important is the manufacture of lac, which is chiefly carried on in Chota Nagpur and the Sonthal Parganas; unfortunately the industrial returns do not give a full idea of the organization of this industry, as a large number of the factories were not at work when it was held. On the other hand, they furnish interesting information regarding the extent to which the manufacture of chemicals and chemical products is attracting Indian specialists, not to mention capitalists. There are 11 chemical works in Calcutta and its vicinity, prominent among which is the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, started by Dr. P. C. Ray, D.Sc., F.C.S., which is "one of the most go-ahead young enterprises in Bengal." Pencil manufacture has been taken up by the Small Industries Development Company; six soap factories have been started in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, and there are also one perfumery, one cardboard and three stationery factories. Paper-making as a home industry has been killed by competition, but there are three paper mills employing 4,000 hands, which belong to the Titagarh Paper-Mills Co. and the Bengal Paper Mills Co. of Raniganj.

* J. G. Cumming, *Review of the Industrial Position and Prospects in Bengal in 1908*, Part II, page 25.

1078. The food industries are of a simple nature, five-sixths of the workers in Bengal and four-fifths in Bihar and Orissa being rice pounders and huskers, flour grinders and grain parchers. The latter province has one industry that is scarcely represented in Bengal, viz., toddy-drawing, which supports a little over 26,000 persons. The same number subsist by making sweetmeats, jams and condiments in Bihar and Orissa, and 5,000 more in Bengal.

FOOD INDUSTRIES.

1079. There are over a million persons ministering to the necessities or luxuries of dress and the toilet, viz., 518,000 in Bengal and 590,000 in Bihar and Orissa. Practically all belong to four main classes, viz., tailors, shoe-makers, washermen and barbers, all of which are functional castes, pursuing their traditional avocations.

INDUSTRIES OF THE DRESS AND TOILET.

1080. From what has already been said about the character of the houses of the people it will readily be understood that the number to whom building supplies the means of life is not very large. The aggregate for the two provinces is, in fact, only 367,000, which is a very small number for a population of nearly 85 millions. A considerable proportion moreover are simply thatchers or tank-diggers, the latter of whom have really no connection with building.

BUILDING INDUSTRIES.

1081. The returns of "Construction of means of transport" are admittedly incomplete, as this heading is designed for European countries, where carriage makers, wheelwrights, whip and saddle makers are a class by themselves. It is unsuitable to India, where makers of carts and *palkis* are, as a rule, ordinary carpenters, who do any other woodwork that comes in their way. Naturally, therefore, they return their occupation simply as carpentry. The only point of interest in the returns is that there are 27,000 boat builders in Bengal, nearly all of whom are found in the water districts of Khulna, Pabna, Dacca, Mymensingh and Backergunge. Dacca, which contains 12,000, and Backergunge with 6,600, are the chief centres of the industry. More reliable and instructive statistics are furnished by the industrial returns, which show that in Bengal 35,000 and in Bihar and Orissa 10,000 persons are employed in works for the manufacture of means of transport. In the latter province all these workers, and in the former 23,000, are mechanics and labourers in railway workshops. There are also 7,000 employés in the dockyards and Port Commissioners' workshops; and although motor-cars are a recent introduction, their repairs call for 1,000 mechanics in Calcutta.

CONSTRUCTION OF MEANS OF TRANSPORT.

1082. The comprehensive heading given in the margin includes a miscellany of occupations ranging from editors of newspapers to lingam makers, from jewellers and watch-makers to toy makers and book stitchers, from theatre managers to jockeys. The major part are jewellers and goldsmiths, who number 214,000 in Bengal and 131,000 in Bihar and Orissa. The great majority pursue their handicraft independently, and less than 1,000 are gathered together in jewellery workshops. Printers, lithographers and engravers, and their families, have a strength of 21,000 in Bengal, Calcutta alone having 99 printing presses with 12,000 employés.

INDUSTRIES OF LITERATURE, ARTS AND SCIENCES.

1083. Sweepers, scavengers, dust and sweeping contractors number 45,000 in Bihar and Orissa and 49,000 in Bengal. Over one-fourth of the latter are found in Calcutta, where 9,000 persons actually work as sweepers or scavengers.

REFUSE MATTER.

1084. Nearly a million persons in Bengal are shewn as actually at work in occupations connected with transport or as dependant on the workers. As is only natural in a Province containing great natural waterways, as well as the largest port in India, transport by water provides for a large proportion. The actual number is 311,000, of whom 225,000 are boat-owners and boatmen and their families. They are concentrated mainly in the water districts of the Dacca Division, which contain 90,000, and Chittagong Division 35,000. Calcutta, the focus of the boat traffic, contains 20,000 and Pabna 14,000. There are also 65,000 persons dependent on the shipping and steamer traffic, of whom Calcutta

TRANSPORT.

contains 20,000, Chittagong 17,000 and Dacca 12,000. Transport by road provides for 458,000 persons, of whom 188,000 are employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, or are supported by persons so employed. That archaic conveyance, the *palki*, still maintains its position, owners or bearers of *palkis* and their families numbering 127,000. The returns for porters and messengers are misleading, for the aggregate is only 35,000, which is an absurd figure. The explanation is that most were simply entered in the schedules as coolies and relegated to the head of "Labourers otherwise unspecified." Work on the railways supports 161,000, and the post-office, telegraph and telephone services 32,000 : a later section deals with the number actually in employ at the time of the census in both provinces. An attempt was made to distinguish between labourers employed on railway construction and other railway employes, but the statistics are of no value, as the entries in the schedules did not distinguish between open lines and lines under construction.

The number supported by transport in Bihar and Orissa, viz., 361,000, is only three-eighths of that returned by Bengal. As might be expected in a province with a small sea-board, and no ports but only roadsteads, and with few great navigable rivers, transport by water is of minor importance. The total supported by it is 52,000, most of whom are boat-owners and boatmen. The upkeep of, and traffic along, roads provide for four times as many. The inhabitants being poorer, and also more energetic and physically stronger, than the Bengalis, the number of *alki*-bearers and owners (38,000) is about a third of that returned for the rich and favoured province. So many tracts being hilly, rugged and roadless, pack bullocks have to be largely used instead of carts. The number of pack bullock owners and drivers is 30,000, while it is under 1,000 in Bengal. The railways account for 82,000, and the post office, telegraph and telephone services for 12,000.

1085. Subsidiary Table X at the end of this chapter shows the number of persons in the two provinces as a whole who were employed at the date of the census on the railways and in the Irrigation, Telegraph and Postal Departments. Statistics are also given of the number in different grades and classes of employment, and of the number who were Europeans and Anglo-Indians or belonged to the Indian community. The railways, it need scarcely be said, are one of the greatest employers of labour in the country, nearly a quarter of a million being either directly or indirectly in their service; of these, only 4,394 persons were Europeans or Anglo-Indians, nearly all in the higher ranks. The Irrigation Department had in its employment 20,000 persons, of whom a quarter were actually employed directly. This large body of men included only 30 Europeans or Anglo-Indians. The aggregate of those employed in the Postal Department was 23,000, of whom only 104 were Europeans or Anglo-Indians, while the Telegraph Department had a strength of 4,600. Excluding signallers (537), the European and Anglo-Indian element in the latter department was very small; there being only 77 representatives of those two communities.

1086. The fifth sub-class "Trade" is divided into no less than 18 orders, each of which deals with different aspects of commercial life. Of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions subsisting by trade in Bengal, over 1,400,000 persons deal in articles of food or drink. The most numerous are grocers and sellers of vegetable, oil, salt and other condiments (355,000), fish dealers (324,000), sellers of cardamom, betel-leaf, vegetables, fruit and areca nuts (241,000), grain and pulse dealers (207,000), and sellers of dairy produce, such as milk, butter and *ghee* (145,000). Of other commercial pursuits, trade in textiles is most generally followed, 194,000 persons being returned under it. Altogether 131,000 are shown under the head "Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance," but the greater part are nothing but money-lenders. Their number would be greater still, were it not that usury, though a common subsidiary occupation of landlords, grain-dealers and cloth merchants, is not their principal means of livelihood. Banks are few in number among a people who prefer to hoard or actually bury their money. Insurance companies are increasing in number, but are often of mushroom growth.

* In Bihar and Orissa commercial occupations are followed by 1,650,000 persons, over a million of whom are engaged in or maintained by the sale of food and drink. Of these, nearly 320,000 are grocers and vendors of vegetable, oil, salt, etc., 223,000 are grain and pulse dealers, and 147,000 sell cardamom, betel-leaf, vegetables, fruit and areca nuts. Bankers and money-lenders number only 68,000, while trade in textiles accounts for 103,000. There are two features in the returns for traders in Bihar and Orissa which call for notice, viz.,—(1) the large number of vendors of wine, liquor and aerated water; and (2) the extent to which trade in fuel is carried on. Vendors of wine, liquor, etc., number 86,000 or four times as many as in Bengal, while trade in fuel supports 109,000 persons, or more than double the number recorded in Bengal. The fuel which form the material of this trade includes firewood, charcoal and cow-dung cakes.

1087. Public administration, which forms a separate sub-class, does not correspond to Government service, as a large number of persons in the employment of Government are allocated to other groups of the scheme of classification. For instance, officers in the Forest Department are classed under "Forestry," which is treated as a part of "Pasture and Agriculture." The Medical, Education and Public Works Departments are comprised within "Professions and Liberal Arts," the Postal and Telegraph Departments come under "Transport," and Settlement Officers are relegated to estate management, where they are grouped under the head of "Pasture and Agriculture" with estate agents and managers, rent-collectors and clerks. The returns for "Public Administration," therefore, give no indication of the number actually engaged in the administration of the country or supported by the salaries of Government servants.

There are two main subdivisions of this sub-class, viz., "Public Force" and "Public Administration." The former includes the Army, Navy and Police, and Police includes not only policemen but also *chaukidars*. The returns for Police show 175,000 workers and dependants in Bengal, and 179,000 in Bihar and Orissa. The number returned as workers, *i.e.* persons who are actually police officers, constables, *dafadars* and *chaukidars*, is by no means the same as that shown by the departmental returns, the reason being that the salaries paid to them are not always their main means of support. A *chaukidar*, for instance, generally combines cultivation with his duties as watchman, and the proceeds of his crops are often a more important source of income than his small monthly stipend; in such cases the entry of principal occupation is of course cultivation. As regards "Public Administration," the figures are:—Bengal (134,000) and Bihar and Orissa (67,000). The great majority are supported by State service in the limited sense already explained, and the remainder mainly by Municipal service.

1088. The marginal table shows the number (including both workers and dependants) returned under the five orders of this sub-class. The predominance of religious occupations in both provinces is noticeable, those for whom religion provides a daily meal being well over half a million. What is even more noticeable is that the number following those occupations is very much greater in Bengal, where Musalmans form more than half the population, than in Bihar and Orissa, which is mainly Hindu. Though the Hindus of Bengal number 21 millions, and those in Bihar and Orissa 32 millions, the Hindus who subsist by religious occupations are more numerous by 117,000 (or nearly 40 per cent.) in the former province. The distribution of different religious pursuits is moreover very different in the two provinces, for in Bengal the number who live by exercising priestly functions is more than double that returned for Bihar and Orissa, where a far greater number follow minor occupations, such as temple and burning ground service.

1089. Bengal also has the advantage over the other province in its supply of lawyers, lawyers' clerks, petition-writers and touts. Of lawyers alone, such as *vakils* and *mukhtars*, Bengal has about three to every one in Bihar and Orissa, the

PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS.
RELIGION.

OCCUPATION	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
Religion	371,000	206,000
Law	76,000	24,000
Medicine	163,000	54,000
Instruction	97,000	55,000
Letters and arts and sciences.	105,000	56,000
Total	812,000	395,000

actual number subsisting by their practice being 9,641 and 3,517 respectively. Calcutta alone contains 1,862 of these successful practitioners; and there is an average of 268 for each Bengal district (excluding Calcutta) and of 153 for each district in the less advanced province. The Bengali lawyer has one drawback compared to his brother of the robe in Bihar and Orissa, viz., that he has a larger family to support, for he has on the average four and the other only three dependants. The legal profession is growing in popularity as a lucrative occupation, the number supported by it increasing by 30 per cent. since 1901. It is becoming more and more a monopoly of the Indian, even in its higher branches. In 1911 out of 170 barristers practising in the High Court of Calcutta, only 22 were Europeans; in other words, there were six Indian barristers practising to every European barristers.

1090. The number of those supported by medicine in Bengal is thrice as great as in Bihar and Orissa, and there is this further difference between the two provinces, that in the former medical practitioners predominate, and in the latter those persons who occupy a subordinate position, such as midwives, compounders and vaccinators. The average number of medical practitioners actually subsisting by their practice is 1,279 in each Bengal district, and only 282 in the districts of Bihar and Orissa. It cannot be said that their attainments are generally of a high order, or that their medical knowledge is very extensive: in fact, the Bengali staff of the census office thought "quack" was the proper translation for most of the entries. Their number has increased by 12 per cent. within the last 10 years. The second group of this sub-class includes not only midwives, compounders and vaccinators, but also nurses and masseurs. From the proportion of the sexes, it is evident that the majority are midwives, there being seven female to every two male workers.

1091. The sub-class designated "Instruction" includes those who live by the art of teaching, whether professors and teachers (except of law, medicine, music and dancing) or clerks or servants connected with education. The number classified under this head in Bengal (97,000) is nearly double as great as it is in Bihar and Orissa.

1092. Neither province affords much scope to persons with literary, artistic or scientific attainments. The aggregate supported by them is 105,000 in Bengal, and 56,000 in Bihar and Orissa, but three-fourths of them subsist by music, singing, dancing and acting, and it must be admitted that, as a rule, the dancers (mostly women of low character) and the musicians (such as village drummers and tom-tom players) hold no high rank in artistic life. The remainder are nearly all either (1) architects, surveyors, engineers and their employés (including the Public Works Department) or (2) authors, artists, photographers, sculptors, meteorologists, botanists and astrologers. The figures for each of these latter two classes are about the same, viz., 14,000 in Bengal and half as many in Bihar and Orissa. Their smallness is a sufficient proof of the low estimation in which arts and sciences are held or at least of the poor income they command.

1093. The returns for persons living principally on their income, such as proprietors of houses, persons living on funds or investments and pensioners, show what a small proportion of the population have independent means. The aggregate is only 52,000 in Bengal, where nearly two-fifths are resident in Calcutta, and 10,000 in Bihar and Orissa.

1094. Domestic service is the means of livelihood of 527,000 persons, or 1 per cent. of the population, in Bengal, and of 726,000, or nearly 2 per cent., in Bihar and Orissa. No less than 110,000 were enumerated in Calcutta, where they constitute one-eighth of the inhabitants.

1095. The eleventh sub-class is reserved for those whose occupations are so vaguely described that they cannot be assigned to any other group in the scheme of classification. The great majority are "workmen and labourers unspecified," i.e., persons described by such vague terms as cooly, labourer,

etc., of whom there are over a million in Bengal and nearly 900,000 in Bihar and Orissa : these correspond more or less to general labourers.

1096. The last sub-class consists of unproductive occupations, viz.—

UNPRODUCTIVE OCCUPATIONS*. (1) inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals, and (2) persons following disreputable callings, such

as beggars, vagrants, prostitutes, procurers, receivers of stolen goods and cattle poisoners. It is satisfactory that unproductive pursuits of this character support only 1 per cent. of the people of Bengal and a half per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, the actual numbers being 446,000 and 192,000 respectively*. Among the workers, females predominate in Bengal owing to the large number of prostitutes. In Calcutta alone nearly 13,000 women, or 5·7 per cent. of the females aged 10 and over, returned themselves as subsisting by prostitution.

WORKERS AND DEPENDANTS.

1097. In Bengal as a whole there are 36 workers to 64 dependants—a fact which, in itself, points to a fair level of prosperity.

BENGAL.

The dependants are most numerous among the lawyers, among whom there are 4 dependants to every worker. I am not in a position to state whether this is due to prolificness, or to their having many drones or hangers-on in their families in consequence of their affluence. Of other occupations, dependants bulk most largely among persons supported by pasture and agriculture, or living on their incomes, or maintained by the public administration. In all these cases every worker has approximately 2 dependants. The proportion of dependants is smallest in domestic service, where they constitute only 31 per cent. of the total number, and then among vagrants, beggars and prostitutes 36 per cent. The relative paucity of dependants in the latter case is easily intelligible, as all three are classes who shift for themselves and do not have encumbrances if they can avoid it. Among miners there are only 4 dependants to every 5 workers, but, as already explained, both women and children work in the coal mines, and women are even more numerous than men among the unskilled labourers. It must moreover be remembered that a considerable number of the workers are immigrants from other provinces, who leave their families behind, so that their dependants are not included in the returns for Bengal.

One point in the returns calls for special mention, viz., that the proportion of dependants is highest in East Bengal, not only in the agricultural population, where it is as high as 72 per cent., but also in the industrial, professional and commercial population. The explanation is threefold. In the first place, the people are more prosperous than elsewhere. Secondly, they are mainly Musalmans, who, as shewn in previous chapters, are more prolific than other communities. Lastly, the number of adult male immigrants from outside is less than elsewhere.

1098. In Bihar and Orissa there is far less disparity between workers and dependants. They are, in fact, nearly equally

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

balanced, there being 48 of the former to 52 of the latter. In this province, as in Bengal, those who have adopted the legal profession can apparently afford to support more than any other class, and have the largest percentage of dependants, viz., 72 per 100 workers. Then come those engaged in the public administration (65 per cent.), those living on their income (64) and the police (63). The agriculturists are in a very different position to those of Bengal, for there are 53 dependants to every 47 workers. The difference is accounted for by the fact that in Bihar and Orissa the peasant is a poorer man than the Bengali; he cannot afford hired labour to the same extent, and his family has therefore to take a much more active part in cultivation. The minimum number of dependants is found among the mining population, which have 3 dependants only to every 7 workers. The explanation of their relative paucity which has been already given for Bengal also applies to this province with this addition, that in Bihar and Orissa the miners are drawn more largely from local sources.

* There were also 48,000 persons in Bengal and 23,000 persons in Bihar and Orissa, classified under religion in group 149 which relates to religious mendicants and inmates of monasteries. A large proportion of these subsist by begging.

As regards localities, the antithesis to the rich sub-province of East Bengal is found in the Chota Nagpur Plateau with its population of poor and hardy aboriginals, whose birth-right is labour, whether they are males or females. In this tract there are only 47 dependants to every 100 workers among the agriculturists, who form the great majority of the inhabitants, and the proportion is even lower among traders (45) and in the industrial and mining population (42).

1099. The difference between conditions in the two provinces is further exemplified by the figures showing the number of

OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALES.

women who actually work in different occupations. In Bengal the number is a little over two millions; in Bihar and Orissa it is thrice as great, amounting to nearly $6\frac{2}{3}$ millions. Expressed in proportions, there is one female to every two male workers in the latter, and two females to every seven male workers in the former. The causes of the difference are patent. Bengal is a richer province, and the women need not work to the same extent. Apart from the pressure of necessity, more than half the people of Bengal are Musalmans, and though they are chiefly of a low class, it is thought a sign of respectability to keep women in seclusion as much as possible. Among the Bengali Hindus, moreover, the *bhadralok*, or respectable middle classes that observe the zenana system, are strongly represented. The population of Bihar and Orissa is poorer, and a large proportion are either low caste Hindus, or semi-Hinduized aboriginals, or pure aboriginals, with whom it is an immemorial usage for women to engage in manual labour.

Statistics of the number and proportion of male and female workers in each sub-class, and in selected orders and groups, will be found in Subsidiary Table VI. The orders and groups selected are those in which the total number of workers is large, or in which the proportion of female to male workers is high. There are certain occupations which naturally fall to a woman's lot, such as the domestic industries of rice pounding and husking and the parching of grain. In Bengal there are 27 women to every male engaged in rice pounding and husking, while in Bihar and Orissa the proportion is 16 to 1. Midwifery is also a woman's task, nor need it surprise us that in the unproductive class, which includes prostitutes, the Bengali women should outnumber the males.

1100. Excluding the occupations above mentioned, there are only three occupations in which the female outnumber the male workers in Bengal, and in all three cases it is more or less natural that they should. Two of these are domestic industries, for which women are well suited, viz., silk-worm rearing and making twine or string. The third is the sale of fuel, which, as is well known, consists of cow-dung cakes that women make from the cow-dung and litter they pick up and carry to market. It may be added that women workers are nearly as numerous as male workers on the tea gardens, where plucking the tea leaves is a task for which they are admirably fitted.

BENGAL.

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

1101. The list of occupations in which women workers are in excess in Bihar and Orissa is a long one, and to save space is given in the margin. It is also interesting to note that as many women as men keep cattle or buffaloes. Of the occupations

	Number per 1,000 males.
Trade in fuel ...	6,938
Rope, twine and string making ...	3,400
Fish dealers ...	2,257
Sellers of milk and <i>ghee</i> ...	2,052
Trade in pottery ...	1,982
Sweepers and scavengers ...	1,858
Vegetable and fruit sellers...	1,762
Basket-makers...	1,373
Silk spinners and weavers ...	1,289
Washing and cleaning and dyeing ...	1,200
Cotton ginning and cleaning ...	1,155
Firewood collectors ...	1,135
Manufacture and refining of oil ...	1,081
Indoor servants ...	1,033

mentioned in the list, some are home industries, such as cotton ginning and cleaning, making oil, spinning and weaving silk, and making twine and string. Others are industries natural to the poorer classes who bulk largely in the population, such as basket-making, collecting firewood, and selling fuel, grass and fodder. Others show that it is regarded as a woman's function to dispose of the articles that her husband makes, grows or catches, such as pots and household utensils, milk, *ghee*, and

fish. The last classes of occupation to be mentioned are domestic service,

in which women are naturally employed largely, and the menial tasks falling to the female sweeper.

OCCUPATIONS IN CITIES.

1102. The marginal statement shows how greatly the distribution of

OCCUPATION.	NUMBER PER 1,000 SUPPORTED.			
	BENGAL.		BIHAR AND ORISSA.	
	Province.	Cities.	Province.	Cities.
Agriculture	754	37	783	169
Industry	76	259	77	276
Commerce (transport and trade).	71	303	52	231
Professions and liberal arts	18	53	10	62

occupations differs in urban and rural areas, and the extent to which industrial and commercial pursuits predominate in the former. In the cities of Bengal, viz., Calcutta and its suburbs, Howrah and Dacca, industries of different kinds support over a fourth of the inhabitants, the most important being textile industries and industries of dress. Of individual industries, the principal is jute manufacture, which affords the

means of subsistence to nearly a fifth of the industrial population. The commercial population (excluding those engaged in transport) represents nearly one-sixth, and those dependent for their daily bread on domestic service one-tenth, of the population. The professions and liberal arts provide for 71,000 persons, or 5,000 less than those who subsist by industries of the dress and toilet. Landlords outnumber all those engaged in the legal and medical professions. Nearly 7,000 landlords or 2 per cent. of the landlords of Bengal were enumerated in Calcutta alone, from which it may be inferred that there is good ground for the frequent complaints about absentee landlords who prefer the amenities of the metropolis to life on their estates.

There are only three cities in Bihar and Orissa, viz., Patna, Gaya and Bhagalpur, and none of them is on the same level, industrially or commercially, as Calcutta and its suburbs or Howrah. A considerable number of the inhabitants are engaged in cultivation, either within the city limits or on the outskirts. Those dependent on pasture and agriculture represent nearly a fifth of the population, and actually outnumber the commercial community (excluding those engaged in transport).

OCCUPATIONS BY RELIGION.

1103. Statistics of the number of adherents of each religion following different occupations are given in Imperial Tables XV-D, and proportional figures will be found in Subsidiary Table IX at the end of this chapter. For facility of reference,

OCCUPATION.	PERCENTAGE SUPPORTED.				
	Hindus.	Musalmans.	Christians.	Buddhists.	Animists.
Agriculture and pasture	65	86	41	79	89½
Industry	11	4	6	4	1
Trade and transport	11	4	16½	6	5
Public administration, professions and liberal arts.	4	1	19	2	0·15

the marginal table is added to show the proportion of each religion supported by the main occupations.

1104. What is more interesting is the distribution of occupations between different religions, and in particular between Hindus and Musalmans. In order that the reader may understand the relevancy of the figures, it may be mentioned, in the first place, that Musalmans constitute 52 per cent. and Hindus 45 per cent. of the population. The proportion of Musalmans engaged in agriculture is far higher than that returned for Hindus—a fact which explains the weakness of their representation in other occupations. Nearly 21 million Musalmans are dependent on agriculture, leaving only 3½ millions, or 15 per cent. of their total number, for other pursuits, whereas the balance of Hindus available for non-agricultural occupations is 7½ millions or 37 per cent.

The great majority of the Musalmans are cultivators, who have not yet risen to the level of landed proprietors, but till their own holdings. They aggregate nearly 19 millions and outnumber the Hindu tenants by over 8 millions, the proportion being 9 Musalmans to 5 Hindus. The landlords, on the other hand, consist mainly of Hindus, of whom there are seven to every three Musalmans. The Musalmans are largely outnumbered by the Hindus in the industrial and commercial population, but there are a few notable exceptions. There are more Musalmans employed in the furniture and building industries, and they also have a large share of the inland traffic along the waterways of Bengal, outnumbering the Hindus slightly in the boating population. They are in a strong majority among the lascars and others employed on ships and steamers, forming indeed five-sixths of the total number. In the jute mills they are only half as numerous as the Hindu operatives, but here the balance is set largely against them by the influx of Hindu immigrants from up-country. Work in hides, shoe-making and scavenging is almost a monopoly of the Hindus, but nearly all the tailors come from the Muhammadan community. The latter have a predominant interest in two branches of trade, viz., trade in clothing and trade in means of transport, such as boats and carts, horses and cattle. In the unproductive occupations also there is a slight excess of Musalmans, but in practically every other avocation they form a minority. The professions and liberal arts do not appear to appeal to them. There is only one Musalman to every nine Hindus in the legal, and one to every five in the medical profession, but there are two Musalmans to every seven Hindus in educational employment. Their share of appointments in the public service is disproportionate to their numerical strength, for in the Police there are double as many Hindus and in the service of the State $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as many Hindus as there are Musalmans.

1105. Two-fifths of the Christian community obtain a living by pasture and agriculture, which is due simply to the fact that two-thirds of them are Indian converts.

CHRISTIANS.

Nearly as many are supported by trade, transport, the professions and the public services, in all of which Europeans and Anglo-Indians have a share. In spite, however, of this latter element, the Christians contribute less than 3 per cent. to the number of those for whom service in the State affords subsistence. The proportion is 4 per cent. in the case of educational work; it is very nearly that figure for literary, artistic and scientific professions; and it reaches 6 per cent. on the railways. The extent to which different Christian races, such as Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, find employment in various directions will be discussed later.

1106. A little over two-thirds of the Buddhists, who consist mainly of Himalayan races or of Maghs in Chittagong, are agriculturists. The Animistic races, who are

BUDDHISTS AND ANIMISTS.

chiefly immigrants, are most strongly represented on the tea gardens and coal mines, accounting for one-fifth of the number supported by work on the former, and for one-ninth on the latter. A twelfth of the Buddhist population also work, or are supported by work, in the tea gardens, the coolies who adhere to Buddhism being largely Nepalese, Bhotias and Lepchas. Both Buddhists and Animists eschew the occupations of barber, washerman and sweeper: the aggregate of both religions for these three pursuits is, in fact, under 150.

1107. A statement similar to that for Bengal is given in the margin for Bihar and Orissa. In this latter province a comparison of the extent to which occupations are

OCCUPATION.	PERCENTAGE SUPPORTED.			
	Hindus.	Musalmans.	Christians.	Animists.
Agriculture and pasture	80½	75	75	83
Industry	7	10	4	3
Trade and transport	5	7	4	2
Public administration, professions and liberal arts.	2	2	5	0·4

Hindus are in such an overwhelming majority that they predominate in nearly every case.

1108. Among the Hindus 17 per mille, and among the Musalmans 22 per mille, are landlords—proportions very different from those of Bengal, viz., 40 and 15 per mille respectively. Taking the whole agricultural population into account, we find that the Hindus account for over four-fifths of every class, but that there is considerable disparity in the case of Musalmans, who contribute 13 per cent. of the total number of landlords, but only 9 per cent. of the cultivators. Though the Hindus are nearly nine times as numerous as the Musalmans, the latter can claim nearly one-third of the weaving population. Their share in the trade in textiles, hides and clothing is far larger than their numbers would warrant, and they actually outnumber the Hindus in the sale of means of transport, such as carts, *palkis*, pack bullocks, etc. Compared with their co-religionists in Bengal, they show a greater aptitude for the law, but not quite as much for education, there being roughly one Musalman to every four Hindus in both professions. The number employed in or dependent on service in the State is also greater than it would be if there was proportional representation, for one-fourth of the total number belong to the Muhammadan community.

1109. The proportion of agriculturists among the Christians of Bihar and Orissa is nearly double what it is in Bengal, owing to the fact that the great majority are converts drawn from among aboriginal cultivators. Europeans, Armenians and Anglo-Indians represent only a small fraction of the total number, and to their relative paucity must be attributed the small part played by the Christian community in such branches of public and social life as law, medicine and the public administration : even in the service of the State only one out of 30 is a Christian.

1110. The Animists are more closely bound to the soil than any other community, over four-fifths being dependent on pasture and agriculture. Of the remainder, nearly one-twelfth consist of coal-cutters or labourers in collieries and their families. Coal-mining, which enables even the fitful worker to earn high wages, is an employment congenial to the aboriginal, and three-tenths of the colliery population consists of Animists. The other industries pursued by them are mainly simple handicrafts : one-fifth of those returned under the head of industry are basket-weavers and mat-makers. Their trade is equally primitive, consisting of the sale of the necessities of life or of raw material : over one-fourth of the Animist traders sell fuel, such as firewood, charcoal or cow-dung cakes. Less than half per cent. subsist by unproductive callings, and only 15 persons subsist on their income.

OCCUPATIONS BY RACE AND CASTE.

1111. The previous sections of this chapter have dealt with the total number of persons supported by each occupation, whether they personally work at it or not. The subsequent discussion relates only to actual workers, and the figures for dependants are excluded.

1112. Both in Bengal and Bihar and Orissa one-third of the Europeans are engaged in commercial pursuits, connected either with transport or trade, while over a fourth in the former, and a third in the latter, province belong to the public force : this is due mainly to European regiments in the two provinces. In both 8 per cent. are employed in various industries, including mining. Public administration accounts for only 6 per cent. of the European workers in Bengal, and for 5 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. The Anglo-Indians of Bengal have a stronger representation in Government service, the proportion in their case being 9 per cent., while in Bihar and Orissa it is the same as for Europeans. The railways obviously offer the best field of employment to the domiciled community, for in Bengal a fourth and in Bihar and Orissa two-fifths come under the head "Transport." Trade in either province is a minor occupation, and in Bihar and Orissa an unduly large number of females are beggars or prostitutes. The Armenians devote themselves mainly to commercial rather

than to industrial pursuits. Two-fifths of the Bengali Christians are cultivators, one-eighth are in domestic service and one-ninth are field labourers. The Indian Christians of Bihar and Orissa are nearly all agriculturists; over one-fifth can claim the dignity of a landlord, while three-fifths are tenants cultivating their fields.

1113. The returns for Indian tribes and castes are chiefly of value as illustrating the fact that functional and other castes have to a very large extent abandoned their traditional occupations. This fact is so well known, that it is not proposed

CASTE.	PERCENTAGE OF WEAVERS.			
	BENGAL.		BIHAR.	
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.
Jolaha ...	57	38	29	16
Tanti ...	32	42	12	7

to discuss the figures in detail, but merely to mention some of their more salient features. In spite of the *swadeshi* movement, the proportion of the weaving castes that actually live by weaving is smaller even than in 1901. The one tract in which the industry still seems to maintain its vitality among the weaving castes is Orissa, where nearly two-thirds of the Tantis still earn their daily bread by working their looms. Of the higher castes, the Brahmans live mainly by agriculture, and not by the exercise of their priestly functions. In West and Central Bengal the number of Brahmans supported by agriculture, whether landlords and tenants, is double that supported by priesthood; in North and East Bengal a quarter, in Bihar one-seventh and in Orissa and Chota Nagpur only one-tenth maintain themselves by their traditional calling. Among the Baidyas there are two landlords to every physician, and among the Kayasths and Karans those who are writers are far outnumbered by the agriculturists. The modern Sunris of West and Central Bengal have abandoned to a great extent their hereditary occupation, only one-ninth being wine-sellers. In these and other cases the characteristic caste calling is generally given up in favour of agriculture. There is no reverse tendency in the case of purely agricultural castes. Four-fifths or more of the Babhans, Chasas, Khandaits, Koiris, Kurmis in Bihar and Orissa, and of the Chasi Kaibarttas and Rajbansis and Sadgops in Bengal, still subsist by agriculture. One-half of the Jaliya Kaibarttas of North and East Bengal are still fishermen, and one-half of the Gandhabaniks pursue their traditional calling of traders. One-third of the Kalus maintain themselves by pressing oil, but less than one-tenth of the Telis.

1114. Some instructive information regarding the extent to which various castes follow certain occupations is furnished by the appendix to Imperial Table XVI. It is unnecessary to refer again to the castes of jute mill employés and of the tea garden population, which have already been mentioned.

1115. Less than half of the landlords of Eastern Bengal are Musalmans, though Musalmans represent two-thirds of the population. One-sixth of them are Brahmans and a little over one-sixth are Kayasths. The Shahas owning estates slightly outnumber the Baidyas, and then in order come the Rajbansis, Chasi Kaibarttas, Namasudras, Telis and Tilis, and Jogis: no other caste can boast of 1,000 landlords. Estate management and the subordinate posts of rent collectors, estate clerks, etc., are chiefly in the hands of the Kayasths, Brahmans and Musalmans. It is a curious fact that though there are 54,000 Musalman landlords, only 7,500 Musalmans are engaged in estate management either in a superior or subordinate position. The Musalmans, Brahmans, Kayasths and Baidyas, practically monopolize the telegraph and post-office service and the legal profession. In the medical profession the Napits or barbers are more numerous than the Baidyas, but, as is well known, the Napits' knowledge of medicine and surgery is very limited. They open boils and abscesses, compound salves and simples, and prescribe for all forms of venereal disease. Nearly half the professors, teachers and inspecting staff of schools and colleges in Eastern Bengal are Musalmans, who are more numerous even than the Brahmans and Kayasths taken together. It is interesting to note the extent to which the lower castes are taking a place in the professions. Among the Rajbansis there are 21 lawyers, 115

medical practioners and 161 persons in educational appointments. The Namasudras claim no less than 522 medical practitioners and the Baruis 223, while other low castes as Dhobas, Kumhars, Kurmis, Malis, Malos and Patnis are also represented. Of the persons in educational posts, the Namasudras contribute 192, the Chasi Kaibarttas 245, the Shahas 214, the Baishnabs 122 and the Napits 168.

Statistics of the caste of persons in Government service have also been compiled, but as they relate only to the districts under the defunct Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, they have an antiquarian interest rather than a practical value. Among gazetted officers the castes most strongly represented were the Kayasths, Brahmans and Baidyas, all of which had a larger number of officers than either the Musalmans or the Europeans; the number of gazetted officers belonging to each of these latter two communities was one-sixth of the total. Three-tenths of the persons in subordinate employ were Musalmans, who were, however, slightly out-numbered by the Kayasths, and one-seventh were Brahmans. After the Brahmans, the Baidyas had the largest number of appointments and then the Sudras. Similar statistics for the police show that the Kayasths held most of the higher appointments, from that of Police Superintendent to that of head-constable, followed by the Musalmans and then by the Brahmans. The proportion of appointments held by Europeans was only one-seventh of that returned for the Kayasths. Nearly one-third of the police constables were Musalmans, who were almost twice as numerous as any other class. The second place was shared by the Brahmans and Rajputs, each with one-seventh of the total force, after whom came the Kayasths.

1116. Statistics compiled for West and Central Bengal show that two-fifths of the cotton weavers are Tantis, and nearly three-tenths are Jolahas. Sheikhs and Jogis or Jugis are, next to them, the most important of the weaving castes, but their proportion to the total is only 7 and 6 per cent. respectively. Over one-fourth of the boatmen are Musalman Sheikhs, about one-sixth are Mallahs and one-tenth are Chasi Kaibarttas. Five out of every eleven fishermen are Bagdis, one out of every seven is a Malo, and one out of every ten a Jaliya Kaibartta. The leather workers are, almost to a man, Chamars or Muchis. Nearly half the vendors of wine are Sunris, the remainder being mainly Pasis and Sheikhs. The groups of Musalmans last named and the Baishnabs account for half the beggars, the remaining half being a miscellany of different castes.

1117. In Bihar and Orissa altogether 32 castes have 100 or more representatives among those who actually work as cotton spinners and weavers and subsist by their work. Among these the Tantis predominate, accounting for ever one-fourth of the total number, while the Jolahas constitute one-fifth. The other principal weaving castes are more or less localized, viz., the Pans of Orissa and Chota Nagpur, the Doms in the Feudatory States, and the Bhulias and Gandas of Orissa. Fishing is chiefly followed by the Mallahs and Kewats, who, between them, account for more than half of the total number of fishermen, and by the Gonrhis in the Bhagalpur division and the Gokhas in Orissa. Work in teather is almost confined to the Chamars. Kewats and Mallahs also predominate in the boating population. The retailing of wine and spirits is almost a monopoly of the Pasis, the Sunris having only a minor share of the trade. The ranks of the beggars are recruited from 89 castes, each contributing 100 or more. Unlike Bengal, where a large proportion of the beggars are either Baishnabs or Sheikhs, no caste is specially prominent among them except the Brahmans, and many of those returned as subsisting by begging are probably religious mendicants.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1118. Some idea of the distribution of wealth among different castes may be gathered from the statistics of the castes of income-tax assesses given in Subsidiary Table XI at the end of this chapter. In Bengal over one-eighth of those assessed to the tax are Kayasths,

CASTES OF INCOME-TAX ASSES-
SEES.
BENGAL.

who derive their income mainly from commercial and professional pursuits. Their aggregate number is only a little less than that of the Musalmans, of whom only 3,177 (out of 24 millions) derive sufficient wealth from trade manufactures, professions and property to be assessed to income-tax. The next most numerous caste consists of the Brahmans, of whom half obtain their income from commerce and trade. They only slightly outnumber, however, those enterprising traders, the Shahas. Only one other caste has over 1,000 assesseees, viz., the Telis and Tilis, who also make their money by wholesale and retail trade. It is somewhat surprising that two of the chief mercantile castes indigenous to Bengal, the Gandhbaniks and Subarnabaniks, should each have under 500 assesseees. The great majority of the assesseees have been assessed on income obtained from commerce and trade, and among them the Shahas, Musalmans, Kayasths and Brahmans have the most representatives. Two-thirds of those assessed on the income derived from professional pursuits are Brahmans and Kayasths : the Kayasths also account for over a sixth of the owners of property.

1119. The number of assesseees in Bihar and Orissa is less than two-thirds the number returned for the richer province of Bengal. The mercantile caste of Agarwalas contributes one-eighth of the aggregate. The number returned for them is strikingly high considering their numerical strength, for the assesseees actually represent 5 per cent. of all the Agarwalas, including women and children. The only other caste with over 1,000 assesseees consists of the Brahmans, who owe their position to the interest they take in commercial undertakings and to their share of professional pursuits. After the Brahmans come, in order, the Telis, Sunris, Rajputs, Babhans, Kalwars and Kayasths, of whom the Sunris and Kalwars are intimately connected with the liquor trade.

As in Bengal the greater part of the assesseees have come within the purview of the Income-tax Act owing to their connection with trade. One-seventh of these commercial assesseees are Agarwalas, while Babhans, Brahmans, Kalwars, Sunris and Telis each contribute 7 per cent. or a little more. The Brahmans and Kayasths form three-fifths of the professional men ; and the Babhans, Brahmans and Rajputs are the most important castes among the owners of property.

1120. The number of Musalman and Hindu convicts in Bengal is almost exactly proportionate to their strength in the population, and it cannot be said that either community has any particular propensity to crime. The largest number of Hindu criminals are Kayasths and Brahmans, but the actual number of the former is only 817 out of a million and of the latter 542 out of $1\frac{1}{4}$ million, representing 7 and 4 per 10,000 respectively. Relatively, the most criminal castes are not indigenous to Bengal, which is largely due to the fact that at the time of the census the Presidency and Alipore jails were jails to which convicts from Bihar and Orissa were sent. This concentration of convicts from outside Bengal, *e.g.*, Pans and Chasas, of whom there are few representatives in the general population, vitiates the conclusions which might otherwise be drawn from the figures. Of the indigenous castes, the most law-abiding appear to be the Rajbansis, of whom only 2 per 100,000 were in prison when the census was held. The population is only 1 per 10,000 or less among the Jolahas, Jogis, Chasi Kaibarttas, Pods, Sadgops, Santals, Shahas and Sheiks : many of the Jolahas and Sheiks who were under sentence were however returned as Musalmans, Chasi Kaibarttas simply as Kaibarttas, and probably also Shahas as Sunris, so that the true proportion in their cases is obscured.

In Bihar and Orissa the gipsy caste or race of Nats stand by themselves, one out of every hundred being in jail. Next to them come the Dharhis, who are habitual criminals, and the Doms, one section of whom, viz., the Magahiya Doms, also have an hereditary tendency to crime ; at the time of the census 4 per mille of the former and 2 per mille of the latter were undergoing sentence. The most law-abiding castes appear to be the Babhans, Chasas, Hajjams, Kandus, Khandaits, Koiris, Kumhars and Telis, among whom the proportion falls below 1 per 10,000.

1121. A special return has been compiled of the occupations of persons in Eastern Bengal who were recorded both as actual workers and as literate in English. The largest number of persons satisfying this dual qualification is found among landlords, but they only slightly outnumber the English-knowing cultivators. The extent to which the knowledge of English is disseminated among the Hindus and Musalmans belonging to these two classes of agriculturists differs greatly, for in the landlord class five Hindus are literate to every Musalman, whereas among the cultivators there are five literate Musalmans to four Hindus. Taking the two classes together, we find that the agricultural community claims 37 per cent. of the workers who have an English education. Professional men, such as lawyers, doctors and teachers, account for one-sixth of the total number; there is one literate Musalman to every seven Hindus. Traders come next, with nearly 10,000 literates in English, or one-tenth of the total; among them there are nine literate Hindus to every Musalman.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—GENERAL DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION.

CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER.	BENGAL.										BIHAR AND ORISSA.					
	NUMBER PER 10,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE IN EACH CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER.		PERCENTAGE OF ACTUAL WORKERS EMPLOYED.		PERCENTAGE OF DEPENDANTS TO ACTUAL WORKERS.		NUMBER PER 10,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE IN EACH CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER.		PERCENTAGE OF ACTUAL WORKERS EMPLOYED.		PERCENTAGE OF DEPENDANTS TO ACTUAL WORKERS.	
	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Dependants.	In cities.	In rural areas.	In cities.	In rural areas.	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Dependants.	In cities.	In rural areas.	In cities.	In rural areas.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA	10,000	3,573	36	64	5	95	73	185	10,000	4,838	48	52	1	99	104	107
A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS	7,791	2,536	33	67	...	100	122	207	8,095	3,795	47	53	...	100	123	113
I.—Exploitation of the surface of the earth.	7,766	2,522	32	68	...	100	122	208	8,053	3,765	47	53	...	100	123	114
1. Pasture and agriculture ...	7,626	2,462	32	68	...	100	124	210	8,016	3,745	47	53	...	100	124	114
2. Fishing and hunting ...	140	60	43	57	1	99	100	131	37	20	54	46	1	99	79	86
II.—Extraction of minerals...	25	14	57	43	...	100	33	77	42	30	70	30	...	100	423	44
3. Mines ...	25	14	56	44	...	100	138	78	34	24	71	29	...	100	960	40
4. Quarries of hard rocks ...	19	15	84	16	...	100	100	20	1	1	67	33	...	...	...	49
5. Salt, etc. ...	06	05	89	11	77	23	2	47	7	5	62	38	...	100	337	61
B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	1,452	682	47	53	14	86	74	119	1,251	679	54	46	2	98	112	83
III.—Industry	743	362	49	51	12	88	78	109	728	399	55	45	2	98	102	82
6. Textiles ...	188	98	52	48	11	89	54	96	125	66	53	47	3	97	93	89
7. Hides, skins and live materials from the animal kingdom.	12	5	40	60	6	94	147	150	2	1	47	53	3	97	266	111
8. Wood ...	80	37	46	54	8	92	65	123	77	41	53	47	1	99	130	88
9. Metals ...	40	15	38	62	14	86	106	169	54	22	41	59	1	99	166	144
10. Ceramics ...	49	25	51	49	2	98	49	97	66	38	58	42	1	99	85	71
11. Chemical products properly so called and analogous.	29	11	40	60	9	91	76	159	41	24	60	40	1	99	103	68
12. Food industries	104	72	69	31	3	97	74	45	113	76	67	33	2	98	76	48
13. Industries of dress	112	46	41	59	19	81	93	156	154	84	55	45	2	98	94	83
14. Furniture industries	2	1	56	44	15	85	56	83	...	08	43	57	9	91	238	123
15. Building industries	49	21	43	57	27	73	84	149	36	20	56	44	5	95	130	77
16. Construction of means of transport	8	3	33	67	6	94	94	209	43	16	39	61	16	84	95	171
17. Production and transmission of physical forces.	1	1	62	38	94	6	51	230	07	02	27	73	14	86	36	303
18. Industries of luxury and those pertaining to literature and the arts and sciences.	58	21	37	63	22	78	113	190	48	20	41	59	4	96	144	144
19. Industries concerned with refuse matter ...	11	6	56	44	42	58	60	92	12	7	63	37	5	95	69	68

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—GENERAL DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION—continued.

CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER.	BENGAL.										BIHAR AND ORISSA.															
	NUMBER PER 10,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.					PERCENTAGE IN EACH CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER.					PERCENTAGE OF DEPENDANTS TO ACTUAL WORKERS.					PERCENTAGE IN EACH CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER.					PERCENTAGE OF DEPENDANTS TO ACTUAL WORKERS.					
	Persons supported.		Actual workers.		Dependants.	In cities.		In rural areas.		Persons supported.	Actual workers.		Dependants.	In cities.		In rural areas.		Persons supported.	Actual workers.		Dependants.	In cities.		In rural areas.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17									
IV.—Transport																										
20. Transport by water	208	110	53	47	21	79	49	99	94	43	46	54	4	96	101	120										
21. Transport by road	67	33	40	51	30	70	28	138	14	5	38	62	2	98	80	166										
22. Transport by rail	99	58	59	41	15	85	50	73	56	28	49	51	5	95	96	105										
23. Post-office, telegraph and telephone services	35	16	47	53	25	75	90	118	21	9	44	56	4	96	115	131										
	7	3	37	63	26	74	101	191	3	1	38	62	6	94	150	166										
V.—Trade																										
24. Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance.	501	210	42	58	13	87	88	146	429	237	55	45	2	98	134	80										
25. Brokerage, commission and export	28	9	32	68	13	87	108	224	18	8	43	57	3	97	149	132										
26. Trade in textiles	10	4	37	63	42	58	120	212	6	3	47	53	5	95	155	111										
27. Trade in skins, leather and furs	42	17	40	60	19	81	98	164	27	12	43	57	4	96	130	135										
28. Trade in wood	19	7	39	61	12	88	87	164	10	4	40	80	2	98	314	147										
	10	5	48	52	11	89	96	112	10	6	63	37	1	99	77	58										
29. Trade in metals	3	1	41	59	48	52	85	204	1	51	38	62	4	96	235	157										
30. Trade in pottery	6	3	49	51	2	98	131	103	4	2	61	39	...	100	218	165										
31. Trade in chemical products	3	1	45	55	26	74	66	139	10	6	57	43	...	99	195	75										
32. Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	6	3	48	52	30	76	76	120	23	11	49	51	3	97	118	104										
33. Other trade in food-stuffs	300	127	42	58	9	91	75	142	246	140	57	43	2	98	120	75										
34. Trade in clothing and toilet articles	5	2	47	53	53	47	65	170	4	2	49	51	8	92	140	101										
35. Trade in furniture	9	4	39	61	14	86	114	162	4	2	44	56	5	95	279	119										
36. Trade in building materials	3	1	40	60	9	91	131	154	1	1	54	46	3	97	331	77										
37. Trade in means of transport	4	1	40	60	12	88	72	161	2	1	51	48	2	98	77	98										
38. Trade in fuel	10	7	69	31	15	85	47	45	28	22	78	22	1	99	112	28										
39. Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.	19	8	39	61	21	79	133	159	12	6	51	49	5	95	117	94										
40. Trade in refuse matter	9	3	32	68	67	33	74	491	01	008	68	32	3	97	...	48										
41. Trade of other sorts	24	10	41	59	26	74	106	160	23	11	48	52	4	96	172	108										
C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS.																										
	255	91	36	64	15	85	135	186	170	73	43	57	4	96	146	133										
VI.—Public force																										
42. Army	40	15	38	62	15	85	29	189	47	18	38	62	4	96	56	170										
43. Navy	2	2	81	19	59	41	16	35	35	26	76	24	8	92	9	33										
44. Police	003	003	93	7	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	38	13	36	64	10	90	37	197	47	18	37	63	4	96	68	172										

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—GENERAL DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION—concluded.

CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER.	BENGAL.										BIHAR AND ORISSA.					
	BENGAL.										BIHAR AND ORISSA.					
	NUMBER PER 10,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE IN EACH CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER.		PERCENTAGE OF ACTUAL WORKERS EMPLOYED.		DEPENDANTS TO ACTUAL WORKERS.		NUMBER PER 10,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.		PERCENTAGE IN EACH CLASS, SUB-CLASS AND ORDER.		PERCENTAGE OF ACTUAL WORKERS EMPLOYED.		DEPENDANTS TO ACTUAL WORKERS.	
	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	In cities.	In rural areas.	In cities.	In rural areas.	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	In cities.	In rural areas.	In cities.	In rural areas.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
VII.—Public administration (order 45).	29	9	33	67	38	62	141	245	17	6	35	65	5	95	270	178
VIII.—Professions and liberal arts	175	64	36	64	10	90	149	178	103	48	47	53	3	97	161	112
46. Religion	80	30	37	63	7	93	95	176	54	24	44	56	3	97	116	126
47. Law	16	4	25	75	20	80	271	310	6	2	28	79	11	89	349	249
48. Medicine	35	12	35	65	9	91	192	185	14	9	63	37	3	97	200	55
49. Instruction	21	9	41	59	11	89	150	143	14	6	46	54	4	96	166	115
50. Letters and arts and sciences	23	9	40	60	13	87	121	137	15	7	49	51	4	96	107	103
IX.—Persons living on their income (order 51).	11	3	32	68	48	52	207	221	3	1	36	64	14	86	118	191
D. MISCELLANEOUS	502	264	53	47	20	80	50	100	484	291	60	40	3	97	61	66
X.—Domestic Service (order 52)	114	79	69	31	26	74	39	46	189	115	61	39	4	96	52	64
XI.—Insufficiently described occupations (order 53).	292	122	42	58	22	78	67	157	245	143	58	42	2	98	87	72
XII.—Unproductive	96	63	65	35	11	89	17	58	50	33	66	34	3	97	20	51
4. Inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals	3	3	100	...	42	58	...	...	2	2	100	...	6	94	...	...
55. Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes	93	60	64	36	9	91	21	59	48	31	65	35	3	97	24	55

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION IN NATURAL DIVISIONS.

Group No.	OCCUPATION.	NUMBER PER MILLE OF TOTAL POPULATION SUPPORTED IN—										
		Bengal.	West Bengal.	Central Bengal.	North Bengal.	East Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	North Bihar.	South Bihar.	Orissa.	Chota Nagpur Plateau.	Sikkim.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	TOTAL	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
	I.—EXPLOITATION OF THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH.	777	740	653	845	806	805	871	749	767	778	952
1	I. (a) Agriculture ...	754	714	621	825	789	783	854	729	738	750	944
2	Income from rent of agricultural land, ...	26	34	32	13	28	16	17	19	17	14	3
4	Ordinary cultivators ...	642	515	471	735	720	572	626	473	607	562	941
	Farm servants and field labourers.	74	160	109	51	34	189	207	226	108	171	...
	I. (b) Pasture	7	14	12	5	2	17	12	17	18	22	7
	Others	2	1	2	4	...	1	1	1	1	3	1
	2. Fishing and hunting ...	14	11	18	11	15	4	4	2	10	3	...
	II.—EXTRACTION OF MINERALS	2	14	...	...	...	4	2	1	...	10	...
16	Coal mines	2	13	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	10	...
	III.—INDUSTRY	74	103	130	46	54	73	49	103	106	70	5
22	6. Textile industries ...	19	30	38	8	12	13	5	14	22	17	1
23	Cotton spinning	10	13	10	5	11	10	3	9	19	16	1
	Jute spinning	7	15	23	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
	8. Wood industries	8	10	10	6	7	8	6	9	11	8	...
	9. Metal industries	4	8	7	2	2	5	3	6	6	9	1
	12. Food industries	10	20	15	9	5	11	8	14	25	9	...
	13. Industries of dress and the toilet.	11	13	20	5	10	15	12	25	22	10	2
	Other industries	22	22	40	16	18	21	15	35	20	17	1
	IV.—TRANSPORT	21	26	35	13	17	9	6	19	10	7	4
27	Boat-owners, boatmen, etc.	5	2	6	2	7	1	1	2	2	1	...
	V.—TRADE	50	50	76	31	50	43	37	62	55	33	13
	26 Trade in textiles ...	4	4	6	2	5	3	3	4	2	2	...
	32 and 33. Trade in food-stuffs.	31	30	47	19	30	27	25	41	33	18	3
	Other trades	15	16	23	10	15	13	9	17	20	13	10
	VI.—PUBLIC FORCE	4	5	6	4	3	5	3	5	5	6	4
	VII.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	3	3	7	1	2	2	1	1	4	2	1
	VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS.	18	23	21	8	19	10	6	18	22	7	4
	IX.—PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME.	1	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
	X.—DOMESTIC SERVICE ...	11	17	27	6	5	19	11	23	10	29	8
	XI.—INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS.	29	12	30	34	34	25	9	13	14	53	7
	XII.—UNPRODUCTIVE	10	5	11	12	10	5	5	6	6	5	2

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL POPULATION IN NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.

Serial No.	DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISIONS.	* AGRICULTURE.				INDUSTRY (INCLUDING MINES).				COMMERCE.				PROFESSIONS.				Serial No.
		Population supported by agriculture.	Proportion of agricultural population per 1,000 of district population.	PERCENTAGE ON AGRICULTURAL POPULATION OF—		Population supported by industry.	Proportion of industrial population per 1,000 of district population.	PERCENTAGE ON INDUSTRIAL POPULATION OF—		Population supported by commerce.	Proportion of commercial population per 1,000 of district population.	PERCENTAGE ON COMMERCIAL POPULATION OF—		Population supported by professions.	Proportion of professional population per 1,000 of district population.	PERCENTAGE ON PROFESSIONAL POPULATION OF—		
				Actual workers.	Dependents.			Actual workers.	Dependents.			Actual workers.	Dependents.			Actual workers.	Dependents.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	20
	BENGAL	34,937,017	754	32	68	3,556,527	76	49	51	3,283,826	71	45	55	811,939	18	36	64	
	West Bengal	6,048,434	714	36	64	989,948	117	54	46	644,424	76	50	50	192,709	23	43	57	
1	Burdwan...	1,029,093	669	35	65	232,730	151	55	45	116,768	76	52	48	32,393	21	45	55	1
2	Birbhum...	716,362	766	35	65	78,980	84	64	36	52,650	68	58	42	12,936	14	59	41	2
3	Bankura...	841,648	739	41	59	110,007	97	53	47	78,101	68	59	41	20,506	18	42	58	3
4	Midnapore...	2,292,430	813	37	63	207,788	74	54	46	142,406	51	49	51	61,768	22	48	52	4
5	Hooghly...	701,444	643	34	66	161,737	148	54	46	411,021	102	47	53	35,636	33	36	64	5
6	Howrah...	467,457	495	30	70	198,706	211	50	50	143,478	152	44	56	29,470	31	33	67	6
	Central Bengal	5,012,528	621	32	68	1,047,612	130	52	48	898,375	111	49	51	171,466	21	37	63	7
7	24-Parganas...	1,603,403	659	32	68	391,224	161	58	42	211,935	87	48	52	44,037	18	33	67	8
8	Calcutta...	31,026	35	42	58	188,891	211	60	40	279,595	312	62	38	51,940	58	41	59	9
9	Nadia...	1,071,090	662	33	67	181,009	112	51	59	164,015	101	38	62	31,936	20	33	67	10
10	Murshidabad...	953,469	695	31	69	157,212	115	50	50	105,513	77	46	54	18,106	13	41	59	11
11	Jessore...	1,353,540	770	33	67	129,276	74	41	59	137,317	78	39	61	25,447	14	36	64	
	North Bengal	8,856,453	825	34	66	490,459	46	51	49	477,676	44	53	47	89,245	8	41	59	
12	Raishahi...	1,169,377	790	33	67	74,320	50	51	49	63,704	43	51	49	14,409	10	41	59	12
13	Dinajpur...	1,537,792	911	34	66	47,205	28	58	42	47,292	28	60	40	6,978	4	51	49	13
14	Jalpaiguri...	810,150	897	43	57	22,991	25	61	39	29,747	33	33	68	5,139	6	53	47	14
15	Darjeeling...	191,045	738	56	44	11,773	44	57	43	17,179	65	58	42	3,369	13	42	58	15
16	Rangpoore...	2,091,761	878	32	68	50,026	21	53	47	101,516	42	55	45	15,646	7	43	57	16
17	Bogra...	850,333	865	27	73	37,132	38	43	57	30,608	31	48	52	8,096	8	39	61	17
18	Pabna...	1,019,301	713	31	69	129,605	91	38	62	103,889	72	41	59	20,506	14	32	68	18
19	Madna...	663,929	661	38	62	102,071	102	61	39	54,736	54	53	47	8,762	9	44	56	19
20	Cooch Behar...	517,765	873	35	65	16,036	27	58	42	29,045	49	69	31	6,340	11	45	55	20
	East Bengal	15,019,602	789	28	72	1,028,508	54	40	60	1,263,351	67	37	63	358,519	19	31	69	
21	Khulna...	1,117,733	818	31	69	62,843	46	39	61	96,263	70	37	63	22,762	17	35	65	21
22	Dacca...	1,933,172	673	28	72	280,957	95	36	64	337,690	114	32	68	76,192	26	28	72	22
23	Mymensingh...	3,808,579	841	31	69	178,852	40	43	57	239,724	66	45	55	45,103	10	36	64	23
24	Fardpur...	1,718,458	809	28	72	116,778	55	37	63	140,202	66	37	63	39,437	19	30	70	24
25	Backergunge...	2,005,041	825	28	72	110,586	46	42	58	126,094	52	42	58	49,226	20	31	69	25
26	Tippura...	2,007,423	826	28	72	98,696	40	40	60	130,765	50	37	63	43,395	18	34	66	26
27	Noakhali...	1,039,029	793	16	84	52,825	42	40	60	43,757	34	31	69	21,437	16	32	68	27
28	Chittagong...	969,507	643	25	75	123,114	82	44	56	153,587	102	50	50	58,134	38	27	73	28
29	Chittagong Hill Tracts...	148,585	966	59	41	885	6	85	15	1,621	10	91	9	407	3	61	39	29
30	Hill Tippera...	214,082	932	46	54	2,972	13	67	33	3,648	16	62	38	2,426	11	41	59	30
	SIKKIM	83,039	944	66	34	425	5	74	26	1,527	17	76	24	364	4	86	14	
	CITIES	49,017	37	43	57	345,069	259	56	44	402,654	303	59	41	71,152	53	40	60	

The agricultural population is represented by groups 1-6 (ordinary cultivation and growing of special products and market gardening) of the classified scheme the industrial by sub-classes II and III (extraction of minerals and industry), the commercial by classes IV and V (transport and trade) and the professional by sub-class VIII (professions and liberal arts).

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL POPULATION IN NATURAL DIVISIONS AND DISTRICTS.

Serial number.	DISTRICTS AND NATURAL DIVISIONS.	AGRICULTURE.			INDUSTRY (IN LUDING MINES).			COMMERCE.			PROFESSIONS.							
		Population supported by agriculture.	PERCENTAGE ON AGRICULTURAL POPULATION OF—		Population supported by industry.	PERCENTAGE ON INDUSTRIAL POPULATION OF—		Population supported by commerce.	PERCENTAGE ON COMMERCIAL POPULATION OF—		Proportion of professional population per 1,000 of district population.	PERCENTAGE ON PROFESSIONAL POPULATION OF—						
			Actual workers.	Dependents.		Actual workers.	Dependents.		Actual workers.	Dependents.		Actual workers.	Dependents.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	BIHAR AND ORISSA	30,083,572	783	46	54	2,960,338	77	56	44	2,011,218	52	53	47	395,107	10	47	53	
	North Bihar	12,039,461	854	42	58	716,706	51	54	46	618,369	43	54	46	80,149	6	53	47	
1	Saran	1,971,543	861	47	53	134,607	59	54	43	89,867	59	54	46	13,394	6	45	55	1
2	Champanan	1,728,902	906	43	57	58,565	31	54	46	53,978	28	55	45	4,941	3	58	42	2
3	Muzaffarpur	2,467,291	867	36	64	125,283	44	53	47	114,208	40	54	46	17,017	6	54	46	3
4	Darbhanga	2,501,042	854	37	63	150,747	51	50	50	119,936	41	55	45	21,237	7	57	43	4
5	Bhagalpur	1,757,733	822	45	55	113,362	53	52	48	122,088	52	52	48	13,668	6	48	52	5
6	Purnea	1,612,950	811	40	60	134,142	67	59	41	118,282	59	57	43	9,892	5	57	43	6
	South Bihar	5,662,520	729	51	49	807,603	104	54	46	629,076	81	50	50	137,834	18	46	54	
7	Patna	1,118,820	695	50	50	176,504	110	52	48	145,880	90	49	51	30,464	19	41	59	7
8	Gaya	1,574,685	729	53	47	228,159	106	54	46	166,668	77	50	50	42,833	20	44	56	8
9	Shahabad	1,341,732	719	52	48	229,376	123	55	45	131,259	70	51	49	37,090	20	51	49	9
10	Monghyr	1,627,233	763	49	51	173,564	81	55	45	185,269	87	50	50	27,477	13	46	54	10
	Orissa	3,092,589	738	32	68	444,799	106	56	44	271,333	65	56	44	90,570	22	42	58	
11	Cuttack	1,453,555	689	32	68	276,354	131	55	45	138,199	75	54	48	47,627	23	39	61	11
12	Balasore	889,887	843	31	69	64,328	61	63	37	35,266	33	60	40	12,098	12	54	46	12
13	Puri	749,147	732	34	66	104,217	102	56	44	77,688	76	58	42	30,845	30	42	58	13
	Chota Nagpur Plateau	9,289,002	750	53	47	991,230	80	58	42	492,440	40	55	45	86,554	7	47	53	
14	Hazaribagh	1,007,889	782	59	41	74,859	58	63	37	54,588	43	50	50	10,687	8	51	49	14
15	Ranchi	868,340	696	59	41	113,752	82	53	47	92,463	67	53	47	11,279	8	41	59	15
16	Palamanu	517,916	754	54	46	49,810	72	56	44	26,376	38	55	45	3,308	5	54	46	16
17	Manbhum	919,925	594	55	45	195,364	126	62	38	39,853	26	55	45	5,635	4	55	45	17
18	Singbhum	554,621	799	58	42	30,243	44	52	48	25,842	37	52	48	3,075	4	48	52	18
19	South Parganas	1,639,950	866	57	43	83,312	44	51	39	58,890	31	49	51	8,589	5	50	50	19
20	Angul	152,788	766	48	52	16,995	85	61	39	6,986	35	62	38	1,132	6	52	48	20
21	Sambalpur	569,932	765	60	40	85,171	114	65	35	27,922	38	63	37	7,996	11	46	54	21
22	Orissa Pargana States	2,971,100	753	44	56	333,932	89	56	44	155,134	41	60	40	34,215	9	46	54	22
23	Chota Nagpur States	91,522	643	54	46	7,742	52	47	53	4,386	29	54	46	538	4	47	53	23
	CITIES	43,959	169	43	57	71,900	276	50	50	60,034	231	44	56	16,320	62	38	62	

The agricultural population is represented by groups 1—6 (ordinary cultivation and growing of special products and market gardening) of the classified scheme, the industrial by sub-classes II and III (extraction of minerals and industry), the commercial by sub-classes IV and V (transport and trade) and the professional by sub-class VIII (professions and liberal arts).

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—OCCUPATIONS COMBINED WITH AGRICULTURE
(WHERE AGRICULTURE IS THE SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATION).**

OCCUPATION.	NUMBER PER MILLE WHO ARE PARTIALLY AGRICULTURISTS.										
	Bengal.	West Bengal.	Central Bengal.	North Bengal.	East Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.	North Bihar.	South Bihar.	Orissa.	Chota Nagpur Plateau.	Sikkim.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
TOTAL	25	29	26	16	29	22	19	24	42	19	...
I.—EXPLOITATION OF THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH.	5	4	5	4	5	4	3	5	9	2	...
1.—(a) Agriculture	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	3	...	...
(3) Agents, managers of landed estates (not planters), clerks, rent-collectors, etc.	187	145	186	174	222	140	149	140	220	87	...
(b) Pasture	12	15	5	5	43	42	36	64	44	34	...
2. Fishing and hunting	85	71	70	87	102	174	186	161	218	107	...
Others (groups 7, 8 and 13) ...	88	61	127	71	137	92	49	79	49	128	...
II.—EXTRACTION OF MINERALS ...	29	29	19	...	56	124	188	100	53	115	...
(16) Coal mines	29	29	39	...	...	118	56	32	89	119	...
III.—INDUSTRY	72	78	38	68	113	114	116	97	112	128	...
6. Textile industries	59	72	25	53	110	136	132	106	82	176	...
(22) Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving.	103	126	78	89	120	143	156	95	83	181	...
(23) Jute spinning, pressing and weaving.	23	39	11	19	121	201	120	319	91	5	...
8. Wood industries	80	59	50	65	127	104	83	114	142	100	...
9. Metal do.	104	141	55	116	123	129	169	113	206	107	...
12. Food do.	18	18	11	20	28	65	60	63	40	94	...
13. Industries of dress and the toilet.	136	161	61	134	199	144	158	114	167	176	...
Other industries	86	125	49	98	98	111	120	91	172	198	...
IV.—TRANSPORT	88	75	94	69	106	30	107	79	124	74	...
(97) Boat-owners, boatmen, and towmen.	119	158	108	89	135	107	115	89	136	91	...
V.—TRADE	86	93	64	79	112	82	95	62	93	82	3
26. Trade in textiles	92	103	53	91	115	101	105	73	122	121	...
32 and 33. Trade in food-stuffs.	90	94	71	76	111	77	83	61	93	79	16
Other trade	86	88	54	83	115	89	129	62	90	83	...
VI.—PUBLIC FORCE	232	300	184	181	275	277	237	216	388	311	...
VII.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION ...	143	139	78	171	243	172	187	142	206	155	29
VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS.	153	148	107	155	181	168	153	168	199	155	13
IX.—PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME.	89	147	40	166	209	111	143	93	172	66	...
X.—DOMESTIC SERVICE	25	21	18	27	46	31	50	39	52	14	...
XI.—INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS.	49	52	30	29	73	21	53	38	56	10	10
XII.—UNPRODUCTIVE	14	24	8	16	12	34	40	36	44	19	9

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—OCCUPATIONS COMBINED WITH AGRICULTURE.
(WHERE AGRICULTURE IS THE PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION.)

LANDLORDS (RENT-RECEIVERS).			CULTIVATORS (RENT-PAYERS).			FARM SERVANTS AND FIELD-LABOURERS.		
SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATION.	NUMBER PER 10,000 WHO FOLLOW IT.		SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATION.	NUMBER PER 10,000 WHO FOLLOW IT.		SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATION.	NUMBER PER 10,000 WHO FOLLOW IT.	
	Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.		Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.		Bengal.	Bihar and Orissa.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL	2,748	2,530	TOTAL	1,372	1,799	TOTAL	677	514
Rent-payers	981	1,872	Rent-receivers	94	106	Rent-receivers	17	6
Agricultural labourers ...	55	71	Agricultural labourers ...	235	446	Rent-payers	195	138
Government servants of all kinds	63	42	General labourers	152	111	General labourers	143	57
Money-lenders and grain-dealers	301	111	Government servants of all kinds,	6	11	Village watchmen	8	3
Other traders of all kinds ...	310	50	Money-lenders and grain-dealers,	60	42	Cattle-breeders and milkmen	10	19
Priests	224	69	Other traders of all kinds ...	252	203	Mill hands	1	2
Clerks of all kinds (not Govern-ment)	93	14	Fishermen and boatmen ...	72	46	Fishermen and boatmen ...	56	31
Schoolmasters	86	17	Cattle-breeders and milkmen	25	84	Rice-pounders	17	13
Lawyers	17	9	Village watchmen	28	23	Traders of all kinds ...	23	18
Estate agents and managers ...	118	1	Weavers	32	67	Oil-pressers	2	5
Medical practitioners	89	7	Barbers	28	52	Weavers	5	9
Artisans	48	10	Oil-pressers	18	45	Potters	2	5
Others	363	240	Washermen	12	36	Leather workers	6	11
			Potters	11	46	Blacksmiths and carpenters	6	5
			Blacksmiths and carpenters	37	60	Washermen	4	8
			Others	310	421	Others	182	184

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALES BY SUB-CLASSES, AND SELECTED ORDERS AND GROUPS.

Group No.	OCCUPATIONS.	BENGAL.			BIHAR AND ORISSA.		
		NUMBER OF ACTUAL WORKERS.		Number of females per 1,000 males.	NUMBER OF ACTUAL WORKERS.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Total	14,388,474	2,167,005	151	11,946,878	6,649,113	557
	I.—EXPLOITATION OF THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH.	10,701,511	978,912	91	9,622,242	4,843,840	504
	1.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE	10,488,762	911,768	87	9,571,613	4,822,904	504
	(a) Ordinary cultivation	10,076,374	788,254	78	9,153,960	4,672,400	510
1	Income from rent of agricultural land	263,479	63,328	240	197,538	45,559	231
2	Ordinary cultivators	8,422,860	482,998	57	6,621,769	2,518,805	380
4	Farm servants and field labourers	1,313,806	241,928	184	2,259,652	2,108,036	933
	(b) Growers of special products and market gardening	129,236	93,432	723	19,809	1,993	184
5	Tea, coffee, cinchona and indigo plantations	93,791	91,776	958	2,525	339	134
6	Fruit, flower, vegetable betel, vine, arcanut, etc., growers	33,445	1,656	50	8,284	1,654	200
	(c) Forestry	12,397	4,724	381	16,368	16,317	997
8	Wood-cutters, firewood, lac, catechu, rubber, etc., collectors and charcoal burners.	11,595	4,616	398	14,382	16,317	1,135
	(d) Raising of farm stock	261,157	11,300	43	390,271	132,157	339
9	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers	21,529	4,066	189	78,766	78,747	1,000
12	Herdsmen, shepherds, goatherds, etc.	238,621	7,012	29	310,086	52,995	171
13	(e) Raising of small animals (birds, bees, silkworms, etc.)	8,998	14,658	1,562	205	37	180
	2.—FISHING AND HUNTING	212,749	67,144	316	50,629	26,536	532
14	Fishing	211,670	66,945	316	47,168	25,951	550
	II.—EXTRACTION OF MINERALS	40,334	25,164	624	68,403	45,623	667
	3.—MINES	39,499	25,013	633	58,721	34,744	592
16	Coalmines	39,495	25,013	633	57,148	33,051	578
	III.—INDUSTRY	1,151,202	544,380	481	812,634	724,075	891
	6.—TEXTILES	347,257	107,067	308	143,608	110,358	765
21	Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing	347	131	378	3,949	4,562	1,156
22	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving	144,168	45,303	314	119,648	87,916	735
23	Jute spinning, pressing and weaving	177,720	37,914	213	5,126	965	188
24	Rope, twine and string	5,092	12,965	2,546	2,177	7,402	3,400
27	Silk spinners and weavers	17,929	9,443	527	2,346	3,025	1,289
	8.—WOOD	124,606	44,327	356	90,524	66,565	740
37	Basket makers and other industries of woody materials including leaves	37,136	43,018	1,158	45,838	62,926	1,373
	9.—METALS	69,272	1,625	23	70,390	14,896	212
	10.—CERAMICS	81,085	34,749	429	84,670	61,942	732
47	Potters and earthen pipe and bowl makers	59,882	30,087	502	68,670	51,315	747
48	Brick and tile-makers	20,133	4,331	215	4,299	2,536	590
	11.—CHEMICAL PRODUCTS PROPERLY SO CALLED AND ANALOGOUS.	43,329	9,610	222	45,766	47,012	1,027
53	Manufacture and refining of vegetable and mineral oils	39,110	8,465	216	38,834	41,970	1,081
	12.—FOOD INDUSTRIES	42,474	290,134	6,831	68,094	224,758	3,301
56	Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders	10,006	273,512	27,335	7,977	126,289	15,832
58	Grain parchers, etc.	2,187	13,399	6,127	28,901	90,152	3,119
	13.—INDUSTRIES OF DRESS AND THE TOILET	179,156	32,499	181	183,235	158,593	756
68	Tailors, milliners, dress-makers and darners, embroiderers on linen	37,429	3,431	92	23,361	20,819	891
71	Washing, cleaning and dyeing	39,704	20,001	504	59,384	71,247	1,200
72	Barbers, hairdressers and wig-makers	70,915	8,186	115	74,362	39,703	534
	15.—BUILDING INDUSTRIES	90,998	8,101	89	52,179	24,906	477
77	Excavators, plinth builders and well-sinkers	4,843	878	181	23,958	19,340	807

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALES BY SUB-CLASSES, AND SELECTED ORDERS AND GROUPS—concluded.

Group No.	OCCUPATIONS.	BENGAL.			BIHAR AND ORISSA.		
		NUMBER OF ACTUAL WORKERS.		Number of females per 1,000 males.	NUMBER OF ACTUAL WORKERS.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	III.—INDUSTRY—concluded.						
	18.—INDUSTRIES OF LUXURY AND THOSE PERTAINING TO LITERATURE AND THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.	94,047	4,524	48	60,043	15,216	253
90	Makers of bangles, rosaries, bead and other necklaces, spangles, lingams and sacred threads.	3,735	2,942	788	13,221	11,619	879
93	19.—INDUSTRIES CONCERNED WITH REFUSE MATTER (SWEEPERS, SCAVENGERS, DUST AND SWEEPING CONTRACTORS).	20,152	7,592	377	10,041	18,654	1,854
	IV.—TRANSPORT	478,312	32,078	67	149,795	15,103	101
	21.—TRANSPORT BY ROAD	241,861	28,653	118	92,185	12,927	140
98	Persons employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges.	100,133	27,027	270	8,398	7,135	850
102	Porters and messengers	21,711	1,232	58	17,547	4,843	276
	V.—TRADE	752,493	221,631	295	455,803	453,779	996
110	28.—TRADE IN WOOD	13,230	8,376	633	13,426	10,197	754
112	30.—TRADE IN POTTERY	9,792	3,718	380	3,291	6,523	1,982
	32.—HOTELS, CAFES, RESTAURANTS, ETC.	13,640	823	60	26,682	16,271	636
114	Vendors of wine, liquor, aerated waters, etc.	9,418	237	25	25,965	16,559	638
	33.—OTHER TRADE IN FOOD-STUFFS	432,015	158,365	367	255,849	282,439	1,104
116	Fish dealers	82,925	59,864	722	19,203	43,349	2,257
117	Grocers and sellers of vegetable oil, salt and other condiments	123,774	13,187	107	90,826	78,979	870
118	Sellers of milk, butter, ghee, poultry, eggs, etc.	45,640	18,316	401	13,635	27,984	2,032
120	Cardamom, betel leaf, vegetable, fruit and arecanut sellers	70,871	28,202	398	34,629	61,004	1,762
121	Grain and pulse dealers	62,407	33,605	538	65,496	50,672	774
124	Dealers in hay, grass and fodder	3,063	910	297	2,384	4,858	2,038
130	38.—TRADE IN FUEL (DEALERS IN FIRE-WOOD, CHARCOAL, COAL, COW-DUNG, ETC.)	9,383	23,017	2,453	10,738	74,505	6,938
132	Dealers in common bangles, bead, necklaces, fans, small articles, toys, hunting and fishing tackle, flowers, etc.	20,316	4,663	230	11,431	10,027	877
	41.—TRADE OF OTHER SORTS	42,120	3,375	80	29,194	12,879	441
	VI.—PUBLIC FORCE	69,323	...	...	67,926	...	...
	VII.—(ORDER 45) PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.	43,213	619	14	3,130	535	25
	VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS	258,438	36,124	140	143,567	41,274	237
	46.—RELIGION	119,927	17,309	144	76,822	14,313	186
	48.—MEDICINE	41,844	15,249	364	11,804	22,221	1,832
165	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	4,393	14,310	3,257	5,753	21,781	3,786
161	IX.—(ORDER 51). PERSONS LIVING PRINCIPALLY ON THEIR INCOME.	10,964	5,623	513	2,506	1,035	413
	X.—(ORDER 52). DOMESTIC SERVICE	254,356	111,590	439	227,603	215,554	947
162	Cooks, water-carriers, door-keepers, watchmen and other indoor servants.	240,622	111,413	463	206,992	213,750	1,033
	XI.—(ORDER 53). INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS (GENERAL TERMS WHICH DO NOT INDICATE A DEFINITE OCCUPATION.)	524,951	43,376	83	301,241	246,824	815
167	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	433,603	42,158	97	279,315	244,615	876
	XII.—UNPRODUCTIVE	123,347	167,508	1,358	72,028	55,47	770
168	54.—INMATES OF JAILS, ASYLUMS AND HOSPITALS	13,124	1,001	76	7,870	1,190	151
169	55.—BEGGARS, VAGRANTS, PROCURERS, PROSTITUTES, RECEIVERS OF STOLEN GOODS, CATTLE POISONERS.	110,223	166,507	1,511	64,158	54,281	346

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1911
AND 1901.

Group No.	OCCUPATIONS.	Population supported in 1911. ^a	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS ...	66,605,825	57,678,629	+
	I.—EXPLOITATION OF THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH.	66,326,209	57,568,534	+ 15
	1.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE ...	65,539,920	57,008,773	+ 15
	(a) Ordinary cultivation ...	64,079,922	55,785,112	+ 15
1	Income from rent of agricultural land ...	1,811,265	1,516,140	+ 19
2	Ordinary cultivators ...	51,384,256	48,840,135	+ 5
3	Agents, managers of landed estates (not planters), clerks, rent collectors, etc. ...	350,810	437,573	- 13
4	Farm servants and field labourers ...	10,503,591	4,911,264	+ 110
	(b) Growers of special products and market gardening ...	370,735	341,462	+ 9
5	Tea, coffee, cinchona and indigo plantations ...	252,933	219,588	+ 15
6	Fruit, flowers vegetable, etc., growers ...	117,802	121,874	- 3
	(c) Forestry ...	84,005	49,166	+ 71
8	Wood-cutters, firewood, lac, catechu, etc., collectors and charcoal burners. ...	78,851	47,053 ^a	+ 63
	(d) Raising of farm stock ...	962,038	754,315	+ 27
9	Cattle and buffalo breeders and keepers ...	255,450	69,673 ^a	+ 267
10	Sheep, goat and pig breeders ...	4,570	3,325	+ 37
11	Breeders of other animals (horses, mules, etc.) ...	509	8,071 ^a	- 93
12	Herdsmen, shepherds, goatherds, etc. ...	701,509	673,243	+ 4
	(e) Raising of small animals (birds, bees, etc.) ...	43,220	78,718	- 45
	2.—FISHING AND HUNTING ...	786,289	559,761	+ 40
14	Fishing ...	774,104	550,896	+ 40
15	Hunting ...	12,185	8,865	+ 37
	II.—EXTRACTION OF MINERALS ...	279,618	110,095	+ 154
	3.—MINES ...	245,672	84,935	+ 192
16	Coal-mines ...	241,807	83,990	+ 188
	4.—QUARRIES OF HARD ROCKS— ...	4,682	94	+ 4,881
	5.—SALT, ETC. ...	29,262	29,766	+ 14
	B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	11,419,200	11,351,179	+ 1
	III.—INDUSTRY ...	6,152,078	5,958,411	+ 3
	6.—TEXTILES ...	1,317,181	1,378,896	- 4
21	Cotton ginning, cleaning and pressing ...	17,324	30,512	- 43
22	Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving ...	820,319	1,071,371 ^a	- 23
23	Jute spinning, pressing and weaving ...	344,814	143,456	+ 140
24	Rope, twine and string ...	38,823	36,260	+ 7
25	Woolcarders and spinners, weavers of woollen blankets, etc. ...	17,948	19,496	- 8
27	Silk spinners and weavers ...	57,221	56,409	+ 1
28	Hair, camel and horse hair, bristles work, brush-makers, etc. ...	407	366	+ 11
29	Persons occupied with feathers ...	396	408	- 3
30	Dyeing, bleaching, printing, preparation and sponging of textiles ...	13,425	12,727	+ 5
	7.—HIDES, SKINS AND HARD MATERIALS FROM THE ANIMAL KINGDOM.	62,279	39,928	+ 56
32	Tanners, curriers, leather dressers and dyers, etc. ...	44,008	35,336	+ 25
33	Makers of leather articles, such as trunks, water-bags, etc. ...	8,168	925 ^a	+ 783
34	Furriers ...	408	408	...
35	Bone, ivory, horn, shell, etc., workers ...	9,595	3,259 ^a	+ 197
	8.—WOOD ...	660,306	565,986	+ 17
36	Sawyers, carpenters, turners and joiners, etc. ...	353,883	339,018 ^a	+ 4
37	Basket-makers and other industries of woody material, including leaves. ...	306,423	226,968	+ 35

^a This subsidiary table gives comparative statistics for selected occupations in 1901 and 1911. In order to make them comparable, it has been necessary to exclude Sambalpur, which formed part of the Central Provinces until 1905. The scheme of classification adopted at the present census is different from that followed at the last census, when some of the occupations were included in a combination of different groups. In such cases exact figures cannot be furnished for 1901 and an approximate estimate has been given, the figures concerned being marked with an asterisk.

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1911
AND 1901—continued.**

Group No.	OCCUPATIONS.	Population supported in 1911. ^a	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES—continued.			
	III.—INDUSTRY—concluded.			
	9.—METALS	385,786	392,753	- 2
39	Plough and agricultural implement makers	15,095	22,133	- 32
41	Other workers in iron and makers of implements and tools principally or exclusively of iron.	249,028	280,237	- 11
42	Workers in brass, copper and bell-metal	82,953	70,433	+ 18
43	Workers in other metals (tin, zinc, lead, quicksilver, etc.)	23,656	12,000	+ 97
	10.—CERAMICS	474,297	439,085	+ 8
47	Potters and earthen pipe and bowl makers	394,382	395,888	...
48	Brick and tile makers	46,359	31,811	+ 46
	11.—CHEMICAL PRODUCTS PROPERLY SO CALLED AND ANALOGOUS.	286,295	262,699	+ 9
53	Manufacture and refining of vegetable and mineral oils	256,039	243,494	+ 5
	12.—FOOD INDUSTRIES	902,741	876,639	+ 3
56	Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders	559,735	514,915	+ 9
57	Bakers and biscuit makers	15,604	11,043	+ 41
58	Grain parchers, etc.	176,318	248,714	- 29
59	Butchers	25,206	22,875	+ 10
60	Fish-curers	331	234 ^a	+ 41
62	Makers of sugar, molasses and gur	9,323	6,854	+ 36
63	Sweetmeat makers, preparers of jam and condiments, etc.	56,937	39,171	+ 45
64	Brewers and distillers	5,223	9,011	- 42
65	Toddy drawers	28,468	20,686	+ 38
	13.—INDUSTRIES OF DRESS AND THE TOILET	1,088,431	1,150,021	- 4
68	Tailors, milliners, dress makers and darners, etc.	195,791	182,781	+ 7
69	Shoe, boot, and sandal makers	126,385	158,217	- 20
71	Washing, cleaning and dyeing	329,398	338,667	- 3
72	Barbers, hair-dressers and wig-makers	434,377	463,512	- 6
	14.—FURNITURE INDUSTRIES	10,579	4,388	+ 141
	15.—BUILDING INDUSTRIES	366,782	271,955	+ 35
77	Excavators, plinth builders and well-sinkers	75,607	61,508	+ 23
78	Stone and marble workers, masons and bricklayers	174,427	140,117	+ 24
79	Others (thatchers, building contractors, tilers, etc.)	108,129	63,081	+ 71
	16.—CONSTRUCTION OF MEANS OF TRANSPORT...	40,611	40,235	+ 1
	17.—PRODUCTION AND TRANSMISSION OF PHYSICAL FORCES (Heat, light, electricity, motive powers, etc.).	5,071	1,356	+ 274
	18.—INDUSTRIES OF LUXURY AND THOSE PERTAINING TO LITERATURE AND THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.	445,996	421,430	+ 7
89	Workers in precious stones and metals, enamellers, imitation jewellery makers, etc.	343,747	325,948	+ 5
90	Makers of bangles, rosaries, bead and other necklaces, spangles, lingams and sacred threads.	56,326	52,996	+ 6
	19.—INDUSTRIES CONCERNED WITH REFUSE MATTER	92,753	113,346	- 18
	IV.—TRANSPORT	1,316,040	1,008,534	+ 30
	20.—TRANSPORT BY WATER	362,316	329,607	+ 10
95	Ship-owners and their employes, ship brokers, ships' officers, mariners, engineers and firemen.	71,588	52,327	+ 37
96	Persons employed on the maintenance of streams, rivers and canals (including construction).	8,634	7,947	+ 9
97	Boat-owners, boatmen and towmen	265,240	257,813	+ 3
	21.—TRANSPORT BY ROAD	668,942	516,340	+ 30
98	Persons employed on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges.	210,844	147,480	+ 43
99	Cart-owners and drivers, coachmen, stable boys, tramway, mail, carriage, etc.	182,278	130,492	+ 40
100	Palki, etc., bearers and owners	164,598	185,928	- 11
101	Pack elephants camel, mule, ass, bullock owners and drivers	31,295	5,957	+ 425
102	Porters and messengers	79,927	46,483	+ 72

^a This subsidiary table gives comparative statistics for selected occupations in 1901 and 1911. In order to make them comparable, it has been necessary to exclude Sambalpur, which formed part of the Central Provinces until 1905. The scheme of classification adopted at the present census is different from that followed at the last census, when some of the occupations were included in a combination of different groups. In such cases exact figures cannot be furnished for 1901 and an approximate estimate has been given, the figures concerned being marked with an asterisk.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1911
AND 1901—continued.

Group No.	OCCUPATIONS.	Population supported in 1911. ^a	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES—concluded.			
	IV.—TRANSPORT—concl'd.			
	22.—TRANSPORT BY RAIL	241,516	129,406	+ 87
103	Railway employes of all kinds other than construction coolies ...	226,155	119,118	+ 90
104	Labourers employed on railway construction	15,361	10,288	+ 49
	23.—POST OFFICE, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICES.	43,266	33,181	+ 30
	V.—TRADE	3,951,082	4,384,234	- 10
	24.—BANKS, ESTABLISHMENTS OF CREDIT, EXCHANGE AND INSURANCE.	187,031	198,816	- 1
	25.—BROKERAGE, COMMISSION AND EXPORT	66,336	62,815	+ 6
	26.—TRADE IN TEXTILES	296,125	302,356	- 2
	27.—TRADE IN SKINS, LEATHER AND FURS, ETC. ...	121,365	42,750 ^b	+ 184
	28.—TRADE IN WOOD (NOT FIREWOOD)	81,327	93,168	- 13
	29.—TRADE IN METALS	16,658	1,221 ^c	+ 1,264
	30.—TRADE IN POTTERY	43,563	71,523	- 39
	31.—TRADE IN CHEMICAL PRODUCTS	54,036	28,786 ^c	+ 83
	32.—HOTELS, CAFES, RESTAURANTS, ETC.	118,414	108,719	+ 9
114	Vendors of wine, liquors, aerated waters, etc.	106,812	101,985	+ 5
115	Owners and managers of hotels, cook-shop, sarais, etc., and their employes.	11,602	6,734 ^b	+ 72
	33.—OTHER TRADE IN FOOD-STUFFS	2,327,383	2,811,535	- 17
116	Fish dealers	419,743	687,962	- 39
117	Grocers and sellers of vegetable oil, salt and other condiments ...	688,936	788,343	- 13
118	Sellers of milk, butter, ghee, poultry, eggs, etc.	202,939	401,537 ^c	- 49
119	Sellers of sweet-meats, gur, sugar and molasses	127,385	112,494	+ 13
120	Cardamom, betel-leaf, vegetables, fruit and arecanut sellers ...	386,610	368,567	+ 5
121	Grain and pulse dealers	429,093	349,643	+ 23
122	Tobacco, opium, ganja, etc., sellers	65,628	74,678 ^b	- 12
123	Dealers in sheep, goats and pigs	9,093	5,964 ^b	+ 53
124	Dealers in hay, grass and fodder	17,956	22,347	- 20
	34.—TRADE IN CLOTHING AND TOILET ARTICLES ...	37,455	20,737 ^b	+ 81
	35.—TRADE IN FURNITURE	67,977	65,551	- 12
127	Hardware, cooking utensils, porcelain, crockery, glass-ware, bottles, articles for gardening, the cellar, etc.	43,192	56,770 ^b	- 24
	36.—TRADE IN BUILDING MATERIALS	18,406	22,881	- 20
	37.—TRADE IN MEANS OF TRANSPORT	24,139	12,374 ^b	+ 86
	38.—TRADE IN FUEL	153,896	71,476 ^b	+ 115
	39.—TRADE IN ARTICLES OF LUXURY AND THOSE PERTAINING TO LETTERS AND THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.	136,691	215,565	- 37
131	Dealers in precious stones, jewellery (real and imitation), clocks, optical instruments, etc.	20,074	21,386	- 6
132	Dealers in common bangles, bead, necklaces, fans, small articles, toys, hunting and fishing tackle, flowers, etc.	101,710	183,138 ^b	- 44
	40.—TRADE IN REFUSE MATTER	492	...	...
	41.—TRADE OF OTHER SORTS	199,788	253,361	- 21
135	Shop-keepers, otherwise unspecified	174,591	208,250	- 16
138	Other trades (including farmers of pounds, tolls and markets) ...	9,528	20,641 ^c	- 54

^a This subsidiary table gives comparative statistics for selected occupations in 1901 and 1911. In order to make them comparable, it has been necessary to exclude Sambaipur, which formed part of the Central Provinces until 1905. The scheme of classification adopted at the present census is different from that followed at the last census, when some of the occupations were included in a combination of different groups. In such cases exact figures cannot be furnished for 1901 and an approximate estimate has been given, the figures concerned being marked with an asterisk.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1911
AND 1901—*concluded*.

Group No.	OCCUPATIONS.	Population supported in 1911. ^a	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation.
1	2	3	4	5
	C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS.	1,809,403	1,941,229	- 7
	VI.—PUBLIC FORCE	351,836	323,182	+ 9
	42.—ARMY	10,287	11,565	- 11
139	Army (Imperial)	9,948	10,608	- 6
140	Army (Native States)	339	957	- 65
	43.—NAVY	15	1,417	- 99
	44.—POLICE	341,536	310,200	+ 10
142	Police	80,788	37,555 ^a	+ 115
143	Village watchmen	260,748	272,645	- 4
	VII.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	196,737	244,705	- 20
144	Service of the State	159,464	174,419	- 9
145	Service of Native and Foreign States	11,137	12,767	- 13
146	Municipal and other local (not village) service	22,441	18,830	+ 19
147	Village officials and servants other than watchmen	3,695	38,689 ^a	- 90
	VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS	1,139,350	1,394,585	- 7
	46.—RELIGION	570,556	738,610	- 23
148	Priests, ministers, etc.	438,524	462,371	- 5
149	Religious mendicants, inmates of monasteries, etc.	67,977	191,384	- 64
150	Catechists, readers, church and mission service	5,355	9,831	- 43
151	Temple, burial or burning ground service, pilgrim conductors, circumcisers.	58,740	75,524	- 22
	47.—LAW	100,237	77,241	+
152	Lawyers of all kinds including kasis, law-agents and mukters	63,355	52,780	+ 20
153	Lawyers, clerks, petition-writers, etc.	36,882	24,461	+ 51
	48.—MEDICINE	216,681	177,866	+ 22
154	Medical practitioners of all kinds, including dentists, oculists and veterinary surgeons.	152,349	135,722	+ 12
155	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	64,332	42,144	+ 53
	49.—INSTRUCTION	150,744	123,834	+ 22
	50.—LETTERS AND ARTS AND SCIENCES	160,792	177,034	- 9
159	Others (authors, photographers, artists, sculptors, astronomers, meteorologists, botanists, astrologers, etc.)	20,756	21,434	- 3
160	Music composers and masters, players on all kinds of musical instruments (not military), singers, actors and dancers.	116,536	140,186	- 17
	IX.—PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME	61,778	78,757	- 22
	D.—MISCELLANEOUS	4,162,314	7,522,373	- 45
	X.—DOMESTIC SERVICE	1,246,390	835,838	+ 49
162	Cooks, water-carriers, door-keepers, watchmen and other indoor servants.	1,172,032	786,844	+ 49
163	Private grooms, coachmen, dog-boys, etc.	74,358	48,994	+ 51
	XI.—INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS.	2,280,914	6,098,502	- 63
164	Manufacturers, businessmen and contractors otherwise unspecified	20,662	15,620	+ 32
165	Cashiers, accountants, book-keepers, clerks and other employes in unspecified offices, warehouses and shops.	228,359	195,712	+ 17
167	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified	2,009,422	5,875,282	66
	XII.—UNPRODUCTIVE	635,070	588,033	+ 8
168	54.—INMATES OF JAILS, ASYLUMS AND HOSPITALS	23,048	23,703	+ 11 ^a
169	55.—BEGGARS, VAGRANTS, PROCURERS, PROSTITUTES, RECEIVERS OF STOLEN GOODS, CATTLE POISONERS.	611,962	567,330	+ 8

^aThis subsidiary table gives comparative statistics for selected occupations in 1901 and 1911. In order to make them comparable, it has been necessary to exclude Sambalpur which formed part of the Central Provinces until 1905. The scheme of classification adopted at the present census is different from that followed at the last census, when some of the occupations were included in a combination of different groups. In such cases exact figures cannot be furnished for 1901 and an approximate estimate has been given, the figures concerned being marked with an asterisk.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII—OCCUPATIONS OF SELECTED CASTES.

BENGAL AND SIKKIM.

Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
1	2	3	1	2	3
ANGLO-INDIAN—			BHUINMALI—		
BENGAL	1,000	32	NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	10
Industries	71	26	Scavengers	128	13
Transport	277	5	Cultivators of all kinds	313	4
Trade	79	23	Industries	135	15
Public administration	88	4	Arts and professions	80	8
Arts and professions	149	113	Labourers (unspecified)	74	8
Contractors, clerks, cashiers, etc.	125	18	Others	270	16
Others	211	90			
ARMENIAN—			BRAHMAN—		
BENGAL	1,000	23	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	11
Industries	75	24	Priests	194	9
Transport	193	4	Income from rent of land	153	22
Trade	200	11	Cultivators of all kinds	224	12
Arts and Professions	157	55	Trade	65	5
Contractors' clerks, cashiers, etc.	149	15	Arts and professions	50	2
Others	226	47	Contractors, clerks, cashiers, etc.	43	...
			Others	271	12
BAGDI—			CHAIN—		
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	44	NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	6
Cultivators and fishermen	713	36	Priests	253	4
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	21	17	Income from rent of land	191	15
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen, etc.	40	2	Cultivators of all kinds	101	10
Industries	101	162	Agents and managers of landed estates, etc.	85	...
Trade	21	287	Trade	63	8
Domestic service	52	76	Arts and professions	99	1
Others	52	32	Others	178	5
BAIDYA—			CHAMAR AND MUCHI—		
NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	9	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	19
Physicians	156	4	Hide-dressers and cobblers	365	28
Income from rent of land	317	21	Cultivators of all kinds	152	5
Agents and managers of landed estates	103	...	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	200	9
Trade	62	14	Trade	52	72
Public administration	77	...	Domestic service	53	20
Arts and professions	120	1	Labourers (unspecified)	53	14
Others	165	8	Others	125	20
BAISHNAB—			DHOBA—		
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	48	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	42
Religious mendicants	282	89	Washermen	602	66
Cultivators of all kinds	295	11	Cultivators of all kinds	222	7
Industries	119	62	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	51	10
Trade	79	50	Industries	52	63
Domestic service	46	185	Others	73	27
Beggars, prostitutes, criminals and inmates of jails and asylums	74	199			
Others	105	13			
BARUI—			DOM—		
NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	5	WEST BENGAL	1,000	55
Betel-leaf growers	612	3	Basket-makers and scavengers	442	143
Cultivators of all kinds	136	7	Cultivators of all kinds	92	7
Trade	184	4	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	238	17
Others	68	21	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	43	6
BAURI—			Domestic service	45	55
WEST BENGAL	1,000	66	Others	150	35
Labourers	520	72			
Cultivators of all kinds	75	22			
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	82	10			
Extraction of minerals	145	89			
Industries	82	162			
Domestic service	40	64			
Others	56	88			
BHOTIA—					
DARJEELING AND SIKKIM	1,000	89			
Cultivators	902	95			
Trade	18	50			
Domestic service	27	58			
Others	53	35			

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—OCCUPATION OF SELECTED CASTES—*continued.*BENGAL AND SIKKIM—*continued.*

Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
1	2	3	1	2	3
EUROPEAN AND ALLIED RACES—			HARI—		
BENGAL	1,000	11	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	45
Industries	74	10	Scavengers	128	195
Transport	188	2	Cultivators of all kinds	157	8
Trade	136	7	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	259	14
Public force	274	...	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	47	2
Public administration	63	2	Industries	133	216
Arts and professions	129	66	Transport	53	10
Others	136	25	Others	223	62
ENGLISH—			INDIAN CHRISTIAN—		
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	10	BENGAL	1,000	27
Industries	52	15	Cultivators of all kinds	434	18
Transport	161	1	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	114	39
Public force	360	...	Industries	54	38
Public administration	62	3	Arts and professions	86	84
Arts and professions	109	66	Domestic service	130	32
Others	256	18	Others	182	17
IRISH—			JOGI—		
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	19	NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	17
Industries	74	10	Weavers	387	32
Transport	229	1	Cultivators of all kinds	340	4
Trade	91	13	Industries	43	60
Public force	158	3	Trade	110	9
Arts and professions	162	148	Labourers (unspecified)	27	3
Others	286	15	Beggars, prostitutes, criminals and inmates of jails and asylums,	19	177
SCOTCH—			Others	74	3
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	5	JOLAHA—		
Industries	182	2	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	15
Transport	209	2	Weavers	379	20
Trade	187	1	Cultivators of all kinds	182	3
Public force	143	...	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	62	2
Arts and professions	94	38	Industries	243	20
Others	185	9	Trade	42	14
GANDHABANIK—			Domestic service	20	28
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	20	Others	72	16
Dealers in drugs and spices	493	15	KAIBARTTA (CHASI) OR MAHISHYA—		
Income from rent of land	31	39	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	15
Cultivators of all kinds	297	13	Cultivators	789	7
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	18	16	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	14	1
Industries	65	102	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	12	1
Domestic service	35	108	Industries	78	153
Others	61	16	Trade	32	61
GOALA—			Domestic service	26	79
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	20	Others	51	19
Herdsmen and milkmen	323	31	NORTH AND EAST BENGAL		
Cultivators of all kinds	378	7	NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	10
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	69	20	Cultivators	766	6
Industries	68	57	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	42	7
Transport	34	...	Industries	30	154
Domestic service	42	49	Trade	58	19
Others	86	23	Labourers (unspecified)	22	10
NORTH AND EAST BENGAL			Others	62	23
Herdsmen and milkmen	281	17	KAIBARTTA (JALIYA)—		
Cultivators of all kinds	194	6	NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	13
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	83	22	Fishermen	519	7
Transport	73	1	Cultivators of all kinds	262	5
Trade	144	17	Industries	54	358
Labourers (unspecified)	74	5	Transport	17	...
Others	151	13	Trade	103	23
GURUNG—			Others	45	30
DARJEELING AND SIKKIM	1,000	89	KALU—		
Soldiers and cultivators	470	104	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	20
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	407	102	Oil-pressers	345	23
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	15	14	Cultivators of all kinds	369	8
Industries	14	6	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	57	8
Trade	21	40	Industries	86	67
Labourers (unspecified)	28	40	Trade	59	29
Others	45	22	Domestic service	19	51
			Others	65	13

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—OCCUPATIONS OF SELECTED CASTES—*continued.*BENGAL AND SIKKIM—*continued.*

Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
1	2	3	1	2	3
KAMAR (KARMAKAR)—			KUMHAR—		
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	17	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	32
Blacksmiths	636	10	Potters	727	36
Cultivators of all kinds	130	15	Cultivators of all kinds... ..	117	7
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	65	57	Industries	59	37
Industries	34	28	Trade	36	38
Trade	46	34	Domestic service	12	129
Domestic service	25	141	Others	49	17
Others	64	24			
NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	9	NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	42
Blacksmiths	445	4	Potters	750	56
Cultivators of all kinds	134	12	Cultivators of all kinds	133	4
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	62	31	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	8	23
Industries	250	6	Industries	30	26
Trade	41	26	Trade	64	23
Others	68	31	Others	25	14
KANSARI—			KURMI—		
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	17	WEST BENGAL	1,000	54
Braziers	425	5	Cultivators	847	52
Cultivators of all kinds	54	11	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.,	28	60
Industries	149	21	Raisers of live-stock, milk-men and herdsmen	47	3
Trade	152	13	Industries	42	422
Domestic service	64	152	Domestic service	13	71
Labourers (unspecified)	30	2	Others	23	71
Others	126	48			
KAPALI—			LEPCHA—		
NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	8	DARJEELING AND SIKKIM	1,000	89
Weavers and cultivators	802	6	Cultivators	966	92
Income from rent of land	22	77	Others	34	30
Cultivators of all kinds	91	6			
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	24	1			
Trade	20	9			
Others	41	39			
KAYASTH—			LIMBU—		
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	15	DARJEELING AND SIKKIM	1,000	94
Writers	195	1	Cultivators	689	99
Income from rent of land	210	26	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	211	128
Cultivators of all kinds	251	14	Trade	32	30
Industries	65	26	Domestic service	9	37
Trade	59	13	Labourers (unspecified)	20	88
Others	220	17	Others	39	13
NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	10			
Writers	60	...			
Income from rent of land	137	19			
Cultivators of all kinds	367	9			
Trade	141	6			
Arts and professions	62	1			
Others	233	15			
KHAMBU—			MAGH—		
DARJEELING AND SIKKIM	1,000	81	EAST BENGAL	1,000	61
Cultivators	900	96	Cultivators	708	55
Raisers of live-stock, milk-men and herdsmen	10	15	Industries	96	1,325
Labourers (unspecified)	70	2	Trade	81	34
Others	20	28	Labourers (unspecified)	41	14
			Others	74	19
KHAS—			MALO—		
DARJEELING AND SIKKIM	1,000	70	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	20
Soldiers and cultivators	504	92	Boatmen and fishermen	762	12
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	300	72	Cultivators of all kinds	62	6
Raisers of live-stock, milk-men and herdsmen	25	22	Industries	80	196
Domestic service	25	20	Trade	35	50
Labourers (unspecified)	58	82	Domestic service	15	205
Others	88	13	Others	46	22
KULU—			MANGAR—		
NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	12	DARJEELING AND SIKKIM	1,000	83
Oil-pressers	515	15	Military service	119	116
Cultivators of all kinds	331	4	Cultivators of all kinds	211	69
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	22	1	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	465	106
Trade	77	14	Labourers (unspecified)	61	40
Labourers (unspecified)	20	12	Others	144	46
Others	35	35			
			MURMI—		
			DARJEELING AND SIKKIM	1,000	99
			Cultivators		101
			Others	23	4

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—OCCUPATIONS OF SELECTED CASTES—*continued.*BENGAL AND SIKKIM—*continued.*

Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 worker engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
1	2	3	1	2	3
NAMASUDRA—			RAJBANSI—		
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	10	NORTH BENGAL AND FARIDPUR	1,000	6
Boatmen and cultivators	815	5	Cultivators	838	2
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	17	2	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	61	2
Fishing and hunting	22	10	Industries	28	200
Industries	51	80	Trade	20	171
Trade	23	88	Labourers (unspecified)	14	6
Domestic service	17	68	Others	39	22
Others	55	25			
NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	8	RAJPUT (CHHATRI)—		
Boatmen and cultivators	725	4	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	12
Fishing and hunting	26	6	Landholders, cultivators and soldiers	473	12
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	32	2	Industries	163	20
Industries	81	35	Trade	60	14
Trade	45	25	Domestic service	58	21
Labourers (unspecified)	31	5	Labourers (unspecified)	31	3
Others	60	34	Others	215	5
NAPIT—			SADGOP—		
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	21	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	16
Barbers	475	23	Cultivators	812	9
Cultivators of all kinds	298	7	Raisers of live-stock, milk-men and herdsmen	17	1
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	23	5	Industries	67	174
Industries	68	57	Trade	36	34
Trade	41	68	Arts and professions	8	1
Domestic service	30	87	Domestic service	25	121
Others	65	26	Others	35	18
NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	6	SAIYAD—		
Barbers	494	3	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	15
Cultivators of all kinds	351	5	Income from rent of land	110	24
Industries	28	59	Cultivators of all kinds	326	9
Trade	25	16	Industries	193	21
Arts and professions	39	1	Trade	56	24
Others	63	26	Beggars, prostitutes, criminals and inmates of jails and asylums	62	23
NEWAR—			Others	253	12
DARJEELING AND SIKKIM	1,000	73	SANTAL—		
Cultivators	385	86	NORTH, WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	69
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	364	71	Cultivators	671	60
Extraction of minerals	44	514	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	107	88
Industries	29	5	Extraction of minerals	50	65
Trade	57	24	Industries	60	169
Labourers (unspecified)	51	189	Trade	16	478
Others	70	18	Labourers (unspecified)	37	160
PATHAN—			Others	59	23
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	12	SUDRA—		
Cultivators of all kinds	385	6	EAST BENGAL	1,000	15
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	120	3	Indoor servants	145	22
Industries	181	37	Cultivators of all kinds	375	6
Trade	76	15	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	40	3
Others	238	13	Industries	93	127
PATNI—			Trade	111	13
PABNA AND MYMENSINGH	1,000	13	Labourers (unspecified)	91	3
Boatmen	121	3	Others	145	10
Cultivators of all kinds	365	4	SUNRI—		
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	40	...	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	16
Fishing and hunting	164	2	Wine-sellers	118	6
Industries	129	82	Cultivators of all kinds	474	9
Trade	122	20	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	50	16
Others	59	46	Industries	83	159
POD—			Trade	157	13
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	8	Others	118	20
Fishermen	871	4	SUTRADHAR—		
Cultivators of all kinds	9	3	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	30
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	11	...	Carpenters	508	2
Raisers of live-stock, milk-men and herdsmen	8	8	Cultivators of all kinds	145	15
Industries	39	128	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	24	18
Trade	19	116	Industries	213	207
Others	43	25	Trade	54	134
RAJBANSI—			Domestic service	17	215
DARJEELING AND COOCH BEHAR	1,000	7	Others	39	30
Cultivators	890	2			
Income from rent of land	12	17			
Industries	28	492			
Trade	14	499			
Domestic service	13	17			
Beggars, prostitutes, criminals and inmates of jails and asylums	19	103			
Others	24	5			

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—OCCUPATIONS OF SELECTED CASTES—*continued.*BENGAL AND SIKKIM—*concluded.*

Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
1	2	3	1	2	3
SUTRADHAR—			TELI AND TILI—		
NORTH AND EAST BENGAL	1,000	5	WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	18
Carpenters	668	1	Oil-pressers and oil-sellers	92	24
Cultivators of all kinds	221	6	Cultivators of all kinds	521	7
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	5	4	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	51	6
Industries	47	35	Industries	141	72
Trade	28	19	Trade	81	20
Beggars, prostitutes, criminals and inmates of jails and asylums.	6	239	Domestic service	36	89
Others	25	36	Others	78	22
TANTI—			TIYAR—		
WEST AND CENTRAL BENGAL	1,000	29	DACCA AND MYMENSINGH	1,000	19
Weavers	420	25	Boatmen and fishermen	513	6
Cultivators of all kinds	237	11	Cultivators of all kinds	254	5
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	62	41	Industries	69	851
Industries	127	92	Trade	101	98
Trade	52	28	Others	63	9
Domestic service	35	116			
Others	67	24			

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—OCCUPATIONS OF SELECTED CASTES—*continued*.

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
1	2	3	1	2	3
ANGLO-INDIAN—			BAURI—		
WHOLE PROVINCE	1,000	28	ORISSA	1,000	80
Extraction of minerals	51	3	Labourers	710	78
Transport	420	1	Cultivators of all kinds	71	10
Trade	61	6	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	12	183
Public administration	50	9	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	38	11
Arts and professions	78	123	Industries	68	254
Beggars, prostitutes, criminals, etc.	114	6,850	Trade	73	434
Others	226	32	Others	28	51
ARMENIAN—			SONTHAL PARGANAS		
WHOLE PROVINCE	1,000	12	Labourers	469	105
Transport	333	...	Cultivators of all kinds	196	68
Trade	298	...	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	93	107
Others	369	31	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	103	5
BABHAN (BHUMIHAR BRAHMAN)—			Industries	19	483
BIHAR	1,000	8	Domestic service	65	109
Agriculture	925	7	Others	55	87
Agents and managers of landed estates, etc.	18	...	MANBHUM		
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	22	40	Labourers	440	114
Raisers of live-stock, herdsmen and milkmen	6	3	Cultivators of all kinds	193	54
Domestic service	8	18	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	45	19
Others	21	21	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	72	7
BAISHNAB—			Domestic service	31	280
ORISSA AND CHOTA NAGPUR	1,000	28	Extraction of minerals	170	83
Religious mendicants	282	30	Others	49	74
Cultivators of all kinds	464	17	BHUIYA—		
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	40	44	GAYA AND BHAGALPUR	1,000	97
Industries	24	181	Landholders	814	93
Trade	36	107	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	109	179
Beggars, prostitutes, criminals, etc.	73	59	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	15	16
Others	81	22	Trade	24	378
BANIYA—			Domestic service	9	8
BIHAR	1,000	40	Others	29	58
Traders	518	45	SONTHAL PARGANAS		
Cultivators of all kinds	300	23	Landholders	840	109
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	85	87	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	68	112
Industries	27	249	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	40	11
Transport	18	5	Industries	11	348
Domestic service	10	30	Domestic service	15	100
Others	42	19	Others	26	72
BARHI—			ORISSA STATES		
BIHAR	1,000	42	Landholders	758	39
Carpenters	278	7	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	60	48
Cultivators of all kinds	444	39	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	29	21
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	190	175	Industries	51	348
Raisers of live-stock, herdsmen and milkmen	19	11	Labourers (unspecified)	43	136
Industries	15	200	Others	59	72
Trade	13	138	BHUMIJ—		
Others	41	46	MANBHUM AND ORISSA STATES	1,000	87
ORISSA, HAZARIBAGH AND ORISSA STATES			Cultivators	769	91
Carpenters	275	8	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	18	129
Cultivators of all kinds	537	40	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	76	12
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	85	113	Extraction of minerals	12	52
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	10	47	Trade	43	269
Industries	33	124	Labourers (unspecified)	37	213
Trade	7	181	Others	45	70
Others	53	155	BRAHMAN—		
BARAI—			BIHAR	1,000	12
BIHAR	1,000	40	Priests	144	18
Betel-leaf-growers	301	53	Income from rent of land	32	15
Cultivators of all kinds	501	28	Cultivators of all kinds	723	10
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	125	79	Trade	7	21
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	11	10	Arts and professions	10	2
Income from rent of land	11	7	Others	84	20
Trade	16	39	ORISSA		
Others	35	35	Priests	102	12
			Income from rent of land	54	11
			Cultivators of all kinds	725	6
			Trade	22	20
			Arts and professions	16	1
			Others	81	31

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—OCCUPATIONS OF SELECTED CASTES—*continued.*BIHAR AND ORISSA—*continued.*

Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
1	2	3	1	2	3
BRAHMAN—<i>concl'd.</i>			DOSADH—		
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	15	BIHAR	1,000	71
Priests	104	17	Labourers	629	94
Income from rent of land	79	14	Cultivators of all kinds	251	40
Cultivators of all kinds	637	13	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	31	89
Trade	25	32	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	22	10
Arts and professions	27	7	Industries	9	162
Others	128	26	Trade	12	211
			Domestic service	13	14
			Others	33	30
CHAMAR AND MUCHI—			EUROPEANS AND ALLIED RACES—		
BIHAR	1,000	88	WHOLE PROVINCE	1,000	16
Hide dressers	99	56	Agents and managers of landed estates, etc.	63	2
Cultivators of all kinds	273	52	Extraction of minerals	42	1
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	541	117	Industries	35	8
Arts and professions	23	1,037	Transport	204	8
Labourers, (unspecified)	18	112	Public force	341	...
Others	46	51	Public administration	54	2
			Others	261	85
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	87			
Hide dressers	120	46	GAURA—		
Cultivators of all kinds	412	70	ORISSA	1,000	55
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	278	122	Herdsmen and milkmen	218	62
Extraction of minerals	54	86	Cultivators of all kinds	468	35
Labourers, (unspecified)	52	116	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	215	77
Others	84	157	Industries	24	982
			Trade	13	392
CHASA—			Domestic service	26	117
ORISSA	1,000	13	Others	36	45
Cultivators	869	8	GOALA (AHIR)—		
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	17	16	BIHAR	1,000	54
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	21	3	Herdsmen and milkmen	150	109
Industries	37	1,001	Cultivators of all kinds	599	35
Trade	15	164	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	202	95
Labourers (unspecified)	11	23	Industries	4	218
Others	30	25	Transport	7	7
			Trade	9	364
DHANUK—			Others	29	83
BIHAR	1,000	61	GOND—		
Domestic service	452	60	ORISSA STATES	1,000	63
Cultivators of all kinds	33	21	Cultivators	785	54
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	428	71	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	77	114
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	31	9	Industries	52	202
Others	56	64	Trade	11	143
			Public force	11	17
DHOBA—			Labourers, (unspecified)	24	160
BIHAR	1,000	74	Others	40	44
Washermen	580	110	HAJJAM—		
Cultivators of all kinds	288	35	BIHAR	1,000	58
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	102	67	Barbers	461	60
Others	30	22	Cultivators of all kinds	371	36
			Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	117	164
DHUNIYA—			Raisers of live-stock, herdsmen and milkmen	8	11
BIHAR	1,000	61	Domestic service	16	89
Cotton cleaners	61	77	Labourers (unspecified)	6	108
Cultivators of all kinds	378	37	Others	21	91
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	401	91			
Trade	33	71	CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	73
Domestic service	31	47	Barbers	280	57
Others	96	55	Income from rent of land	16	119
			Cultivators of all kinds	573	69
DOM—			Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	74	233
BIHAR	1,000	85	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	18	16
Basket-makers	809	88	Extraction of minerals	11	56
Cultivators of all kinds	65	59	Labourers, (unspecified)	16	208
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	82	122	Others	32	96
Others	44	29			
			HARI—		
SONTAL PARGANAS AND MANBHUM	1,000	82	PURNEA	1,000	40
Basket-makers	225	114	Scavengers	119	105
Cultivators of all kinds	367	75	Cultivators of all kinds	147	3
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	212	106	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	377	31
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	34	13	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	58	2
Arts and professions	35	18	Industries	111	268
Others	127	79	Public force	52	...
			Others	136	54

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—OCCUPATIONS OF SELECTED CASTES—continued.

BIHAR AND ORISSA—continued.

Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
1	2	3	1	2	3
HARI—concl.			KALWAR—		
MANBHUM	1,000	76	BIHAR	1,000	33
Scavengers	137	143	Distillers	52	33
Cultivators of all kinds	304	65	Cultivators of all kinds	434	24
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	243	92	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	77	63
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	62	21	Industries	13	76
Extraction of minerals	84	57	Transport	13	24
Domestic service	42	32	Trade	362	41
Others	128	95	Others	49	20
ORISSA STATES			KAMAR—		
Scavengers	76	112	CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	61
Cultivators of all kinds	75	10	Blacksmiths	536	44
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	151	35	Cultivators of all kinds	155	46
Industries	389	118	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	159	174
Trade	130	280	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	32	16
Domestic service	49	50	Industries	24	82
Others	130	32	Labourers (unspecified)	28	192
HO—			Others	66	83
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	95	KANDH—		
Cultivators	844	98	CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	83
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	46	144	Cultivators	911	78
Raisers of live-stock, herdsmen and milkmen	37	12	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	12	35
Trade	3	432	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	10	10
Domestic service	13	151	Industries	33	925
Labourers (unspecified)	43	137	Domestic service	6	374
Others	14	33	Labourers (unspecified)	16	149
INDIAN CHRISTIAN—			Others	12	65
WHOLE PROVINCE	1,000	81	KANDU—		
Income from rent of land	223	137	BIHAR	1,000	66
Cultivators of all kinds	608	68	Grain-parchers	213	233
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	41	104	Cultivators of all kinds	390	36
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	23	29	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	248	71
Labourers, (unspecified)	30	129	Industries	25	46
Others	75	59	Trade	59	49
JOLAHA—			Domestic service	18	51
BIHAR	1,000	69	Others	47	31
Weavers	165	51	KARAN—		
Cultivators of all kinds	409	54	ORISSA	1,000	10
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	259	145	Writers	172	...
Industries	34	67	Income from rent of land	63	12
Trade	33	47	Cultivators of all kinds	535	8
Domestic service	37	61	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	33	9
Others	63	46	Industries	31	524
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU			Domestic service	23	47
Weavers	164	70	Labourers (unspecified)	38	4
Cultivators of all kinds	600	72	Others	105	8
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	110	178	KASERI—		
Raisers of live-stock, herdsmen and milkmen	17	12	BIHAR	1,000	45
Extraction of minerals	26	56	Braziers	546	13
Labourers, (unspecified)	27	138	Income from rent of land	50	2,378
Others	56	66	Cultivators of all kinds	125	23
KAHAR—			Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	57	123
BIHAR	1,000	93	Fishing and hunting	83	...
Palki-bearers	321	173	Trade	69	42
Cultivators of all kinds	247	51	Others	70	138
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	326	98	KAYASTH—		
Trade	14	93	BIHAR	1,000	10
Domestic service	14	77	Writers	274	1
Labourers, (unspecified)	16	95	Income from rent of land	68	22
Others	62	30	Cultivators of all kinds	476	12
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU			Agents and managers of landed estates	29	1
Palki-bearers	157	105	Public administration	21	...
Cultivators of all kinds	368	73	Arts and professions	42	1
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	250	134	Others	90	28
Extraction of minerals	25	51	KEWAT—		
Domestic service	54	86	BIHAR	1,000	42
Labourers, (unspecified)	65	97	Fishermen	24	72
Others	81	30	Cultivators of all kinds	461	20
KALU—			Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	364	64
MANBHUM	1,000	65	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	35	4
Oil-pressers	390	92	Industries	18	473
Cultivators of all kinds	407	49	Domestic service	62	189
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	69	98	Others	36	40
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	45	4			
Extraction of minerals	26	15			
Trade	26	90			
Others	37	106			

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—OCCUPATIONS OF SELECTED CASTES—*continued.*BIHAR AND ORISSA—*continued.*

Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
1	2	3	1	2	3
KEWAT—concl'd.			KURMI—		
ORISSA	1,000	66	PATNA AND TIRHUT DIVISIONS	1,000	52
Fishermen	579	148	Cultivators	870	50
Cultivators of all kinds	217	4	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	68	96
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	57	1	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	11	22
Industries	29	132	Industries	9	115
Transport	43	...	Trade	8	43
Trade	43	105	Labourers, (unspecified)	7	94
Others	32	13	Others	27	22
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	86	LOHAR—		
Fishermen	538	182	BIHAR	1,000	41
Cultivators of all kinds	297	30	Blacksmiths	253	9
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	84	35	Cultivators of all kinds	538	44
Industries	111	279	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	146	149
Transport	38	3	Industries	17	41
Trade	96	222	Transport	7	6
Others	36	23	Trade	10	54
KHANDAIT—			Others	29	50
ORISSA	1,000	11	MALLAH—		
Landholders	831	5	BIHAR	1,000	61
Cultivators of all kinds	37	6	Boatmen and fishermen	247	122
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	12	4	Cultivators of all kinds	379	27
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	14	3	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	289	72
Industries	44	553	Industries	14	168
Labourers, (unspecified)	12	...	Trade	20	176
Others	50	34	Others	51	66
KOIRI—			MUNDA—		
BIHAR	1,000	54	CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	92
Cultivators and vegetable-growers	802	46	Cultivators	859	96
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	153	119	Income from rent of land	21	4
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	12	12	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	22	120
Transport	3	3	Raisers of live-stock, herdsmen and milkmen	23	18
Trade	4	110	Domestic service	9	65
Labourers, (unspecified)	5	78	Labourers, (unspecified)	44	174
Others	21	81	Others	22	90
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU—	1,000	79	MUSHAHAR—		
Cultivators and vegetable-growers	784	68	BIHAR	1,000	82
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	130	180	Labourers	829	83
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	15	50	Cultivators of all kinds	73	33
Extraction of minerals	11	38	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	52	114
Domestic service	19	197	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	20	4
Labourers, (unspecified)	21	108	Industries	5	263
Others	20	54	Trade	5	321
KUMHAR—			Others	16	76
BIHAR	1,000	65	NUNIYA—		
Potters	583	79	BIHAR	1,000	78
Cultivators of all kinds	288	33	Salt-petre refiners	237	106
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	92	121	Cultivators of all kinds	425	55
Industries	5	93	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	235	108
Trade	5	183	Industries	35	98
Domestic service	4	95	Trade	19	82
Others	23	72	Labourers, (unspecified)	13	87
ORISSA	1,000	66	Others	36	48
Potters	700	101	ORAON—		
Cultivators of all kinds	221	7	CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	103
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	37	47	Cultivators	822	102
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	8	7	Income from rent of land	39	61
Industries	12	436	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	36	184
Trade	6	146	Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	15	29
Others	16	37	Domestic service	8	110
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	74	Labourers, (unspecified)	51	238
Potters	588	72	Others	29	68
Income from rent of land	22	76	PAN—		
Cultivators of all kinds	245	70	ORISSA AND CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	55
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	35	148	Weavers	149	74
Raisers of live-stock, herdsmen and milkmen	19	21	Cultivators of all kinds	222	17
Industries	49	79	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	368	56
Others	47	119	Raisers of live-stock, herdsmen and milkmen	50	18
KUNJRA—			Trade	61	607
BIHAR	1,000	71	Labourers, (unspecified)	70	100
Vegetable sellers	328	275	Others	80	64
Cultivators of all kinds	391	24			
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	180	54			
Raisers of live-stock, milkmen and herdsmen	17	17			
Industries	10	37			
Trade	38	131			
Others	36	28			

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—OCCUPATIONS OF SELECTED CASTES—*concluded*.BIHAR AND ORISSA—*concluded*.

Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.	Caste and Occupations.	Number per 1,000 workers engaged on each occupation.	Number of female workers per 100 males.
1	2	3	1	2	3
PATHAN—			SUNRI—		
BIHAR	1,000	30	BIHAR	1,000	32
Income from rent of land	32	53	Wine-sellers	51	20
Cultivators of all kinds	460	19	Cultivators of all kinds	420	14
Agents and managers of landed estates, etc.	39	4	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	106	48
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	132	60	Industries	49	507
Trade	58	26	Transport	22	9
Domestic service	76	20	Trade	294	47
Others	203	38	Others	58	24
RAJPUT—			CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU		
BIHAR	1,000	10	Wine-sellers	10	77
Agriculture and Military service	902	9	Income from rent of land	20	73
Agents and managers of landed estates, etc.	23	...	Cultivators of all kinds	805	89
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	25	48	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	86	244
Raisers of live-stock, herdsmen and milkmen	6	3	Trade	10	51
Trade	7	26	Labourers (unspecified)	29	433
Domestic service	10	23	Others	40	161
Others	27	19	TANTI AND TATWA—		
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU	1,000	33	BIHAR	1,000	68
Agriculture and Military service	779	31	Weavers	66	71
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	53	85	Cultivators of all kinds	259	29
Trade	19	59	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	541	98
Domestic service	38	31	Raisers of live-stock, herdsmen and milkmen	25	9
Others	111	26	Industries	31	97
RAJWAR—			Labourers (unspecified)	22	163
GAYA	1,000	106	Others	56	56
Labourers	687	119	ORISSA		
Cultivators of all kinds	147	57	Weavers	628	90
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	124	174	Cultivators of all kinds	227	5
Others	42	34	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	49	4
SAIYAD—			Raisers of live-stock, herdsmen and milkmen	10	5
BIHAR	1,000	29	Industries	59	961
Income from rent of land	193	51	Trade	18	175
Cultivators of all kinds	351	17	Others	29	47
Arts and professions	59	4	TELI—		
Domestic service	61	64	BIHAR	1,000	53
Others	336	32	Oil-pressers	322	118
SONTHAL—			Cultivators of all kinds	418	26
BIHAR, ORISSA, CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU, }	1,000	87	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	94	66
ORISSA STATES AND SONTHAL PARGANAS }			Industries	17	229
Cultivators	851	95	Transport	17	7
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	27	109	Trade	99	34
Raisers of live-stock, herdsmen and milkmen	61	16	Others	33	37
Extraction of minerals	22	83	ORISSA—		
Domestic service	9	60	Oil-pressers	216	109
Labourers (unspecified)	14	100	Cultivators of all kinds	498	5
Others	16	104	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	91	2
SONAR—			Industries	40	701
BIHAR	1,000	21	Trade	96	48
Goldsmiths	488	5	Labourers, (unspecified)	13	7
Cultivators of all kinds	289	27	Others	46	16
Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	82	91	TIYAR—		
Industries	29	117	PURNEA	1,000	79
Trade	64	48	Fishermen	175	94
Domestic service	9	95	Cultivators of all kinds	124	8
Others	39	45	Field-labourers, wood-cutters, etc.	545	24
			Raisers of live-stock, herdsmen and milkmen	70	1
			Industries	39	743
			Trade	16	182
			Others	31	7

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—OCCUPATIONS BY RELIGION FOR ORDERS AND SELECTED GROUPS.

ORDER AND SELECTED GROUPS.		DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION OF 10,000 PERSONS FOLLOWING EACH OCCUPATION.										DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OF 10,000 PERSONS OF EACH RELIGION.											
		BENGAL.					BIHAR AND ORISSA.					BENGAL.					BIHAR AND ORISSA.						
		Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Buddhist.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
TOTAL POPULATION																							
1.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE ...		4,523	5,234	28	53	158	4	8,260	958	70	708	4	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	
1.—PASTURE AND AGRICULTURE ...		3,839	5,906	15	55	185	...	8,299	899	65	735	2	6,472	8,605	4,067	7,859	8,951	655	8,053	7,516	7,516	8,326	3,918
(a) Ordinary Cultivation ...		3,790	5,976	14	49	171	...	8,299	908	65	726	2	6,260	8,530	3,77	6,905	8,063	630	7,857	7,410	7,323	8,015	3,879
1. Income from rent of agricultural land ...		6,958	2,913	10	25	87	5	8,305	1,273	87	326	9	401	145	90	121	145	358	165	218	204	75	421
2. Ordinary cultivators ...		3,513	6,293	14	54	126	...	8,200	928	80	790	2	4,939	7,724	3,280	6,501	5,139	72	5,681	5,544	6,587	6,387	2,679
3. Agents, managers of landed estates (not planters), clerks, rent collectors, etc.		8,152	1,773	12	8	43	12	8,463	1,377	46	102	12	81	15	20	7	12	160	48	67	30	7	154
4. Farm servants and field labourers.		4,816	4,560	15	20	589	...	8,597	803	19	580	1	789	646	385	276	2,767	40	1,953	1,581	504	1,546	625
(b) Growers of special products and market gardening.		7,453	439	54	610	1,398	1	8,942	736	177	142	...	722	6	248	847	655	21	8	6	19	1	...
(c) Forestry ...		5,608	3,478	35	391	489	1	8,263	444	114	1,177	2	8	4	8	48	20	3	14	6	23	24	8
(d) Raising of farm stock ...		5,130	4,269	14	509	46	...	8,260	516	60	1,163	1	75	54	34	59	213	1	174	54	151	286	31
(e) Raising of small animals		3,758	6,237	5	...	...	...	8,739	1,137	18	106	...	7	11	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2.—FISHING AND HUNTING		9,396	570	8	25	1	...	9,663	190	1	146	...	290	15	37	66	1	...	44	8	1	7	1
14.—Fishing		9,421	547	6	25	1	...	9,843	85	1	71	...	290	14	30	66	1	...	42	3	1	3	...
3.—MINES ...		8,436	367	36	...	1,161	...	6,243	771	23	2,960	3	46	2	32	...	182	...	26	27	11	143	27
16.—Coal mines		8,436	338	35	...	1,161	...	6,134	792	22	3,049	3	46	2	31	...	182	...	25	27	10	143	27
4.—QUARRIES OF HARD ROCKS		9,717	260	23	...	...	...	9,360	561	8	71	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...
5.—SALT, ETC.		2,698	7,302	...	...	...	...	9,980	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...
6.—TEXTILES		5,824	4,094	16	62	3	1	6,753	3,023	61	129	34	242	147	107	219	4	50	102	394	109	23	1,143
22. Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving		5,345	4,531	7	115	2	...	7,109	2,660	59	131	41	117	86	25	215	1	15	88	284	87	19	1,143
23. Jute spinning, pressing and weaving		6,519	3,443	28	3	3	2	5,074	4,917	9	...	...	102	47	71	4	1	33	3	23	1	...	...
7.—HIDES, SKINS AND HARD MATERIALS FROM THE ANIMAL KINGDOM.		9,506	472	9	4	8	1	8,886	917	141	52	4	25	1	4	1	...	2	2	2	4	...	2
8.—WOOD		8,203	1,611	37	51	73	20	9,217	158	36	585	4	145	25	105	77	37	463	86	13	40	64	85

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—OCCUPATIONS BY RELIGION FOR ORDERS AND SELECTED GROUPS—continued.

DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION OF 10,000 PERSONS FOLLOWING EACH OCCUPATION.										DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OF 10,000 PERSONS OF EACH RELIGION.														
ORDER AND SELECTED GROUPS.	BENGAL.						BIHAR AND ORISSA.						BENGAL.						BIHAR AND ORISSA.					
	Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Buddhist.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Buddhist.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		
9.—METALS	9,079	879	19	2	20	1	9,120	332	72	462	14	80	7	27	1	5	15	60	19	56	35	204		
10.—CERAMICS	9,437	537	2	1	23	...	9,163	366	39	432	...	102	5	4	1	7	3	73	25	37	40	2		
11.—CHEMICAL PRODUCTS PROPERLY SO-CALLED AND ANALOGOUS.	3,778	6,195	18	7	...	2	9,359	174	8	458	1	24	34	18	4	...	16	46	7	5	26	13		
12.—FOOD INDUSTRIES	5,861	4,010	10	37	81	1	8,801	1,054	9	132	4	135	80	38	73	54	26	121	124	14	21	121		
13.—INDUSTRIES OF DRESS AND THE TOILET.	7,637	2,331	12	12	1	7	8,215	1,647	23	114	1	189	50	48	26	1	222	153	264	50	25	43		
14.—FURNITURE INDUSTRIES	3,323	6,629	36	1	...	11	7,281	2,580	125	14	...	2	3	3	...	...	7	...	1	...	...	...
15.—BUILDING INDUSTRIES	3,857	6,049	28	20	46	...	8,181	1,328	49	439	3	42	57	48	18	14	5	36	50	25	22	28		
16.—CONSTRUCTION OF MEANS OF TRANSPORT.	8,261	1,679	48	4	4	4	6,942	2,174	824	60	...	15	3	15	1	...	10	...	1	5	...	...
17.—PRODUCTION AND TRANSMISSION OF PHYSICAL FORCE, ETC.	6,179	2,506	1,167	4	...	144	4,074	5,522	337	...	67	1	...	43	...	...	44	...	...	...	...	1
18.—INDUSTRIES OF LUXURY, etc.	8,379	1,544	56	10	3	8	8,985	946	21	36	12	108	17	116	17	1	144	52	47	15	3	158		
19.—INDUSTRIES CONCERNED WITH REFUSE MATTER.	9,451	516	11	3	16	3	9,352	390	20	237	1	22	1	4	1	1	12	13	5	3	4	4		
20.—TRANSPORT BY WATER	4,072	5,739	112	19	55	3	7,751	2,211	17	18	3	61	74	268	24	23	51	13	31	3	...	11		
97. Boat owners, boatmen and townmen	4,724	5,346	7	20	3	...	8,547	1,427	5	19	2	51	49	12	18	1	6	11	16	1	...	5		
21.—TRANSPORT BY ROAD	6,342	3,094	19	32	512	1	8,002	1,366	73	557	2	139	58	68	58	321	20	54	80	58	44	35		
22.—DITTO RAIL	6,789	2,501	579	17	57	57	7,477	1,917	485	93	28	52	16	718	11	13	589	19	43	148	3	159		
23.—POST OFFICE, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE SERVICES.	7,447	2,053	407	66	11	16	7,121	2,033	468	374	4	11	3	100	9	1	33	3	6	21	2	4		

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—OCCUPATIONS BY RELIGION FOR ORDERS AND SELECTED GROUPS—concluded

ORDER AND SELECTED GROUPS.		DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION OF 10,000 PERSONS FOLLOWING EACH OCCUPATION.										DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION OF 10,000 PERSONS OF EACH RELIGION.											
		BENGAL.					BIHAR AND ORISSA.					BENGAL.					BIHAR AND ORISSA.						
		Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Buddhist.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Buddhist.	Animist.	Others.	Hindu.	Musliman.	Christian.	Animist.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
41.—TRADE OF OTHER SORTS	...	6,779	2,844	166	126	6	79	7,375	1,856	26	712	31	36	13	143	57	1	566	21	45	8	23	192
42.—ARMY	...	2,613	2,311	4,679	1	387	9	3,019	819	6,162	...	...	1	1	322	...	...	221	...	...	31	...	...
43.—NAVY	...	8,667	...	1,333	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
44.—POLICE	...	6,454	3,370	64	69	41	2	8,415	1,134	53	397	1	54	24	87	49	10	25	47	55	36	26	19
45.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	...	7,591	2,056	264	34	25	30	7,426	2,034	292	228	20	49	11	272	18	4	260	16	37	73	6	96
144. Service of the State	...	7,544	2,116	282	24	2	32	6,934	2,407	346	289	24	41	10	243	11	...	229	11	32	64	5	83
46.—RELIGION	...	8,328	1,513	138	15	...	6	9,336	317	281	59	7	148	23	394	22	...	136	60	18	215	4	106
47.—LAW	...	8,874	1,022	74	5	...	25	7,826	2,099	47	1	27	32	3	43	2	...	120	6	14	4	...	47
48.—MEDICINE	...	8,131	1,580	141	118	5	25	8,618	1,181	129	48	24	63	11	177	78	1	257	15	17	26	1	92
49.—INSTRUCTION	...	7,404	2,098	392	44	3	59	7,620	1,840	396	120	24	34	9	292	17	1	365	13	27	81	3	93
50.—LETTERS, ARTS AND SCIENCES	...	7,212	2,382	363	20	1	22	7,338	2,405	204	48	5	36	10	295	8	...	147	13	37	43	1	20
51.—PERSONS LIVING PRINCIPALLY ON THEIR INCOME.	...	7,555	1,498	829	28	23	67	5,859	2,665	1,382	15	79	19	3	333	6	2	222	2	7	51	...	54
52.—DOMESTIC SERVICE	...	6,764	2,884	183	104	52	13	7,469	1,410	197	922	2	170	63	742	222	37	457	171	278	532	246	131
53.—INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS.	...	3,614	6,106	53	97	121	9	6,970	754	175	2,095	6	233	340	553	529	224	768	207	193	615	726	405
54.—INMATES OF JAILS, ASYLUMS AND HOSPITALS.	...	4,055	4,976	844	57	64	4	7,434	2,144	235	179	8	3	3	92	3	1	3	2	5	8	...	5
55.—BEGGARS, VAGRANTS AND PROSTITUTES	...	4,911	5,035	8	25	18	3	6,594	2,738	48	610	10	101	90	28	44	11	86	38	136	33	41	120

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED ON THE 10TH MARCH 1911 ON RAILWAYS, AND IN THE IRRIGATION, TELEGRAPH AND POSTAL DEPARTMENTS IN BENCAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA.

CLASS OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.	CLASS OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.	Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	Indians.
RAILWAYS.			TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.		
TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED	4,394	236,326	TOTAL	614	3,996
<i>Persons directly employed—</i>	4,346	139,024	Administrative establishment	40	6
Officers	391	25	Signalling	537	134
Subordinates drawing more than Rs. 75 per month	2,896	794	Clerks	26	356
“ “ from Rs. 20 to Rs. 75 “	1,000	21,522	Skilled labour	10	1,132
“ “ under Rs. 20 per month ...	59	116,683	Unskilled labour	1	1,910
<i>Persons indirectly employed—</i>	48	97,902	Messenger, etc. ... ..	...	858
Contractors	28	1,710	POSTAL DEPARTMENT.		
Contractors' regular employes	19	13,931	TOTAL	104	22,883
Coolies	1	82,261	Supervising officers	31	127
IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT.			Post Masters	23	1,709
TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED	30	20,123	Miscellaneous Agents ... ..	...	2,534
<i>Persons directly employed—</i>	29	5,341	Clerks	49	2,081
Officers	18	24	Postmen, etc. ... ..	...	7,784
Upper Subordinates	4	80	Road establishment ... ..	...	5,824
Lower “	2	170	Railway Mail Service—		
Peons and other servants	5	4,083	Supervising officers	1	14
Coolies ... ..	...	984	Clerks and sorters ... ..	...	571
<i>Persons indirectly employed—</i>	1	14,782	Mail guards, etc. ... ..	...	442
Contractors	1	719	Probationers, paid or unpaid ... ..	...	37
Contractors' regular employes ... ..	...	385	Combined offices—		
Coolies ... ..	...	13,678	Signallers ... ..	...	287
			Messengers ... ..	...	45

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XI—CASTES OF INCOME-TAX ASSESSEES.

CASTE, TRIBE OR RACE.	BENGAL.					BIHAR AND ORISSA.					GRAND TOTAL.
	Profes- sions.	Manu- factures.	Commer- ce and trade.	Owners of property.	Total.	Profes- sions.	Manu- factures.	Commer- ce and trade.	Owners of pro- perty.	Total.	
Total	3,164	588	17,761	1,359	22,872	1,412	384	10,811	489	13,096	35,968
Agarwala	3	2	325	10	340	8	10	1,541	38	1,597	1,937
Aguri	30	...	118	10	158	1	...	1	1	3	161
Babhan (Bhumihar) ... ..	...	...	6	2	8	18	5	740	53	816	824
Baidya	295	1	126	58	480	34	...	27	1	62	542
Baishnab and Bairagi	8	...	47	...	55	2	...	26	17	45	100
Bais-Baniya ... ..	...	...	53	...	53	1	2	182	3	188	241
Baniya	12	6	532	26	576	1	...	191	...	192	768
Barai and Barui	27	...	105	5	137	3	1	31	...	35	172
Brahman	994	63	1,451	348	2,856	332	6	800	57	1,195	4,051
Gandhabanik	4	6	366	1	377	3	...	102	1	106	483
Goala (Ahir)	4	7	339	2	352	3	...	212	4	219	571
Jogi and Jugi	16	1	208	2	227	...	...	1	...	1	228
Joaha ... ..	...	...	25	...	25	...	1	86	...	87	112
Kaibartta Total	36	21	569	16	642	1	...	1	...	2	644
Kaibartta (Chasi or Mahisya)	7	...	237	6	250	...	...	1	...	1	251
Kaibartta (Jalia) ... ..	...	4	54	...	58	...	...	...	...	...	58
Ditto (unspecified)	29	17	278	10	334	...	...	...	...	...	335
Kalu	1	21	184	4	210	1	...	1	...	2	212
Kalwar ... ..	...	5	55	1	61	13	42	712	14	781	842
Kamar and Lohar	14	11	114	4	143	...	23	138	1	162	305
Kandu ... ..	...	...	28	2	30	1	26	135	...	162	192
Kasarwani ... ..	...	...	4	...	4	...	3	159	...	162	166
Kayasth	1,111	51	1,640	239	3,041	534	2	196	39	771	3,812
Koli ... ..	...	...	1	...	1	1	2	189	1	193	194
Kumhar	7	53	106	2	168	...	...	7	...	7	175
Kurmi ... ..	...	...	29	...	29	11	2	171	3	187	216
Mahestri ... ..	...	3	153	13	169	...	...	19	...	19	188
Marwari ... ..	...	1	380	11	392	...	6	168	2	176	568
Mayra	5	15	190	2	212	...	...	35	...	35	247
Musalman (unspecified)	209	59	2,373	121	2,762	100	9	311	17	437	3,199
Namasudra	7	1	98	1	107	...	...	...	...	...	107
Napit	15	2	109	1	127	...	...	...	...	...	131
Oswal ... ..	...	3	235	19	257	1	...	49	...	50	307
Pod	1	...	95	5	101	...	...	...	...	...	101
Rajbansi	8	...	171	...	179	...	...	15	...	15	194
Rajput (Chhatri)	4	1	42	25	72	41	8	664	109	822	894
Rauniar ... ..	...	...	4	...	4	7	12	363	2	384	388
Sadgop	49	19	419	16	503	4	...	15	1	20	523
Saiyad	6	...	13	5	24	51	...	106	20	177	201
Shaha	74	6	2,641	53	2,774	...	...	...	...	...	2,774
Sheikh	8	17	323	18	366	58	5	333	12	408	774
Sonar ... ..	...	12	42	...	54	...	18	53	...	71	125
Subarnabanik	16	20	333	19	388	1	2	25	5	33	421
Suuri	14	9	630	13	666	...	10	845	6	861	1,527
Tambuli	6	6	179	12	203	2	...	82	3	87	290
Tanti and Tatwa	11	20	335	20	386	1	...	26	...	27	413
Tei and Tili	45	9	1,454	65	1,573	8	44	921	8	981	2,554
Others	124	137	1,111	208	1,580	170	145	1,128	71	1,514	3,094

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XII.—BIRTH PLACES OF WORKERS IN COAL MINES AND TEA GARDEN POPULATION.

BORN IN	ENUMERATED IN							
	COAL MINES.				TEA GARDENS.			
	Total.	Burdwan.	Manbhum.	Hazaribagh.	Total.	Darjeeling.	Jalpaiguri.	Chittagong.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL	161,731	62,363	91,634	7,734	227,491	56,702	164,879	5,910
(a) Bengal	61,155	43,078	18,026	51	70,080	25,151	40,927	4,002
BURDWAN DIVISION	58,927	42,175	16,713	39	1,157	3	266	888
Burdwan	41,679	37,577	4,102	...	...	...	...	...
Birbhum	4,178	975	3,203	...	174	...	...	174
Bankura	7,024	2,413	4,611	...	724	...	103	621
Midnapore	3,169	988	2,181	...	...	...	...	...
Hooghly	783	187	616	...	...	...	...	...
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	2,141	816	1,313	12	622	42	437	143
24-Parganas	544	544	...	...	...	...	...	...
Calcutta ... ..	...	...	...	...	120	...	...	120
Nadia	111	111	...	...	132	...	132	...
Murshidabad	1,434	143	1,291	...	...	...	...	...
Jessore ... ..	...	...	...	...	163	...	163	...
RAJSHAHI DIVISION ... ..	...	...	...	...	64,798	25,102	39,694	2
Jalpaiguri ... ..	...	...	...	...	37,441	147	37,294	...
Darjeeling ... ..	...	...	...	...	27,132	24,952	2,180	...
DACCA DIVISION	87	87	...	...	354	4	338	12
Dacca ... ..	...	...	...	...	150	...	150	...
CHITTAGONG DIVISION ... ..	...	...	...	...	3,013	...	56	2,957
Chittagong ... ..	...	...	...	...	2,945	...	...	2,945
FEUDATORY STATES ... ..	...	...	...	...	48	...	48	...
BENGAL (unspecified) ... ..	...	...	...	...	88	...	88	...
(b) Bihar and Orissa	98,794	18,692	72,457	7,645	107,218	4,175	101,784	1,259
PATNA DIVISION	6,085	839	4,921	325	464	25	419	20
Patna	1,657	244	1,413	...	...	...	...	...
Gaya	3,382	447	2,655	280	...	...	...	...
Shahabad	1,001	148	853	...	327	...	327	...
TIRHUT DIVISION	108	108	...	...	2,056	276	1,699	81
Saran ... ..	...	...	...	...	754	143	611	...
Muzaffarpur ... ..	...	...	...	...	768	125	643	...
Darbhanga ... ..	...	...	...	...	363	...	363	...
BHAGALPUR DIVISION	20,424	11,851	7,289	1,284	13,436	1,008	12,153	275
Monghyr	4,915	952	2,890	1,073	1,730	...	1,730	...
Bhagalpur	211	211	...	...	394	120	274	...
Purnea ... ..	...	...	...	...	362	...	362	...
Southal Parganas	15,273	10,688	4,399	186	10,748	798	9,787	163
ORISSA DIVISION ... ..	...	...	...	...	2,051	...	1,943	108
Cuttack ... ..	...	...	...	...	1,985	...	1,880	105
CHOTA NAGPUR DIVISION	72,177	5,894	60,247	6,036	85,828	2,864	82,211	753
Hazaribagh	9,371	1,436	1,929	6,006	1,510	...	991	519
Ranchi	1,302	...	1,302	...	77,193	2,082	75,111	...
Palamau	1,214	...	1,214	...	2,710	617	2,093	...
Manbhum	57,071	4,431	52,640	...	151	...	...	151
Singbhum	1,876	...	1,876	...	4,046	125	3,921	...
ORISSA (unspecified) ... ..	...	...	...	...	121	...	121	...
CHOTA NAGPUR (unspecified) ... ..	...	...	...	...	2,244	...	2,242	2
FEUDATORY STATES ... ..	...	...	...	...	1,018	2	996	20
Orissa Feudatory States ... ..	...	...	...	...	945	...	945	...
(c) Other Parts of India	1,630	525	1,081	24	4,786	1,825	2,320	641
Burma ... ..	...	...	...	...	200	200	...	...
Central Provinces and Berar ... ..	...	...	...	...	375	121	254	...
Ditto States ... ..	...	...	...	...	296	...	296	...
Madras (including Laccadives) ... ..	...	...	...	...	385	...	255	130
Punjab ... ..	...	...	...	...	154	...	154	...
Rajputana Agency ... ..	...	...	...	...	418	206	212	...
Sikkim ... ..	...	...	...	...	1,534	1,230	304	...
United Provinces	1,467	458	1,009	...	1,029	...	669	360
(d) Other Asiatic Countries	4	4	...	...	45,083	25,465	19,618	...
Bhotan ... ..	...	...	...	...	482	192	290	...
China ... ..	...	...	...	...	200	...	200	...
Nepal ... ..	...	...	...	...	44,060	24,936	19,124	...
Tibet ... ..	...	...	...	...	336	336	...	...
(e) Countries beyond Asia	148	64	70	14	324	86	230	8
United Kingdom ... ..	...	...	...	...	216	...	216	...
Scotland ... ..	...	...	...	...	103	...	103	...

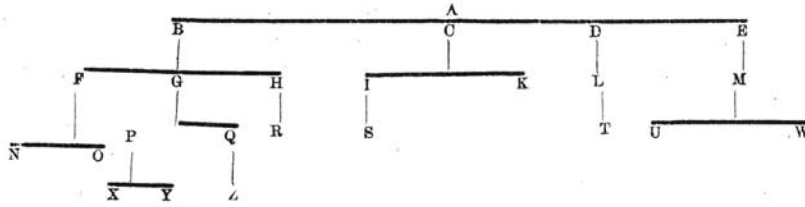
Details for districts, Provinces and countries are given only where the number is 100 or over.

APPENDIX.

Inheritance and partition of property among aboriginal races.

Hos.

1. The rules of succession in force amongst the Hos are based on a patriarchal conception of the family as a sort of corporation. Maine says that primitive society "has for its units, not individuals, but groups of men united by the reality or the fiction of blood-relationship." So far as the rules of succession are concerned, we find this exemplified among the Hos. The family is divided into groups of male agnates; and the number of persons forming a group, as well as the distance of an individual from the common ancestor, are both disregarded. In other words, succession is *per stirpes* and not *per capita*, and, as will be seen later, a fiction secures the devolution of property in the absence of blood-relations. Males are preferred to females, but if there are no males, females of the same degree may succeed. On marriage, a woman passes into the family of her husband and is entitled to succeed to his property, either jointly with the direct heirs, or singly to the exclusion of the agnates. The following pedigree will help to illustrate the details which are given below:—



2. The rule of primogeniture is unknown. On the death of A, therefore his four sons (B, C, D and E) succeed to all his property. They take equal shares of the real property, any unmarried son receiving, however, an extra number of cattle or an additional amount of other personal property with which to buy a wife. If B has died before A, his three sons, F, G and H, take the share which would have gone to B if he had been alive. In the same way, if D and L had died before A, the individual T would get as much as the groups B, C or E. Succession among the Hos is, however, further complicated by the practice of polygamy. If A had married two wives, and B and C had been his sons by the first, while D and E were his sons by the second wife, B and C would get two shares of the property, and D and E only one share, *i.e.*, B's share would be one-third of the whole, while E's share would be only one-sixth. Though there is nothing to prevent it, it is unusual for a man to have more than two wives. If, however, A had had three wives, his sons by the first wife would get two shares of the property, and those by the other two wives would get one share each, irrespective of their numbers. Suppose now that, in course of time, after A's property has been divided among his sons, B has died and been succeeded by his three sons, F, G and H. If after this F dies without any lineal heirs, his share of B's property passes to his brothers G and H, or to their descendants *per stirpes*. If, however, F and G had been sons of one wife, and H by another, G alone would succeed to F's property. If F had had no uterine brothers, or if G's branch had died out, the half-brother H would succeed to F's property. If F had had neither uterine nor half-brothers, his property would pass to his paternal uncles C, D and E, or, if C was dead, to the collaterals I and K (one share) and the uncles D and E (one share each). In all cases, a posthumous son is treated in the same way as any other son, provided there is no doubt as to his parentage.

3. Daughters have no right to succeed unless there are no direct male heirs. If a daughter is an only child, she is entitled to all her father's property until she marries or dies. She usually lives with one of her paternal uncles, who maintains her and cultivates her land on her behalf. This does not, however, give him any exclusive rights in her

property unless her funeral expenses could not be met out of her personal property and he alone has had to defray them. All the co-heirs, however, have the right to share in these expenses, and only a categorical refusal to contribute to them can deprive a co-heir of his right to succeed. Thus, referring to the table already given, if L was the unmarried daughter of D, she would succeed to his property. If she lived with E, he would cultivate her land until she died, and it would then be divided equally between B, C and E, unless one of them had forfeited his rights in the manner described above. The same principle applies to marriage expenses. If B and C refused to share these expenses, E would be entitled to the whole of the bride-price paid for L. Her property would, however, be divided. Where there are direct male heirs, daughters are only entitled to maintenance, which may, however, assume the form of real property if her brothers prefer this course. She may live with any one of the brothers, or with a paternal uncle, and the same rules as those stated above hold good as regards succession to this land on her death or marriage. The amount of land given to a daughter in such cases is not fixed, but varies with the property under division. In all cases where a woman holds landed property in her own right, she has no power to alienate it permanently. She may, however, mortgage it for a term of years (known locally as *tikā*) and, if she dies or marries within the term of the mortgage, the mortgagee retains possession until its expiry, when the land passes to her brothers, uncles or other male relations as the case may be.

4. The widow of a childless man is entitled to all his property until she remarries or dies. She cannot alienate the land permanently, but can mortgage it in the same way as a daughter. If there are two widows, the elder gets two shares, and the younger gets one share, of the property. This also holds good if one has children and not the other, though the common practice in such cases is for the sons of one wife to take all the land and support the other wife.

5. A widow with minor sons or daughters is in exactly the same position as a childless widow. Both may continue to live in their husband's house and make their own arrangements for the cultivation of the land. A widow with grown-up sons usually takes a share of her husband's land for herself and lives with one of her sons. If she dies without remarrying, the succession to her share is governed by the same considerations as those mentioned in paragraph 4. If the widow has only grown-up daughters, her rights continue after they have been married.

6. A widow's remarriage extinguishes her rights in her first husband's property, but the rights of her minor sons and daughters continue. If, as is common, she marries her late husband's younger brother, the latter succeeds to the first husband's land, provided the other brothers agree. If they have any objection, he only succeeds to the share he would have got in the ordinary course. If there are minor sons and daughters of the first husband, no partition can take place. The second husband becomes their guardian and looks after the property until they grow up. Children by the second husband have no rights in the first husband's land, nor have the children of the first husband any rights in their step-father's land. A widow loses her rights in her husband's property by unchastity leading to outcasting, but the rights of her children are not affected.

7. As already stated, a woman passes to her husband's family, and a son-in-law has therefore no rights in his father-in-law's property. He cannot be adopted because he belongs to another *kili*, but he may be taken into the house of his father-in-law, to act as a sort of guardian of the family and property. He cannot, however, succeed to his father-in-law's property except with the consent of all the relatives who would have succeeded in the ordinary course.

8. To revert to the pedigree given in paragraph 1, suppose that, after the partition of A's property, his sons B and C live jointly, while D and E live separately from them and from each other. If B dies without any direct heirs, all his personal property goes to C, but his landed property is divided between C, D and E, C being perhaps given an additional amount in consideration of the fact that he may have helped the deceased to improve the portion of the joint holding under partition.

9. Finally, if there are no direct heirs or agnates, the succession passes to the members of the same *kili* residing in the same village. The endogamous Ho tribe, it may be explained, is divided into a number of exogamous septs known as *kilis*. All the members of a *kili* are supposed

to be descended from a common ancestor by a fiction similar to that which united the Roman *gens*, and it is curious that the Ho custom in this respect is the same as the earlier Roman law under which the *gentiles* came next in the order of intestate succession to *sui heredes* and *agnati*. It must be admitted that the existing practice among the Hos is not in accordance with this custom, nor, for the matter, is the rule in the Kolhan record-of-rights regarding the settlement of deserted *jots* and those of deceased tenants. The latter (Rule 18) gives the preference to resident tenants of the same race, and the *mundas* are only too glad to escape responsibility for the rent by settling the land with any recorded resident who will take it. I have never known of a case in which members of the same *kili* living in the same village have disputed the settlement of a vacant holding with some other resident raiyat, whether a Ho of another *kili* or an outsider, but I have been assured everywhere that such members have the right to succeed on the failure of blood-relations, and the custom confirms on one side the truth of Maine's observations that "the family in India has a perpetual tendency to expand into the village community."

10. It seems almost unnecessary to add that a father has no power over the distribution of his property after his death. He cannot, for instance, nominate a particular son to succeed to all his property. It is known that the diversion or uneven distribution of property by means of a will is an incident that did not appear until a comparatively late stage in the development of testamentary succession, and it cannot therefore be expected to manifest itself in a community in which testamentary succession itself has not yet been evolved. I may mention, however, that I have recently come across a case in which the married daughter of a Ho who had become a Christian claimed to succeed to his property under a registered will bequeathing it to her to the exclusion of his brothers, who were still Animists. The case was compromised, and the principal point did not therefore have to be decided, but it is one that will probably come up again before long. *Primâ facie*, I am inclined to think that, as a Ho is permanently outcasted on becoming a Christian and loses his rights in the remainder of the family property, he is entitled to deal with his property in accordance with the Christian practice.

11. Turning now to partitions, it may be remarked that in India the laws of succession are regarded as connected primarily with the rupture of the family by partition rather than by death. The general rules governing partitions *inter vivos* are usually the same as those governing succession, and this is the case among the Hos. The property is divided among the sons in accordance with the foregoing rules, the parents retaining a share for themselves. On the father's death, the widow keeps this share and it is not divided until both parents have died. If they have been living with one particular son, the latter has no exclusive right to this *khôrposh* land unless he has, on the refusal of the other brothers to do so, paid all the funeral expenses of his parents. Disputes as to land retained by parents for maintenance are not uncommon. In one case, a son had looked after his mother and her land for several years, and, on her death, had borne so much of the funeral expenses as could not be met out of her personal estate. Another son had not, however, been given any opportunity of participating in these expenses, and a *panchayat* decided that he was entitled to half the land on refunding half the amount expended by his brother. It may be added that sons cannot demand a partition during their father's lifetime. It is, however, usual to give a son some land on his marriage, but this is taken into consideration when the land is divided after the father's death. A father may partition before all his sons have grown up. The minor son or sons remain with him in that case, and he retains their share or shares.

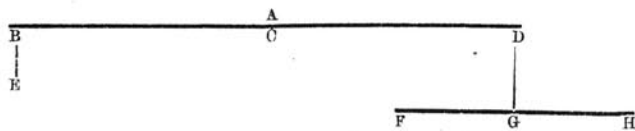
12. The customs regulating adoption are closely connected with those regarding succession and partition. Among the Hos, two forms of adoption have to be distinguished. One affects succession and is hedged around by several restrictions, the other does not affect succession and is comparatively untrammelled. The first is known as *dubumbul*, and gives the adopted son the same rights as a natural son. It cannot be resorted to unless there are no direct heirs, *i.e.*, sons or grandsons, daughters being no bar. The second is known as *asulhara*, and occurs when an orphan is taken into a man's house. It is not necessary that the adopter should have no sons of his own, because the *asulhara hon* (*hon* in Ho means child) has no rights in his adopted father's property. The latter may give him a small piece of land if he likes, but ordinarily he only receives

his keep and his marriage expenses. It sometimes happens that a man has grown too old to look after his cultivation properly, and, his sons having died, his only lineal heirs are minor grandsons who cannot assist him. In such cases, a male relative is imported to look after the land and its owner and bring up the minors. This practice is also known as *dubumbul*, but the relative is only a kind of guardian and has no rights in the property; this particular form of *dubumbul* need not therefore be further considered. The word, whenever it occurs below, refers only to the complete form of adoption already mentioned.

13. *Dubumbul* can only be effected with the consent of those who would have succeeded to the adoptor's land in the ordinary course. It is usual to guard against future disputes by making the proceedings as public as possible. All the co-heirs and the Ho residents of the same village are generally present, and, if the *manki* and *munda* are not present also, the adoptor sends them a goat or some goat's flesh with a message that he has adopted so and so as his son. After the assembled relatives have signified their assent *coram publico*, the adopted son is rubbed all over his body with oil and turmeric, a necklace is hung around his neck, and he is given new clothes dyed yellow with turmeric. In the case of *asulhara* no one's permission is necessary, this being a matter of individual feeling rather than a custom.

14. The *dubumbul hon* must be a relative on the male side, no particular relative having a right of preference. Failing blood-relations, he may be a member of the same *kili*. Anyone may be an *asulhara hon*. The *dubumbul hon* may be of any age; the *asulhara hon* is necessarily too young to look after itself. Only males can be adopted *dubumbul*, but a girl may be adopted as an *asulhara hon*. Once a man has adopted a *dubumbul hon*, he cannot adopt another in the same way, but he may have more than one *asulhara hon*. Aged bachelors, widowers and widows can adopt either *dubumbul* or *asulhara*, the consent of their relatives being of course necessary in the former case. A *dubumbul* son loses all his rights in his natural father's property unless he is the only son, in which case he gets both his own and his adopted father's property.

15. In conclusion, the following case may be noticed as an interesting illustration of the illogicality of primitive customs:—



A's property had been divided between his three sons B, C and D, who were in separate possession of their own shares. C, having no direct heirs, had, with the consent of B, E and D, adopted (*dubumbul*) G in the customary manner. G got no shares of D's property, but succeeded to all C's property on his death. Later, G himself died, leaving no direct heirs, and the question at issue was whether E was entitled to a share of his property. If G had been the natural son of C, there would have been no doubt as to E's right to a half-share. As he was, however, an adopted son, an authoritative *panchayat* ruled that F and H were alone entitled to his property, because he had originally belonged to their branch, and because B and E, in consenting to G's adoption by C, had given up their interest in C's land. If there had been any male descendants belonging to the branch into which G had passed by adoption, they would have succeeded to the exclusion of his uterine brothers. For example, reverting to the genealogical table in paragraph 1, if K had, with the consent of all his relatives, adopted U, and the latter had subsequently died leaving no heirs, I and S would succeed to the property of U derived from K. The rules are obviously illogical, but the decision of the *panchayat* has been confirmed over and over again in the course of the present inquiries.*

SANTALS.

16. The family share all they have in common till the death of the father when the property is divided equally among the sons, except that the eldest

* Contributed by Mr. L. B. Burrows, Deputy Collector of Singhbhum.

son gets a bullock and a rupee more than the others. The daughters have no right to any of the property, the idea being that a woman does not inherit, for she is expected to marry and to be supported by her husband and her sons. What she gets is a gift, customary and therefore demandable, but it is not inherited. Lately, however, with the sanction of the courts, only daughters have been given a life tenure of the father's land, and this virtually means inheritance by daughters. If a man dies without sons or daughters, the property passes to the father if he is alive, and if he is dead, to the brothers of the deceased by the same father (not necessarily by the same mother); if the latter are dead, their sons will succeed. In default of these, the deceased's paternal uncles and their sons succeed. The widow of a childless man is allowed one calf, one *bandi* (10 to 12 maunds) of paddy, one *bati* and one cloth, and returns to her parent's house, unless, as sometimes happens, she is kept by her husband's younger brothers. If one of these keeps her, he is not allowed more than the one share of the deceased man's property, which he would get in any case. If a man leaves only daughters, their paternal grandfather and uncles take charge of them and of the widow, and the property remains in their possession. When the daughters grow up, it is the duty of these relatives to arrange marriages for them, and to give them at marriage the presents which they would have received from their father. When all the daughters have been disposed of, the widow gets the perquisites of a childless widow and goes to her father's house or lives with her daughters. A widow with minor sons keeps all the property in her own possession, the grandfather and uncles seeing that she does not waste it. If the widow remarries before the sons are married, the grandfather and uncles take possession of all the property; the mother of the children has no right to get anything, but sometimes a calf is given to her out of kindness, this gift being called *bhandkar*. There are special rules in cases where there is a son-in-law who has married under the *ghardi jawae* form. If his wife has no brothers, and the son-in-law stays on in the house and works for his father-in-law till he dies, then he inherits all the immovable property and half the movable property, the other half of which goes to the relatives of the deceased. If there is more than one such son-in-law, they divide the property between them.

17. If there are many grandsons, or if the sons do not live happily together, *e.g.*, in particular, if the father has married again and had other issue, the father and mother may make a partition. A *panchayat* is called and the father divides all the land and cattle, keeping one share for himself. The son with whom the parents live retains possession of their share during their life-time. Daughters get no share in the property, but if they are unmarried, they get one calf each, that being the dowry given them at marriage. Unmarried sons get a double share of the live-stock, one share representing their marriage expenses. The cattle which the daughters-in-law received from their fathers and brothers and from their father-in-law at the time of marriage are not divided, but the cattle which the sons got at marriage are divided. If a woman dies while her sons are unmarried, they cannot demand a partition even if their father takes a second wife, but they can do so if they like after marriage. The father then gets one share and the sons one share each. If the second wife has no children when the father dies, the sons of the first wife can take the share, their father got, but if they take it they will have to pay for the funeral of their step-mother. [*Santal Parganas District Gazetteer*].

MUNDAS.

18. The rules of inheritance and partition observed by the Santals, as described in the Santal Parganas District Gazetteer, are the same amongst the Mundas of Chota Nagpur with the following exceptions only:—

(1) After the father's death the sons mostly live together. If they separate, they divide the landed property, so that the eldest son gets one-third more than the second, and the second one or two pieces of land more than the third, and the third a little more than the fourth, and so on. The movable property will be divided in the same way.

(2) If a man dies without sons or daughters, the property passes to the father, and, if he is dead, to the brothers of the deceased by the same father, but not by another mother.

(3) The widow of a childless man is allowed to take away only his own property (clothes, utensils, etc.).

(4) If a man leaves only daughters, the property remains in the possession of the widow, supervised by the grandfather or the uncles. When all the daughters have been disposed of, the widow has the right to stay in the house of her deceased husband, if she not prefers to live with one of her married daughters.

(5) If a man leaves no sons and the widow takes a son-in-law, or *posh putra*, in her house, he will inherit the whole movable property and the *raihas* and *korkar* lands, but not the *bhuinhari*-lands, which will go to the next male heir of the family; or, if there are no male heirs, to the members of the *khunt* who will dispose of it.*

19. Another account of the customs among the Mundas is as follows:—The family property is divided equally among the sons, except that the eldest son gets half a *kath* or one *kath* land more than the others. If, when the property is divided, some of the sons are married and others are unmarried, some bullocks and paddy, or the equivalent, will be put aside for the marriage expenses before making the partition. Daughters have no right to any share. If a man dies without any sons, the widow remains in possession of the whole property of her husband until her death, whether she has a daughter or is childless. After her death, the whole property passes to the natural heirs, viz., the brothers of her husband by the same father, or their sons. She can have her fields tilled by hired servants or by her relatives, and the latter will arrange marriage for the girls.

20. There are special rules for those who marry under the *gharia-wain* (or *ghardamad*) system. If the son-in-law stays in the house of his father-in-law and works for his father-in-law or mother-in-law for three years, he does not pay anything for his marriage. If after his marriage he remains with his father-in-law or mother-in-law and takes care of them till their death, he inherits the whole property. If after the marriage he wishes to go to his father's house, he gets from his father-in-law or mother-in-law one pair of bullocks, one *mora* of paddy, i.e., about 12 maunds, and some land to live on. If a widow marries she gives up all her right to her former husband's property.

21. A childless man can adopt a child with the consent of his relatives. The child will be considered the lawful heir of the person who adopts him. He has a right to all the movable property of his adopted father after his death, and, in case the deceased had relatives, he will get a greater share of the land than the others, the excess amount being determined by the *panchayat*.†

KHONDS (KANDHS).

22. Amongst the Khonds the family, as a rule, remains undivided during the father's life-time, and sometimes also till the death of the mother, who cooks the meals and serves them out to all the members of the family. If, owing to a disagreement or from some other cause, it is considered necessary for them to live apart, the married sons build houses for themselves where they cook and eat separately with their wives and children, while the unmarried sons and daughters continue to live with the parents. This does not necessarily involve the division of the property. Though some members of the family may be living apart, they still cultivate their land together.

23. After the father's death, the elders of the village assemble and partition the land and cattle, in equal shares, between all the sons. The eldest son gets an extra field added to his share, and each unmarried son gets an extra head of cattle for the purchase of a bride. A few fields are set apart for the maintenance of the mother and daughters; some are also reserved for the maintenance of the father if the division takes place during his lifetime. Their land and the land of the minor sons who are living with them are cultivated for them by one of the adult sons or by a hired servant. Sometimes, the adult sons arrange to distribute the dependent members of the family among themselves, e.g., one of them shelters the mother, another takes one of the sisters or a minor brother, etc. When the minors grow up and are married, they begin cultivating their shares themselves, but the fields reserved for the mother and daughters are taken for good and all by the son or sons who have given them shelter, and who are responsible for the funeral expenses of the mother and the marriage of the daughters. A similar division of the property and distribution of the dependent members of the

* Contributed by the Revd. Dr. A. Nottrott of the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission.

† Contributed by the Revd. E. Van Hecke, s. j., of Khunti.

family is often made by the father before his death if disputes arise, or if he thinks they are likely to arise after his death. In such a case he may take a whole share of the property for his maintenance and the maintenance of the mother and daughters. This is divided amongst the sons after the death of the parents and the marriage of the daughters. Married daughters get nothing whatever when a partition takes place.

24. If a man dies without male issue, his property is inherited in equal shares by his brothers, and, if there are no brothers, by his paternal uncles. Women have no rights in the soil. Daughters therefore are not allowed to hold land, but are supported by their nearest male relation. Young widows usually return to their father's homes, but if a widow elects to live with her husband's people, she may cultivate his land with the consent of his brothers, who see that she does not waste the property. She must bring up the children and get them married. If she has sons, the property is divided between them after her death; if she has no sons, the division is made between her brothers-in-law. If a young brother wishes to marry a widow, he may do so, as he has the first claim on her. He takes possession of all his deceased brother's property and is responsible for the maintenance and marriage of the children and the funeral expenses of the widow. The sons divide the property after the death of their mother and step-father, but if there are no sons, the division takes place after the marriage of the daughters and the death of the widow. Sons of two wives have equal shares in the property, whether the second marriage has taken place during the life-time of the first wife or after her death. A second marriage is never permitted during the life-time of the first wife unless she is barren. She selects the second bride, and it sometimes happens that she has children after the second marriage has taken place. Sons-in-law have no claim to any portion of the property. Land is jealously guarded against a member of an alien tribe, and aliens cannot acquire any rights in the soil without the consent of the other members of the family. If a man invites his son-in-law to live with him and cultivate his land, the latter can continue to hold the land after his death only with the consent of the brothers and uncles, to whom the property has passed by right of inheritance. The prohibition extends for four generations, after which the great-great-grandson is treated as a member of the sept.*

ORAONS.

25. Before approaching the question of inheritance and partition, mention should be made of certain restrictions which, among Oraons, affect the disposal of property, and, it seems, the very notion of possession.

(i) As a rule, males alone can possess. Women, being by nature destined to 'go and blow another man's furnace,' neither inherit nor receive shares on partition. They can, however, in certain cases, undertake the personal administration of property, enjoy the exclusive usufruct thereof, and even, under specified circumstances, dispose of it finally. Thus, a widow who has no son may adopt either a son or a "prospective son-in-law," i.e., a man who will serve in the house and ultimately marry one of the daughters, and the adoptee will have a right to succeed to the property of the widow's husband at her death.

(ii) Oraon land-owners do not make wills. They may, during their lifetime, sell and even give away property, at least within reasonable limits; they may, by adopting a child, cause their fortune to go out of their family; but they are not at liberty to make any disposition of their property, or any part of it, which will take effect at their death. Custom regulates who shall be their heirs and what portion shall accrue to each heir.

(iii) Under the joint family system, which prevails among the Oraons, the father is sole owner. His sons, married or unmarried, possess nothing personally. The Oraon principle is that sons, so long as their father is alive, must not separate from him, even as regards habitation. Sons, sons' wives and grandsons live under his roof; to enable them to do so, cattle, grain, provisions, etc., will, if necessary, be moved to adjoining out-houses. All are under the parental rule and form but one household (*onta erpa*)* in every possible sense, all toiling at the same fields, all eating from the old man's one cooking pot, all depositing their earnings in the same family jar. The fact of one of the inmates going away does not cause him to become a

* Contributed by Mr. A. J. Ollenbach, Subdivisional Officer, Khondmals.

separate owner. He preserves his right not only to an eventual share of the ancestral fields, but also (if he sends his earnings home) to a share of the family savings that go on accumulating during his absence. When a partition takes place, no one is entitled to a preferential share by reason of his industry or any extra earnings he may have had or may have saved during the joint family regime.

(iv) Questions of inheritance, and partitions, unless quite simple and clear, are submitted to, and decided by the village *panchayat*. If this rule were violated, the village assembly would refuse to entertain complaints or appeals from the decisions of the family council (also called *panchayat*).

26. The property of an Oraon cultivator generally consists of a few annas of *don* (low) land with some high land attached, one or two houses, cattle, ploughs, tools, household movables and the money he has saved from the sale of his crops. In the Barwe, it may be explained, one anna of land is the area which can be sown over with 4 *uriyas* of seed, an *uriya* (or *uddu*) being a roundish basket which contains about 30 *pukka* seers of paddy. A "share" is made up of these different parts, viz., a parcel of *don* land and high land, some money from the family purse, a modicum of cattle and agricultural implements.

27. *Inheritance*.—To turn now to the subject of inheritance, we shall assume that the dead man had ceased to work in community of interest with his father or brothers, and was, at the time of his demise, a separate owner. If he had not separated, the solutions of hypothetical cases given below will be subject to certain conditions which will be stated in the section dealing with Partition (paragraph 34 *et seq*). All the possible combinations of circumstances may conveniently be reduced to three typical cases. The solution of other cases, viz., from which one feature of a typical case is absent or in which the features of two typical cases are mixed, will generally be obvious.

28. *Case No. I.—The deceased leaves a widow with grown-up children (not daughters only)*.—The sons first of all set apart their mother's share, i.e., about half an anna of land with attached high land, a pair of bullocks and plough, some twenty or thirty rupees, and whatever paddy is required for her subsistence till the new crop is reaped. This jointure she is free to manage as she pleases, e.g., she may have the land cultivated by her sons or by strangers on the *saiha* (half produce) system of rent; she may enjoy it for life, though she cannot alienate it. As a rule, she simply adds it to the share of the son with whom she goes to end her days, and who will afterwards be her sole heir. If she is prepared to live alone or with one of her daughters, her share will, at her death, revert to the sons and be divided among them.* If, at the time of her marriage, she had received any money as dowry, and if this dowry or its equivalent is still with her (having been converted into non-consumable property or, possibly, kept in a jar), the widow resumes it without prejudice to her share of her husband's property. At her death both dowry and share will go *in integro* to the son with whom she went to live.

29. The widow's share having been allotted, the brothers parcel out† the remaining patrimony (land, money, cattle, and household movables) according to a scale dependent on their respective ages, as described below. In applying this scale to the apportionment of land, regard must be had to the fertility of the soil allotted to each as much as to its net area, and therefore the youngest of the brothers is first provided with at least half an anna of good low land. The remainder is next divided in such a way that each of the other brothers gets, as far as is consistent with the total area and the variable quality of the soil, a share double that assigned to the brother next to above him in age. For instance, if three annas of land is to be parcelled out between three brothers, the youngest will receive half an anna of good soil, the middle one will get, say, one or two half annas of good and indifferent land, and the eldest will receive one anna of good and half an anna of indifferent land. This unequal allotment is meant to correspond roughly to the unequal number of years spent in toiling on the paternal fields. Should one of the elder brothers have met, when a child, with some accident permanently incapacitating him from work, he would receive a share no larger than the brother immediately next to him.

30. If all the brothers are not born of the same mother, they each get a share‡ calculated as above, with this difference, that the sons by the second

* The whole of this paragraph applies to a step-mother as well as to a mother.

† The brothers may, of course, make no separation of interests, if they prefer to keep the property joint. In the latter case, every one's share, would remain under the management of the eldest brother. Cf. the section on Partition [paragraph 34 (b)].

‡ This is not the case if the brothers have, at the time of their father's second marriage, demanded a partition.

wife get less than the sons by the first wife, *e.g.*, if 5 annas of land are to be divided between four brothers, two by a first and two by a second wife, the combined shares of the first two will perhaps amount to $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas, whereas those of the other two will be the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas. Illegitimate brothers, and sons of the father's second wife by a first husband, receive no share whatever. Also, if one of the brothers, by misconduct or marriage with a non-Oraon girl, has lost his tribal rights and not recovered them, he has no claim to inheritance. Articles which it would be difficult to divide, or of which the value is not enough to make it worth while to sell them, are often given up by the heirs to their adult sisters. For instance, if 15 maunds of paddy, a cow and two goats have to be divided, the elder sister would receive, say, 8 maunds and the cow, and the younger 7 maunds and the two goats: the cow and the goats are merely gifts, not shares.

31. *Case No. II.—The deceased leaves a childless widow, or a widow with grown-up daughters.*—The widow may have been the deceased's first or second wife: in both cases, provided that she does not remarry or return to her parental home, she is entitled to the administration and exclusive usufruct of her husband's property until her death.* Her administration is only subject to a sort of mild supervision on the part of her husband's relatives, and she may not quit the village. Should she marry again, all movable and immovable property may be resumed by the natural heirs from the day that she quits the house: on leaving her husband's relatives, she is merely allowed the clothes she has on.† If she has grown-up unmarried daughters, they may not follow her; otherwise, they forfeit all claims on their grandfather and uncles as regards their marriage.

Once the widow has quitted the house, the inheritance reverts to the dead man's father; in default of the latter, the dead man's brothers divide it among themselves on the same scale as regulates succession from father to sons. In case of the pre-decease of any of the brothers, his sons receive his part of the heritage and subdivide it (at once or eventually) among themselves. Should the deceased have left neither brothers nor nephews, his paternal uncles succeed.

None of the daughters can prefer a claim to inheritance, but should they be still unmarried, their mother, in case she enjoys the usufruct, or for their father's relatives, if she does not, are bound to maintain them until suitable husbands have been found for them. No dowry is demandable.

32. There exists only one expedient by which a man who is unfortunate enough to have only daughters and no sons may, during his life-time, arrange to leave them his property.‡ This consists of the adoption of a prospective son-in-law, called *erpiyon khaddi* (Hindi, *ghardamad*, or *ghardijwa*), who wins his wife by service as Jacob did Leah. There are three kinds of prospective sons-in-law. Those of the first kind (found exclusively in Barwe) are practically servants. They receive pay in kind of 8 maunds of paddy a year, their food and clothing, plus a yearly bonus varying from 2 to 12 maunds of paddy, and when the daughter is finally given to them as a wife, they have to leave the house. Those of the second kind (rare in Lohardaga and Ranchi) may after marriage either stay in the house or set up a separate establishment for themselves. In addition to their pay, board and clothing, the yearly bonus and the wife, they receive, on departure, a pair of bullocks and plough, their tools and various household articles. The third kind of prospective son-in-law, the only one of which we speak in connection with inheritance, is rare; among every hundred families having only daughters perhaps ten such sons-in-law may be found. He gets neither pay nor bonus, but receives the same treatment as a son, and if there are servants in the house, they obey him as their future master. Personal pride will, as a rule, prevent an Oraon youth, unless he is an orphan and destitute, from becoming a *ghardamad* of any kind and "indebted for his living to his wife." When, for such reasons as widowhood, divorce, age, etc., it is probable that a man will die without male issue, he may, on the ground that he wants hands for the cultivation of his fields, take in his house one or more young men, and adopt them as prospective sons-in-law, conferring upon them all the rights of inheritance due to a son or sons. The only conditions are that they must

* We assume that the deceased had no son by his first wife.

† This is the practice in the Barwe. It is said that elsewhere in Ranchi brothers-in-law show themselves somewhat more generous.

‡ A widow who retains the usufruct of her husband's property has power to make arrangements to the same effect *i.e.*, she may adopt a prospective son-in-law or a son who will be entitled at her death to succeed to her husband's property.

marry his daughters and work for him until his death. He may, if he prefers, confer the right of sonship upon any young man who agrees to the latter condition; the son adopted in this way will inherit all the property subject only to the charge of providing for the widow and daughters, if any. Adoption, pure and simple, is the only possible scheme when the adopted boy is a relative or when the old man is childless.

It might conceivably happen that the man may have male issue after adopting an heir. The question of inheritance must then be settled by amicable compromise, the natural heir and the adopted heir dividing the property much as an elder and younger brothers would, *i.e.*, on an inverted scale of ages.

33. *Case No. III.—The deceased leaves a widow with small children.*—If the widow does not remarry, she retains (as in Case No. II) the administration and usufruct of her husband's property subject to the charges already described, with the power of adopting sons-in-law or sons. She keeps all her children in her own house. If she has sons, she is bound, when they come of age, to hand over to them their shares of the paternal fields and of any money they have saved, keeping for herself only half an anna of land etc., as in Case No. I.

If the widow remarries, there are two possible contingencies. First if her dead husband's children are all daughters, the property reverts to the dead man's relatives, subject to the ordinary charges. Secondly, if her children by her first husband are only boys or boys and girls the property is administered, during the minority of the children, by their paternal grandfather or one of their paternal uncles. But, whatever is the sex of the children, and, even if they are all daughters, the trustee is entitled to take them all over to his house if they can render themselves useful there by tending cattle, driving the plough or helping in household work. For those under nine or ten years of age, the trustee makes a fixed allowance to the mother. When they have reached that age, if they do not come over to his house, not only will the allowance be stopped, but the boys will forfeit their patrimony altogether, and no further grants will be made for the maintenance of the girls.

34. *Partition.*—In the preceding sections an account has been given of the breaking up of a joint family holding into several distinct holdings immediately after the owner's death. Partition may also take place some time after the owner's death or during his lifetime. In both cases, the parcelling out of land and money may be particular or general. For instance:—

(a) A widower's adult sons are entitled, in the event of their father taking a second wife, to demand a general partition. This step is, as a rule, taken before the birth* of a child by the second marriage: otherwise, the applicants would have to reserve at least one share for him, if a male (*see* Inheritance, Case No. I). And, as bachelors are never allowed to separate from their father, the demand for partition must be made to the father or the village assembly by the married sons.

(b) From a similar interested motive, brothers who, for any period subsequent to their father's death, have continued to hold the property jointly, may demand partition, if the eldest (who, in all matters not justifying a family council, is the manager of their joint land and joint purse) turns out to be incapable, careless or of doubtful integrity.

(c) Whether the family patriarch is dead or not, the frequent recurrence of broils between the brother's wives is a common cause of partitions.

(d) Any member of a joint family may, from the date of his marriage, apply for his share to his father or (if the father is dead) to the family council; an appeal to the village *panchayat* is open to him in case of refusal. His request will often be granted, if based on reasonable grounds, as is the case when the applicant is desirous and, on all accounts, able to conduct his own affairs, or when he or his wife has some standing quarrel with the rest of the family, or when he reasonably suspects that his interests will not be safe in the hands of others. Orphan nephews often obtain separation from their uncles on the latter account.

35. Partition, whatever its nature and extent, has to be applied for, and, in order to be obtained, must be justifiable on prudential, if not on other, grounds. When insisted upon against reason, or extorted by

* Unborn children have no rights: *cf.* the proverb:—*Sutlo sutal ke hissa?* What can be the share of a man asleep? *Najho byate danda dor*—A waist thread for the unborn! *i.e.*, to reserve a share for a child still in the womb would be as silly as making clothes for an unborn child.

irregular methods, the applicant's share may be reduced to one-fourth, or even one-half, of the amount otherwise due to him. The normal quota of land and money constituting a partition share mainly depends on the place each particular member of a joint family occupies in the genealogical tree. This quota has been sufficiently described above.

(a) *Inheritance Cases Nos. I and II.*—When, before the death of the owner or of his first and second wife, a partition, general or particular, takes place, the share due to each, or any, separating member of the family is somewhat diminished by the necessity of making provision for the maintenance of the remaining parent or parents. This provision is, under no circumstances, larger than that mentioned in Case No. I of inheritance. If, at the time of general partition, there are female orphans in the family which is to be broken up, they are taken care of *gratis* by the grandfather or one of the uncles.

(b) *Posthumous shares.*—If at the time of his decease, a man's share has not yet become his effective property (his father still being the owner), or, if though possessed by him, it has not yet been dissociated from his brother's holdings, a preliminary partition is, of course, indispensable before the said share can be inherited by the deceased's descendants and become liable to the further partition which has been described in the section dealing with Inheritance.

(c) In what is stated below we are exclusively concerned with the rules that govern preliminary partitions of this kind. All the points not touched upon here must be settled as in the section on Inheritance.

Case I.—If the widow has grown-up children (not daughters only), the sons will judge for themselves whether they want to separate from their uncles. If they do, a preliminary partition must take place. If there are unmarried daughters, they will be cared for by their mother and brothers.

Case II.—If the widow is childless or has daughters only, it being further supposed that she does not remarry, her right to administer, and enjoy the usufruct of, her husband's property does not come into operation at once. She may not demand that her husband's share be separated for her, until such time as a general partition is brought about by other causes. Meanwhile, she and her unmarried daughters are, as a consequence, obliged not to leave the house where the joint family resides.

Case III.—If the widow has small children of the male sex, she may demand a posthumous partition, everything subsequently proceeding as in case No. III of Inheritance.*

* Contributed by the Revd. Father A. Grignard, S. J., of Tongo.

**RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT ON THE CENSUS OF
BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA AND SIKKIM, 1911.**

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

MISCELLANEOUS.

CALCUTTA, THE 14TH JULY 1913.

RESOLUTION—No. 3435.

READ—

The Report on the Census of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Sikkim, 1911, by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations, Bengal.

THE fifth census of Bengal was taken on the 10th March 1911, and showed the population of the Province to be 57,206,430 as compared with 78,493,410 returned at the previous census of 1901. But in the interim the area of the Province had been reduced from 196,408 square miles to 148,592 by the administrative changes of 1905 and the transfer of Sikkim to the direct control of the Government of India in 1906. The taking of the census was followed by another redistribution of territories, which still further reduced the area and population.

2. The census operations were conducted by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley in Bengal and by Mr. J. McSwiney in Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the procedure followed in these two provinces has been described in detail in two separate volumes. The Provincial and Imperial tables have, however, been compiled on a different principle, those for Bengal and Sikkim forming one volume and those for Bihar and Orissa another.

3. The present report, which deals with the results of the census not only in the Presidency of Bengal, but also in the Province of Bihar and Orissa and the State of Sikkim, has been read with interest by the Governor in Council, who desires to place on record the following observations regarding the main features of the operations in Bengal.

4. The administrative changes of 1905 and 1912 threw a heavy additional burden on the census officers. To afford a basis for comparison with previous years, the published statistics for each preceding census had to be recast twice, viz., once, before the census, for the two Provinces then in existence, and again, after the census, for the new Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam. This retarded the issue of the Report and added to the cost of the operations.

The total cost of the census for Bengal is estimated at Rs. 2,67,322, which represents an incidence of Rs. 5-12-4 per mille of the population, a rate but slightly in excess of that for 1901 in spite of the intermediate rise in wages and the extra work resulting from the administrative changes.

As in previous years, the bulk of the work was performed by an army of unpaid helpers, the number of whom reached nearly 350,000 in Bengal. To all of these great praise is due for the efficient performance of their honorary duties; their task was difficult and not wholly free from danger. The organisation was excellent, and many astonishing facts are recorded of the speed with which returns were brought in from remote corners of the wilder districts.

5. The Presidency of Bengal, as now constituted, embraces an area of 84,092 square miles and contains a population of 46,305,642. Somewhat smaller than the British Isles, it has almost a million more inhabitants. The density of the population ranges between 1,850 to the square mile in the district of Howrah and 30 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts; the average is 551. The only other district with a population of over 1,000 to the square mile is Dacca. In the 24-Parganas, in spite of its huge mill population, the average is only 502, for the district contains large tracts of the Sundarbans, a very sparsely populated area.

The actual increase in the population since 1901 has been nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or 8 per cent. There has been a gradual but steady rise in the

percentage of increase at each successive census since 1872. Different localities show widely different rates of increase, but during the last 20 years it is in the most populous areas that the pace has been quickest on the whole.

The influence of efficient drainage works upon the growth of the population is well illustrated by the area round Magra Hât, a tract of nearly 300 square miles in the district of the 24-Parganas. Thirty years ago this tract was described as one where fever was constantly present in every village, its inhabitants "inured to a semi-amphibious life by a long course of preparation resulting in the survival of the fittest." Now all this has changed, and the population, which is entirely agricultural, already shows an increase of 29 per cent. since 1901, although the drainage scheme has not even yet been fully worked out.

6. *Cities, Towns and Villages.*—Since the last census the urban population has increased by 13 per cent., a rate considerably in excess of the average for the whole population. It cannot, however, be said that the depopulation of the rural tracts is yet a serious problem, for 936 persons out of every 1,000 still live in the country. Two-fifths of the urban population centre in Calcutta and Howrah, and there has been a striking growth of the riparian population along the Hooghly, in the districts of the 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah. These centres of the manufacturing industry show some remarkable figures. Bhatpara, for example, has increased by 500 per cent. since 1881, and now contains a population of over 50,000. Titagarh has trebled its population since 1901, and Bhadreswar, on the other side of the river, has increased by 61 per cent. Since 1901, the number of factories in the 24-Parganas district alone has risen from 74 to 124, and the number of operatives from a little over 94,000 to nearly 170,000. The jute mills in Bengal now employ over 200,000 hands, about double the number recorded at the previous census.

The total population of Calcutta and its suburbs has reached the huge figure of 1,043,307, which places it second only to London in the British Empire, and gives it rank among the 12 largest cities of the world. This population is made up of an agglomeration of races and castes from all parts of India and from many foreign lands. Three hundred and ninety-seven separate races, castes and nationalities were returned at the census, and more than half the residents were born outside Calcutta. Over a quarter of a million of Calcutta's inhabitants derive their living from industrial occupations and close on 200,000 from trade.

7. *Migration.*—The balance of migration is strongly in favour of Bengal, for it receives nearly 2 millions of immigrants, but sends out only half a million. Bihar and Orissa contribute the greatest number of immigrants, 1½ million, and the United Provinces come next with over 400,000.

8. *Religion.*—In Bengal as now constituted 97·6 per cent. of the population consists of Musalmans and Hindus, the former outnumbering the latter by 3¼ millions and forming over 52 per cent. of the whole. The figures of relative growth show that during the last decade the increase among Muhammadans has been nearly thrice as great as among Hindus.

Of other religions, Animists number nearly three-fourths of a million, Buddhists a quarter of a million, and Christians 130,000. Jains, Sikhs, Jews, Parsis and others are very few in number.

9. *Age, Sex and Civil Condition.*—The rate of infant mortality is appalling. One child out of every five dies within a year of birth. Calcutta, in spite of its good sanitation and good water-supply, heads the list with a death-rate among infants of 31 per cent. Early marriage, utter ignorance of the simplest rules of hygiene, insanitary surroundings, and, among the parents of the labouring classes, poverty, which compels the mother to work almost up to the day of her confinement, are among the causes which reduce the chances of a child surviving the early stages of its life.

On the other hand the longevity of Hindu widows is remarkable: all lead simple lives, and many, bereaved at an early age, escape the dangers of child-birth.

The universality of marriage in Bengal continues, despite the rise in the market value of both brides and bridegrooms owing to the increased cost of living and the widening of the field of selection by improvement

in communications. But it is a significant fact that the average age of marriage is steadily rising. The spread of enlightened views is to some extent responsible for this, but grim necessity often compels a father unwillingly to defer the marriage of his daughters till after they have attained a marriageable age.

10. *Education*.—Bengal stands first among all the Provinces in India, not only for the actual number of persons able to read and write, but also for the proportion (7·7 per cent.) which they bear to the total population. Madras comes next with 7·5 per cent. and Bombay follows with 6·9. The total number of literate persons in the Presidency is $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, of whom slightly more than a quarter of a million are females.

Of individual areas, Calcutta heads the list with one out of every three of its inhabitants able to satisfy the test of literacy. This is a remarkably high proportion considering the large number of low class immigrants engaged in menial duties. At the other end of the scale come the districts of Mymensingh, Rajshahi, Rangpur and Malda with less than 5 per cent. of literates.

The actual addition to the number of literate persons in the Presidency since 1901 is 632,222. of whom 90,342 are females. The percentage of increase among the whole population is $21\frac{1}{2}$ and that among females as high as 56. The increase would have been greater still but for the fact that the standard for literacy prescribed at this census was higher than that previously adopted. In 1901 the only criterion laid down was ability to read and write, but in 1911 no person was recorded as literate unless he could write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it. One result of this raising of the standard is that the proportion of literates among children of ten years and under has in most places either remained stationary or actually fallen.

The backwardness of Muhammadans in education is clearly shown by the fact that whereas the Muhammadans outnumber the Hindus by more than three millions, yet there are only two of the former to every five of the latter who can read and write. A curious phenomenon noticed by Mr. O'Malley is that the degree of literacy in each community varies inversely with its local strength. Thus in Western Bengal, where the number of Muhammadans is smaller than elsewhere, the proportion of literate Muhammadans is greater. Similarly in Eastern Bengal, where the Hindus are largely outnumbered by the Muhammadans, 1 in every 4 is literate; while in Western Bengal the proportion is 1 in 5.

Peculiar interest attaches to the figures which show the relative advance in literacy among these two communities. At the census of 1901 the percentage of literates was 10·3 among Hindus and 3·5 among Muhammadans. Now it is 11·8 and 4·1, respectively. The increase has been in the proportion of 7 to 8 among the former and 6 to 7 among the latter: in other words, Muhammadans have made rather more rapid progress in education than Hindus. An examination of the figures for the two sexes, however, discloses the fact that while among Muhammadans the increase has been almost uniform in both sexes (males 29 per cent. and females 31 per cent.), in the Hindu community the increase has been four times as rapid among females as among males, the percentages being 64 and 16, respectively.

The endeavours of certain of the lower Hindu castes to raise their social status is reflected in their standard of literacy. Thus the Kaibarttas, Pods, Namasudras and Rajbansis all show signs of improvement, and the Pods especially have made great strides.

The increase during the last decade in the number of educational institutions in Bengal has been remarkable, there having been an addition of nearly 4,000 schools and more than 400,000 pupils. Most striking of all is the fact that the number of girls' schools and of their pupils has increased threefold.

11. *Languages*.—Mr. O'Malley's Chapter on Languages is full of interest. The instructions as to the language to be recorded were revised this year so

as to prescribe not that language which a person most often used but that which he ordinarily spoke in his own home.

The change has resulted in greater accuracy in the returns, and from a linguistic point of view Bengal appears more homogeneous now than ever before. Bengali is the language of 92 per cent. of the population, and Hindi and Urdu account for another 4 per cent., while nearly 45 out of the 46 millions speak languages belonging to the Indo-European family.

The Hindi and Urdu speakers centre mostly round the mills of Howrah and the 24-Parganas, which draw their labour from Bihar and the United Provinces.

12. *Infirmities*.—As in 1901, four infirmities are recorded, viz., insanity, deaf-mutism, blindness and leprosy. The last decade has witnessed an increase in all the infirmities except leprosy. In Bengal there are 43 insane persons to every 100,000 of the population, insanity being most prevalent to the east of the Bhagirathi. No district except Darjeeling and Nadia has less than 25 insane persons per 100,000, and the proportion rises as high as 157 in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The Chapter dealing with Insanity contains a highly interesting account of the beliefs among both educated and uneducated classes about the causes and cures of insanity.

Deaf-mutism, with its associates, crétinism and goitre, is most prevalent in North Bengal, and especially in Sikkim. The proportion of sufferers to general population has remained stationary since the last census.

Blindness is less prevalent than it was, except in the Presidency Division, where the proportion remains stationary.

The number of lepers has also decreased.

13. *Caste*.—The Chapter on Caste is the longest and most interesting in this volume. At the last census, statistics of all castes and tribes were compiled. At this, it was laid down that statistics should be prepared only for the more important castes, and for such others as Local Governments might for special reasons wish to include. The Government of Bengal had figures collected for all castes and tribes which in 1901 numbered 50,000 or more in the Province, for all that numbered 25,000 or more in a single district, and for certain others of special local importance or ethnological interest. The Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam compiled figures for 450 groups with a strength varying from 1 to 22 millions.

Mr. O'Malley's observations bear witness to the extraordinary social unrest that prevails to-day among the lower castes. No part of the census aroused so much excitement as this. A belief got abroad that the object of the census was to fix the relative status of each caste and to settle claims to social superiority; and this belief was largely fostered by the fact that at the last census castes were classed in order of social precedence. Petition after petition poured in from members of different castes praying to be designated by new names, or to be placed higher on the list. Somewhat different methods were adopted in the two Provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam for dealing with these delicate problems. In Eastern Bengal and Assam, for example, the numerous groups of Muhâmmadans who desired to be called Sheikhs were all entered as such, irrespective of what the enumerators considered or knew them really to be. The result has been an extraordinary (and misleading) increase in the numbers of Sheikhs in North and East Bengal; in fact, 95 per cent. of the whole Muhammadan population of the province have now been recorded as Sheikhs. In Bengal, on the other hand, such latitude was not allowed, and members of a group were entered only under those names by which the group was generally known. It was wisely decided that at this census there should be no classification by status, and thus the difficulty of deciding to which of the four main divisions of Hindus each individual belonged was overcome. But the case of those castes who wished to arrogate to themselves an entirely new name was different, and the new name was entered by the census authorities if it was recognised by the Hindu community at large and was not used by any other caste. Thus the Chandals have been entered as Namasudras and the Chasi Kaibarttas as Mahishyas. The case of the Namasudras is

curious and instructive. A generation ago they were content to call themselves Chandals. Advancing in wealth, they adopted the title of Namasudra, and at the census of 1891 they were entered as "Namasudra or Chandal." In 1901 they were entered as "Namasudra (Chandal)." In 1911 Chandal was dropped, but their further prayer to be called Namasudra Brahmans was disallowed.

Similarly, the Rajbansis claim to be entered as Kshattriyas and the Shahas as Vaisyas.

A comparatively modern symptom of this anxiety for the improvement of social status is the growth of the caste Samiti or Sabha. Most of these bodies have come into existence since the last census and especially since the Partition of Bengal in 1905. Their main object is to improve the social position of the caste, and their organization varies from combinations of the loosest kind to limited liability companies.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the statistics show that the "Bhadralok" castes are progressive. The Brahmans have increased by $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the Baidyas by 9 per cent, and the Kayasthas by 13 per cent.

This Chapter on Caste is remarkable for its careful review of many matters of great ethnological interest, such as "initiation into caste" and "caste government." Some of these have a very important bearing on the administration of the country at the present day. Mr. O'Malley remarks that on the whole the accessibility of the law courts is tending to weaken the system of caste self-government. There is also a tendency for the panchayat system to be supplanted by the practice of referring disputes to the local zamindar.

At the same time, Co-operative Societies, a comparatively new growth, are providing a new village organization which discharges many of the functions of the caste panchayats. Being formed on a basis of unlimited liability, these Societies find it necessary to inquire closely into the position of new members, and, as a result, the tendency has been for these Societies to exercise a very salutary influence towards curtailing marriage expenses and reducing litigation, two of the largest items of expenditure in village life. Numerous examples are reported of the way in which Co-operative Societies intervene with good effect in the village social life.

Though there is, properly speaking, no caste system among Musalmans, yet in the organization of panchayats they have assimilated Hindu ideas. A remarkable example of this is the general panchayat of Dacca, an organization which is recognised by all Muhammadans except the Ashraf class, and exists for the settlement of disputes between members of the community. Disputes are decided in the first place by a panchayat; from them there is an appeal to an appellate "bench," and from that again to a "full bench" consisting of the highest office bearers of the Association.

14. *Occupations.*—The classification of occupations has at this census been regulated by a new scheme drawn up by the Census Commissioner on the basis of that prepared by M. Bertillon which has already been adopted by many other countries. Instead of 8 main classes, 24 orders, 79 sub-orders and 520 groups, a classification has been adopted consisting of only 4 main classes, 12 sub-classes, 55 orders and 169 groups. Mr. O'Malley observes that even this classification is more elaborate than Indian conditions seem to require, but that its defects are few and unimportant.

Nearly three-fourths of the people are supported by agriculture. The head "Industries" embraces nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions, of whom about one-fourth depend on textile industries. The figures connected with the manufacture of jute show the astonishing increase of 140 per cent. since 1901. This industry provides for 328,000 persons. Transport supports nearly a million persons and public administration nearly half a million. Professions and the liberal arts account for nearly a million. The legal profession has increased by 30 per cent. since 1901, there being now nearly 10,000 lawyers in Bengal.

Extremely interesting results were obtained from an industrial census held concurrently with the general census. For mills, mines, etc., employing over 20 persons, a special schedule was prescribed and this was filled in by

the owners or managers themselves. The total number of such concerns was found to be 1,466, employing over 600,000 persons, one-third of whom find employment in jute mills, and nearly another third on tea plantations. The great industrial centres are the districts of Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly, and the 24-Parganas, where two-thirds of the industrial undertakings of the province are concentrated. Of the various industries, Indians own practically all the brass foundries, oil mills, rice mills, timber yards, brick works, etc., while Europeans enjoy an absolute monopoly of the jute mills and predominate in the tea gardens and machinery and engineering works. A noticeable feature in this connection is the large and steadily growing predominance of extra-provincial labour in these industrial centres. The Bengali is in a minority in nearly all, and most markedly in the jute mills.

The distribution of occupations between Hindus and Muhummadans forms an interesting commentary on the intellectual position of the followers of the two religions. The percentage of Musalmans in the total population is 52 and that of Hindus 45. But 37 per cent. of the latter and only 15 cent. of the former follow non-agricultural pursuits. The landlords, again, consist mainly of Hindus, the proportion being 7 Hindus to 3 Musalmans. These figures show that the great majority of the Musalmans have not yet risen beyond the stage of the cultivator who tills his own holding.

15. In conclusion the Governor in Council desires to place on record his appreciation of the labours of the District Officers, and of the host of officials and non-officials through whose devoted services the census of 1911 was carried to a successful conclusion, and to whom are due the accuracy, the care and the punctuality which have characterised the census throughout. His Excellency in Council wishes especially to acknowledge the services of Mr. O'Malley in conducting the census operations with such energy and ability and in compiling a report of conspicuous merit under conditions of unusual difficulty. The names of the officers commended by him and of those who have been separately reported for their good work will be recorded in the Appointment Department.

By order of the Governor in Council,

H. F. SAMMAN,

Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

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